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STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
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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.

GDP

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 strengthen 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 1835, 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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**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. 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 that there was nothing wrong with America that could not be fixed by what was right with America. In the last seven years, America has shown we could move beyond the old false political choices: between the economy and the environment; between being safe and being free; between a government that does too much and a government that does too little; between what makes us different as people and what makes us equal before the law and under God. We've met new conditions with new ideas – rooted in our oldest, deepest values – of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community of all Americans.

In 1992, Vice President Gore and I had a roadmap. In the year 2000, we have results. Real, measurable, remarkable results: 20 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 lowest crime rate in 25 years; the largest surplus in almost 40 years; the lowest African-American and Hispanic

unemployment rate ever; the highest home ownership ever. 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.

So the great question before us tonight is how to make the most of this magic moment, this time of profound promise and possibility. Many challenges greet us at the dawn of this new century: preparing for the aging of America; providing a world-class education to the largest, most diverse group of students in history; helping parents succeed at work and at home; protecting our environment; expanding opportunity to the people and places left behind; making America the safest big country in the world; competing in, and putting a human face on, the global economy; and leading the world toward greater peace, prosperity, and freedom.

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.

OPPORTUNITY

Tonight, I will propose a new agenda for this new era: a New Opportunity 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." The economic conditions we have created – the virtuous cycle we have set in motion – put us in a position to realize our nation's deepest dreams. We can 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 America moves ahead.

The New Opportunity 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 union card. Today, opportunity means something different. It means having a computer and knowing how to use it. It means higher education and a lifetime of learning. It means rewarding work and empowering people.

With all the progress we have achieved, we know that there are still too many Americans who have not felt the light of our nation's growing prosperity. If we can't, in this moment of unprecedented prosperity, take the responsibility for making sure every American who is willing to work hard, has an equal chance to share in the American Dream, then when will we ever get around to it?

Our first steps into the 21st Century must be guided first and foremost by our faith that all children can and must learn. For in the new information economy, education is the indispensable key to opportunity.

For seven years we have pursued a simple strategy on education: Invest more, and demand more in return. We have opened the doors of college to all with more Pell grants, more-affordable student loans, education IRAs, and our HOPE scholarship tax cut. 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, with the help of the Vice President's E-rate program. 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.

I have visited such schools all across America that have turned themselves around with the same proven formula: more accountability, higher standards, help such as after school for children to meet those 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 escape poverty and make the most of their God-given talents.

Last year, from this podium, I proposed my 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 what we know works.

We know that quality afterschool and summer school boost academic achievement. It also keeps 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 provide afterschool and summer school to give every child in every failing school in America the chance to meet high standards.

We know that our children will do best if they start learning early. 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. If we want to keep kids out of trouble, let's make sure they go to a school where everybody knows their name.

We know that to make our schools the best on earth, we must turnaround our schools that are performing the worst. Last fall, Congress passed my plan to give districts the resources to turn around failing schools – or shut them down. 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.

Education is the key: as Dr. King said, it opens the doors to opportunity. But when our children walk through those doors they should be confident that they enter an economy that rewards work, and gives them the freedom to do the most important work of all: to raise strong families and happy, healthy children. [TK: Schumer/ college tax ideas]

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. It's the private sector's responsibility to create jobs; but we all have a responsibility to reward work. That has been a basic goal of so much we have done – from reforming welfare to raising the minimum wage. My New Opportunity Agenda builds on our progress – doing more to ensure that work pays, and that hard-working people reap their rightful rewards.

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

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 for 5 months of groceries or for 8 months of healthcare, and it's an added incentive to help them work 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.

We should also expand access to health care. In less than a year, enrollment in our Children's Health Insurance Program 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 they are – schools, churches, 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. My budget provides a new tax credit to make that choice possible and cut their premiums up to one quarter.

Affordable and available care must also be quality care. We know we have the finest health care system in the world, and professionals that work wonders; but we also know that their first obligation is to do no harm. When avoidable medical errors cause preventable tragedies, we must act. 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.

For two years, I have called on Congress to pass a strong, enforceable patients' bill of rights for all Americans – to put the power of healthcare where it belongs: in the hands of patients and doctors, not insurance companies and accountants. Last fall, a bipartisan majority in the House did just that. For the sake of all American families, we must finish the job this year.

Last year, I also called on Congress to work with me to secure and modernize Medicare and add a voluntary prescription drug benefit. When I became President, Medicare was projected to go bankrupt by 1999. The steps we have taken have secured it until at least 2014. But we can and must do better. I call on this Congress to extend the life of Medicare – and do it this year.

We also know that about 75 percent of Medicare beneficiaries lack decent, dependable, private-sector prescription drug coverage. Last year, though we did not agree on a final plan, we did reach a bipartisan consensus on the need for voluