

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date January 17, 2000

To: Echaveste, Podesta

From: The Staff Secretary

FYI--This has been forwarded
to the President.

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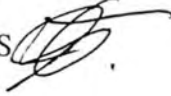
THE WHITE HOUSE

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January 17, 2000

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS 

CC: JOHN PODESTA
MARIA ECHAVESTE

SUBJECT: REVISED SOTU INTRODUCTION

Attached please find a revised introduction and framework for your 2000 State of the Union Address. It reflects my conversation with you, as well as comments from John Podesta, Maria Echaveste, Mark Penn, Don Baer and Sid Blumenthal.

As you suggested, we have relied heavily on the structure of your recent George Washington University DLC and Little Rock Chamber of Commerce speeches. We spend considerably more time telling the story of how your Third Way approach has fueled the nation's economic and social progress during the last seven years. We detail your record at home and abroad to make it more clear that America is prepared for the challenges of the new century.

While your agenda and budget priorities are presented within the framework of opportunity, responsibility and community, we plan to offer them as first steps in your discussion of the long look ahead and the big challenges of the 21st Century. We are working to broaden the discussion of your new opportunity agenda so that it speaks to all Americans who are struggling to meet the demands of the new economy. The big challenges are:

- Making sure every child begins school ready to learn and graduates ready to succeed.
- Shining the light of prosperity in communities that have been in the shadows for far too long.
- Making America the safest big country in the world.
- Ensuring that every older American has the secure retirement they have worked for and deserve.
- Giving parents the tools to succeed at work and at the most important work of all – raising their children.
- Making sure that our scientific progress is guided by our common values.
- Empowering all Americans to join the growing movement of service and citizenship.

- Continuing to improve the environment while strengthening the economy both at home and abroad.
- Seizing the opportunities of a more interconnected world to create more freedom, prosperity and peace for ourselves and our global neighbors.
- Making America the most successful diverse democracy in the history of the world.

I will be happy to discuss this with you during your trip to Boston tomorrow, or at our scheduled prep on Wednesday.

**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. Tonight I have the honor of delivering to you the first State of the Union Address of a new century and a new millennium.

I think we can all agree that we are fortunate to be alive at this moment in history. Never has our nation enjoyed, at once, so much prosperity, social progress and national self-confidence with so little internal crisis or external threat. Never have our values – of peace, freedom and democracy – been more ascendant in the world. Never have we had such a blessed opportunity – and, therefore, such a profound responsibility – to build the more perfect union of our founders' dreams.

In the span of 100 years, we have raised the vast majority of our citizens from bare subsistence to considerable comfort and affluence. We have enshrined human rights, religious freedom and racial and gender equality as widely shared values to which we are collectively committed. At home and abroad, it has been our great privilege to advance the light of human liberty, to re-light the fires of freedom.

It is important to understand what brought us to this moment. Seven years ago, it was not clear to most Americans that there would be much to celebrate in the year 2000. Our nation was in the grip of economic distress, social decline, and political stalemate. America then was divided; in doubt; and asking itself, in a time of rising crime, mounting deficits, and high unemployment, "What went wrong?"

But I believed we could set things right, by abandoning the false choices that deadlocked Washington and embracing new, common-sense ideas, rooted in basic American values—of opportunity, responsibility, and community.

And so we have met the challenge of deepening deficits not by attacking government, but by reinventing it, and by acting with fiscal discipline. As a result, we turned record budget deficits into record budget surpluses.

We have met the challenge of rising crime not by debating which is better, prevention or punishment, but by doing both, and doing them better. We passed the Brady law that has kept guns out of the hands of half a million criminals and funded 100,000 more community police to make our neighborhoods safer. And today, overall crime in America is at its lowest level in 31 years.

We have met the challenge of protecting the environment not with old-style regulations but with new approaches and new technologies. We've made our economy stronger while making our air and water cleaner.

We have met the challenges facing working parents by helping more to succeed at work and at home—with new approaches like the Family and Medical Leave Act, which 20 million working parents have used to nurse a sick child or relative.

We have met the challenge of growing welfare dependency by ending welfare as we knew it and empowering millions to go to work.

We have met the challenge of engaging more of our young people in community service—through AmeriCorps. Over 150,000 AmeriCorps members have risen to that challenge, building One America, one community at a time.

We have met the challenges, and seized the opportunities, of a growing global economy with more than 270 new trade agreements that have boosted our economy and extended our values around the world.

We have met the challenge of a post Cold War world by shaping events, not by being shaped by them. From Kosovo to Northern Ireland to the Middle East, we have advanced our interests and stood strong for democracy, freedom, and peace.

In each of these areas, we have paired enduring principles with bold new policies, and replaced old ideologies with ideas that work. In 1992, Vice President Gore and I had a roadmap. In the year 2000, we have results. Twenty-million new jobs. The fastest economic growth in more than 30 years; the lowest unemployment rate and the smallest welfare rolls in 30 years; the lowest poverty rate in 20 years; the first back to back budget surpluses in 42 years; the lowest African-American and Hispanic unemployment rate ever; the highest home ownership ever. And next month, America will achieve the longest economic expansion in our nation's history.

My fellow Americans, I stand before you tonight to report that the state of our union is strong – the strongest it has ever been.

Not only are we experiencing a renaissance of the American economy, but a remarkable renewal of the American spirit. Tonight it is clear: thanks to the hard work of the American people, our nation is prepared for the 21st century.

The conditions we have created and the virtuous cycle we have set in motion, put us in a position to realize our founders' deepest dreams. So let us lift our sights, and take what Theodore Roosevelt called "the long look ahead."

Tonight, I ask this Congress to join me in putting aside our partisan differences to meet the big challenges of this new century. What are they? Making sure every child begins school ready to learn and graduates ready to succeed. Shining the light of prosperity in communities that have been in the shadows for far too long. Making America the safest big country in the

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These are the big challenges before us. I believe we will meet them as Americans always have: with new ideas, informed by our enduring values.

Tonight, I will propose the first steps in our journey into the bold new frontier of the 21st century. I will begin with a New Opportunity Agenda for this new era – an agenda rooted in responsibility, and designed to create a stronger and more inclusive community. At its core is a simple, powerful, fundamental principle: “Opportunity for all.”

This new agenda updates an old American value for the Information Age. Two centuries ago, at our nation’s founding, opportunity meant, most of all, the freedom to carve a farm and an existence out of the forest frontier. Fifty years ago, opportunity meant a new textbook, a high school education, and a job for life. Today, opportunity means something different. It means having a computer and knowing how to use it. It means higher education, changing careers, and a lifetime of learning. It means mastering the tools and technologies of the new economy, in which ideas and information are the keys to success.

Our first steps into the 21st Century must be the right steps. They must be guided, first and foremost, by our faith that all children can learn and all adults can succeed.

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Echaveste
Verveer
Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1-21-00

January 18, 2000

Q-W-W Thursday

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Joe O'Neill

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MELANNE VERVEER *[Signature]*
MARIA ECHAVESTE *[Signature]*

RE: SOTU GALLERY

Following is a list of suggested guests to sit in the First Lady's gallery for the State of the Union.

SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY

To continue highlighting your efforts to advance technological breakthroughs in science over last 7 years. The government-funded Human Genome Project is one such endeavor.

(Talk to
OSTP)

Francis S. Collins, M.D., Ph.D., Director, National Human Genome Research Institute, National Institutes of Health

Francis S. Collins, M.D., Ph.D., is a physician-geneticist and the Director of the National Human Genome Research Institute. In that role he oversees the government's fifteen-year project aimed at mapping and sequencing all of the human DNA by the year 2003. Many consider this the most important scientific undertaking of our time. The project is currently running ahead of schedule and under budget.

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EDUCATION

Ruth Summerlin

To highlight a turn-around school that has succeeded by incorporating many of the measures you have articulated for improving education: smaller class size, teacher standards, and after-school programs, among others.

Principal, Beaufort Elementary School, Beaufort, South Carolina. Beaufort Elementary School serves a predominantly low-income population of 573 students in grades Pre-K through 5. Five years ago Beaufort Elementary School was classified as one of the worst 200 schools in South Carolina. After implementing a five-year school improvement plan Beaufort Elementary has now been named a Blue Ribbon School. Last year's test scores indicated that their students were above the district and state averages in both reading and math. Beaufort has both after-school and summer school programs for remediation in both reading and math. The school receives Title I funding, and their district received Goals 2000 funding. Beaufort Elementary has

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1-21-00

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✓ **Governor Gray Davis**

An elected official always sits in the Gallery. Gov. Davis has shown great leadership on education issues in California and will reinforce your education message.

In his State of the State Address on January 5, Governor Gray Davis issued a "call to arms" to recruit and train new teachers for what he called "the war on mediocrity" in the state's public schools. The Governor's proposal would focus on recruiting teachers to public schools that rank in the bottom 50% on standardized tests. His plan would create forgivable student loans for those teachers and create teaching fellowships and salary bonuses. On January 1, Governor Davis became the Vice-Chair of the Democratic Governors' Association (DGA) for 2000.

YOUTH/ANTI-VIOLENCE

To highlight your efforts to combat youth violence, of which the shooting at Columbine is the most painful example.

✓ **Tom Mauser, Colorado**

Tom Mauser's son, Daniel (age 15) was killed on April 20 at Columbine High School. Since Daniel's death, Tom has taken on the cause of gun control and has been a visible advocate at gun control events around the country, from the protest rally at the Denver NRA convention shortly after the Columbine shooting to the First Lady's Mother's Day event at the White House. Earlier this month, Tom took a leave of absence from his job at the Colorado Department of Transportation to become a full-time lobbyist for a Colorado-based bipartisan gun-control group, SAFE (Sane Alternatives to the Firearms Epidemic) Colorado.

CRIME

To highlight your commitment to reducing crime. The COPS program has been one of your most successful initiatives in this area.

Tbd COPS-funded Officer

ECONOMY/DIGITAL DIVIDE

1 - 21 - 00

✓ **Tracy Johnson**

To focus attention on a real person whose life has been changed by the opportunities of the new economy.

A 24 year old African American single mother of three. In August 1999, she had just had a baby, and was, in her words, "destitute" and trying to figure out what to do with her life. She was unemployed, living at a shelter for homeless families, and had limited knowledge of basic computer skills. Tracy proved to be an outstanding student in the 5 week OpNet *EntryNet* training, in which trainees learn web design software, web site design and construction, and project management, while being acculturated to work in the fast-paced new economy. Upon graduation from the EntryNet training, OpNet placed Tracy in a four month internship earning \$10 per hour as an assistant web designer at Miller Freeman Company. She so impressed her supervisor that she was offered a full-time position as a Web Developer at a starting salary of \$45,000 plus a benefit package.

One of the Following Business Leaders:

To highlight a corporate leader who is using the benefits of the new economy to help bridge the digital divide

E. David Ellington

Founder and CEO of NetNoir "theblacknetwork", a multimedia company and Web site that caters to the African-American community. Ellington also co-founded OpNet in 1997 to bridge the digital divide by creating economic opportunities for low-income young adults, increasing the employment of women and people of color in the digital economy, and helping to meet the growing demand for skilled media workers. This business-community partnership provides low-income youth with a bridge to entry level opportunities at San Francisco Bay Area's new media companies through training and internships. Since August 1997, OpNet has trained over 115 low-income young adults, with 80 percent having been placed in jobs or currently in internships. Average post-internship earnings are \$14 per hour. OpNet's operating budget is \$520,000.

Lou Gerstner

CEO, IBM. He's a lifetime advocate of the importance of education. At IBM, he has established Reinventing Education as the company's program in support of systemic school reform. Through Reinventing Education, IBM has initiated strategic partnerships with 21 states and school districts, which are utilizing IBM technology and technical assistance to eliminate key barriers to school reform and improve school performance.

✓ **Robert (Bob) Knowling Jr.**

African-American CEO of Covad, a telecommunications/broadband/high-speed internet access company. The Telecommunications Act helped create his industry. He is spearheading a Digital Opportunity Initiative to help recruit minorities into the information technology industry.

Talk to
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young

✓ **Eric Benhamou**

CEO, 3COM (3COM markets the Palm Pilot). Eric is a big supporter of the e-rate and on the President's Information Technology Advisory Committee. He is Chairman of the advisory board for Western Governors University -- a virtual university that uses advanced networking technologies to deliver technology-based distance education.

Carly Fiorina

CEO, Hewlett-Packard. Carly is the new CEO of Hewlett Packard (featured in their new commercial advertising campaign). Prior to joining HP, she helped spearhead Lucent's 1996 IPO and spinoff from AT &T. She has not yet been particularly involved in any ongoing Administration effort. HP has been involved in telementoring -- encouraging young people to get involved in the technology industry.

✓ **Lloyd Bentsen**

Gene recommends Lloyd to highlight and draw attention to the 1993 deficit reduction plan. We are exploring the possibility of having him seated on the floor as an ex-Member (since he is in a wheelchair, he may not be able to sit in the box).

To honor Bentsen and point to the 1993 deficit reduction plan, which has led the current economic expansion. The Clinton Administration policies have helped put America on track to the longest economic expansion ever.

MILITARY/FOREIGN POLICY

To highlight the important work of the armed forces and your policy in Kosovo and your efforts in peacemaking in Northern Ireland.

✓ **Captain John Cherrey**

Air Force Captain. Awarded the Silver Star in connection with military operations near Novi Sad, Serbia. Captain Cherry courageously and repeatedly risked his life to rescue a fellow American pilot, shot down over hostile Serbian territory.

George Mitchell

Senator Mitchell has devoted enormous portions of the last five years of his life to laying the foundations for lasting peace in Northern Ireland. He is widely acknowledged to have been indispensable in making possible the recent changes that have reshaped the political face of Northern Ireland. Acknowledging his role in this process highlights progress achieved on an issue of importance to millions of Americans, and also serves as a reminder that continued U.S. engagement in trying to end ethnic and religious conflict in various parts of the world can bear fruit.

1-21-00

ONE AMERICA

Highlight the continuing presence of hate crimes and once again call for America to come together to conquer lingering prejudice.

Relative of James Byrd, Jr.

James Byrd, Jr., was an African-American man killed in June 1998 in Jasper, Texas, by three white men after they chained Mr. Byrd to the bumper of a pickup truck and dragged him to his death. Mr. Byrd is buried in a cemetery where the plots of blacks and whites had been divided by a fence, until it was removed as the result of Mr. Byrd's death. The Byrd family has started the James Byrd, Jr. Foundation for Racial Healing. We will invite either **Francis Renee Mullins** (28, daughter of Mr. Byrd, testified before Congress in July 1998 in favor of federal hate crimes legislation and met with you in Texas; she also recently had a baby in November) or **Clara Taylor** (sister of Mr. Byrd, President of the foundation).

SERVICE/NATIVE AMERICAN INITIATIVE

To highlight your Native American initiative, and opportunities that AmeriCorps has provided for so many young people.

✓ **Christina Jones (Navajo) and/or Justina Jones (Navajo).** Christina (23) and Justina (24) are juniors at Diné College in Tsaile, Arizona. They are both pursuing teaching degrees in Diné College's Teacher Preparatory Program. Christina and Justina were both AmeriCorps volunteers on the Navajo reservation in 1998-1999. They both attended Bureau of Indian Affairs schools -- Rock Point Elementary School and Many Farms High School in Many Farms, Arizona on the Navajo Nation. They are committed to teaching young Navajo children when they graduate. These students fit in with your initiative on training 1000 new Native American teachers.

AGING/PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

To dramatize the importance of affordable prescription drugs for the elderly and your Medicare prescription drug plan.

[Ruth McKay, New Hampshire

Ruth McKay is an 80 year old woman from New Hampshire who does not have prescription drug coverage. Her income is \$23,000 a year and her medication costs (for heart disease and arthritis) are about \$2800 annually. She would have another heart attack without her medications. There are no Medicare managed care plans in her area that offer prescription drug benefits. She has tried to get prescription drug coverage through AARP but has not yet been accepted. When asked how she managed costs, she said that she lived through the Depression so it is possible for her to be very frugal, and she does not spend very much money.

FATHERHOOD INITIATIVE

To highlight your fatherhood initiative and the importance of responsibility, as well as the importance of providing skills to fathers so they can discharge their duties as parents.

✓ **Carlos Rosas, St. Paul, MN**

Carlos is a 33 year old father from St. Paul, Minnesota, who enrolled in a fathers' program employment program in October 1996 when he was not making enough money to keep up with his child support obligation for his son, Ricardo, who is now 13 years old. At that time, Ricardo's mother was receiving welfare. Since earning a GED, Ricardo now pays full child support for his son, increase his earning power so he will be able to save money to send Ricardo to college, and improve his own future. When Carlos met you last year he was a head maintenance worker and finishing his second year at a two-year Electronics Technology/Computer Sciences program. Since your meeting, Carlos graduated from his technical school and started a full-time job as a technician earning \$11.00, and is currently earning \$12.00 and receiving full health benefits. He is still paying child support, and his payments have increased significantly since his graduation. His son, Ricardo, who was living in Germany with his mother, has since moved to South Dakota, and Carlos is enjoying seeing him a lot more.

OTHERS

Highlight national figures who have helped bring the country together.

✓ **Charles Schultz – creator of "Peanuts."**

Julie Foudy – Co-Captain of U.S. Women's National Soccer Team and spokesperson for HHS' anti-smoking campaign, "Smoke-Free Kids and Soccer." The program models the "Smoke-Free" lifestyle of the National Team members and encourages adolescent girls to participate in soccer to maintain physical fitness and resist pressures to smoke. Foudy, 28, an internationally recognized midfielder, summed up the attitude of the fiercely competitive US players: "We'd much rather smoke a defender than a cigarette."

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CRIME

To highlight your commitment to reducing crime. The COPS program has been one of your most successful initiatives in this area.

Tbd COPS-funded Officer

ECONOMY/DIGITAL DIVIDE

Tracy Johnson

To focus attention on a real person whose life has been changed by the opportunities of the new economy.

A 24 year old African American single mother of three. In August 1999, she had just had a baby, and was, in her words, “destitute” and trying to figure out what to do with her life. She was unemployed, living at a shelter for homeless families, and had limited knowledge of basic computer skills. Tracy proved to be an outstanding student in the 5 week OpNet *EntryNet* training, in which trainees learn web design software, web site design and construction, and project management, while being acculturated to work in the fast-paced new economy. Upon graduation from the EntryNet training, OpNet placed Tracy in a four month internship earning \$10 per hour as an assistant web designer at Miller Freeman Company. She so impressed her supervisor that she was offered a full-time position as a Web Developer at a starting salary of \$45,000 plus a benefit package.

One of the Following Business Leaders:

To highlight a corporate leader who is using the benefits of the new economy to help bridge the digital divide

E. David Ellington

Founder and CEO of NetNoir “theblacknetwork”, a multimedia company and Web site that caters to the African-American community. Ellington also co-founded OpNet in 1997 to bridge the digital divide by creating economic opportunities for low-income young adults, increasing the employment of women and people of color in the digital economy, and helping to meet the growing demand for skilled media workers. This business-community partnership provides low-income youth with a bridge to entry level opportunities at San Francisco Bay Area’s new media companies through training and internships. Since August 1997, OpNet has trained over 115 low-income young adults, with 80 percent having been placed in jobs or currently in internships. Average post-internship earnings are \$14 per hour. OpNet’s operating budget is \$520,000.

Lou Gerstner

CEO, IBM. He's a lifetime advocate of the importance of education. At IBM, he has established Reinventing Education as the company's program in support of systemic school reform. Through Reinventing Education, IBM has initiated strategic partnerships with 21 states and school districts, which are utilizing IBM technology and technical assistance to eliminate key barriers to school reform and improve school performance.

Robert (Bob) Knowling Jr.

African-American CEO of Covad, a telecommunications/broadband/high-speed internet access company. The Telecommunications Act helped create his industry. He is spearheading a Digital Opportunity Initiative to help recruit minorities into the information technology industry.

Eric Benhamou

CEO, 3COM (3COM markets the Palm Pilot). Eric is a big supporter of the e-rate and on the President's Information Technology Advisory Committee. He is Chairman of the advisory board for Western Governors University -- a virtual university that uses advanced networking technologies to deliver technology-based distance education.

Carly Fiorina

CEO, Hewlett-Packard. Carly is the new CEO of Hewlett Packard (featured in their new commercial advertising campaign). Prior to joining HP, she helped spearhead Lucent's 1996 IPO and spinoff from AT &T. She has not yet been particularly involved in any ongoing Administration effort. HP has been involved in telementoring -- encouraging young people to get involved in the technology industry.

Lloyd Bentsen

Gene recommends Lloyd to highlight and draw attention to the 1993 deficit reduction plan. We are exploring the possibility of having him seated on the floor as an ex-Member (since he is in a wheelchair, he may not be able to sit in the box).

To honor Bentsen and point to the 1993 deficit reduction plan, which has led the current economic expansion. The Clinton Administration policies have helped put America on track to the longest economic expansion ever.

MILITARY/FOREIGN POLICY

To highlight the important work of the armed forces and your policy in Kosovo and your efforts in peacemaking in Northern Ireland.

Captain John Cherrey

Air Force Captain. Awarded the Silver Star in connection with military operations near Novi Sad, Serbia. Captain Cherry courageously and repeatedly risked his life to rescue a fellow American pilot, shot down over hostile Serbian territory.

George Mitchell

Senator Mitchell has devoted enormous portions of the last five years of his life to laying the foundations for lasting peace in Northern Ireland. He is widely acknowledged to have been indispensable in making possible the recent changes that have reshaped the political face of Northern Ireland. Acknowledging his role in this process highlights progress achieved on an issue of importance to millions of Americans, and also serves as a reminder that continued U.S. engagement in trying to end ethnic and religious conflict in various parts of the world can bear fruit.

ONE AMERICA

Highlight the continuing presence of hate crimes and once again call for America to come together to conquer lingering prejudice.

Relative of James Byrd, Jr.

James Byrd, Jr., was an African-American man killed in June 1998 in Jasper, Texas, by three white men after they chained Mr. Byrd to the bumper of a pickup truck and dragged him to his death. Mr. Byrd is buried in a cemetery where the plots of blacks and whites had been divided by a fence, until it was removed as the result of Mr. Byrd's death. The Byrd family has started the James Byrd, Jr. Foundation for Racial Healing. We will invite either **Francis Renee Mullins** (28, daughter of Mr. Byrd, testified before Congress in July 1998 in favor of federal hate crimes legislation and met with you in Texas; she also recently had a baby in November) or **Clara Taylor** (sister of Mr. Byrd, President of the foundation).

SERVICE/NATIVE AMERICAN INITIATIVE

To highlight your Native American initiative, and opportunities that AmeriCorps has provided for so many young people.

Christina Jones (Navajo) and/or Justina Jones (Navajo). Christina (23) and Justina (24) are juniors at Diné College in Tsaile, Arizona. They are both pursuing teaching degrees in Diné College's Teacher Preparatory Program. Christina and Justina were both AmeriCorps volunteers on the Navajo reservation in 1998-1999. They both attended Bureau of Indian Affairs schools -- Rock Point Elementary School and Many Farms High School in Many Farms, Arizona on the Navajo Nation. They are committed to teaching young Navajo children when they graduate. These students fit in with your initiative on training 1000 new Native American teachers.

AGING/PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

To dramatize the importance of affordable prescription drugs for the elderly and your Medicare prescription drug plan.

Ruth McKay, New Hampshire

Ruth McKay is an 80 year old woman from New Hampshire who does not have prescription drug coverage. Her income is \$23,000 a year and her medication costs (for heart disease and arthritis) are about \$2800 annually. She would have another heart attack without her medications. There are no Medicare managed care plans in her area that offer prescription drug benefits. She has tried to get prescription drug coverage through AARP but has not yet been accepted. When asked how she managed costs, she said that she lived through the Depression so it is possible for her to be very frugal, and she does not spend very much money.

FATHERHOOD INITIATIVE

To highlight your fatherhood initiative and the importance of responsibility, as well as the importance of providing skills to fathers so they can discharge their duties as parents.

Carlos Rosas, St. Paul, MN

Carlos is a 33 year old father from St. Paul, Minnesota, who enrolled in a fathers' program employment program in October 1996 when he was not making enough money to keep up with his child support obligation for his son, Ricardo, who is now 13 years old. At that time, Ricardo's mother was receiving welfare. Since earning a GED, Ricardo now pays full child support for his son, increase his earning power so he will be able to save money to send Ricardo to college, and improve his own future. When Carlos met you last year he was a head maintenance worker and finishing his second year at a two-year Electronics Technology/Computer Sciences program. Since your meeting, Carlos graduated from his technical school and started a full-time job as a technician earning \$11.00, and is currently earning \$12.00 and receiving full health benefits. He is still paying child support, and his payments have increased significantly since his graduation. His son, Ricardo, who was living in Germany with his mother, has since moved to South Dakota, and Carlos is enjoying seeing him a lot more.

OTHERS

Highlight national figures who have helped bring the country together.

Charles Schultz – creator of "Peanuts."

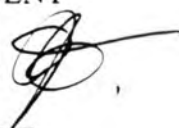
Julie Foudy – Co-Captain of U.S. Women's National Soccer Team and spokesperson for HHS' anti-smoking campaign, "Smoke-Free Kids and Soccer." The program models the "Smoke-Free" lifestyle of the National Team members and encourages adolescent girls to participate in soccer to maintain physical fitness and resist pressures to smoke. Foudy, 28, an internationally recognized midfielder, summed up the attitude of the fiercely competitive US players: "We'd much rather smoke a defender than a cigarette."

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 23, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS 

00 JAN 23 PM 3:36

SUBJECT: REVISED SOTU DRAFT

Please find attached a revised draft of your 2000 State of the Union Address. This latest version reflects thematic, structural and editing changes recommended by our team of consultants, including Bob Shrum, Mark Penn, Don Baer, Sid Blumenthal and others.

We have added a central theme that runs through the speech: a "21st Century Revolution" of Opportunity, Responsibility and Community. We felt that this would provide a way to give lift to the speech and a connecting frame to your policy agenda, your theory of governing and your vision of what America should look like in this century. Per Mark Penn's suggestions, we moved the crime and guns suggestion of the speech up higher. As you directed, we have also reworked the conclusion to include ideas from your Millennium speech.

While we have worked to tighten the draft, the speech is still about 1,500 words too long. After we receive your edits to this draft, we will continue to revise and shorten.

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

'00 JAN 23 PM3:36

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, honored guests, my fellow Americans: Tonight I have the honor of delivering the first State of the Union Address of a new century and a new millennium.

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 have our values – of freedom and democracy – been more ascendant around the world. Never have we had such a blessed opportunity – and, therefore, such a profound obligation – to build the more perfect union of our founders' dreams.

We ended the 20th Century, and now begin the 21st, at a high point in our history. There is no better moment to act on our hopes for our children. No better moment to dream new dreams for our nation.

We are achieving an economic revolution. Twenty 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 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, as we mark the 107th month of this economic expansion, America will achieve the longest period of prosperity in our entire history.

Our economic revolution has been matched by a remarkable revival of the American spirit. Who would have thought that we could cut crime by one quarter, to its lowest level in more than 30 years? Who would have thought that we could reverse virtually every terrible social trend of the last few decades, sending teen births down seven years in a row and adoptions up by 30 percent? Seven million of our fellow citizens have broken the bonds of poverty. Seven million Americans have moved from welfare to work.

My fellow Americans, I stand before you tonight to report that 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. You work every day to pay your taxes, raise your families and live your dreams. Thanks to you, our nation is prepared for the new 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. I thank you.

In 1993 we passed an historic deficit reduction plan that helped put America on track to the longest economic expansion in our history. Tonight I want to recognize a man who played a

key role in that effort, my first Secretary of the Treasury, your former colleague and always a true American statesman, Lloyd Bentsen.

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, from the time of Lincoln and the two Roosevelts, 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.

That’s how we turned decades of record deficits into back-to-back record surpluses – not by discarding government but by reinventing it, and moving forward with fiscal discipline. That’s how we have cut crime – not by debating prevention or punishment but by doing both, and doing them better – passing the Brady Law that has kept guns out of the hands of half a million criminals, and funding 100,000 community police to make our neighborhoods safer. That’s how we have protected our environment – not by pitting economic growth against environmental progress, but by pursuing both.

Opportunity and responsibility: That’s how we ended welfare as we knew it. That’s how we have helped parents to succeed at work and at home – by offering new approaches, like

Family and Medical Leave, which 20 million working Americans have used to care for sick loved ones. That's how we are opening the doors to all – with HOPE scholarship tax cuts, more Pell Grants, and more affordable college loans. That's how we have engaged 150,000 more young Americans in citizen service – building One America, one community at a time, through AmeriCorps. That's how we have seized the opportunities of a global era – with 270 new agreements to expand trade and open markets for American products. And that's how we are meeting the threats to peace by standing against ethnic and religious hatred, and standing up for our interests and values around the world.

In 1992, Vice President Gore and I had a roadmap. Today we have results. But we have work to do and great goals to reach. We will get there only if we stay on the path that got us here. Building on our progress ... always moving forward ... always gaining ground.

But we must not let our renewed confidence grow into complacency. Because 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. So let's get moving.

I ask you again this year to set aside the surplus to pay down the debt. To save social security, and extend its life the next 50 years. I ask you to secure Medicare so that this generation of older Americans -- and the next -- never have to worry about medical care. And let us provide a prescription drug benefit so that no senior has to choose between medicine and food.

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

But that will only be the start of our journey. 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 and the people we are becoming. We have not only passed a point in time, we have crossed our bridge into the 21st century. We must now shape a 21st century American revolution of opportunity, responsibility, and community, equal to the challenges of our times. America is an ongoing revolution. We are, 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 has not been accomplished with one march – but requires constant commitment and sacrifice. And always with our eyes on the prize. The dreams that drive us on are always bold. But the lesson of our history and the lesson of the last seven years is that we make great strides step by step.

OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN EDUCATION

Our first steps into the 21st Century must be the right steps. We need first and foremost a 21st century revolution in education, guided by our faith that all our children can learn and that all our people can succeed.

For seven years we have pursued a fundamental strategy on education: Invest more, yet demand more in return. Offer opportunity, but demand responsibility. We have helped nearly every state set higher academic standards for their schools. We are closing in on our goal of connecting every classroom and library in America to the Internet. And Congress has supported our effort to hire 100,000 new, qualified teachers, to lower class sizes in the early grades, for two years in a row. This year, I call on Congress to make it three in a row.

Scores on college entrance exams are 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.

Schools like Beaufort [B'YOU-ferd] Elementary in South Carolina. Classified five years ago as one of the state's worst-performing schools, Beaufort embraced accountability and higher academic standards, and started afterschool and summer school programs to help students to meet those standards. Today, Beaufort's math and test scores exceed the state average, and local parents are pulling their children out of private schools and putting them in Beaufort. The principal of Beaufort, Ruth Summerlin, is with us here tonight. Thank you for proving what all our children can do.

I have visited schools like Beaufort all across America -- schools that have turned themselves around with the same proven formula: greater accountability, higher standards, and the conviction that all students can learn. Unfortunately, there are too many low-performing schools in this country that are not applying these lessons – schools where, year after year, children fail to get the knowledge and skills they need to make the most of their God-given talents.

Last year, from this podium, I proposed an Education Accountability Act, to fundamentally change the way the federal government invests in our schools – to support what we know works, and stop supporting what doesn't. This year, I challenge Congress to not only pass that measure, but to make dramatic new investments in ideas we know are working.

We know that many states and districts have managed to turn around their worst-performing schools—or shut them down and allow parents to choose other public schools for their children. Last fall, Congress passed my plan to give districts more resources to do the same. This year, let's double that investment. And let's give bonuses to states that succeed in making scores go up across the board.

We know that quality afterschool and summer school programs boost academic achievement. They also keep children off the street in the hours before parents get home from work, when juvenile crime soars. Tonight, I propose that we double our investment for afterschool and summer school. 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. And since 1993, we've put over 160,000 more children in the successful Head Start pre-school program, and improved the quality of Head Start. Tonight, I propose the largest funding increase for Head Start in history. If we do this, we can build the foundation for universal pre-school for every four-year-old in America.

We know that if we want our children to learn, we need good teachers. Tonight, I propose a \$1 billion initiative to bring the best and the brightest into teaching, to reward good teachers, and to ensure that bad ones leave the classroom, swiftly and fairly.

We know that a third of all schools in America are in serious disrepair – with leaky roofs and antiquated electrical wiring. Tonight, I propose a new, \$1.3 billion to help 5,000 schools make immediate, urgent repairs. I renew my call for a tax credit to help build or modernize 6,000 schools nationwide – so we can take our children out of trailers and put them in modern classrooms. And let's make our high schools safer and better by investing in making them smaller. Let's make sure our kids go to schools where everybody knows their name.

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.

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 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. Yet still, millions of middle class families are feeling the strain of paying college tuition. They need help.

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.

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.

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.

REWARDING WORK AND STRENGTHENING FAMILIES

We need a 21st Century revolution to reward work and strengthen families. That has been the basic goal of so much of what we have done – from reforming welfare to raising the minimum wage. When you work hard and play by the rules, you should be rewarded. From your standard of living to your self-respect.

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. As one of my first actions as President, I asked the 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. And we should help them.

Two-thirds of new jobs are in the suburbs, far away from many low-income families. In the past two years, I have proposed and Congress has approved funds for 110,000 more working families to live closer to the workplace. This year, lets more than double that number. If we want people to go to work, they have to be able to get to work.

We must never forget the Americans who have no home but the shelters or the streets. At a time of prosperity, we must dedicate ourselves to ending homelessness and ensuring that all Americans – every veteran, every person with a mental illness, every family – have a place to call home. I want to thank someone who has made that her personal mission. Who is working day after day directly with homeless people Tipper Gore.

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 \$TK a year – too little to earn a refund today – that means \$TK 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.

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. Our goal is to cover up to 5 million; so we're well on our way. The more children we cover, the more can begin healthy lives: the childhood immunization rate is now 90 percent, an all-time high.

But there are too many – far too many – uninsured children. To enroll more of them, we should go where they're found – schools, churches, child-care centers – and do it there. And let's take an even bigger step. In four out of five cases, uninsured kids have uninsured parents. So let's do what Vice President Gore suggests and enroll the parents, too. I propose new legislation to make these parents eligible for the programs that cover their kids.

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, to make this option more affordable.

We must also do more to care for the caregivers – the record numbers of American families providing for aging or ailing loved ones at home. More and more this is a common choice, but rarely an easy – or inexpensive – one. Last year, I proposed a \$1,000 tax credit for long-term care. This year, let's triple that – to \$3,000. That would cover up to 60 percent of a family's long-term care costs. Let's recognize and reward the sacrifice they're making.

If we really want to reward work and family, let's make sure that men and women get equal pay for equal work. Working women have made significant strides: more single mothers are working than ever, and the women's unemployment rate is the lowest in almost 50 years. But women earn less than 77 cents for every dollar men earn. That's just not good enough. We should pass the Paycheck Fairness Act. My budget also provides much needed resources to enforce present equal pay laws, and to train more women for high-paying, high-tech jobs.

This year, I again propose a progressive savings initiative to help low- and moderate-income families work and save for retirement. [policy TK]

Nearly one child in three in America today 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.

This is progress. But we must accelerate that progress, step by step, until the day that every father in America takes responsibility for his children. We can begin by toughening measures against fathers who owe child support, such as booting their cars.

And to absent parents who owe child support, we should pass legislation that says: we'll help you do right by your children, but from now on, you have to go to work, and pay them what you owe.

RESPONSIBILITY AND CRIME

Crime in America has dropped every year for the past seven years -- the longest continuous decline ever recorded. It happened because we took more responsibility for helping America fight crime, from passing the Brady bill to funding 100,000 new community police officers. Last fall, Congress agreed to support my plan to hire up to 50,000 more police officers, with special help for high-crime neighborhoods. Congress must continue that support this year.

But while we are grateful that America is much safer, no one believes America is safe enough. We have the opportunity and responsibility to make America the safest big country in the world.

We must do more to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and juveniles. Last year, 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. 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 the legislation. This year, I hope the House will finally follow suit. The lives of our children depend on it.

Last year, in Littleton, Colorado, we all saw what can happen when guns are allowed to fall into the wrong hands. One of the students killed at Columbine High School was Daniel Mauser, age 15. Daniel was an amazing kid, a straight-A student, a good skier. It is hard, maybe impossible, to comprehend the grief his father Tom must feel. But Tom has translated that grief into action. Earlier this month, he took a leave of absence from his job to advocate for tougher gun safety laws. His presence here is an inspiration. Passing common-sense gun safety legislation should be the very next action of this Congress.

But we can and must do more. States require hunters and automobile drivers to have licenses. To reduce firearms accidents and keep guns out of the wrong hands, tonight I propose that states require licenses for handgun purchasers as well.

To those who say that instead of strengthening gun laws, we should better enforce gun laws now on the books, I say: we already are. 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 supply law enforcement with the tools to trace the origin of 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 anywhere in America to the gun of the criminal who fired it.

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. It's time to help the gun industry accelerate development of these smart guns. I thank those gun manufacturers who have worked on this. And I invite all manufacturers to help us keep guns out of the wrong hands.

Every parent I know worries about violence in the media. The entertainment industry should respond to parents concerns. I give the industry credit for accepting my challenge to put voluntary ratings not just on movies but on TV programs and video and Internet games. This year, I ask the industry to go farther. Let's do as the First Lady has suggested, and give parents what they need: 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 and jails, only to wind up back in trouble with the law. More often than not, drugs are a major part of the problem. Two-thirds of ex-offenders who are sent back to prison are drug abusers. But if they get drug treatment, they are up to 70 percent 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. I also propose a new initiative to train, counsel, and more carefully monitor ex-offenders so that they can become responsible citizens, family members, and employees.

OPENING NEW MARKETS

For our economy to continue enjoying rapid growth without inflation, we need a 21st Century revolution to open new markets. It is vital that businesses find new opportunities and new workers. I believe they exist right here in America – in the inner cities, poor rural areas, and Indian reservations – places that have not yet been 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 America's new markets.

Now, more than ever, we can expand the circle of opportunity to include the men and women at its margins, so that no one who's willing to work is left behind as our nation moves ahead. For business, it's the smart thing to do. And for America, it's the right thing to do. If we don't do it now, when will we ever get around to it?

Businesses should have the same incentives to invest in America's new markets as they have to invest in foreign markets. In this year's budget, I call on Congress to double our New Markets Tax Credit, to spur \$15 billion in new equity capital for our untapped markets. We should also greatly increase funding to help large-scale businesses expand or relocate to our

inner cities or rural areas. And we should increase the tax incentives that promote growth in our Empowerment Zones.

Speaker Hastert, 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 my administration on common ground for New Markets legislation. I thank you for your commitment and I pledge to work with you.

Last summer, I became the first President to visit an Indian reservation since Franklin Roosevelt. That's far too long. 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 in good times but 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 change the Farm Bill and strengthen the Farm Safety Net.

This spring, I will lead a New Markets tour to focus on the “digital divide” – between those with access to the new economy and those without it. The technology that drives our expansion also creates tools to ensure that everyone, from the city to the farm to the reservation, can share in our prosperity. My budget creates technology centers in 1,000 neighborhoods

across our land – connecting poor communities to the economic mainstream. It also mobilizes the combined force of public, private, and nonprofit sectors to increase Internet access in low-income areas. Every American must have the tools to succeed.

GLOBAL CHANGE AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

It is not enough to master the possibilities of the new economy at home. We must also lead in the revolution that is reshaping the global economy – and indeed the entire globe.

At the dawn of this new century, the economic and military might of America are unrivaled. These are the measures of American power, as they have long been. But the central reality of our time is globalization – a process tearing down barriers between nations, peoples, economies, and cultures so that what happens anywhere is felt everywhere. The change can be liberating and threatening. But the bottom line is clear: The world is coming together around ideals Americans have long proclaimed, fought for and tried to live. And it is our open, creative society that stands to benefit more than any other.

Globalization is irreversible. The way to advance our interests is to stand at the center of every vital global network. America will remain a strong leader by being a good partner – to old allies and to new ones, and to nations that need a helping hand. And we will remain true to what makes us Americans by standing strong for our values.

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 dignity of work and quality of life. What we seek is a global economy based on the rule of law.

That is why China should join the WTO and live under the same trade rules America does. For America's companies and workers, this will open new opportunities in every sector of China's vast market. I ask Congress to lock in this opportunity by passing Permanent Normal Trade Relations status for China. This is a good deal for America. It will level the playing field in U.S.-China trade, and it is a chance to help China along the road to change.

When we engage in the global economy, we are investing in our shared future. Growth from trade is vital not just for us, but for the 1.3 billion people around the world who still live on less than a dollar a day. To help pass opportunity on to them, we should do our part to reduce the debts that cripple the world's poorest nations. I ask Congress to support that effort, and to finalize our plans to open new trade opportunities with Africa and the Caribbean Basin. If we do so, we will help Americans master the new economy . . . and help others to become masters of their own future.

Still, our modern world is bedeviled by our most ancient failing – fear of those who are different from us. In too many places, that fear is exploited by unscrupulous leaders clinging to

power or waging war on their neighbors. History teaches that big wars start small. And when human beings anywhere are singled out for destruction, it is our common humanity that suffers.

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. We should be proud of America's role in bringing the Middle East closer than ever to comprehensive peace. [Update; essential that America does its share.] We should be proud of our role in building peace from Northern Ireland, to East Timor, to Africa . . . in promoting reconciliation between Greece and Turkey . . . 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, and made it possible for 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.

With us today are two Americans who, each in his own way, has given his best – and America's best – to the cause of peace. In Kosovo, when Slobodan Milosevic unleashed his terror, Captain John Cherrey was one of the brave airmen who turned the tide – flying straight into the teeth of Serbian air defenses to bring home the pilot of a downed American plane. And in Northern Ireland, when the peace process stalled, I asked the man who had done so much to start it to go back again to save it. And now, thanks to George Mitchell, the people of Northern Ireland finally have a working government representing all parties. Captain Cherrey, Senator Mitchell, you have our gratitude, and our promise to finish the work you helped begin.

A central challenge of this new century is whether our former adversaries, Russia and China, emerge as stable, prosperous, democratic partners of the United States.

Today, Russia is weakened by the legacy of communism, by economic crisis, by a cruel and futile war in Chechnya. But so much else has changed: 5,000 Soviet nuclear weapons dismantled; Russian troops serving by our side, keeping peace in the Balkans. Russia's long journey to democracy may be difficult, it may not be complete; but it is profoundly important to America and the world. A generation from now, let it be said we did our part.

In China, we must promote our interests with firmness, but not in fear. China cannot buy stability and stature at the expense of freedom. But let us not isolate China from the global forces of change. We want to see China on the inside, playing by the rules, not on the outside denying them.

We face another challenge: whether terrorists and hostile nations will acquire new 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 – chemical, biological, nuclear – easier to conceal and easier to use.

We must meet this threat. By working with Russia to keep deadly weapons and materials secure and continuing to reduce our nuclear arsenals; by restraining nuclear and missile programs in North Korea and Iran; by preventing Iraq from threatening its neighbors; and by

strengthening global standards against proliferation. I am committed to working with the Senate – on a bipartisan basis – to build a consensus for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

America is increasing its preparedness for potential biological attack, and developing a system to defend ourselves 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.

To have a more stable world, we must narrow the gap between rich and poor. We cannot accept a world in which a part of humanity lives on the cutting edge of the new economy while another lives on the bare edge of survival. Expanded trade is part of the answer. But the real answer is 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 countries like Colombia, fighting for its own people's lives – and for our children's lives – against the poison of drug trafficking. I have proposed a two-year, \$1.6 billion package to help Colombia; and I count on your support. And if we want to put the drug lords 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.

America must help more nations to break the bonds of disease that hold down their people. Last year in Africa, AIDS killed ten times as many people as war did. My budget

invests \$150 million in the global fight against this and other infectious killers. And I will ask the world to join us in a new 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, AIDS and TB, we will help pay for them and, together, lift millions of lives.

All this comes down to a single central challenge, the most important one 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.

The choice is clear. America must not grow complacent; we cannot presume that the fight for freedom is fully won. No peace can endure unless it is backed by the leadership of great nations. So America must lead boldly and consistently and without reservation. Because freedom is always in America's interest.

That's why we have reversed the decline in defense spending that began in 1985. We must continue to work together to keep 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.

We must also continue to fund the one percent of our budget that supports our international engagement and keeps our soldiers out of war. Last year, Congress worked with me to maintain that commitment and to resume paying our UN dues and arrears. Let's do it

again this year. And let's remember that building a stronger global community will only strengthen our own 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 to finally put to rest the notion that you can't expand your economy and protect the environment at the same time. For as our economy has grown, we have rid countless neighborhoods of toxic waste; ensured cleaner drinking water for millions of families; and taken unprecedented action 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.

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 to strengthen this initiative with new funding to help communities build advanced transit systems and save farms, parks, and other precious open spaces.

As we work to protect our land, we must help other nations that are struggling to protect theirs. The rainforests are the lungs of our planet – yet they 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, the seas will rise and natural disasters will become more frequent with each passing year.

There is no question that we can reduce greenhouse gas pollution. Thanks to remarkable new technologies, I am absolutely convinced that we can do it in ways that will produce more widespread, more sustainable economic growth.

In California, the Departments of Energy and Housing and Urban Development helped build a moderate-income housing community with windows that keep out four or five times as

much heat and cold as ordinary windows do. With these and other readily-available technologies, we thought we'd be able to save homeowners 40% off their energy bills. It turns out, they're saving 65%.

Last week, at the Detroit Auto Show, the world got a chance to see cars we've helped automakers develop which use advanced materials and dual fuel sources to get 70 to 80 miles a gallon. Next on the horizon are even more efficient cars powered by fuel cells that emit pure water and nothing else. 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 spur these new technologies, I propose giving our families a tax credit worth up to \$3,000 a car when new super-efficient vehicles hit the showroom floor. But let me be clear: We have the technology to make all new cars more fuel efficient right now. I want to thank the automakers who have joined our Partnership for New Generation Vehicles and I ask more of them to join with us to design 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 this worldwide challenge 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. It is simply no longer true that to prosper you have to pollute the air and endanger

the Earth. Nations that long for the level of prosperity we take for granted need not follow the old patterns of growth that brought us global warming.

THE OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Innovations in science and technology are key not only to enhancing the environment. Sustained investments in scientific research will also yield dramatic, almost miraculous, advances in the quality of our lives.

In the last century alone, the life expectancy for the average American has 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 far greater 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. Since so many diseases have a genetic component, the completion of this project will lead to a revolution in our ability to detect, treat, and prevent diseases from Alzheimer's to cancer to AIDS.

Consider the implications: if we delay the onset of Alzheimer's by just five years, we could empty half the nursing home beds in America. If we delay the onset of adult diabetes, we could save \$30 billion in health care costs.

Thanks to the Human Genome Project, scientists have recently identified three of the genes that cause Parkinson's Disease – and they are already working to create precision proteins

that will turn off these faulty genes for good. Not if but when they succeed, millions and men and women will be cured of this dread disease – even those whose symptoms have not even begun to emerge.

[insert acknowledgment and introduction of Michael J. Fox]

Advances in science and technology will surely produce quantum leaps in many other fields as well. In the future we will have new materials ten times as strong as steel but ten times lighter ... computers that can translate spoken English into foreign languages and vice versa as fast as you can speak ... devices the size of sugar cubes that can store all the information contained the Library of Congress.

These and other innovations could change the way we work and live as surely as the Internet does today. Fully one-third of our recent growth is due to the rise of the Internet and other information technologies. And the high-tech jobs this industry creates are high-wage jobs – paying nearly 80 percent more than the private-sector average.

For all these reasons, my budget will include a \$3 billion increase in the 21st Century Research Fund. We will increase support for biomedical research, information technology, clean energy, and university-based research. We will also help propel NASA's never-ending quest in space. NASA's missions to Mars and into the heavens beyond are just as important to humankind today as the brave sea voyages of the explorers hundreds of years ago. As President

Kennedy once said, "We choose to do these things not because they are easy but because they are hard."

It is up to all of us to ensure that this new age of science and technology is also a new age of enlightenment. The advances we seek must be guided by the values we hold dear.

First and foremost, we must ensure that our 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 life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in ways that we can only begin to imagine today.

COMMUNITY

At a time of unprecedented prosperity, we have a unique opportunity and responsibility to reach out beyond ourselves to help those who are less fortunate and to build stronger communities. The most important work of America occurs outside the realm of government – in our houses of worship, in our clubs and charities and volunteer groups. Service is not only the way we tackle some of our most pressing problems – from drug abuse and homelessness, to health care and crime -- it is one of the best ways to come face to face with our common humanity. Our differences suddenly become less important when you are working side by side with your neighbors to rebuild a church, battle a flood or feed the hungry.

So, our long look ahead must include ways to widen the circle of citizen service until it embraces every American. We are already in the midst of a new service movement in America. And one of the things I am most proud of is our efforts to support that movement through greater partnerships with private citizens. This is a new model for government that energizes private resources for noble public ends. Four years ago, I asked corporate leaders to join with us in a partnership to provide jobs to those leaving welfare. Today, 12,000 companies have hired nearly 650,000 former welfare recipients. Over the past seven years we have created many other successful partnerships. To fight drug abuse and AIDS. To teach our young people to read. To

Save America's Treasures. To fight teen pregnancy. To fight crime and promote community policing. To promote racial healing and build One America. To prevent youth violence. To create cleaner cars. To help our young people serve.

When I first ran for this office, I had faith that if we gave our young people the opportunity to serve their communities, they would answer the call. Together, we created AmeriCorps in 1994, and today, over 150,000 AmeriCorps members have served in countless ways, from teaching children to helping the homeless—often working with non-profit organizations.

Today, AmeriCorps graduates, like veterans of our military and the Peace Corps, are an enormous pool of know-how and can-do. We need to tap that resource. Tonight, I propose the creation of the Americorps Reserves to activate former AmeriCorps members in times of crisis including natural disasters.

The AmeriCorps oath concludes with the words: I will get things done. Let us do the same. Let us build on the success of AmeriCorps, fund it fully, and keep it strong for all time.

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

That will not only help them, it will be an incentive for more Americans to give to worthy causes.

There are more than twice as many seniors today as there were in 1960. And by 2030, the senior population will grow by over 75 percent. I hope to be one of them. This is 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 you. We need your work, your wisdom and your service. Get involved if you are not and stay involved if you are.

We must do more to bring more people into the circle of citizenship and service – from supporting the efforts of faith-based organizations to increasing our investment, as we are this year, in teaching English and civics to new immigrants.

Of course, the most fundamental responsibility of citizenship begins in the voting booth. More than half of our children live in households where neither parent votes. Too many simply think politics doesn't matter. But it does. So I say to all Americans: whatever your party, whatever your ideology, whatever you do, make your voice heard. Vote.

And this is the year of the census, so you have a unique opportunity to not only stand up and be counted, but to make your voice count.

One of the wonders of our time is the way technology is expanding the community of citizenship, creating new ways for individuals to get involved in 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. These interactive discussions will give more Americans the opportunity to share their views and be a part of our national community.

America is demographically undergoing one of the great transformations in our history. Within ten years there will be no majority race in our largest state, California. In a little more than 50 years there is likely to be no majority race in America. We know what America will look like then. The question before us tonight is: What kind of America will we be? 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 Bosnia to the Middle East, racial and ethnic conflict too often spark war and terror. 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 just the last year, we've seen the shootings and killings 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 not only tolerate diversity, we celebrate it. Diversity is our greatest strength – and we must protect it. We must without further delay, pass the Hate Crimes Prevention Act and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.

The work of building One America must be the work of every American. That means rededicating 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 housing, education, federal contracting or any other aspect of American life. That is why my budget increases funding substantially for civil rights enforcement at the EEOC and the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division—to make sure that 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 – from religious leaders to corporate leaders to lawyers to make sure every American can help build 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 genetically are 99.9 percent. Science affirms what faith has always taught us: the differences between us are nothing compared to 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 prosperity in reach of 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 Americans are living longer than ever, let's make sure they live healthier than ever. Let's provide quality, affordable healthcare for everyone in America.

At a time when science and technology are transforming our world, let us 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, let's also prove that, step by step, we can reverse climate change and make our planet a more livable place.

At a time of steadily falling crime, let's finish the job of making America the safest big nation on Earth.

At a time when more parents are working, let's ensure that all parents have the tools to do well at work and at the most important work of all – raising their children.

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

At a time when globalization brings both new promise and new perils, let us continue to be the world's indispensable nation.

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

We know we will not be able to do this in one year alone. Or even in the decade ahead. But we will reach these goals, the way we always have: working together, moving ahead, step by step, as One America.

When the framers were crafting our Constitution, Benjamin Franklin was often seen in Independence Hall looking at a painting of the sun low on the horizon. When, at long last, the Constitution finally was signed, Mr. Franklin, 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 to shine brightly on America, as each successive generation relights the fire of freedom. Even

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.

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS 

SUBJECT: REVISED SOTU DRAFT

Attached please find a revised draft of your 2000 State of the Union Address. This reflects your edits as well as substantial changes recommended by the working group we convened today: Mark Penn, Bob Shrum, Sid Blumenthal, Maria Echaveste, Bruce Reed and others. We have also restructured the speech, giving it a framework that pairs opportunity with responsibility.

We look forward to working with you to further refine this draft. Thank you.

**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: Tonight I have the honor of delivering the first State of the Union Address of a new century and a new millennium.

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 have our values – of freedom and democracy – been more ascendant around the world. Never have we had such a blessed opportunity – and, therefore, such a profound obligation – to build the more perfect union of our founders' dreams.

We end the 20th Century, and begin the 21st, at a high point in our history. There is no better moment to reflect on our hopes and dreams for our children. No better moment to make big plans for our nation. No better moment than today.

Today we are experiencing a remarkable American renaissance. Twenty 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 first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years; the lowest African-American and Hispanic unemployment rate ever; the highest home ownership ever. And next month, America will achieve the longest economic expansion in our nation's history.

My fellow Americans, I stand before you tonight to report that the state of our union is strong – the strongest it has ever been.

We are experiencing not only a renaissance of the American economy, but something even more important: a renewal of the American spirit. Across our land we see a revival of responsibility. . . a renewal of the bonds of community. Who would have thought that in just seven years we could cut the welfare rolls in half, and moved millions from welfare to work? Who would have thought that we could cut crime by one quarter, to its lowest level in more than 30 years? Who would have thought that we could reverse virtually every terrible social trend of the last few decades, from teen pregnancy going down, to adoptions going up? Our social fabric, once frayed, is on the mend.

Tonight it is clear: Our nation is prepared for the new century.

It is also clear that the American people – by the hard work they do every day – deserve the credit, and our thanks. My gratitude also goes to the many of you, here in this chamber, who

have worked with us to make the tough decisions, to put progress above partisanship for the sake of our people. I thank you.

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 stalemate, and discredited government. In 1992, at a time of rising crime, mounting deficits, and high unemployment, a best-selling book asked: "What went wrong?"

But in the best traditions of our nation, of the time of Lincoln and the two Roosevelts, America determined to set things right. We replaced outdated ideologies with bold, new ideas anchored in basic, enduring values: opportunity for all; but also responsibility from all. That's how you build a community of all.

That's how we turned decades of record deficits into back-to-back record surpluses – not by denigrating government but by reinventing it, and acting with fiscal discipline. That's how we have cut crime – not by debating between prevention and punishment but by doing both, and doing them better – passing the Brady Law that has kept guns out of the hands of half a million criminals, and funding 100,000 community police to make our neighborhoods safer. That's how we have protected our environment – not with old-style regulations but with new approaches and technologies.

That's how we ended welfare as we knew it – by ending dependency and empowering millions to go to work. That's how we have helped parents to succeed at work and at home – by offering new approaches, like Family and Medical Leave, which 20 million working Americans have used to care for sick loved ones. That's how we have opened the doors of college to all – with HOPE scholarship tax cuts, more Pell Grants, and more affordable college loans. That's how we have engaged 150,000 more young Americans in citizen service – building One America, one community at a time, through AmeriCorps. And that's how we have seized the opportunities of a global era – by expanding trade with more than 270 new agreements and extending our values around the world.

In 1992, we had a roadmap. In the year 2000, we have results. We have built our bridge to the 21st Century. Now, let us lift our sights and take what Theodore Roosevelt called "the long look ahead."

Let us look beyond this year, even beyond this decade, and ask ourselves: How will we make the most of this moment of promise? What are our biggest challenges, and how will we meet them?

Tonight, let us pledge:

At a time of unprecedented economic growth, let's bring prosperity into every community in America.

At a time when our people are living longer than ever, let's ensure that they are also living better – and healthier.

At a time when technology is transforming our world, let's realize its full promise and make sure our values guide our progress.

At a time of steadily falling crime, let's make America the safest big nation on Earth.

At a time when more families are working families, let's ensure that parents have the tools to succeed at work and at the most important work of all – raising children.

At a time when knowledge is the key to the new economy, let's make sure every child begins school ready to learn and graduates ready to succeed.

At a time when America is growing more diverse than ever, let's finally become what we've always known we can be: one nation, under God, indivisible.

These are big goals. We may not reach them this year. But I believe we will reach them. And we will get there the same way we got here: not in one single leap, but step by step – always building on our progress, moving forward, gaining ground.

Of course, you can't gain ground if you're standing still. And for too long, this Congress has been standing still on some of our most pressing national priorities. Let's get moving. This year, let's strengthen Social Security. Let's modernize Medicare with a voluntary prescription-drug benefit. Let's pass a real patients' bill of rights. Let's pass common-sense gun-safety legislation. Let's pass meaningful hate-crimes legislation. Let's raise the minimum wage.

But that will only be the beginning of our journey.

Tonight, I will propose the first steps into the bold new frontier of the 21st century. I will begin with a New Opportunity Agenda for this new era—an agenda rooted in responsibility, and designed to create a stronger and more inclusive community. At its core is a simple, powerful, fundamental principle: "Opportunity for all."

This new agenda updates an old American value for the Information Age. Two centuries ago, at our nation's founding, opportunity meant, most of all, the freedom to carve a farm and an existence out of the forest frontier. Fifty years ago, opportunity meant a high school education – or even the G.I. Bill – and a job for life. Today, opportunity means something different. It means having a computer and knowing how to use it. It means changing careers and a lifetime of learning. It means mastering the tools and technologies of the new economy, in which ideas and information are the keys to success.

Our first steps into the 21st Century must be the right steps. They must be guided, first and foremost, by our faith that all children can learn and all adults can succeed.

OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN EDUCATION

For seven years we have pursued a simple strategy on education: Invest more, and demand more in return. Offer opportunity, but demand responsibility. We have helped nearly every state set higher academic standards for their schools. We are closing in on our goal of connecting every classroom and library in America to the Internet. And for two years in a row, Congress has supported our effort to hire 100,000 new, qualified teachers, to lower class sizes in the early grades. This Congress must continue that support.

With these and other efforts, our students are learning more. Scores on college entrance exams are 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.

Schools like Beaufort [B'YOU-fert] Elementary in South Carolina. Five years ago, Beaufort was classified as one of the state's worst-performing schools. But under a new principal, Ruth Summerlin, Beaufort embraced accountability and higher academic standards, and started afterschool and summer school programs for students who were behind. Today, Beaufort's math and test scores exceed the state average, and local parents are pulling their children out of private schools and putting them in Beaufort. Ruth Summerlin is with us here tonight.

I have visited schools like Beaufort all across America -- schools that have turned themselves around with the same proven formula: greater accountability, higher standards, and the conviction that all students can learn. Unfortunately, there are too many low-performing schools in this country that are not applying these lessons -- schools where, year after year, children fail to get the knowledge and skills they need to make the most of their God-given talents.

Last year, from this podium, I proposed an Education Accountability Act, to fundamentally change the way the federal government invests in our schools -- to support what we know works, and stop supporting what doesn't. This year, I challenge Congress to not only pass that measure, but to make dramatic new investments in ideas we know are working.

We know that quality afterschool and summer school programs boost academic achievement. They also keep children off the street in the hours before parents get home from work, when juvenile crime soars. Tonight, I propose that we double our investment for afterschool and summer school. If we do this, we can give every child in every failing school in America the chance to meet high standards -- and to beat them.

We know that our children who learn early learn best. And since 1993, we've put over 150,000 more children in the successful Head Start pre-school program, and improved the quality of Head Start. Tonight, I propose the largest funding increase for Head Start in history. With this increase, plus greater investment in early learning, we can take the first step toward providing universal pre-school for every four-year-old in America.

We know that if we want our children to learn, we need good teachers and principals. Tonight, I propose new efforts to help states and school districts recruit the best and brightest

people to teaching, train principals as leaders and get rid of bad ones. And we must finish the job of hiring 100,000 qualified teachers to reduce class size.

We know that antiquated classrooms get in the way of learning, and that a third of all schools in America are in serious disrepair – with leaky roofs and antiquated electrical wiring. Tonight, I propose new investments to make immediate, urgent repairs to our schools. I renew my call for a tax credit to help build or modernize 6,000 schools nationwide – so we can take our children out of trailers and put them in modern classrooms. And let's make our high schools safer and better by investing in making them smaller. Let's make sure our kids go to schools where everybody knows their name.

We know that we must turnaround failing schools – or shut them down. Last fall, Congress passed my plan to give districts the resources to do so. This year, let's double that investment. Let's also increase our investment in charter schools, to give parents more choice. And let's give bonuses to states that succeed in making scores go up across the board.

We must also do more to help high school students prepare for, and succeed in, college. We must increase tutoring and mentoring efforts, bring advanced placement courses to schools in isolated rural areas via the Internet, and offer disadvantaged students the same test prep courses wealthier students use to boost their scores on college entrance exams. [TK: Schumer/ college tax ideas]

REWARDING WORK AND STRENGTHENING FAMILIES

It is often said that the foundation of American life is the family. I would add “the working family,” for it is through work that we support our families, and pass on our values to our children. That is why the basic goal of so much of what we have done -- from reforming welfare to raising the minimum wage -- has been to encourage and reward work; to give more opportunities for a better life to all families responsible enough to work for it.

Simply put: When you work hard and play by the rules, good things should follow. To your standard of living, to your savings, to your self-esteem.

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

Tonight I propose that we expand opportunity by substantially expanding the EITC. We should reduce the marriage penalty for the EITC, making sure that this tax credit rewards marriage, and family, just as it rewards work, and 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. That's enough for the average family to pay three months' mortgage or eight months of health care

coverage. And it's an added incentive to make their way into the middle class. They're working hard for it. We should help them to reach it.

For people who play by the rules, there's something else that should be within reach: their place of work. But two-thirds of new jobs are in the suburbs, far away from many low-income families. In the past two years, I have proposed and Congress has approved 110,000 new housing vouchers – to let more Americans live where opportunities abound. This year, let's more than double that number. If we want people to go to work, they have to be able to get to work.

Wherever they live, working parents need quality child care. Last year, we helped parents provide care for 1.25 million children. But child care should be better, safer, and more affordable. It's what our children deserve and what working parents need. My child care initiative would increase and improve care for 150,000 more children. And it's time we make the child care tax credit refundable to help families who need it most. Parents should be able to balance work and family – not have to choose between them.

Three years ago, we created a new way for hard-pressed working families to provide health care for their children: the Children's Health Insurance Program. In less than a year, enrollment CHIP has doubled, to 2 million children. But we must do more. As Vice President Gore has been saying, if states are looking to insure more children, they should go where the children are – in schools, churches, and child-care centers. And we should take the next step and enroll their parents, too. Nine million of them are eligible, but uninsured. And let's give a real, affordable option to the fastest growing group of uninsured: people between 55 and 65 who lose their coverage. We should allow them to buy into Medicare.

[Tipper Gore, Mental Health – TK]

And let's make sure that men and women get equal pay for equal work. Today, women earn 75 cents for every dollar men earn. That's just not good enough. My budget provides much needed resources to enforce equal pay laws, and to train women for high-paying, high-tech jobs. And we should pass the Paycheck Fairness Act. That will go a long way toward opportunity and dignity for working women.

This year, I am proposing a progressive savings initiative to help low- and moderate-income families work and save for retirement. [policy TK]

Franklin Roosevelt once said that “personal responsibility, guided by collective conscience, is the discipline of democracy.” We have no greater responsibility than to love and support the children we bring into this world. Yet nearly one child in three in America today 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. I know many single mothers do a magnificent job of raising their children. But their task is made infinitely harder when there is no father to contribute income and love; to share the burdens and joys of parenthood; to teach the boys to be men and the girls to expect respect from men. Four years ago, we made an historic reform of welfare that has helped millions of mothers move from dependency on a welfare check to the

dignity of a paycheck. Demanding and promoting responsible fatherhood is the critical next stage of welfare reform.

We have already begun, over the last seven years, 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, and the teenage birth rate is falling.

This is progress. But we must accelerate that progress, step by step, until the day that every father in America takes responsibility for his children. We can begin by toughening measures against fathers who owe child support, such as booting their cars. We can give fathers even more incentive to contribute by allowing more of their child support payments to go directly to their families.

And to absent parents who owe child support, we should say: we'll help you do right by your children, but you have to go to work, and pay them what you owe.

Helping absent parents and others join the culture of work is good not just for them and their families. At a time when businesses across America have labor shortages, it is also good for our economy. Four years ago, I asked corporate leaders to join with us in a partnership to provide jobs to those leaving the welfare rolls. Today, 12,000 companies have hired nearly 650,000 former welfare recipients. Yet these companies need still more new workers. And they say they are increasingly willing to hire from a growing pool of potential labor: the half-million ex-offenders who leave our prisons every year. Tonight, I propose a new initiative to train, counsel, and more carefully monitor ex-offenders so they can become responsible employees, family members, and citizens.

For our economy to continue to enjoy rapid growth without inflation, it is vital that our corporations find not just new workers to hire, but new opportunities to invest, and new markets in which to sell. I believe these new markets exist right here in America—in the inner cities, poor rural areas, and Indian reservations -- places that have not yet been 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 opportunities in America's new markets.

Now, more than ever, we have the means to expand the circle of opportunity wide enough to include the men and women at its margins, so that no one who's willing to work is left behind as our nation moves ahead. For business, it's the smart thing to do. And for America, it's the right thing to do. If we don't do it now, when will we ever get around to it?

I believe businesses should have the same incentives to invest in America's new markets as they have to invest in new markets abroad. In this year's budget, I call on Congress to double our New Markets Tax Credit, to spur \$12 billion in new equity capital for our untapped markets. We should also greatly increase funding to help large-scale businesses expand or relocate to our

inner cities or rural areas. And we should increase the tax incentives that promote growth in our Empowerment Zones.

Speaker Hastert, 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 my administration on common ground for New Markets legislation. So let's work together to finish the job.

Last July, I became the first President to visit an Indian reservation since Franklin Roosevelt. That's far too long. In this new century, let's honor our historic responsibility to Native Americans – the first Americans. My budget increases by more than \$1 billion our investment in health care, education, law enforcement, and infrastructure. Indian Country is a new market America should not – and must not – ignore.

We must also fulfill our obligation to our farming communities, the lifeblood of our land. When I signed the farm bill in 1996, I was concerned it would work well in good times but not as well in bad times. In recent years, our family farms have endured droughts and floods and financial crises abroad. Our New Markets Initiative will help them diversify their economic base. But let's also do more than mend the farm safety net – let's strengthen it.

This spring, I will lead a New Markets tour to focus on another challenge: the growing "digital divide" between those who have access to the new economy and those who don't. But the very technology that drives our expansion also creates tools to ensure that everyone, from the city to the farm to the reservation, can join in building our nation. My budget creates 1,000 new technology centers to connect poor communities to the economic mainstream. It also helps mobilize the combined force of public, private, and nonprofit sectors to increase Internet access in low-income areas. Because you can't get in the game until you have the tools to play.

GLOBAL CHANGE AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

As we move to master the possibilities of the new economy at home, we must also lead in shaping a global economy that extends our prosperity – and expresses our values.

Our 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 make sure it grows 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 dignity of work and quality of life. And it means remembering that a global economy based on rules is far preferable than one with no rules at all.

That is why China should join the WTO and live under the same trade rules we do. And when it does, America's companies and workers should gain new opportunities in every sector of China's vast market. I ask Congress to lock in this opportunity by passing Permanent Normal Trade Relations status for China. This is a good deal for America. It will level the playing field in U.S.-China trade, and it is a chance to help China along the road to change.

When we engage in the global economy, we are investing in our shared future. Growth from trade is not just vital for us, but for the 1.3 billion people around the world who still live on less than a dollar a day. To help pass opportunity on to them, we should do our part – our full part – to reduce the debts that cripple the world's poorest nations. I ask Congress to support that effort, and to finalize our initiatives to unlock new trade with Africa and the Caribbean Basin. If we stay engaged, we will be helping Americans master the new economy . . . and helping others around the world become masters of their own future.

At a moment when American power is unrivaled and the world is coming together around ideals we have lived by and died for, we have a responsibility to lead. Never forget the Americans who struggled to give us this chance. Never forget that hundreds of millions of people live in peace today because of the Americans who rest in peace in graves marked and unmarked across the world. We have come too far, sacrificed too much, to stop the world and get off now; we must continue to shape the world. So let us look beyond our borders to the big questions that will shape the 21st century world, and look within for the strength to find the answers.

A central question is whether our security will be threatened by regional conflicts, especially those rooted in ethnic and religious tensions, that pose the risk of wider war. With all its amazing advances, our modern world is still bedeviled by our oldest failing – fear of those who are different from us. In too many places, that fear is exploited by unscrupulous leaders trying to cling to power or make brutal war on their neighbors.

America cannot prevent every conflict or stop every outrage. But when our interests and our values are at stake and we can make a difference, we must be peacemakers. For history teaches that all big wars start small, and when human beings anywhere are singled out for destruction because of who they are, it is our common humanity that suffers.

We should be proud that we have helped bring the Middle East closer than ever to comprehensive peace. [Update on Israel-Syria; essential that America does its share].

We should be proud of the role America played in bring peace to Northern Ireland... in helping to end the bloodletting in East Timor...in supporting efforts to end Africa's cruel wars.

And we should be proud of the men and women of our armed forces who made it possible for a million innocent people to return home to Kosovo last year. Now, 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.

With us today are two Americans who've shown how both power and persuasion can serve the cause of peace. When Slobodan Milosevic unleashed ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, Captain John Cherrey was one of the brave airmen who turned the tide – and when an American plane went down, he flew into the teeth of Serbian air defenses to bring its pilot home. When the peace process in Northern Ireland was in trouble, the man who did so much to start it went back one more time to save it, and now, with George Mitchell's help, the people there have a working

government with all parties represented. Captain Cherrey, Senator Mitchell, we honor you with our gratitude, and with our determination to finish the work you helped begin.

A second question is whether our former adversaries, Russia and China, emerge in the coming century as stable, prosperous, democratic partners of the United States.

Today, we face a Russia weakened by the legacy of communism, by economic crisis, by a cruel and futile war in Chechnya. But never forget how much else has changed: 5,000 former Soviet nuclear weapons dismantled; Russian troops serving with us in the Balkans; a constitutional transfer of power from one leader to another for the first time in a 1000 years of Russian history. Russia's long journey to democracy is profoundly important. A generation from now, let it be said we did our part to help.

As for China, we must promote our interest with firmness, but not fear. China cannot buy its stability and stature at the expense of freedom. But let us not isolate China from the global forces empowering its people to seek a better life. We want to see China on the inside, playing by the rules, not on the outside denying them.

A third question for the new century is whether terrorists and hostile nations will acquire the means to undermine our defenses, and make us live in fear again.

Thanks in part to the biggest counter-terrorism operation in our history, the millennial celebrations passed without a violent attack. But this age-old threat, magnified by modern tools of destruction, remains real.

To prevent terrorists and potential adversaries from acquiring deadly weapons, we must work with Russia to keep nuclear weapons secure and continue to reduce our arsenals. We must restrain nuclear and missile programs in North Korea and Iran's, and continuing to prevent Iraq from threatening its neighbors. And we must strength global standards against proliferation. That is why I am committed to working with the Senate on a bipartisan basis to rebuild a consensus for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

We are also developing a system to defend America against missile attack from outlaw nations, while working to preserve the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with Russia. And my balanced budget devotes \$2 billion to defend America's cyberspace against hackers, criminals and potential adversaries.

A fourth question is whether the stability of the 21st century would will be threatened by a growing gap between rich and poor. We just cannot accept a future in which part of humanity lives on the cutting edge of a new economy, while another lives on the edge of survival.

A large part of the answer is freedom. With the hopeful transitions to democracy in Nigeria and Indonesia, more people won the right to choose their leaders in 1999 than in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell. Yet even countries making all the right choices must sometimes struggle to deliver for their people.

We must stand by democracies like Columbia fighting for their lives – and for our lives – against narcotics traffickers. I have proposed a two-year, \$1.6 billion package to help Colombia and I count on your support.

We must stand by impoverished nations held back by debt and disease. My budget calls for a new \$150 million investment in the global fight against AIDS and other infectious killers. And I will call on our partners in the G-7 and around the world to join us in a Millennium initiative to speed the delivery and development of vaccines to countries that might otherwise never be able to afford them. Today, I am proposing a tax credit that will say to private industry – if you develop vaccines for diseases like malaria, AIDS and TB, we will help pay for them, and we will lift millions of lives together.

The final questions are the most important of all: Will America continue to lead? How do we see ourselves and our role for the next century?

In the 20th century, America was thrust into global leadership by circumstance. Now we have to choose whether to shape the world. But it's really no choice at all, not if we want our children to know peace and prosperity and the promise of a better day. We could choose to see our role as a burden. I choose to see it as a blessing, a privilege, a responsibility.

That's why we have reversed the decline in defense spending that began in 1985. We must continue to work together to keep 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.

We must also continue to fund the 1 percent of our budget that supports our international engagement and keeps our soldiers out of war. Last year, you worked with me to do that and to resume paying our UN dues and arrears. Let's do it again this year. And let's remember that building the right kind of global community is vital for a strong, secure American community . . .

RESPONSIBILITY AND CRIME

Here is another heartening statistic. The overall crime rate in America has dropped every year for the past seven years -- the longest continuous decline in crime ever recorded. It happened because we took more responsibility for helping America fight crime, from passing the Brady bill to funding 100,000 new community police officers. Last fall, Congress agreed to support my plan to hire up to 50,000 more police officers, with special help for high-crime neighborhoods. Congress must continue that support this year.

But while we are grateful that America is much safer, no one believes America is safe enough. We have the opportunity and responsibility to make America the safest big country in the world.

We must begin by doing more to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and juveniles. Last year, Congress listened to the gun lobby, rather than the American people, and gave up a chance to require Brady background checks at gun shows and child safety locks for all new

handguns. Passing this common-sense gun safety legislation should be the very next action of this Congress.

But we can and must do more. States require hunters and automobile drivers to have licenses. To reduce firearms accidents and keep guns out of the wrong hands, tonight I propose that states have licenses for gun purchasers as well.

To those who say that instead of strengthening gun laws, we should better enforce gun laws now on the books. I say, we already are. Federal gun crime prosecutions are higher today than in 1992, and are up 25 percent since 1998. But again, we should do more. We must 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 supply law enforcement with the tools to trace the origin of 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 anywhere in America to the gun of the criminal who fired it.

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. It's time to help the gun industry accelerate development of these smart guns. It's time for the gun industry to take responsibility too, and reform the way it does business -- and help bring down gun violence in America.

Another vital measure we can take to reduce the crime rate is to provide more supervision, and demand more responsibility, from the hundreds of thousands of offenders who leave our prisons every year. We know that those on parole or probation who use drugs are [tk]-times more likely than others to commit another crime, but half as likely to do so if they get drug treatment. We must provide them that drug treatment, along with drug testing and a simple bargain: stay clean and you stay free; do drugs and you do more time.

The tragic school shootings in Littleton and elsewhere have been a terrible reminder of how vulnerable our children are to violence—and how much more we must do, at all levels of society, to protect them. Last year, I launched a national grassroots campaign to bring experts and local communities together to identify the most effective responses to youth violence. We also began funding efforts by local communities to develop comprehensive solutions to school violence, and this year we must increase our support of this vital endeavor.

Every parent I know worries about the amount of violence in the media. I believe the entertainment industry should respond to parents concerns. I give the industry credit for accepting my challenge to put voluntary ratings not just on movies but on TV programming and video and Internet games. This year, we must go farther. Let's give parents what they most need: one rating system for all their children's entertainment—a system that is easy to understand and enforce. Tonight, I want to honor the person who has championed this idea, and been a champion of children and families as long as I have known her, your First Lady and my wife: Hillary Rodham Clinton.

At its best, popular culture can uplift and educate us even as it entertains us. Joining us tonight is someone whose half-century of work has appealed to the very best in our children – indeed, in all of us. We already miss reading “Peanuts” each day, but Charlie Brown, Lucy, and Snoopy will never be far from our hearts. We thank you, Charles Schulz, for your creations, and for being here with us.

RESPONSIBILITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT

We have an abiding responsibility to be wise stewards of our air, water, and land. And because of new technologies, we also have the opportunity to do so in ways that enhance economic growth.

I am grateful for the many opportunities Vice President Gore and I have had to honor this commitment to future generations – and to finally put to rest the long-outdated notion that a strong economy and a healthy environment are incompatible goals. For as our economy has grown ever stronger, our environment has grown ever healthier. We have rid countless neighborhoods of toxic waste; ensured cleaner drinking water for millions of families; taken unprecedented action to improve the air we breathe.

Two weeks ago, I visited the north rim of the Grand Canyon and created three new National Monuments – adding to the tens of millions of acres of forests and deserts and wilderness we are preserving for all Americans, for all time. 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 have protected 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 population and our cities 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 wildlands, protect coastlines, restore wildlife, and preserve small but sacred green spaces. This endowment would provide nearly \$1.5 billion each year – by far the largest, most enduring investment in land preservation ever proposed.

As we rise to protect our land, we must also help other nations that are struggling to protect theirs. The rainforests are the lungs of our planet – and yet they are disappearing at the rate of more than 50 acres a minute. Tonight, I propose a new plan to help developing countries from the Amazon to the Congo Basin strengthen their economies by preserving, rather than destroying, their 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 heed the writing on the wall, our seas will rise and natural disasters will become more frequent with each passing year. America must act. America must lead.

Tonight, I announce three new efforts to do just that. First, I propose a [\$100 million] initiative to help developing countries adopt clean-energy technologies and avoid the costly trade-offs that we made in the past. With these new technologies, they can expand their economies, improve the lives of their people, and protect the environment at the same time. Second, to strengthen efforts at home, I propose closing the loophole that allows old power plants to foul the air our children breathe and to continue spewing more greenhouse gases than any other source. Third, I call on the auto industry to help move the next generation of vehicles – cars that get 70 or more miles to the gallon – from the laboratory to the showroom floor.

We must put 21st century technology to work in building a 21st century economy in harmony with the environment. We must make sure this country of ours lasts through the ages.

THE OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

As we enter this new era, it is already clear: technology is making it a millennium of miracles. They promise dramatic improvements in health, in our economy and in our quality of life.

Biotechnology -- and our growing understanding of human genetics and physiology -- promises new treatments for disabilities and real cures for dread diseases. We are now on the brink of sequencing the human genome -- the very code of life -- which could bring cures for cancer, Alzheimer's, and AIDS. The new science of nanotechnology that allows us to manipulate molecules -- even atoms -- could help us detect tumors as small as a single cell, or develop molecular computers that can store on a cube of sugar the entire contents of the Library of Congress.

With longer, healthier, better lives, we are redefining what it means to be old. Consider this: if we delay the onset of Alzheimer's by just five years, right now we could empty half the nursing home beds in America. If we could delay the onset of adult diabetes, we could save \$30 billion in health care costs.

In the future we will have new materials as strong as steel but ten times lighter. Ultra-clean fuel cells for cars whose only byproduct is water clean enough to drink. And computers that can translate spoken English into foreign languages and vice versa as fast as you can speak.

These and other technologies could change the way we work and live as surely as the Internet does today. Fully one-third of our recent growth is due to information technology. And the high-tech jobs it is creating are high-wage jobs -- paying nearly 80 percent more than the typical private-sector job.

For all these reasons, my budget will include a \$3 billion increase in the Twenty-First Century Research Fund. These investments will increase support for biomedical research, nanotechnology, information technology, clean energy and university-based research. This is more than an investment in research and development -- it is an investment in America's future. And we cannot move forward without it.

But it is up to all of us to ensure that this new age of science and technology is also a new age of enlightenment. The advances we seek must be guided by the values we hold dear.

First and foremost, we must ensure that our 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.

Nearly forty years ago, as America began its exploration of space, President Kennedy said, "We set sail on this new sea because there is knowledge to be gained ... for the progress of all people. Whether it will become a force for good or ill depends on man." If we take the right steps together, we can be confident that our progress will be a force for good.

COMMUNITY

In 18TK, the great foreign chronicler of America Alexis de Toqueville observed that in America, helping others is not just charity or compassion, it is a sign of good citizenship. De Toqueville was among the first to notice something that is still true of America today: much of what is noblest in our public life occurs outside of government--in the churches, charities, and volunteer groups, to which average citizens contribute money, and their time. We have long relied on this community of active citizenship to meet some of our toughest social challenges. In the 21st Century, we must strengthen and expand this community as never before.

To tap the full potential of philanthropic institutions, we must broaden the base of those who give. Tonight, I propose new tax incentives to do just that. Lower and middle income Americans who give deserve what wealthier Americans can get: a tax deduction for contributions to charity.

We can also do more to bring communities of faith into the circle of service. Faith-based organizations work tirelessly everyday to help Americans fight drug and alcohol abuse and to provide opportunities for young people to get back on the right track or to stay out of trouble in the first place. We can respect the line between church and state and still do more to support the good works of these groups.

We can do even more to elevate the cause of citizen service. When I first ran for this office, I had faith that if we gave our young people the opportunity to serve their communities, they would answer the call. Together, we created AmeriCorps in 1994, and today, over 150,000 AmeriCorps members have served in countless ways, from teaching children to helping the homeless—often working with non-profit organizations.

Today, AmeriCorps graduates, like veterans of our military and the Peace Corps, are an enormous pool of know-how and can-do. We need to tap that resource. Tonight, I propose the creation of the Americorps Reserves to activate former AmeriCorps members in times of crisis including natural disasters.

The AmeriCorps oath concludes with the words: I will get things done. Let us do the same. Let us build on the success of AmeriCorps, fund it fully, and keep it strong for all time.

Of course, the most fundamental responsibility of citizenship begins in the voting booth. More than half of our children live in households where neither parent votes. Too many simply think politics doesn't matter. But it does. So I say to all Americans: whatever your party, whatever your ideology, whatever you do, make your voice heard. Vote.

And this is the year of the census, so you have a unique opportunity to not only stand up and be counted, but to make your voice count.

One of the wonders of our time is the way technology is expanding the community of citizenship, creating new ways for individuals to get involved in the democratic process. A few months ago, I held the first Presidential on-line town meeting. Starting next month, I will launch a series of what I call "Webside Chats"—on-line discussions focused on issues and ideas. We can give more Americans the opportunity to share their views and be a part of our national community.

From the beginning, that community has been enriched by new immigrants. Like those before them, today's new immigrants are renewing the spirit of America. And like those before them, they know they must learn English to reach their full potential.

Demand for English language classes is so high that some states have even resorted to a lottery system to pick students. We must be clear: learning English should be an opportunity available to all -- not a raffle. My budget boosts support for English as a second language and links classes with civics education. So as new immigrants learn English, they can also become fluent in the rights and responsibilities of American life.

We are more diverse than ever before. The face of America is changing. We all know that. The question ahead is not: how will we look? But, what will we be? What will we choose as a community to do with our diversity?

This fall, as a part of our ongoing millennium celebrations, the First Lady and I hosted a discussion with Eric Lander, one of America's leading geneticists, who is with us here tonight. Dr. Lander explained that all human beings genetically are 99.9 percent the same. Science seems

to affirm what faith has always taught us: that the differences between us are nothing compared to the common humanity that unites us all.

We are more united than ever, but we have work to do. We cannot ignore the hatred that spawned such recent incidents as the murder of young Matthew Shepard or the dragging death of James Byrd in Texas. Rather than give into hate, the Byrd family transformed their hate to a new foundation for racial reconciliation. We're honored to have [TK Byrd] with us tonight.

Let me say again, discrimination and violence against anyone because of race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, ancestry or disability is wrong. We must also make it illegal. I ask the Congress once more to pass, without further delay, the Hate Crimes Prevention Act and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.

And finally, to make the most of our economic and social progress we have made together, we must continue our journey to building One America in the 21st century. That means rededicating 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 housing, education, federal contracting or any other aspect of American life. My budget increases funding substantially for civil rights enforcement at the EEOC and the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division—to make sure that 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 – from lawyers to religious leaders to corporate leaders to make sure every American can help build the One America of our dreams.

We know there is only one way to achieve that kind of nation—not through machines or money or might. Above all, it must flow from the human spirit. Let us take on the unfinished work of our time. Let us do our part to lift the burden of race and make the promise of America the practice of America.

My fellow Americans, this is the seventh time I have had the privilege of this high moment. Each time I have approached 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 of a new millennium. Behind us we see the great expanse of American achievement, and before us, vast frontiers of possibility yet to be explored.

The children of the future will see: generations of Americans earned this moment – earned this opportunity – and we have an obligation to make the most of it. Not even the most far-sighted of our forebears could have predicted that American ingenuity and spirit would lead the world to these unprecedented heights of prosperity and peace. And we can only imagine the heights to which we will climb in this new century.

And so, tonight, whether you are settling in the comfort of today's growing affluence or climbing out of the shadows of yesterday's despair, look up and see that the sun is rising on a new century of hope and possibility in America. Look up and take your place in the procession

of Americans, great and small, whose gifts to the past have brought us to this moment of great promise. Now it is your time. You are our gifts to the future. Together, we can make the next 100 years, America's greatest century.

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

VP

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS



SUBJECT: REVISED SOTU DRAFT

Attached please find a revised draft of your 2000 State of the Union Address. This reflects your edits as well as substantial changes recommended by the working group we convened today: Mark Penn, Bob Shrum, Sid Blumenthal, Maria Echaveste, Bruce Reed and others. We have also restructured the speech, giving it a framework that pairs opportunity with responsibility.

We look forward to working with you to further refine this draft. Thank you.

**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: Tonight I have the honor of delivering the first State of the Union Address of a new century and a new millennium.

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 have our values – of freedom and democracy – been more ascendant around the world. Never have we had such a blessed opportunity – and, therefore, such a profound obligation – to build the more perfect union of our founders' dreams.

We end the 20th Century, and begin the 21st, at a high point in our history. There is no better moment to reflect on our hopes and dreams for our children. No better moment to make big plans for our nation. No better moment than today.

Today we are experiencing a remarkable American renaissance. Twenty 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 first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years; the lowest African-American and Hispanic unemployment rate ever; the highest home ownership ever. And next month, America will achieve the longest economic expansion in our nation's history.

My fellow Americans, I stand before you tonight to report that the state of our union is strong – the strongest it has ever been.

We are experiencing not only a renaissance of the American economy, but something even more important: a renewal of the American spirit. Across our land we see a revival of responsibility. . . a renewal of the bonds of community. Who would have thought that in just seven years we could cut the welfare rolls in half, and moved millions from welfare to work? Who would have thought that we could cut crime by one quarter, to its lowest level in more than 30 years? Who would have thought that we could reverse virtually every terrible social trend of the last few decades, from teen pregnancy going down, to adoptions going up? Our social fabric, once frayed, is on the mend.

Tonight it is clear: Our nation is prepared for the new century.

It is also clear that the American people – by the hard work they do every day – deserve the credit, and our thanks. My gratitude also goes to the many of you, here in this chamber, who

have worked with us to make the tough decisions, to put progress above partisanship for the sake of our people. I thank you.

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 stalemate, and discredited government. In 1992, at a time of rising crime, mounting deficits, and high unemployment, a best-selling book asked: "What went wrong?"

But in the best traditions of our nation, of the time of Lincoln and the two Roosevelts, America determined to set things right. We replaced outdated ideologies with bold, new ideas anchored in basic, enduring values: opportunity for all; but also responsibility from all. That's how you build a community of all.

That's how we turned decades of record deficits into back-to-back record surpluses – not by denigrating government but by reinventing it, and acting with fiscal discipline. That's how we have cut crime – not by debating between prevention and punishment but by doing both, and doing them better – passing the Brady Law that has kept guns out of the hands of half a million criminals, and funding 100,000 community police to make our neighborhoods safer. That's how we have protected our environment – not with old-style regulations but with new approaches and technologies.

That's how we ended welfare as we knew it – by ending dependency and empowering millions to go to work. That's how we have helped parents to succeed at work and at home – by offering new approaches, like Family and Medical Leave, which 20 million working Americans have used to care for sick loved ones. That's how we have opened the doors of college to all – with HOPE scholarship tax cuts, more Pell Grants, and more affordable college loans. That's how we have engaged 150,000 more young Americans in citizen service – building One America, one community at a time, through AmeriCorps. And that's how we have seized the opportunities of a global era – by expanding trade with more than 270 new agreements and extending our values around the world.

In 1992, we had a roadmap. In the year 2000, we have results. We have built our bridge to the 21st Century. Now, let us lift our sights and take what Theodore Roosevelt called "the long look ahead."

Let us look beyond this year, even beyond this decade, and ask ourselves: How will we make the most of this moment of promise? What are our biggest challenges, and how will we meet them?

Tonight, let us pledge:

At a time of unprecedented economic growth, let's bring prosperity into every community in America.

At a time when our people are living longer than ever, let's ensure that they are also living better – and healthier.

At a time when technology is transforming our world, let's realize its full promise and make sure our values guide our progress.

At a time of steadily falling crime, let's make America the safest big nation on Earth.

At a time when more families are working families, let's ensure that parents have the tools to succeed at work and at the most important work of all – raising children.

At a time when knowledge is the key to the new economy, let's make sure every child begins school ready to learn and graduates ready to succeed.

At a time when America is growing more diverse than ever, let's finally become what we've always known we can be: one nation, under God, indivisible.

These are big goals. We may not reach them this year. But I believe we will reach them. And we will get there the same way we got here: not in one single leap, but step by step – always building on our progress, moving forward, gaining ground.

Of course, you can't gain ground if you're standing still. And for too long, this Congress has been standing still on some of our most pressing national priorities. Let's get moving. This year, let's strengthen Social Security. Let's modernize Medicare with a voluntary prescription-drug benefit. Let's pass a real patients' bill of rights. Let's pass common-sense gun-safety legislation. Let's pass meaningful hate-crimes legislation. Let's raise the minimum wage.

But that will only be the beginning of our journey.

Tonight, I will propose the first steps into the bold new frontier of the 21st century. I will begin with a New Opportunity Agenda for this new era—an agenda rooted in responsibility, and designed to create a stronger and more inclusive community. At its core is a simple, powerful, fundamental principle: "Opportunity for all."

This new agenda updates an old American value for the Information Age. Two centuries ago, at our nation's founding, opportunity meant, most of all, the freedom to carve a farm and an existence out of the forest frontier. Fifty years ago, opportunity meant a high school education – or even the G.I. Bill – and a job for life. Today, opportunity means something different. It means having a computer and knowing how to use it. It means changing careers and a lifetime of learning. It means mastering the tools and technologies of the new economy, in which ideas and information are the keys to success.

Our first steps into the 21st Century must be the right steps. They must be guided, first and foremost, by our faith that all children can learn and all adults can succeed.

OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN EDUCATION

For seven years we have pursued a simple strategy on education: Invest more, and demand more in return. Offer opportunity, but demand responsibility. We have helped nearly every state set higher academic standards for their schools. We are closing in on our goal of connecting every classroom and library in America to the Internet. And for two years in a row, Congress has supported our effort to hire 100,000 new, qualified teachers, to lower class sizes in the early grades. This Congress must continue that support.

With these and other efforts, our students are learning more. Scores on college entrance exams are 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.

Schools like Beaufort [B'YOU-fert] Elementary in South Carolina. Five years ago, Beaufort was classified as one of the state's worst-performing schools. But under a new principal, Ruth Summerlin, Beaufort embraced accountability and higher academic standards, and started afterschool and summer school programs for students who were behind. Today, Beaufort's math and test scores exceed the state average, and local parents are pulling their children out of private schools and putting them in Beaufort. Ruth Summerlin is with us here tonight.

I have visited schools like Beaufort all across America -- schools that have turned themselves around with the same proven formula: greater accountability, higher standards, and the conviction that all students can learn. Unfortunately, there are too many low-performing schools in this country that are not applying these lessons -- schools where, year after year, children fail to get the knowledge and skills they need to make the most of their God-given talents.

Last year, from this podium, I proposed an Education Accountability Act, to fundamentally change the way the federal government invests in our schools -- to support what we know works, and stop supporting what doesn't. This year, I challenge Congress to not only pass that measure, but to make dramatic new investments in ideas we know are working.

We know that quality afterschool and summer school programs boost academic achievement. They also keep children off the street in the hours before parents get home from work, when juvenile crime soars. Tonight, I propose that we double our investment for afterschool and summer school. If we do this, we can give every child in every failing school in America the chance to meet high standards -- and to beat them.

We know that our children who learn early learn best. And since 1993, we've put over 150,000 more children in the successful Head Start pre-school program, and improved the quality of Head Start. Tonight, I propose the largest funding increase for Head Start in history. With this increase, plus greater investment in early learning, we can take the first step toward providing universal pre-school for every four-year-old in America.

We know that if we want our children to learn, we need good teachers and principals. Tonight, I propose new efforts to help states and school districts recruit the best and brightest

people to teaching, train principals as leaders and get rid of bad ones. And we must finish the job of hiring 100,000 qualified teachers to reduce class size.

We know that antiquated classrooms get in the way of learning, and that a third of all schools in America are in serious disrepair – with leaky roofs and antiquated electrical wiring. Tonight, I propose new investments to make immediate, urgent repairs to our schools. I renew my call for a tax credit to help build or modernize 6,000 schools nationwide – so we can take our children out of trailers and put them in modern classrooms. And let's make our high schools safer and better by investing in making them smaller. Let's make sure our kids go to schools where everybody knows their name.

We know that we must turnaround failing schools – or shut them down. Last fall, Congress passed my plan to give districts the resources to do so. This year, let's double that investment. Let's also increase our investment in charter schools, to give parents more choice. And let's give bonuses to states that succeed in making scores go up across the board.

We must also do more to help high school students prepare for, and succeed in, college. We must increase tutoring and mentoring efforts, bring advanced placement courses to schools in isolated rural areas via the Internet, and offer disadvantaged students the same test prep courses wealthier students use to boost their scores on college entrance exams. [TK: Schumer/ college tax ideas]

REWARDING WORK AND STRENGTHENING FAMILIES

It is often said that the foundation of American life is the family. I would add “the working family,” for it is through work that we support our families, and pass on our values to our children. That is why the basic goal of so much of what we have done -- from reforming welfare to raising the minimum wage -- has been to encourage and reward work; to give more opportunities for a better life to all families responsible enough to work for it.

Simply put: When you work hard and play by the rules, good things should follow. To your standard of living, to your savings, to your self-esteem.

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

Tonight I propose that we expand opportunity by substantially expanding the EITC. We should reduce the marriage penalty for the EITC, making sure that this tax credit rewards marriage, and family, just as it rewards work, and 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. That's enough for the average family to pay three months' mortgage or eight months of health care

coverage. And it's an added incentive to make their way into the middle class. They're working hard for it. We should help them to reach it.

For people who play by the rules, there's something else that should be within reach: their place of work. But two-thirds of new jobs are in the suburbs, far away from many low-income families. In the past two years, I have proposed and Congress has approved 110,000 new housing vouchers – to let more Americans live where opportunities abound. This year, let's more than double that number. If we want people to go to work, they have to be able to get to work.

Wherever they live, working parents need quality child care. Last year, we helped parents provide care for 1.25 million children. But child care should be better, safer, and more affordable. It's what our children deserve and what working parents need. My child care initiative would increase and improve care for 150,000 more children. And it's time we make the child care tax credit refundable to help families who need it most. Parents should be able to balance work and family – not have to choose between them.

Three years ago, we created a new way for hard-pressed working families to provide health care for their children: the Children's Health Insurance Program. In less than a year, enrollment CHIP has doubled, to 2 million children. But we must do more. As Vice President Gore has been saying, if states are looking to insure more children, they should go where the children are – in schools, churches, and child-care centers. And we should take the next step and enroll their parents, too. Nine million of them are eligible, but uninsured. And let's give a real, affordable option to the fastest growing group of uninsured: people between 55 and 65 who lose their coverage. We should allow them to buy into Medicare.

[Tipper Gore, Mental Health – TK]

And let's make sure that men and women get equal pay for equal work. Today, women earn 75 cents for every dollar men earn. That's just not good enough. My budget provides much needed resources to enforce equal pay laws, and to train women for high-paying, high-tech jobs. And we should pass the Paycheck Fairness Act. That will go a long way toward opportunity and dignity for working women.

This year, I am proposing a progressive savings initiative to help low- and moderate-income families work and save for retirement. [policy TK]

Franklin Roosevelt once said that “personal responsibility, guided by collective conscience, is the discipline of democracy.” We have no greater responsibility than to love and support the children we bring into this world. Yet nearly one child in three in America today 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. I know many single mothers do a magnificent job of raising their children. But their task is made infinitely harder when there is no father to contribute income and love; to share the burdens and joys of parenthood; to teach the boys to be men and the girls to expect respect from men. Four years ago, we made an historic reform of welfare that has helped millions of mothers move from dependency on a welfare check to the

dignity of a paycheck. Demanding and promoting responsible fatherhood is the critical next stage of welfare reform.

We have already begun, over the last seven years, 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, and the teenage birth rate is falling.

This is progress. But we must accelerate that progress, step by step, until the day that every father in America takes responsibility for his children. We can begin by toughening measures against fathers who owe child support, such as booting their cars. We can give fathers even more incentive to contribute by allowing more of their child support payments to go directly to their families.

And to absent parents who owe child support, we should say: we'll help you do right by your children, but you have to go to work, and pay them what you owe.

Helping absent parents and others join the culture of work is good not just for them and their families. At a time when businesses across America have labor shortages, it is also good for our economy. Four years ago, I asked corporate leaders to join with us in a partnership to provide jobs to those leaving the welfare rolls. Today, 12,000 companies have hired nearly 650,000 former welfare recipients. Yet these companies need still more new workers. And they say they are increasingly willing to hire from a growing pool of potential labor: the half-million ex-offenders who leave our prisons every year. Tonight, I propose a new initiative to train, counsel, and more carefully monitor ex-offenders so they can become responsible employees, family members, and citizens.

For our economy to continue to enjoy rapid growth without inflation, it is vital that our corporations find not just new workers to hire, but new opportunities to invest, and new markets in which to sell. I believe these new markets exist right here in America—in the inner cities, poor rural areas, and Indian reservations -- places that have not yet been 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 opportunities in America's new markets.

Now, more than ever, we have the means to expand the circle of opportunity wide enough to include the men and women at its margins, so that no one who's willing to work is left behind as our nation moves ahead. For business, it's the smart thing to do. And for America, it's the right thing to do. If we don't do it now, when will we ever get around to it?

I believe businesses should have the same incentives to invest in America's new markets as they have to invest in new markets abroad. In this year's budget, I call on Congress to double our New Markets Tax Credit, to spur \$12 billion in new equity capital for our untapped markets. We should also greatly increase funding to help large-scale businesses expand or relocate to our

inner cities or rural areas. And we should increase the tax incentives that promote growth in our Empowerment Zones.

Speaker Hastert, 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 my administration on common ground for New Markets legislation. So let's work together to finish the job.

Last July, I became the first President to visit an Indian reservation since Franklin Roosevelt. That's far too long. In this new century, let's honor our historic responsibility to Native Americans – the first Americans. My budget increases by more than \$1 billion our investment in health care, education, law enforcement, and infrastructure. Indian Country is a new market America should not – and must not – ignore.

We must also fulfill our obligation to our farming communities, the lifeblood of our land. When I signed the farm bill in 1996, I was concerned it would work well in good times but not as well in bad times. In recent years, our family farms have endured droughts and floods and financial crises abroad. Our New Markets Initiative will help them diversify their economic base. But let's also do more than mend the farm safety net – let's strengthen it.

This spring, I will lead a New Markets tour to focus on another challenge: the growing "digital divide" between those who have access to the new economy and those who don't. But the very technology that drives our expansion also creates tools to ensure that everyone, from the city to the farm to the reservation, can join in building our nation. My budget creates 1,000 new technology centers to connect poor communities to the economic mainstream. It also helps mobilize the combined force of public, private, and nonprofit sectors to increase Internet access in low-income areas. Because you can't get in the game until you have the tools to play.

GLOBAL CHANGE AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

As we move to master the possibilities of the new economy at home, we must also lead in shaping a global economy that extends our prosperity – and expresses our values.

Our 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 make sure it grows 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 dignity of work and quality of life. And it means remembering that a global economy based on rules is far preferable than one with no rules at all.

That is why China should join the WTO and live under the same trade rules we do. And when it does, America's companies and workers should gain new opportunities in every sector of China's vast market. I ask Congress to lock in this opportunity by passing Permanent Normal Trade Relations status for China. This is a good deal for America. It will level the playing field in U.S.-China trade, and it is a chance to help China along the road to change.

When we engage in the global economy, we are investing in our shared future. Growth from trade is not just vital for us, but for the 1.3 billion people around the world who still live on less than a dollar a day. To help pass opportunity on to them, we should do our part – our full part – to reduce the debts that cripple the world's poorest nations. I ask Congress to support that effort, and to finalize our initiatives to unlock new trade with Africa and the Caribbean Basin. If we stay engaged, we will be helping Americans master the new economy . . . and helping others around the world become masters of their own future.

At a moment when American power is unrivaled and the world is coming together around ideals we have lived by and died for, we have a responsibility to lead. Never forget the Americans who struggled to give us this chance. Never forget that hundreds of millions of people live in peace today because of the Americans who rest in peace in graves marked and unmarked across the world. We have come too far, sacrificed too much, to stop the world and get off now; we must continue to shape the world. So let us look beyond our borders to the big questions that will shape the 21st century world, and look within for the strength to find the answers.

A central question is whether our security will be threatened by regional conflicts, especially those rooted in ethnic and religious tensions, that pose the risk of wider war. With all its amazing advances, our modern world is still bedeviled by our oldest failing – fear of those who are different from us. In too many places, that fear is exploited by unscrupulous leaders trying to cling to power or make brutal war on their neighbors.

America cannot prevent every conflict or stop every outrage. But when our interests and our values are at stake and we can make a difference, we must be peacemakers. For history teaches that all big wars start small, and when human beings anywhere are singled out for destruction because of who they are, it is our common humanity that suffers.

We should be proud that we have helped bring the Middle East closer than ever to comprehensive peace. [Update on Israel-Syria; essential that America does its share].

We should be proud of the role America played in bring peace to Northern Ireland... in helping to end the bloodletting in East Timor...in supporting efforts to end Africa's cruel wars.

And we should be proud of the men and women of our armed forces who made it possible for a million innocent people to return home to Kosovo last year. Now, 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.

With us today are two Americans who've shown how both power and persuasion can serve the cause of peace. When Slobodan Milosevic unleashed ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, Captain John Cherrey was one of the brave airmen who turned the tide – and when an American plane went down, he flew into the teeth of Serbian air defenses to bring its pilot home. When the peace process in Northern Ireland was in trouble, the man who did so much to start it went back one more time to save it, and now, with George Mitchell's help, the people there have a working

government with all parties represented. Captain Cherrey, Senator Mitchell, we honor you with our gratitude, and with our determination to finish the work you helped begin.

A second question is whether our former adversaries, Russia and China, emerge in the coming century as stable, prosperous, democratic partners of the United States.

Today, we face a Russia weakened by the legacy of communism, by economic crisis, by a cruel and futile war in Chechnya. But never forget how much else has changed: 5,000 former Soviet nuclear weapons dismantled; Russian troops serving with us in the Balkans; a constitutional transfer of power from one leader to another for the first time in a 1000 years of Russian history. Russia's long journey to democracy is profoundly important. A generation from now, let it be said we did our part to help.

As for China, we must promote our interest with firmness, but not fear. China cannot buy its stability and stature at the expense of freedom. But let us not isolate China from the global forces empowering its people to seek a better life. We want to see China on the inside, playing by the rules, not on the outside denying them.

A third question for the new century is whether terrorists and hostile nations will acquire the means to undermine our defenses, and make us live in fear again.

Thanks in part to the biggest counter-terrorism operation in our history, the millennial celebrations passed without a violent attack. But this age-old threat, magnified by modern tools of destruction, remains real.

To prevent terrorists and potential adversaries from acquiring deadly weapons, we must work with Russia to keep nuclear weapons secure and continue to reduce our arsenals. We must restrain nuclear and missile programs in North Korea and Iran's, and continuing to prevent Iraq from threatening its neighbors. And we must strength global standards against proliferation. That is why I am committed to working with the Senate on a bipartisan basis to rebuild a consensus for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

We are also developing a system to defend America against missile attack from outlaw nations, while working to preserve the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with Russia. And my balanced budget devotes \$2 billion to defend America's cyberspace against hackers, criminals and potential adversaries.

A fourth question is whether the stability of the 21st century would will be threatened by a growing gap between rich and poor. We just cannot accept a future in which part of humanity lives on the cutting edge of a new economy, while another lives on the edge of survival.

A large part of the answer is freedom. With the hopeful transitions to democracy in Nigeria and Indonesia, more people won the right to choose their leaders in 1999 than in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell. Yet even countries making all the right choices must sometimes struggle to deliver for their people.

We must stand by democracies like Columbia fighting for their lives – and for our lives – against narcotics traffickers. I have proposed a two-year, \$1.6 billion package to help Colombia and I count on your support.

We must stand by impoverished nations held back by debt and disease. My budget calls for a new \$150 million investment in the global fight against AIDS and other infectious killers. And I will call on our partners in the G-7 and around the world to join us in a Millennium initiative to speed the delivery and development of vaccines to countries that might otherwise never be able to afford them. Today, I am proposing a tax credit that will say to private industry – if you develop vaccines for diseases like malaria, AIDS and TB, we will help pay for them, and we will lift millions of lives together.

The final questions are the most important of all: Will America continue to lead? How do we see ourselves and our role for the next century?

In the 20th century, America was thrust into global leadership by circumstance. Now we have to choose whether to shape the world. But it's really no choice at all, not if we want our children to know peace and prosperity and the promise of a better day. We could choose to see our role as a burden. I choose to see it as a blessing, a privilege, a responsibility.

That's why we have reversed the decline in defense spending that began in 1985. We must continue to work together to keep 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.

We must also continue to fund the 1 percent of our budget that supports our international engagement and keeps our soldiers out of war. Last year, you worked with me to do that and to resume paying our UN dues and arrears. Let's do it again this year. And let's remember that building the right kind of global community is vital for a strong, secure American community . . .

RESPONSIBILITY AND CRIME

Here is another heartening statistic. The overall crime rate in America has dropped every year for the past seven years -- the longest continuous decline in crime ever recorded. It happened because we took more responsibility for helping America fight crime, from passing the Brady bill to funding 100,000 new community police officers. Last fall, Congress agreed to support my plan to hire up to 50,000 more police officers, with special help for high-crime neighborhoods. Congress must continue that support this year.

But while we are grateful that America is much safer, no one believes America is safe enough. We have the opportunity and responsibility to make America the safest big country in the world.

We must begin by doing more to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and juveniles. Last year, Congress listened to the gun lobby, rather than the American people, and gave up a chance to require Brady background checks at gun shows and child safety locks for all new

handguns. Passing this common-sense gun safety legislation should be the very next action of this Congress.

But we can and must do more. States require hunters and automobile drivers to have licenses. To reduce firearms accidents and keep guns out of the wrong hands, tonight I propose that states have licenses for gun purchasers as well.

To those who say that instead of strengthening gun laws, we should better enforce gun laws now on the books. I say, we already are. Federal gun crime prosecutions are higher today than in 1992, and are up 25 percent since 1998. But again, we should do more. We must 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 supply law enforcement with the tools to trace the origin of 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 anywhere in America to the gun of the criminal who fired it.

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. It's time to help the gun industry accelerate development of these smart guns. It's time for the gun industry to take responsibility too, and reform the way it does business -- and help bring down gun violence in America.

Another vital measure we can take to reduce the crime rate is to provide more supervision, and demand more responsibility, from the hundreds of thousands of offenders who leave our prisons every year. We know that those on parole or probation who use drugs are [tk]-times more likely than others to commit another crime, but half as-likely to do so if they get drug treatment. We must provide them that drug treatment, along with drug testing and a simple bargain: stay clean and you stay free; do drugs and you do more time.

The tragic school shootings in Littleton and elsewhere have been a terrible reminder of how vulnerable our children are to violence—and how much more we must do, at all levels of society, to protect them. Last year, I launched a national grassroots campaign to bring experts and local communities together to identify the most effective responses to youth violence. We also began funding efforts by local communities to develop comprehensive solutions to school violence, and this year we must increase our support of this vital endeavor.

Every parent I know worries about the amount of violence in the media. I believe the entertainment industry should respond to parents concerns. I give the industry credit for accepting my challenge to put voluntary ratings not just on movies but on TV programming and video and Internet games. This year, we must go farther. Let's give parents what they most need: one rating system for all their children's entertainment—a system that is easy to understand and enforce. Tonight, I want to honor the person who has championed this idea, and been a champion of children and families as long as I have known her, your First Lady and my wife: Hillary Rodham Clinton.

At its best, popular culture can uplift and educate us even as it entertains us. Joining us tonight is someone whose half-century of work has appealed to the very best in our children – indeed, in all of us. We already miss reading “Peanuts” each day, but Charlie Brown, Lucy, and Snoopy will never be far from our hearts. We thank you, Charles Schulz, for your creations, and for being here with us.

RESPONSIBILITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT

We have an abiding responsibility to be wise stewards of our air, water, and land. And because of new technologies, we also have the opportunity to do so in ways that enhance economic growth.

I am grateful for the many opportunities Vice President Gore and I have had to honor this commitment to future generations – and to finally put to rest the long-outdated notion that a strong economy and a healthy environment are incompatible goals. For as our economy has grown ever stronger, our environment has grown ever healthier. We have rid countless neighborhoods of toxic waste; ensured cleaner drinking water for millions of families; taken unprecedented action to improve the air we breathe.

Two weeks ago, I visited the north rim of the Grand Canyon and created three new National Monuments – adding to the tens of millions of acres of forests and deserts and wilderness we are preserving for all Americans, for all time. 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 have protected 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 population and our cities 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 wildlands, protect coastlines, restore wildlife, and preserve small but sacred green spaces. This endowment would provide nearly \$1.5 billion each year – by far the largest, most enduring investment in land preservation ever proposed.

As we rise to protect our land, we must also help other nations that are struggling to protect theirs. The rainforests are the lungs of our planet – and yet they are disappearing at the rate of more than 50 acres a minute. Tonight, I propose a new plan to help developing countries from the Amazon to the Congo Basin strengthen their economies by preserving, rather than destroying, their 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 heed the writing on the wall, our seas will rise and natural disasters will become more frequent with each passing year. America must act. America must lead.

Tonight, I announce three new efforts to do just that. First, I propose a [\$100 million] initiative to help developing countries adopt clean-energy technologies and avoid the costly trade-offs that we made in the past. With these new technologies, they can expand their economies, improve the lives of their people, and protect the environment at the same time. Second, to strengthen efforts at home, I propose closing the loophole that allows old power plants to foul the air our children breathe and to continue spewing more greenhouse gases than any other source. Third, I call on the auto industry to help move the next generation of vehicles – cars that get 70 or more miles to the gallon – from the laboratory to the showroom floor.

We must put 21st century technology to work in building a 21st century economy in harmony with the environment. We must make sure this country of ours lasts through the ages.

THE OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

As we enter this new era, it is already clear: technology is making it a millennium of miracles. They promise dramatic improvements in health, in our economy and in our quality of life.

Biotechnology -- and our growing understanding of human genetics and physiology -- promises new treatments for disabilities and real cures for dread diseases. We are now on the brink of sequencing the human genome -- the very code of life -- which could bring cures for cancer, Alzheimer's, and AIDS. The new science of nanotechnology that allows us to manipulate molecules -- even atoms -- could help us detect tumors as small as a single cell, or develop molecular computers that can store on a cube of sugar the entire contents of the Library of Congress.

With longer, healthier, better lives, we are redefining what it means to be old. Consider this: if we delay the onset of Alzheimer's by just five years, right now we could empty half the nursing home beds in America. If we could delay the onset of adult diabetes, we could save \$30 billion in health care costs.

In the future we will have new materials as strong as steel but ten times lighter. Ultra-clean fuel cells for cars whose only byproduct is water clean enough to drink. And computers that can translate spoken English into foreign languages and vice versa as fast as you can speak.

These and other technologies could change the way we work and live as surely as the Internet does today. Fully one-third of our recent growth is due to information technology. And the high-tech jobs it is creating are high-wage jobs -- paying nearly 80 percent more than the typical private-sector job.

For all these reasons, my budget will include a \$3 billion increase in the Twenty-First Century Research Fund. These investments will increase support for biomedical research, nanotechnology, information technology, clean energy and university-based research. This is more than an investment in research and development -- it is an investment in America's future. And we cannot move forward without it.

But it is up to all of us to ensure that this new age of science and technology is also a new age of enlightenment. The advances we seek must be guided by the values we hold dear.

First and foremost, we must ensure that our 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.

Nearly forty years ago, as America began its exploration of space, President Kennedy said, "We set sail on this new sea because there is knowledge to be gained ... for the progress of all people. Whether it will become a force for good or ill depends on man." If we take the right steps together, we can be confident that our progress will be a force for good.

COMMUNITY

In 18TK, the great foreign chronicler of America Alexis de Toqueville observed that in America, helping others is not just charity or compassion, it is a sign of good citizenship. De Toqueville was among the first to notice something that is still true of America today: much of what is noblest in our public life occurs outside of government--in the churches, charities, and volunteer groups, to which average citizens contribute money, and their time. We have long relied on this community of active citizenship to meet some of our toughest social challenges. In the 21st Century, we must strengthen and expand this community as never before.

To tap the full potential of philanthropic institutions, we must broaden the base of those who give. Tonight, I propose new tax incentives to do just that. Lower and middle income Americans who give deserve what wealthier Americans can get: a tax deduction for contributions to charity.

We can also do more to bring communities of faith into the circle of service. Faith-based organizations work tirelessly everyday to help Americans fight drug and alcohol abuse and to provide opportunities for young people to get back on the right track or to stay out of trouble in the first place. We can respect the line between church and state and still do more to support the good works of these groups.

We can do even more to elevate the cause of citizen service. When I first ran for this office, I had faith that if we gave our young people the opportunity to serve their communities, they would answer the call. Together, we created AmeriCorps in 1994, and today, over 150,000 AmeriCorps members have served in countless ways, from teaching children to helping the homeless—often working with non-profit organizations.

Today, AmeriCorps graduates, like veterans of our military and the Peace Corps, are an enormous pool of know-how and can-do. We need to tap that resource. Tonight, I propose the creation of the Americorps Reserves to activate former AmeriCorps members in times of crisis including natural disasters.

The AmeriCorps oath concludes with the words: I will get things done. Let us do the same. Let us build on the success of AmeriCorps, fund it fully, and keep it strong for all time.

Of course, the most fundamental responsibility of citizenship begins in the voting booth. More than half of our children live in households where neither parent votes. Too many simply think politics doesn't matter. But it does. So I say to all Americans: whatever your party, whatever your ideology, whatever you do, make your voice heard. Vote.

And this is the year of the census, so you have a unique opportunity to not only stand up and be counted, but to make your voice count.

One of the wonders of our time is the way technology is expanding the community of citizenship, creating new ways for individuals to get involved in the democratic process. A few months ago, I held the first Presidential on-line town meeting. Starting next month, I will launch a series of what I call "Webside Chats"—on-line discussions focused on issues and ideas. We can give more Americans the opportunity to share their views and be a part of our national community.

From the beginning, that community has been enriched by new immigrants. Like those before them, today's new immigrants are renewing the spirit of America. And like those before them, they know they must learn English to reach their full potential.

Demand for English language classes is so high that some states have even resorted to a lottery system to pick students. We must be clear: learning English should be an opportunity available to all -- not a raffle. My budget boosts support for English as a second language and links classes with civics education. So as new immigrants learn English, they can also become fluent in the rights and responsibilities of American life.

We are more diverse than ever before. The face of America is changing. We all know that. The question ahead is not: how will we look? But, what will we be? What will we choose as a community to do with our diversity?

This fall, as a part of our ongoing millennium celebrations, the First Lady and I hosted a discussion with Eric Lander, one of America's leading geneticists, who is with us here tonight. Dr. Lander explained that all human beings genetically are 99.9 percent the same. Science seems

to affirm what faith has always taught us: that the differences between us are nothing compared to the common humanity that unites us all.

We are more united than ever, but we have work to do. We cannot ignore the hatred that spawned such recent incidents as the murder of young Matthew Shepard or the dragging death of James Byrd in Texas. Rather than give into hate, the Byrd family transformed their hate to a new foundation for racial reconciliation. We're honored to have [TK Byrd] with us tonight.

Let me say again, discrimination and violence against anyone because of race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, ancestry or disability is wrong. We must also make it illegal. I ask the Congress once more to pass, without further delay, the Hate Crimes Prevention Act and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.

And finally, to make the most of our economic and social progress we have made together, we must continue our journey to building One America in the 21st century. That means rededicating 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 housing, education, federal contracting or any other aspect of American life. My budget increases funding substantially for civil rights enforcement at the EEOC and the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division—to make sure that 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 – from lawyers to religious leaders to corporate leaders to make sure every American can help build the One America of our dreams.

We know there is only one way to achieve that kind of nation—not through machines or money or might. Above all, it must flow from the human spirit. Let us take on the unfinished work of our time. Let us do our part to lift the burden of race and make the promise of America the practice of America.

My fellow Americans, this is the seventh time I have had the privilege of this high moment. Each time I have approached 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 of a new millennium. Behind us we see the great expanse of American achievement, and before us, vast frontiers of possibility yet to be explored.

The children of the future will see: generations of Americans earned this moment – earned this opportunity – and we have an obligation to make the most of it. Not even the most far-sighted of our forebears could have predicted that American ingenuity and spirit would lead the world to these unprecedented heights of prosperity and peace. And we can only imagine the heights to which we will climb in this new century.

And so, tonight, whether you are settling in the comfort of today's growing affluence or climbing out of the shadows of yesterday's despair, look up and see that the sun is rising on a new century of hope and possibility in America. Look up and take your place in the procession

of Americans, great and small, whose gifts to the past have brought us to this moment of great promise. Now it is your time. You are our gifts to the future. Together, we can make the next 100 years, America's greatest century.

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS



SUBJECT: REVISED SOTU DRAFT

Attached please find a revised draft of your 2000 State of the Union Address. This reflects your edits as well as substantial changes recommended by the working group we convened today: Mark Penn, Bob Shrum, Sid Blumenthal, Maria Echaveste, Bruce Reed and others. We have also restructured the speech, giving it a framework that pairs opportunity with responsibility.

We look forward to working with you to further refine this draft. Thank you.

**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: Tonight I have the honor of delivering the first State of the Union Address of a new century and a new millennium.

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 have our values – of freedom and democracy – been more ascendant around the world. Never have we had such a blessed opportunity – and, therefore, such a profound obligation – to build the more perfect union of our founders' dreams.

We end the 20th Century, and begin the 21st, at a high point in our history. There is no better moment to reflect on our hopes and dreams for our children. No better moment to make big plans for our nation. No better moment than today.

Today we are experiencing a remarkable American renaissance. Twenty 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 first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years; the lowest African-American and Hispanic unemployment rate ever; the highest home ownership ever. And next month, America will achieve the longest economic expansion in our nation's history.

My fellow Americans, I stand before you tonight to report that the state of our union is strong – the strongest it has ever been.

We are experiencing not only a renaissance of the American economy, but something even more important: a renewal of the American spirit. Across our land we see a revival of responsibility. . . a renewal of the bonds of community. Who would have thought that in just seven years we could cut the welfare rolls in half, and moved millions from welfare to work? Who would have thought that we could cut crime by one quarter, to its lowest level in more than 30 years? Who would have thought that we could reverse virtually every terrible social trend of the last few decades, from teen pregnancy going down, to adoptions going up? Our social fabric, once frayed, is on the mend.

Tonight it is clear: Our nation is prepared for the new century.

It is also clear that the American people – by the hard work they do every day – deserve the credit, and our thanks. My gratitude also goes to the many of you, here in this chamber, who

have worked with us to make the tough decisions, to put progress above partisanship for the sake of our people. I thank you.

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 stalemate, and discredited government. In 1992, at a time of rising crime, mounting deficits, and high unemployment, a best-selling book asked: "What went wrong?"

But in the best traditions of our nation, of the time of Lincoln and the two Roosevelts, America determined to set things right. We replaced outdated ideologies with bold, new ideas anchored in basic, enduring values: opportunity for all; but also responsibility from all. That's how you build a community of all.

That's how we turned decades of record deficits into back-to-back record surpluses – not by denigrating government but by reinventing it, and acting with fiscal discipline. That's how we have cut crime – not by debating between prevention and punishment but by doing both, and doing them better – passing the Brady Law that has kept guns out of the hands of half a million criminals, and funding 100,000 community police to make our neighborhoods safer. That's how we have protected our environment – not with old-style regulations but with new approaches and technologies.

That's how we ended welfare as we knew it – by ending dependency and empowering millions to go to work. That's how we have helped parents to succeed at work and at home – by offering new approaches, like Family and Medical Leave, which 20 million working Americans have used to care for sick loved ones. That's how we have opened the doors of college to all – with HOPE scholarship tax cuts, more Pell Grants, and more affordable college loans. That's how we have engaged 150,000 more young Americans in citizen service – building One America, one community at a time, through AmeriCorps. And that's how we have seized the opportunities of a global era – by expanding trade with more than 270 new agreements and extending our values around the world.

In 1992, we had a roadmap. In the year 2000, we have results. We have built our bridge to the 21st Century. Now, let us lift our sights and take what Theodore Roosevelt called "the long look ahead."

Let us look beyond this year, even beyond this decade, and ask ourselves: How will we make the most of this moment of promise? What are our biggest challenges, and how will we meet them?

Tonight, let us pledge:

At a time of unprecedented economic growth, let's bring prosperity into every community in America.

At a time when our people are living longer than ever, let's ensure that they are also living better – and healthier.

At a time when technology is transforming our world, let's realize its full promise and make sure our values guide our progress.

At a time of steadily falling crime, let's make America the safest big nation on Earth.

At a time when more families are working families, let's ensure that parents have the tools to succeed at work and at the most important work of all – raising children.

At a time when knowledge is the key to the new economy, let's make sure every child begins school ready to learn and graduates ready to succeed.

At a time when America is growing more diverse than ever, let's finally become what we've always known we can be: one nation, under God, indivisible.

These are big goals. We may not reach them this year. But I believe we will reach them. And we will get there the same way we got here: not in one single leap, but step by step – always building on our progress, moving forward, gaining ground.

Of course, you can't gain ground if you're standing still. And for too long, this Congress has been standing still on some of our most pressing national priorities. Let's get moving. This year, let's strengthen Social Security. Let's modernize Medicare with a voluntary prescription-drug benefit. Let's pass a real patients' bill of rights. Let's pass common-sense gun-safety legislation. Let's pass meaningful hate-crimes legislation. Let's raise the minimum wage.

But that will only be the beginning of our journey.

Tonight, I will propose the first steps into the bold new frontier of the 21st century. I will begin with a New Opportunity Agenda for this new era—an agenda rooted in responsibility, and designed to create a stronger and more inclusive community. At its core is a simple, powerful, fundamental principle: "Opportunity for all."

This new agenda updates an old American value for the Information Age. Two centuries ago, at our nation's founding, opportunity meant, most of all, the freedom to carve a farm and an existence out of the forest frontier. Fifty years ago, opportunity meant a high school education – or even the G.I. Bill – and a job for life. Today, opportunity means something different. It means having a computer and knowing how to use it. It means changing careers and a lifetime of learning. It means mastering the tools and technologies of the new economy, in which ideas and information are the keys to success.

Our first steps into the 21st Century must be the right steps. They must be guided, first and foremost, by our faith that all children can learn and all adults can succeed.

OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN EDUCATION

For seven years we have pursued a simple strategy on education: Invest more, and demand more in return. Offer opportunity, but demand responsibility. We have helped nearly every state set higher academic standards for their schools. We are closing in on our goal of connecting every classroom and library in America to the Internet. And for two years in a row, Congress has supported our effort to hire 100,000 new, qualified teachers, to lower class sizes in the early grades. This Congress must continue that support.

With these and other efforts, our students are learning more. Scores on college entrance exams are 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.

Schools like Beaufort [B'YOU-fert] Elementary in South Carolina. Five years ago, Beaufort was classified as one of the state's worst-performing schools. But under a new principal, Ruth Summerlin, Beaufort embraced accountability and higher academic standards, and started afterschool and summer school programs for students who were behind. Today, Beaufort's math and test scores exceed the state average, and local parents are pulling their children out of private schools and putting them in Beaufort. Ruth Summerlin is with us here tonight.

I have visited schools like Beaufort all across America -- schools that have turned themselves around with the same proven formula: greater accountability, higher standards, and the conviction that all students can learn. Unfortunately, there are too many low-performing schools in this country that are not applying these lessons -- schools where, year after year, children fail to get the knowledge and skills they need to make the most of their God-given talents.

Last year, from this podium, I proposed an Education Accountability Act, to fundamentally change the way the federal government invests in our schools -- to support what we know works, and stop supporting what doesn't. This year, I challenge Congress to not only pass that measure, but to make dramatic new investments in ideas we know are working.

We know that quality afterschool and summer school programs boost academic achievement. They also keep children off the street in the hours before parents get home from work, when juvenile crime soars. Tonight, I propose that we double our investment for afterschool and summer school. If we do this, we can give every child in every failing school in America the chance to meet high standards -- and to beat them.

We know that our children who learn early learn best. And since 1993, we've put over 150,000 more children in the successful Head Start pre-school program, and improved the quality of Head Start. Tonight, I propose the largest funding increase for Head Start in history. With this increase, plus greater investment in early learning, we can take the first step toward providing universal pre-school for every four-year-old in America.

We know that if we want our children to learn, we need good teachers and principals. Tonight, I propose new efforts to help states and school districts recruit the best and brightest

people to teaching, train principals as leaders and get rid of bad ones. And we must finish the job of hiring 100,000 qualified teachers to reduce class size.

We know that antiquated classrooms get in the way of learning, and that a third of all schools in America are in serious disrepair – with leaky roofs and antiquated electrical wiring. Tonight, I propose new investments to make immediate, urgent repairs to our schools. I renew my call for a tax credit to help build or modernize 6,000 schools nationwide – so we can take our children out of trailers and put them in modern classrooms. And let's make our high schools safer and better by investing in making them smaller. Let's make sure our kids go to schools where everybody knows their name.

We know that we must turnaround failing schools – or shut them down. Last fall, Congress passed my plan to give districts the resources to do so. This year, let's double that investment. Let's also increase our investment in charter schools, to give parents more choice. And let's give bonuses to states that succeed in making scores go up across the board.

We must also do more to help high school students prepare for, and succeed in, college. We must increase tutoring and mentoring efforts, bring advanced placement courses to schools in isolated rural areas via the Internet, and offer disadvantaged students the same test prep courses wealthier students use to boost their scores on college entrance exams. [TK: Schumer/ college tax ideas]

REWARDING WORK AND STRENGTHENING FAMILIES

It is often said that the foundation of American life is the family. I would add “the working family,” for it is through work that we support our families, and pass on our values to our children. That is why the basic goal of so much of what we have done -- from reforming welfare to raising the minimum wage -- has been to encourage and reward work; to give more opportunities for a better life to all families responsible enough to work for it.

Simply put: When you work hard and play by the rules, good things should follow. To your standard of living, to your savings, to your self-esteem.

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

Tonight I propose that we expand opportunity by substantially expanding the EITC. We should reduce the marriage penalty for the EITC, making sure that this tax credit rewards marriage, and family, just as it rewards work, and 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. That's enough for the average family to pay three months' mortgage or eight months of health care

coverage. And it's an added incentive to make their way into the middle class. They're working hard for it. We should help them to reach it.

For people who play by the rules, there's something else that should be within reach: their place of work. But two-thirds of new jobs are in the suburbs, far away from many low-income families. In the past two years, I have proposed and Congress has approved 110,000 new housing vouchers – to let more Americans live where opportunities abound. This year, let's more than double that number. If we want people to go to work, they have to be able to get to work.

Wherever they live, working parents need quality child care. Last year, we helped parents provide care for 1.25 million children. But child care should be better, safer, and more affordable. It's what our children deserve and what working parents need. My child care initiative would increase and improve care for 150,000 more children. And it's time we make the child care tax credit refundable to help families who need it most. Parents should be able to balance work and family – not have to choose between them.

Three years ago, we created a new way for hard-pressed working families to provide health care for their children: the Children's Health Insurance Program. In less than a year, enrollment CHIP has doubled, to 2 million children. But we must do more. As Vice President Gore has been saying, if states are looking to insure more children, they should go where the children are – in schools, churches, and child-care centers. And we should take the next step and enroll their parents, too. Nine million of them are eligible, but uninsured. And let's give a real, affordable option to the fastest growing group of uninsured: people between 55 and 65 who lose their coverage. We should allow them to buy into Medicare.

[Tipper Gore, Mental Health – TK]

And let's make sure that men and women get equal pay for equal work. Today, women earn 75 cents for every dollar men earn. That's just not good enough. My budget provides much needed resources to enforce equal pay laws, and to train women for high-paying, high-tech jobs. And we should pass the Paycheck Fairness Act. That will go a long way toward opportunity and dignity for working women.

This year, I am proposing a progressive savings initiative to help low- and moderate-income families work and save for retirement. [policy TK]

Franklin Roosevelt once said that “personal responsibility, guided by collective conscience, is the discipline of democracy.” We have no greater responsibility than to love and support the children we bring into this world. Yet nearly one child in three in America today 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. I know many single mothers do a magnificent job of raising their children. But their task is made infinitely harder when there is no father to contribute income and love; to share the burdens and joys of parenthood; to teach the boys to be men and the girls to expect respect from men. Four years ago, we made an historic reform of welfare that has helped millions of mothers move from dependency on a welfare check to the

dignity of a paycheck. Demanding and promoting responsible fatherhood is the critical next stage of welfare reform.

We have already begun, over the last seven years, 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, and the teenage birth rate is falling.

This is progress. But we must accelerate that progress, step by step, until the day that every father in America takes responsibility for his children. We can begin by toughening measures against fathers who owe child support, such as booting their cars. We can give fathers even more incentive to contribute by allowing more of their child support payments to go directly to their families.

And to absent parents who owe child support, we should say: we'll help you do right by your children, but you have to go to work, and pay them what you owe.

Helping absent parents and others join the culture of work is good not just for them and their families. At a time when businesses across America have labor shortages, it is also good for our economy. Four years ago, I asked corporate leaders to join with us in a partnership to provide jobs to those leaving the welfare rolls. Today, 12,000 companies have hired nearly 650,000 former welfare recipients. Yet these companies need still more new workers. And they say they are increasingly willing to hire from a growing pool of potential labor: the half-million ex-offenders who leave our prisons every year. Tonight, I propose a new initiative to train, counsel, and more carefully monitor ex-offenders so they can become responsible employees, family members, and citizens.

For our economy to continue to enjoy rapid growth without inflation, it is vital that our corporations find not just new workers to hire, but new opportunities to invest, and new markets in which to sell. I believe these new markets exist right here in America—in the inner cities, poor rural areas, and Indian reservations -- places that have not yet been 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 opportunities in America's new markets.

Now, more than ever, we have the means to expand the circle of opportunity wide enough to include the men and women at its margins, so that no one who's willing to work is left behind as our nation moves ahead. For business, it's the smart thing to do. And for America, it's the right thing to do. If we don't do it now, when will we ever get around to it?

I believe businesses should have the same incentives to invest in America's new markets as they have to invest in new markets abroad. In this year's budget, I call on Congress to double our New Markets Tax Credit, to spur \$12 billion in new equity capital for our untapped markets. We should also greatly increase funding to help large-scale businesses expand or relocate to our

inner cities or rural areas. And we should increase the tax incentives that promote growth in our Empowerment Zones.

Speaker Hastert, 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 my administration on common ground for New Markets legislation. So let's work together to finish the job.

Last July, I became the first President to visit an Indian reservation since Franklin Roosevelt. That's far too long. In this new century, let's honor our historic responsibility to Native Americans – the first Americans. My budget increases by more than \$1 billion our investment in health care, education, law enforcement, and infrastructure. Indian Country is a new market America should not – and must not – ignore.

We must also fulfill our obligation to our farming communities, the lifeblood of our land. When I signed the farm bill in 1996, I was concerned it would work well in good times but not as well in bad times. In recent years, our family farms have endured droughts and floods and financial crises abroad. Our New Markets Initiative will help them diversify their economic base. But let's also do more than mend the farm safety net – let's strengthen it.

This spring, I will lead a New Markets tour to focus on another challenge: the growing "digital divide" between those who have access to the new economy and those who don't. But the very technology that drives our expansion also creates tools to ensure that everyone, from the city to the farm to the reservation, can join in building our nation. My budget creates 1,000 new technology centers to connect poor communities to the economic mainstream. It also helps mobilize the combined force of public, private, and nonprofit sectors to increase Internet access in low-income areas. Because you can't get in the game until you have the tools to play.

GLOBAL CHANGE AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

As we move to master the possibilities of the new economy at home, we must also lead in shaping a global economy that extends our prosperity – and expresses our values.

Our 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 make sure it grows 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 dignity of work and quality of life. And it means remembering that a global economy based on rules is far preferable than one with no rules at all.

That is why China should join the WTO and live under the same trade rules we do. And when it does, America's companies and workers should gain new opportunities in every sector of China's vast market. I ask Congress to lock in this opportunity by passing Permanent Normal Trade Relations status for China. This is a good deal for America. It will level the playing field in U.S.-China trade, and it is a chance to help China along the road to change.

When we engage in the global economy, we are investing in our shared future. Growth from trade is not just vital for us, but for the 1.3 billion people around the world who still live on less than a dollar a day. To help pass opportunity on to them, we should do our part – our full part – to reduce the debts that cripple the world's poorest nations. I ask Congress to support that effort, and to finalize our initiatives to unlock new trade with Africa and the Caribbean Basin. If we stay engaged, we will be helping Americans master the new economy . . . and helping others around the world become masters of their own future.

At a moment when American power is unrivaled and the world is coming together around ideals we have lived by and died for, we have a responsibility to lead. Never forget the Americans who struggled to give us this chance. Never forget that hundreds of millions of people live in peace today because of the Americans who rest in peace in graves marked and unmarked across the world. We have come too far, sacrificed too much, to stop the world and get off now; we must continue to shape the world. So let us look beyond our borders to the big questions that will shape the 21st century world, and look within for the strength to find the answers.

A central question is whether our security will be threatened by regional conflicts, especially those rooted in ethnic and religious tensions, that pose the risk of wider war. With all its amazing advances, our modern world is still bedeviled by our oldest failing – fear of those who are different from us. In too many places, that fear is exploited by unscrupulous leaders trying to cling to power or make brutal war on their neighbors.

America cannot prevent every conflict or stop every outrage. But when our interests and our values are at stake and we can make a difference, we must be peacemakers. For history teaches that all big wars start small, and when human beings anywhere are singled out for destruction because of who they are, it is our common humanity that suffers.

We should be proud that we have helped bring the Middle East closer than ever to comprehensive peace. [Update on Israel-Syria; essential that America does its share].

We should be proud of the role America played in bring peace to Northern Ireland... in helping to end the bloodletting in East Timor...in supporting efforts to end Africa's cruel wars.

And we should be proud of the men and women of our armed forces who made it possible for a million innocent people to return home to Kosovo last year. Now, 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.

With us today are two Americans who've shown how both power and persuasion can serve the cause of peace. When Slobodan Milosevic unleashed ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, Captain John Cherrey was one of the brave airmen who turned the tide – and when an American plane went down, he flew into the teeth of Serbian air defenses to bring its pilot home. When the peace process in Northern Ireland was in trouble, the man who did so much to start it went back one more time to save it, and now, with George Mitchell's help, the people there have a working

government with all parties represented. Captain Cherrey, Senator Mitchell, we honor you with our gratitude, and with our determination to finish the work you helped begin.

A second question is whether our former adversaries, Russia and China, emerge in the coming century as stable, prosperous, democratic partners of the United States.

Today, we face a Russia weakened by the legacy of communism, by economic crisis, by a cruel and futile war in Chechnya. But never forget how much else has changed: 5,000 former Soviet nuclear weapons dismantled; Russian troops serving with us in the Balkans; a constitutional transfer of power from one leader to another for the first time in a 1000 years of Russian history. Russia's long journey to democracy is profoundly important. A generation from now, let it be said we did our part to help.

As for China, we must promote our interest with firmness, but not fear. China cannot buy its stability and stature at the expense of freedom. But let us not isolate China from the global forces empowering its people to seek a better life. We want to see China on the inside, playing by the rules, not on the outside denying them.

A third question for the new century is whether terrorists and hostile nations will acquire the means to undermine our defenses, and make us live in fear again.

Thanks in part to the biggest counter-terrorism operation in our history, the millennial celebrations passed without a violent attack. But this age-old threat, magnified by modern tools of destruction, remains real.

To prevent terrorists and potential adversaries from acquiring deadly weapons, we must work with Russia to keep nuclear weapons secure and continue to reduce our arsenals. We must restrain nuclear and missile programs in North Korea and Iran's, and continuing to prevent Iraq from threatening its neighbors. And we must strength global standards against proliferation. That is why I am committed to working with the Senate on a bipartisan basis to rebuild a consensus for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

We are also developing a system to defend America against missile attack from outlaw nations, while working to preserve the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with Russia. And my balanced budget devotes \$2 billion to defend America's cyberspace against hackers, criminals and potential adversaries.

A fourth question is whether the stability of the 21st century would will be threatened by a growing gap between rich and poor. We just cannot accept a future in which part of humanity lives on the cutting edge of a new economy, while another lives on the edge of survival.

A large part of the answer is freedom. With the hopeful transitions to democracy in Nigeria and Indonesia, more people won the right to choose their leaders in 1999 than in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell. Yet even countries making all the right choices must sometimes struggle to deliver for their people.

We must stand by democracies like Columbia fighting for their lives – and for our lives – against narcotics traffickers. I have proposed a two-year, \$1.6 billion package to help Colombia and I count on your support.

We must stand by impoverished nations held back by debt and disease. My budget calls for a new \$150 million investment in the global fight against AIDS and other infectious killers. And I will call on our partners in the G-7 and around the world to join us in a Millennium initiative to speed the delivery and development of vaccines to countries that might otherwise never be able to afford them. Today, I am proposing a tax credit that will say to private industry – if you develop vaccines for diseases like malaria, AIDS and TB, we will help pay for them, and we will lift millions of lives together.

The final questions are the most important of all: Will America continue to lead? How do we see ourselves and our role for the next century?

In the 20th century, America was thrust into global leadership by circumstance. Now we have to choose whether to shape the world. But it's really no choice at all, not if we want our children to know peace and prosperity and the promise of a better day. We could choose to see our role as a burden. I choose to see it as a blessing, a privilege, a responsibility.

That's why we have reversed the decline in defense spending that began in 1985. We must continue to work together to keep 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.

We must also continue to fund the 1 percent of our budget that supports our international engagement and keeps our soldiers out of war. Last year, you worked with me to do that and to resume paying our UN dues and arrears. Let's do it again this year. And let's remember that building the right kind of global community is vital for a strong, secure American community . . .

RESPONSIBILITY AND CRIME

Here is another heartening statistic. The overall crime rate in America has dropped every year for the past seven years -- the longest continuous decline in crime ever recorded. It happened because we took more responsibility for helping America fight crime, from passing the Brady bill to funding 100,000 new community police officers. Last fall, Congress agreed to support my plan to hire up to 50,000 more police officers, with special help for high-crime neighborhoods. Congress must continue that support this year.

But while we are grateful that America is much safer, no one believes America is safe enough. We have the opportunity and responsibility to make America the safest big country in the world.

We must begin by doing more to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and juveniles. Last year, Congress listened to the gun lobby, rather than the American people, and gave up a chance to require Brady background checks at gun shows and child safety locks for all new

handguns. Passing this common-sense gun safety legislation should be the very next action of this Congress.

But we can and must do more. States require hunters and automobile drivers to have licenses. To reduce firearms accidents and keep guns out of the wrong hands, tonight I propose that states have licenses for gun purchasers as well.

To those who say that instead of strengthening gun laws, we should better enforce gun laws now on the books. I say, we already are. Federal gun crime prosecutions are higher today than in 1992, and are up 25 percent since 1998. But again, we should do more. We must 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 supply law enforcement with the tools to trace the origin of 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 anywhere in America to the gun of the criminal who fired it.

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. It's time to help the gun industry accelerate development of these smart guns. It's time for the gun industry to take responsibility too, and reform the way it does business -- and help bring down gun violence in America.

Another vital measure we can take to reduce the crime rate is to provide more supervision, and demand more responsibility, from the hundreds of thousands of offenders who leave our prisons every year. We know that those on parole or probation who use drugs are [tk]-times more likely than others to commit another crime, but half as-likely to do so if they get drug treatment. We must provide them that drug treatment, along with drug testing and a simple bargain: stay clean and you stay free; do drugs and you do more time.

The tragic school shootings in Littleton and elsewhere have been a terrible reminder of how vulnerable our children are to violence—and how much more we must do, at all levels of society, to protect them. Last year, I launched a national grassroots campaign to bring experts and local communities together to identify the most effective responses to youth violence. We also began funding efforts by local communities to develop comprehensive solutions to school violence, and this year we must increase our support of this vital endeavor.

Every parent I know worries about the amount of violence in the media. I believe the entertainment industry should respond to parents concerns. I give the industry credit for accepting my challenge to put voluntary ratings not just on movies but on TV programming and video and Internet games. This year, we must go farther. Let's give parents what they most need: one rating system for all their children's entertainment—a system that is easy to understand and enforce. Tonight, I want to honor the person who has championed this idea, and been a champion of children and families as long as I have known her, your First Lady and my wife: Hillary Rodham Clinton.

At its best, popular culture can uplift and educate us even as it entertains us. Joining us tonight is someone whose half-century of work has appealed to the very best in our children – indeed, in all of us. We already miss reading “Peanuts” each day, but Charlie Brown, Lucy, and Snoopy will never be far from our hearts. We thank you, Charles Schulz, for your creations, and for being here with us.

RESPONSIBILITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT

We have an abiding responsibility to be wise stewards of our air, water, and land. And because of new technologies, we also have the opportunity to do so in ways that enhance economic growth.

I am grateful for the many opportunities Vice President Gore and I have had to honor this commitment to future generations – and to finally put to rest the long-outdated notion that a strong economy and a healthy environment are incompatible goals. For as our economy has grown ever stronger, our environment has grown ever healthier. We have rid countless neighborhoods of toxic waste; ensured cleaner drinking water for millions of families; taken unprecedented action to improve the air we breathe.

Two weeks ago, I visited the north rim of the Grand Canyon and created three new National Monuments – adding to the tens of millions of acres of forests and deserts and wilderness we are preserving for all Americans, for all time. 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 have protected 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 population and our cities 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 wildlands, protect coastlines, restore wildlife, and preserve small but sacred green spaces. This endowment would provide nearly \$1.5 billion each year – by far the largest, most enduring investment in land preservation ever proposed.

As we rise to protect our land, we must also help other nations that are struggling to protect theirs. The rainforests are the lungs of our planet – and yet they are disappearing at the rate of more than 50 acres a minute. Tonight, I propose a new plan to help developing countries from the Amazon to the Congo Basin strengthen their economies by preserving, rather than destroying, their 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 heed the writing on the wall, our seas will rise and natural disasters will become more frequent with each passing year. America must act. America must lead.

Tonight, I announce three new efforts to do just that. First, I propose a [\$100 million] initiative to help developing countries adopt clean-energy technologies and avoid the costly trade-offs that we made in the past. With these new technologies, they can expand their economies, improve the lives of their people, and protect the environment at the same time. Second, to strengthen efforts at home, I propose closing the loophole that allows old power plants to foul the air our children breathe and to continue spewing more greenhouse gases than any other source. Third, I call on the auto industry to help move the next generation of vehicles – cars that get 70 or more miles to the gallon – from the laboratory to the showroom floor.

We must put 21st century technology to work in building a 21st century economy in harmony with the environment. We must make sure this country of ours lasts through the ages.

THE OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

As we enter this new era, it is already clear: technology is making it a millennium of miracles. They promise dramatic improvements in health, in our economy and in our quality of life.

Biotechnology -- and our growing understanding of human genetics and physiology -- promises new treatments for disabilities and real cures for dread diseases. We are now on the brink of sequencing the human genome -- the very code of life -- which could bring cures for cancer, Alzheimer's, and AIDS. The new science of nanotechnology that allows us to manipulate molecules -- even atoms -- could help us detect tumors as small as a single cell, or develop molecular computers that can store on a cube of sugar the entire contents of the Library of Congress.

With longer, healthier, better lives, we are redefining what it means to be old. Consider this: if we delay the onset of Alzheimer's by just five years, right now we could empty half the nursing home beds in America. If we could delay the onset of adult diabetes, we could save \$30 billion in health care costs.

In the future we will have new materials as strong as steel but ten times lighter. Ultra-clean fuel cells for cars whose only byproduct is water clean enough to drink. And computers that can translate spoken English into foreign languages and vice versa as fast as you can speak.

These and other technologies could change the way we work and live as surely as the Internet does today. Fully one-third of our recent growth is due to information technology. And the high-tech jobs it is creating are high-wage jobs -- paying nearly 80 percent more than the typical private-sector job.

For all these reasons, my budget will include a \$3 billion increase in the Twenty-First Century Research Fund. These investments will increase support for biomedical research, nanotechnology, information technology, clean energy and university-based research. This is more than an investment in research and development -- it is an investment in America's future. And we cannot move forward without it.

But it is up to all of us to ensure that this new age of science and technology is also a new age of enlightenment. The advances we seek must be guided by the values we hold dear.

First and foremost, we must ensure that our 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.

Nearly forty years ago, as America began its exploration of space, President Kennedy said, "We set sail on this new sea because there is knowledge to be gained ... for the progress of all people. Whether it will become a force for good or ill depends on man." If we take the right steps together, we can be confident that our progress will be a force for good.

COMMUNITY

In 18TK, the great foreign chronicler of America Alexis de Toqueville observed that in America, helping others is not just charity or compassion, it is a sign of good citizenship. De Toqueville was among the first to notice something that is still true of America today: much of what is noblest in our public life occurs outside of government--in the churches, charities, and volunteer groups, to which average citizens contribute money, and their time. We have long relied on this community of active citizenship to meet some of our toughest social challenges. In the 21st Century, we must strengthen and expand this community as never before.

To tap the full potential of philanthropic institutions, we must broaden the base of those who give. Tonight, I propose new tax incentives to do just that. Lower and middle income Americans who give deserve what wealthier Americans can get: a tax deduction for contributions to charity.

We can also do more to bring communities of faith into the circle of service. Faith-based organizations work tirelessly everyday to help Americans fight drug and alcohol abuse and to provide opportunities for young people to get back on the right track or to stay out of trouble in the first place. We can respect the line between church and state and still do more to support the good works of these groups.

We can do even more to elevate the cause of citizen service. When I first ran for this office, I had faith that if we gave our young people the opportunity to serve their communities, they would answer the call. Together, we created AmeriCorps in 1994, and today, over 150,000 AmeriCorps members have served in countless ways, from teaching children to helping the homeless—often working with non-profit organizations.

Today, AmeriCorps graduates, like veterans of our military and the Peace Corps, are an enormous pool of know-how and can-do. We need to tap that resource. Tonight, I propose the creation of the AmeriCorps Reserves to activate former AmeriCorps members in times of crisis including natural disasters.

The AmeriCorps oath concludes with the words: I will get things done. Let us do the same. Let us build on the success of AmeriCorps, fund it fully, and keep it strong for all time.

Of course, the most fundamental responsibility of citizenship begins in the voting booth. More than half of our children live in households where neither parent votes. Too many simply think politics doesn't matter. But it does. So I say to all Americans: whatever your party, whatever your ideology, whatever you do, make your voice heard. Vote.

And this is the year of the census, so you have a unique opportunity to not only stand up and be counted, but to make your voice count.

One of the wonders of our time is the way technology is expanding the community of citizenship, creating new ways for individuals to get involved in the democratic process. A few months ago, I held the first Presidential on-line town meeting. Starting next month, I will launch a series of what I call "Webside Chats"—on-line discussions focused on issues and ideas. We can give more Americans the opportunity to share their views and be a part of our national community.

From the beginning, that community has been enriched by new immigrants. Like those before them, today's new immigrants are renewing the spirit of America. And like those before them, they know they must learn English to reach their full potential.

Demand for English language classes is so high that some states have even resorted to a lottery system to pick students. We must be clear: learning English should be an opportunity available to all -- not a raffle. My budget boosts support for English as a second language and links classes with civics education. So as new immigrants learn English, they can also become fluent in the rights and responsibilities of American life.

We are more diverse than ever before. The face of America is changing. We all know that. The question ahead is not: how will we look? But, what will we be? What will we choose as a community to do with our diversity?

This fall, as a part of our ongoing millennium celebrations, the First Lady and I hosted a discussion with Eric Lander, one of America's leading geneticists, who is with us here tonight. Dr. Lander explained that all human beings genetically are 99.9 percent the same. Science seems

to affirm what faith has always taught us: that the differences between us are nothing compared to the common humanity that unites us all.

We are more united than ever, but we have work to do. We cannot ignore the hatred that spawned such recent incidents as the murder of young Matthew Shepard or the dragging death of James Byrd in Texas. Rather than give into hate, the Byrd family transformed their hate to a new foundation for racial reconciliation. We're honored to have [TK Byrd] with us tonight.

Let me say again, discrimination and violence against anyone because of race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, ancestry or disability is wrong. We must also make it illegal. I ask the Congress once more to pass, without further delay, the Hate Crimes Prevention Act and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.

And finally, to make the most of our economic and social progress we have made together, we must continue our journey to building One America in the 21st century. That means rededicating 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 housing, education, federal contracting or any other aspect of American life. My budget increases funding substantially for civil rights enforcement at the EEOC and the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division—to make sure that 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 – from lawyers to religious leaders to corporate leaders to make sure every American can help build the One America of our dreams.

We know there is only one way to achieve that kind of nation—not through machines or money or might. Above all, it must flow from the human spirit. Let us take on the unfinished work of our time. Let us do our part to lift the burden of race and make the promise of America the practice of America.

My fellow Americans, this is the seventh time I have had the privilege of this high moment. Each time I have approached 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 of a new millennium. Behind us we see the great expanse of American achievement, and before us, vast frontiers of possibility yet to be explored.

The children of the future will see: generations of Americans earned this moment – earned this opportunity – and we have an obligation to make the most of it. Not even the most far-sighted of our forebears could have predicted that American ingenuity and spirit would lead the world to these unprecedented heights of prosperity and peace. And we can only imagine the heights to which we will climb in this new century.

And so, tonight, whether you are settling in the comfort of today's growing affluence or climbing out of the shadows of yesterday's despair, look up and see that the sun is rising on a new century of hope and possibility in America. Look up and take your place in the procession

of Americans, great and small, whose gifts to the past have brought us to this moment of great promise. Now it is your time. You are our gifts to the future. Together, we can make the next 100 years, America's greatest century.

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 16, 2000

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS

SUBJECT: SOTU OUTSIDE CONTRIBUTOR – DON BAER

Here are some additional good ideas from Don Baer that we thought you should have for your State of the Union Address.

January 10, 2000
Memorandum for the President
From: Don Baer
CC: Terry Edmonds

This is already a late note, but I've talked with Terry about it and decided to send in my ideas anyway.

This year's State of the Union, following on your Millennium Night speech, is obviously a crucial moment. It is the next step among your last opportunities to speak to the entire nation about the progress made because of your leadership and your clear vision for America in the 21st Century. It is useful to view this speech in tandem with your only remaining major opportunity before the election to speak to the entire nation – and indeed the world: your speech next summer at the Democratic National Convention. The two together (with anything you say after the election) will be viewed as something of a coda for your Presidency.

But rather than being about the past, you should make them about the future, about the hopes, dreams and aspirations of Americans – and America – to achieve our best in the new century. Rather than backward looking, you should relentlessly – and, at times in your rhetoric, quite openly – insist that we focus together on building upon the foundation we have worked so hard to put in place.

In all of these speeches, it is very important to find a way to show that under you, America seems for the first time in 25 years to have a bright future again, not just for some, but for most of our people. That is a huge achievement in attitude and reality that is under-appreciated. The title of Fred Siegel's book about New York, "The Future Once Happened Here," might well have applied to American aspirations until your Presidency. Now, however, Americans are believing more than at any time since Vietnam, the 70s economic downturn and Watergate that the future is happening here -- not just for a few, but for the many. Much of your work has been, by force, about undoing the mistakes of your predecessors from the right and the left. But under your Presidency, we are poised to appreciate that our spirit has been renewed. It is renewed not because we are fighting against a foreign threat and because those at the very top of the ladder are the only ones moving higher (as was the Reagan impact); rather, it's true because we have begun to have confidence in ourselves again to work together towards common aims in a time of vast change. People still have concerns about government and politics as forces for good, but they are seeing that we can have an impact of the direction of change for the good.

To that end, I thought much of what you said on New Year's was perfect for the SOTU setting. Since you won't now have to share the stage with countless celebrations around the globe, there is no reason not to import large portions of that address straight into this speech. Your line really does sum it all up: "When our memories outweigh our dreams, we grow old. And it is the eternal destiny of America to remain forever young." Keep the country focused on its dreams of future success, not its memories of past glories, but use a fundamental sense of our enduring values, along with concrete policy proposals as the bridge to connect the two.

This approach calls for underscoring several key points:

- Tap into, while also inspiring, the extraordinary optimism of the American people about this vital moment. People feel the tremendous potential of this "age of possibility," as you have branded it. They are not dour or even particularly anxious. Yes, they recognize, even deplore, the fact that there are obstacles to progress. But they are increasingly eager to seize the

opportunity, and they are open to helping others make the changes and leaps that are necessary for our entire society to succeed, perhaps as never before. The right tone is a positive, upbeat, yet realistic approach that builds on and helps to propel optimism.

- Explain that we have regained our confidence (a key word) to face our challenges together in this decade. I agree with the assessment I have heard Taylor Branch discuss that your greatest legacy is to restore the crucial belief that, after decades of declining confidence, we as Americans now believe again that we can confront our social problems and deal with them together. One view of your story-line is: First, the man from Hope as a spark for renewal; eventually, bit by bit, hope was transformed into confidence, built on the stepping stones of solid, concrete methods that worked to grapple with our most intractable challenges. We have cracked many problems. We have not always done so using the traditional New Deal, government-centered model. We haven't figured out solutions to all our issues (education, especially in the digital age, is, to my mind, top of this list). But we do believe we can solve those problems if – together – we put our minds and our wills to the task. Given where we were coming from in 1992, that is an amazing legacy, which deserves recognition.
- Re-enforce your approach to government and the vital center that you have helped to create. Your ideas are based on an activist/progressive approach to the nation's challenges; your solutions are not about more government, but about the determination of our people to face our challenges responsibly and to deal with them directly. Under you, we have, indeed, begun to reinforce the social contract that says we have responsibilities as well as rights. To this end, I believe it is important that you take this critical time to restate the basic commitment of your approach to those three essential ideas: Opportunity for all. Responsibility from all. And a sense of community applied to all our challenges.
- The future is not necessarily futuristic. In focusing on the great potential of the new century, it is crucial that you as President, in particular, provide anchors about how we view and seek our destinies as individuals and a nation. The things we seek – our dreams and hopes for ourselves, our children, our nation and the world – need to be framed as part of our enduring values and aspirations, not some far-off, exotic unknowns. You have done this for a long time, as you have categorized the fundamental purposes of your Presidency along the lines of enduring American objectives:
 - To keep the American Dream alive for all who are willing to work for it.
 - To maintain America's place as the leading force in the world for peace and freedom and democracy.
 - And to make sure that we are always coming together as a community, as One America in our constant striving to fulfill the dream of our founders to be a "more perfect union."

You could use these three goals as the main categories or baskets of this major speech, framing the larger purposes of your Presidency and your hopes for the nation after you are out of office. They focus us on the long-term hopes of the 21st century. But they are familiar and rooted in basic aspirations, especially from the 20th century.

[I know that the speech is now framed by Opportunity, Responsibility, Community, which, as you know, I have always loved. In some ways, the three principles above do, in fact, meld into Opportunity (American Dream alive), Responsibility (each has to work to reap opportunity; each has obligation to whole, and America as nation has responsibility in the world) and Community (One America). Either way, you are, in fact, anchoring future hopes to enduring values, which is what matters.]

- Our work is not done. When he interviewed you last month, Larry Kind had a throwaway line that I thought was perfect for you. He called you “the working President,” following on your talking about getting up every day and thinking about what you should do to work for the American people. I’d say “the working President” wouldn’t be a bad way to be remembered – as the man who never gave in, who showed how to use the job as a relentless tool to get things done for people and who, quite frankly, made the Presidency work for a whole new age. It is hard, of course, to talk about these things yourself in your speech. I do think that trying to get some columnist to do something with “the working President” idea would be great around the time of the speech. But you still might be able to put some aspects of the idea into play with a blunt opening to the speech, as follows:

“On the night that I was re-elected to the honor of serving as your President, I said to the American people: ‘We have work to do.’ [that was, after all, the core of your election night speech]. In the time since then, and, indeed, in the years I have been privileged to serve as President, we have, indeed, worked hard to take many of the crucial steps necessary for our progress as a nation.”

[Then you can provide the key list of those things, starting with your economic/budget policy. It becomes crucial, here, to show that so much that you have done was, by force, about clearing away the left-over obstacles to progress, such as deficits, a decaying welfare system, ineffective ways to fight crime, an uncertain aim in our foreign responsibilities, and, most important, a debilitating sense that, working together, we could not meet our challenges. Your work has overcome all of this and more. It’s important, too, to remember the new productivity – spurred by the intelligence of our people, the boldness of our businesses and the revolution in technology – that has made this decade possible. But following all that, you can say we still have to move ahead to build upon this new, sturdier foundation – a foundation fit for a new century; we have to build with policies and ideas that will now provide the means for our people to make the most of their own lives. Thus:]

“But, despite our progress, tonight I say to all of you, my fellow Americans: Our work is not done.” [The virtue of a line like this as a pivot to your policy sections is, at least, twofold: First, you are defining the future agenda; second, you are making it clear that your last year is intended as an activist year, not a trip down memory lane. Or, to put it another way, you will never stop being “the working President” until the last day.]

- Issues: Among the many you will focus on that are crucial this year (China/WTO, hopefully Social Security), I also encourage you to make it clear that one of the important ways you can lead now is by drawing together many forces in society and giving them leadership towards finding the right solutions to our big challenges. In other words, there may not be huge, centralized fixes to some problems. But, in the 21st Century, the President provides the national leadership necessary to move things forward on many levels and to focus us collectively on the new challenges. Here are a few suggestions I am aware of:

Education. You might consider using a line Terry and I worked on in a speech we prepared for Discovery's John Hendricks last year, as an umbrella for how to think about education in the 21st Century: Our goal should be "to transform the Information Age into a New Age of Enlightenment." (I've attached a copy of the speech.) Some ideas to put behind that rhetoric could include:

- Call for a national conference on how to create "Digital Learning Opportunity" in the 21st Century, pulling together educators, policy-makers and business leaders. I am the lead staff person for this year's CEO Forum on Education and Technology, which Hendricks chairs (and which we work on with Tony Podesta). You could use this group and others to pull together major leaders about how to build on the progress you have already led. Our schools are now, by and large, wired for the Internet and random-access video. But the more vexing question is how we use that connectivity to transform the education that is available to every child in America. There is a great deal of uncertainty and bad focus on these issues. Only you can bring it together, with a national summit.
- Support efforts to get colleges of education to upgrade their technology training. The CEO Forum also just issued a new technology assessment tool for colleges of education to see how well they are prepared to train the two million new teachers who will come into the schools in the next decade. Secretary Riley joined us for a press conference last week. You could endorse the challenge we issued for every college of education to use this tool to assess its progress by the end of this school year. That will make it possible to determine what resources are needed to give teachers the training they need to teach our children the skills they need to compete and win.
- Encourage media literacy training across the country. Again, Discovery is providing new media literacy training to every public school in Maryland. After the Littleton shootings, rather than rejecting outright any responsibility as part of the entertainment industry, our approach was to believe we have to give children better tools to judge for themselves what is good and not good about the vast profusion of media they have available. We all want to believe the products of the Information Age will be great boons to our children. But they need to have more understanding of all those things that are thrown at them if they are to make sense of them and use them for their own and society's good. Media literacy training is about helping them to be wise about all of this. (We can discuss this further with the policy people if you want.)

Poverty. I believe it is the right time to talk about that issue, precisely in the way you are addressing it with your "New Markets" efforts. One way to keep the discussion fresh and to draw more attention in the next few months would be to call a national summit or White House conference on the issue. I was recently in a discussion with Andrew Young in which he and some media business leaders said we should consider a National Summit on Poverty, specifically focused on what businesses that are doing so well should do to unleash greater activity in the places that have not yet been touched by the prosperity. You are already doing so much: Welfare-to-Work, New Markets, EITC, etc. But calling all kinds of people together to focus on the next stages will help lift this issue up in a way that will prod everyone to do more (without assuming the answer is big government alone) and help the Clinton Presidency get the credit it deserves for putting this issue front-and-center at this tremendous moment of opportunity. I know a number of business leaders who are ready to help make this happen.

Finally, as I suspect you will be doing, I hope you will end your speech on a great call for community and tolerance, much as you did on New Year's. Some kind of related representation

in the box with the First Lady of the families from Littleton might provide a chance to underscore this. If we as a country can get our renewed sense of responsibility from all and community of all right, it will be our greatest asset as we move into the future. We can only be confident if we do work together. That is what you, better than anyone, bring to the country. And I believe, in the end, it will be what you most want the country to remember about you.

I am also attaching another speech by a friend of mine from Chapel Hill that I thought you would enjoy.

Best of luck in this. It will be a great moment. I am around if there is anything I can do to help.

Carolina's Place in the World:
Impetus for Change
Remarks to the UNC-CH Campaign Cabinet,
October 15, 1999
Ruel W. Tyson, Jr.
Director, The Institute for the Arts and
Humanities

I am pleased to be here to offer some reflections on the theme: "Carolina's Place in the World: Impetus for Change."

You will agree I have been given plenty of scope; and fortunately for us all, a very limited time to employ my telescope and magnifying glass.

One of my beloved teachers once told me that when she is before a class of students, she feels, just over her left shoulder, a

small chorus of her own former teachers, some living, some dead. I feel that way as I speak to you. Included in the chorus I am listening to as I speak to you is Michael Hooker. It would be both folly and presumption for me to say I speak for him. He has already spoken, in word and deed, for himself, and thereby, bequeathed to us a demanding legacy that commands our respect and attention. However, there can be no doubt that my remarks today are deeply affected and deeply informed by my conversations with him; my reading of his words; and my sharing of his orientation toward "Carolina's Place in the World."

The Greeks had a word for a special
kind of time. This word does not refer to
clock or calendar time--that is what they
called chronos-- chronological time. The
word they used for special time was kairos--a
full time, a time pulsating with opportunity--
the time when we have an opening, to hit the
target.

"There are some nicks in time which
whosoever finds may promise to himself
success."

So quotes the Oxford English Dictionary
(1628)

We are in our nick of time! But these
openings are not permanent or stable. They
are fleeting and only available to those who

are agile, swift, and possessing the courage
to act against the ever ready excuses for
taking no action: tradition, nostalgia,
proven routines, comfort in current
competences which we may be loath to test
under novel conditions. I am convinced that
one of the most resistant obstacles to change
is the exercise of competence by
professionals, whatever their institutional
location. The exercise of proven competence
is pleasurable and rewarding. Thus careers
are made. Why take the risk to move into
unknown openings where our proven skills may
reveal us as us incompetent? I fear few
professionals, including not many faculty
members, would agree, at least in their
practice, with Hiroshi Mikitani, age 34, who

was quoted the other day in the New York Times(8-30-99): "One of the most important things for an entrepreneur is that you feel everything as a challenge and not as an obstacle."

Michael Hooker had the strong and passionate conviction that our University is in a time of kairós: we have an opening, an opportunity— to do what? To delete what is just ordinary; to make what is good, great; to make what is great, greater; to make the greater the greatest. We will not accomplish that challenge by carrying out business as usual.

Business as usual will not move us to the advantage this perishing occasion offers to us. Business as usual is a ticket to the museum of history and archives. And the cliche--"If it is not broke, don't fix it"-- is not insight but a blind defence against innovation. Such a counsel is fixed on the tried at the expense of the true.

These openings are not permanent; they are fleeting. Unlike chronological time, this special kind of time runs out.

One of the most difficult intellectual feats we must learn to perform, over and over, is to learn that in an era marked by structural change of the most profound order, the need for innovation is not to be followed by times

of stability and comforting repetition. No.
The times we live in require a constant
posture of innovation, a habit, not a skill
to be exercised between periods of stability.

You, the members of the Campaign Cabinet, are here to assure that we do not miss the opening; to reassure us that the road to success is lined with mistakes and failures; and to remind us that each such mis-step is an opportunity to learn how to negotiate the next milestone because the requisite changes, no matter how painful, have been made. And, to keep us from confusing the true with the tried. This is, I believe, is your opening to leadership and your mandates that must accompany it.

At the end of my remarks, I will offer an image for you to consider as you seize the occasion to take our lead.

"Carolina's Place in the World" That phrase, for some, perhaps, for many, is a very bad mis-placement. Why Carolina's place is. . . at Carolina!

Anyone standing under the great canopy of trees in McCorkle Place the other day while the Johnston Center was being dedicated can appreciate that sentiment and its power to identify us with the campus, with this place. Add to these inclinations the fact that we live in a region which once defined who you were by where you were, or where you

were from, your kin and place. Today that is a novelist's fiction. I suggest to you that the University which stays at home will become a relic

To allow our imaginations to be captured by the magic of the Chapel Hill bubble, in which so much brilliance, so much sentiment is invested, would be to blind us to the opening we have— would be to deny us a recognition of the opening presented to us.

What is Carolina's Place in the World? The quiet irony in that question is that it cannot be answered by naming places.

Our world is being transformed by two
powerful and pervasive interactions -what I
referred to earlier as deep structural

transformations: globalizing economies, on
the one hand, and the virtualization of
reality, on the other.

I am saying that computer technology is
the connection--pun intended-- between global
economies and a decisive shift in our
understanding of reality. With that shift
goes a revision of how we practice knowledge,
discover it, teach it, distribute it.

This is already a most dis-locating
experience. Revision of practices we are
highly competent in performing is very
painful. Like learning to walk all over
again. What do I mean by that?

To tell you what I mean requires me to dig a little deeper into the consequences of information technology and point out some dimensions which have been obscured by our need to get wired and to get equipped--and by our love affair with gadgets-- And by our misunderstanding of what the tools of knowledge do to the practitioners of knowledge.

We have, I believe, assumed we can slip these new machines into existing organizational structures and routines; existing methods of research; and proven pedagogies without serious changes in our relationship to the practice of knowledge.

A long time ago, Marshall McLuhan reminded us: We make our tools and our tools make us.

As many have pointed out, I happen to have in mind Peter Drucker, with the current information revolution we have entered the fourth such transformation, not just of the tools of communication but of a corresponding change in the way we understand reality. When our relations with reality change, many other changes are set in motion, many of which we do not understand and cannot foresee. The first such transformation was the invention of writing, 5-6,000 years ago; the second was the invention of books; and the third was the invention of the movable type and engraving (1450-1455). The fourth is the digital revolution we have only known for short

decade. Another and shorter version of these decisive transformations is to say we undergone major shifts from oral to scriptural-textual, and now to digital. It is not the change of the means of production which drives history but the change in the means of communication. (see Peter Drucker, Forbes Magazine, [or Forbes ASAP] 8-24-98)

These changes will require us to redefine how we do our work--in its three major sectors of teaching, research, and public service.

I cannot, of course, go into the necessary detail here, so allow me to make contrast between how we organize knowledge currently and how we are beginning to

organize knowledge, in many cases without fully realizing what we are doing.

Notice the terms we use currently-- positions, fields, disciplines--all terms depend on border guards to protect self-contained and sovereign fields. It is within these fields that both faculty members and students can achieve a degree of mastery through scholarship and learning. The very notion of scholarship tends to take as a given exclusions and limits through which any field of knowledge is constituted as a self-contained location. However, in a virtualizing era, these exclusions which define fields and positions are less and less effective.

I do not believe it is mere accident that the vocabulary so accessible to us now as a result of the computerization of information is one that stresses dynamic relation, rather than static fields, space rather than place. We are, in short, moving from metaphors of place and location to metaphors of space, to relations and connectivity, from containment fields to sites linked into and by networks.

It is no accident that the earlier conception of knowledge, as fields and disciplines, is highly compatible with an institutional structure that looks like a pyramid. I just used a term that is very, very different from a pyramid. It is network. Try finding the top or the bottom or the

center of a network! Try using
sequential(narrative)logic on it!

You must disregard this little opaque
excursion. My intention is to suggest that as
our ways of knowing and communicating change,
so will the shape and patterns of our
institutions. They already are. We have safe
names for some of these changes like, inter-
disciplinary. Such clusters (dare I say
networks?) lack fundamental legitimacy since
they cannot be easily ranked. Rankings, I
might add, is another version of the pyramid.
Or take the common notion of inside and
outside as locaters of institutional
boundaries. What sense does this way of
thinking make in Carolina's space in the
world?

Carolina's space in the world, you will note the change from place to space, depends on many things to see us creatively through the opening we now have. I will only mention a few of many.

First, we cannot take advantage of the new world environment we are entering with the majority of our funding tied up in permanent commitments, primarily people.

Just as the large retirement cohort forthcoming, as the Provost mentioned, will present severe market pressures for the best faculty nationally, so will that same retirement exodus free up funds for more flexible, less long term commitments. In the new economy, the competitive advantage goes to the nimble and malleable, the

flexible and quick. Speed and agility trump
permanent commitments which will run into a
future we know little about, perpetuating
patterns and work of the tried but
progressively less true. Currently, we have
minuscule funds for venture capital, or for
experimental ventures, for challenging the
innovative potential of our faculty. If we
can have endowment for permanence, why cannot
we have endowments for shorter term
experiments to test new ways of teaching,
research, and service in an era of virtual
reality. For example, as far as I know, there
is no group on our campus giving concerted
attention to the longer term consequences of
information technology, how it is shaping our
ways of knowing the world; its political and

social implications; and its ethical implications.

Second, recognize that innovation happens more on the fringe and less in the center of organizations. Cultivate work on the fringe which may or may not, at a later time, be connected to the center of the institution or spun off. Test this proposal: "Because skill guilds constrain and defend an organization, it is often far easier to start a new organization than to change a successful old one." (Kevin Kelly, New Rules for the New Economy). This proposition has been well studied by Clayton M. Christensen of the Harvard Business School in The Innovator's Dilemma: When new technologies cause great firms to fail. While

it may offend many, I think this University is a great firm— Indeed, it is a species of the genus corporation, at least as the medievals understood it.

Third, again, because of the demographic shifts within the faculty through retirement and a large cohort of new hires, we have an opening to nurture and train a new generation of leaders from within our own ranks. We have finally learned that a Ph.D. does not a teacher make; now we need to recognize that a Ph.D. does not a leader make. A few leaders may be born but most are engendered by organizations that seek to be good stewards of their own future.

Finally, what of the humanities? Who speaks for them? The University's schools

which service the professions; the departments and schools that produce science and technology all have an assured base of support and a strong likelihood of sustaining themselves because of their direct linkages to global economies.

Michael Hooker worried about the humanities. He saw a great role for them, in part in grappling with the ethical problems scientific advancement is creating in such mind-numbing rapidity and complexity. And he saw the key role the humanities play in a liberal arts undergraduate education. He said, "The best way to equip people to live a productive and meaningful life is to give them an education in the liberal arts. These disciplines teach people to think

analytically, critically, creatively, to make judgments in environments of ambiguity and uncertainty and limited information."

But then he added--this is from a talk he gave at The Institute for the Arts and Humanities Autumn Saturday in 1998--

"The humanities are at risk from the digital age. The risk is, he said, that the rest of the world will shift focus away from the humanities and toward practical skills. He worried that the Jeffersonian ideal of enabling people to become better citizens and public policy decision makers and to grapple with the moral ambiguities of the revolutions in science and technology would not attract the support, not to speak of value recognition. It follows from this that he

foresaw what is already the case, the widening gap in support and incentives between the sciences and those professions which directly supply the economic needs of world societies.

Carolina's space in the world most assuredly needs Carolina's place, this place, to be where the humanities and undergraduate liberal arts education are both users and critics of the new world of virtual reality, the consequence of the digital revolution. However, this does not excuse the humanities from venturing forth into the worlds of virtual reality on behalf of these very same values and programs. But they will be different.

I said earlier that I would end my remarks by proposing an image first to you, the Cabinet, and then to the rest of us, as we enter the Campaign. It is in a quotation from the late English philosopher Michael Oakeshott, in his book, The Voice of Liberal Learning, and it provides an image of the leadership we need:

└Not the cry, but the rising of the wild
duck impels the flock to follow him in
flight.┘

With your rising, we are ready to follow you in flight toward our common, unknown futures.

Thank you for your attention.

**SPEECH BY JOHN HENDRICKS:
"TRANSFORMING THE INFORMATION AGE INTO
A NEW AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT"
THE ROYAL TELEVISION SOCIETY
LONDON, ENGLAND
APRIL 20, 1999**

Thank you, Tony Hall for that gracious introduction.

I also want to thank chairman Michael Bunce and all the members of the Society for affording me an opportunity to address this distinguished gathering of television professionals. As you all know, in the United States, we have our own colloquial version of the English language. To us the word, "royal" is synonymous with a baseball team in Kansas City. We also use it to indicate a state of quintessential dominance, as in "Lennox Lewis administered a 'royal' beating to Evander Holyfield" -- even though they called it a draw.

But here, we know the term "royal" has a deeper

meaning. And when you were anointed a “royal society” in 1966, it was a moment of high distinction. As the world’s oldest and most respected television society, you have been on the cutting edge of innovation and excellence. And for that, the world owes you a tremendous debt of gratitude.

Tonight, I want to share my thoughts and excitement about the vast potential of television and mass media at the dawn of the 21st century. In particular, I want to elaborate on my belief that we have, not only the potential, but the obligation to transform this extraordinary Information Age into a true new Age of Enlightenment.

In thinking about that high purpose, it is at once humbling and inspiring to stand on the birth ground of the original Age of Enlightenment -- marked by pioneering

thinkers like Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. It was they who taught us to stretch the boundaries of knowledge, to reject comfortable notions of the possible, and to explore the unknown – to reach for the stars. At Discovery, we have proudly embraced this vision. Indeed, our mission since our beginning, barely 15 years ago, has always been to help people explore their world and satisfy their curiosity.

We must remember, however, that this commitment to the unbounded pursuit of knowledge originally met great skepticism. Yet, Locke and others persisted in their beliefs in the vast potential of their moment – if that potential was properly applied. Locke explained this in his famous “Essay Concerning Human Understanding.” He wrote: “When we know our own strength, we shall the better know what to undertake with hopes of success. And when we have well

surveyed the powers of our own minds, we shall not be inclined either to sit still . . . in despair of knowing anything; nor on the other side, question everything, and disclaim all knowledge, because some things are not to be understood. It is of great use to the sailor to know the length of his line, though he cannot with it fathom all the depths of the ocean.”

I believe we can draw a parallel to our times. Like many of the ideas in the first Age of Enlightenment, the emerging technologies of the 21st century – in cable, digital TV, the Internet (and the convergence of all these and more) -- have been and, in some circles, still are looked upon with deep skepticism. But, in the first Age of Enlightenment, recognizing that the pursuit of knowledge was among the supreme goals of humankind did, indeed, eventually enable the world to break free from primitive,

limiting and dogmatic beliefs.

Those same values will help us take another quantum leap in human potential and understanding in our times. Today, the media are on the cusp of undreamed of capabilities. But, we in the media have a special responsibility not to waste this potential or to let it be applied in harmful ways. To do that – to borrow from Locke – we must know the length of our line, meaning: First, we must understand, as well as we can, what this potential actually is; and, second, we must consider how much our application of this new power will, in fact, determine its value.

Let me put the breakthroughs we are now witnessing in context. We are on the brink of the third great revolution in television. The first, led by visionaries like

Campbell Swinton and John Baird, gave us the wonderful invention of television around 1940. But for many decades, the consumers of this service had very limited control over viewing options. To be somewhat anachronistic, it was broadcasters, not consumers who held the remote control.

The second great revolution in television occurred around 1975 with the introduction of satellite-delivered cable television. This spawned networks like Discovery Channel, CNN and HBO. And “remote control” was indeed taken out of the exclusive hands of television executives, giving more viewing choices to an increasing number of homes.

Now, we are entering the third great revolution: The pending mass conversion to digital delivery and high-definition television. It is putting even more power

and control in the hands of the viewing public.

This revolution is being sparked by exciting new breakthroughs in digital technology. The practical key to this for the cable industry is bandwidth technology. High-speed modems are now becoming 10,000 times faster than anything we have ever known. Cable, however, is not the only means advancing at breathtaking speeds. Just last month, Hughes Space and Communications Company announced it is investing in a two-way data satellite network called "Spaceway." Plans are to begin operating in the United States by 2002 – with service throughout the world, including the United Kingdom, close behind.

The result of all this technology is much greater choice – hundreds of choices on television and, eventually,

thousands of choices in a converged version of the television box and the computer box. Indeed, we are headed very quickly towards a world of access on demand – in television, audio and all forms of information flow.

In some ways, these breakthroughs remind us of a much older media format, that of text itself. After all, one of the greatest values of the printing press and the books it produces is to put content in the hands of many people, whenever they require it. Part of the human condition is to experience curiosities of the moment. But even given the great opportunities of that older communications revolution, most people cannot always run down to the bookstore whenever they are hit with a particular curiosity. Now, we can imagine much greater command over the information we need to satisfy our curiosity -- whenever we want it. We are, indeed, creating new portals of

knowledge.

Thus, in the worlds of entertainment and information, even relatively new innovations such as “All news, all the time” are being overtaken by “all sports news or all business news, all the time.” At Discovery, we have created digital channels which draw on our libraries to satisfy specialized viewing appetites, including “all science” – with the consumer, again, in control.

The future is about more than choice alone. We have the power to create an entirely new experience, what I call “telepresence.” This is, simply, the ability to use your television or computer to go anywhere in the world and to immerse yourself in that spot. Discovery uses an exciting new technology called Omniview ~~(TM)~~, which is a 360-degree, all-directional photographic operation. This techno

so revolutionary that the company that invented it, IPLX, cannot produce a brochure to show what it looks like. We use it on Discovery dot com to take viewers to our "Picture of the Day." Today, for instance, a young girl in London could take a full 360 degree visit to [checking on the picture site for day of speech] by clicking on our Web page. And that is only the beginning of the applications we might imagine.

This is all awe-inspiring. But the greatest potential of all is for this technological revolution to lead to a content revolution. What excites us at Discovery more than technology is the potential it holds for expanding human knowledge and understanding.

Indeed, I believe it is crucial for all of us here to keep one fact in mind: We are in the content business, not

simply the business of one technology or the other.

In fact, I probably would not be standing here tonight if the big three U.S. television networks – CBS, NBC and ABC -- had not miscalculated in the late 1970s. They defined themselves as broadcast technology companies, rather than content providers. That mistake allowed Discovery and other cable networks to carve out opportunities that truly became the wave of the future. Today, at Discovery, we go to great lengths to remind our employees that we are not in the cable, or even the television business alone -- we are a content enterprise. That thinking has taken us beyond the television, around the globe and into virtually every arena of knowledge – from books and stores to schools and the Internet.

It is important to focus on content, rather than simply technology, because it underscores a crucial reality:

There is nothing inevitable to ensure that the great potential of this moment will be realized or used wisely or even for the common good. More choice is not necessarily better choice. More information does not necessarily make us better informed. We must avoid the fate of being able to see much more, yet know much less.

As we are seeing, there is the potential for nagging annoyances on the Internet, like the unwanted advertising clutter we call "spam." And there is also the very real danger for gross misuses of this technology -- from hackers, virus spreaders, and people bent on spreading misinformation and even violence and terror. We have a responsibility as leaders in this field, to make sure we use this power the right way and towards the highest purposes.

There are no magic potions to ensure we will do this. But it will help if we are guided by a set of eight principles aimed at using this pivotal moment in communications history to usher in a new Age of Enlightenment. I do not intend this list to be exhaustive. But it is a set of ideas and ideals that can help us enlighten while avoiding the negative pitfalls before us.

The first principle is an unshakable commitment to quality. We must never sacrifice the creation of the highest quality content to the pursuit of the largest audience. Though many forces will pull us away, we must never stop striving to create programming and products that elevate as well as entertain. At Discovery our goal is to tap into the mass audience in its curious or learning mood – and to satisfy that mood in a positive way. We have learned a great deal about this from our many

high-quality partners here in the United Kingdom.

That is one of the reasons we have been so proud of our one-year-old joint venture with the BBC. We are thrilled – as we know you will be – by the remarkable feat of “Walking With Dinosaurs,” the first documentary to come out of our venture. When people see it next year, it will have the power to raise to an unprecedented level the on-going effort to both educate and entertain. We can hardly wait.

The second principle is always to remember the fundamental value of storytelling. Storytelling is the basic way our species passes on our most important precepts from one generation to another. And, just as suspenseful stories kept our ancestors riveted around campfires, today they are the magnet that attracts families to their television sets. We should keep that in mind as we try to order vast new flows of data – using good stories

that pass on values as well as information. It was, after all, not any of the accomplished technical geniuses of the last 1,000 years, but a master storyteller named William Shakespeare, who was chosen the Man of the Millennium in a recent BBC “Today” poll.

The third principle is to think globally and to act locally. The new technologies give us the chance to span the world and tie it together in ways never before imagined.

The goal is not to export one culture in an effort to dominate and denigrate others. It is to showcase a mosaic of influences – to venerate the best of many cultures in hopes of forming a truly global culture.

I am pleased that this is what Discovery strives to do in 145 countries and 23 languages throughout the world – with programming that draws on many of those cultures to satisfy the curiosity of our viewers everywhere.

Fourth, we should strive to enhance a spirit of community. The Internet and the formats that will arise from it offer humanity one of our greatest tools to date for satisfying our desire to connect with fellow human beings who share our interests. In many ways our children are pioneering this potential. Through their natural curiosity, they are stretching the boundaries of the possible, showing how to create new ways to – in the words of E.M. Forster – “only connect.” When I think about how my children use their “buddy lists” to chat endlessly with their friends, no matter where they are, I remember growing up in Huntsville, Ala., with party-lines – which made keeping secrets in our little community very hard. These new means of communicating are providing the new town squares or local pubs of the global village. We must find ways to increase their use – even as we try not to give up

on the older version of the pub.

Fifth, we must focus on empowerment. We must not simply give people more information. We must give them news they can use ... tools to help them make the most of their lives, to make wise business or lifestyle choices and even to improve their health. We are now launching a new venture called "Discovery Health Media." Our goal is to be the world's most useful and authoritative source of information via television and the Internet about medical and health topics. We intend to help millions of people around the world live better lives.

Following on that, the sixth principle is to use the new media to expand educational opportunity. That means not simply making sure our children have access to the Internet. We must also ensure that their teachers are

trained to use the technology, that their parents have access to it for their own lifelong learning, and that we have the content necessary to teach them. This year, I am co-chair of a group in America called the CEO Forum on Education and Technology. It includes the top corporate officers of some of our most influential Information Age companies. We recently issued a report that showed we are making great progress in bringing computers and the Internet into classrooms. But we also showed that, by 1997, only three percent of America's schools were maximizing educational technology. That is why, this next year, our group will focus on how to improve the content our schools have available.

As we work to improve that situation, we must also make sure that the digital revolution does not create a new digital divide between the haves and have nots.

This moment is too important to allow its power to reside only in the hands of the fortunate few. I am particularly proud that we have formed the Discovery Channel African Educational Initiative to bring video technology and educational programming to poor parts of Southern Africa. This year, it will become the Discovery Channel Global Education Fund, as we open sites in Latin America.

Seventh, we should use these breakthroughs to give people a better balance between work and family. We can help people tailor their time and their lives, so that they can be both more productive workers and stronger family members. And, in doing that, I actually believe we will help to ensure that all of this information is absorbed better by healthier and happier children, whose parents are not torn by the demands of work.

All of these principles are important. But given the fast-pace of our world, none is more important than this last one: We must never be blinded by the arrogance of the moment into believing that we know all the guiding principles or have all the answers. We must remain open, inquisitive and always ready to surprise ourselves with innovation. Nothing is certain except that the frontier ahead of us will be constantly shifting. Or, to borrow again from John Locke, even if we know the length of our line, we will barely be able to fathom all the depths of the ocean that lies ahead.

In closing, I encourage you to develop your own guiding principles for this exciting new age.

The important thing to remember is that if we embrace our immense responsibility, then I believe we can use television and the new media to bring about a new Age of

Enlightenment. I leave you with a simple but profound statement from a former member of America's Federal Communications Commission named Nicholas Johnson.

He said, "All television is educational television.

The only question is what it is teaching." The answer we give to that question will help shape, for better or worse, the world of the 21st century.

Thank you again for this honor, and goodnight.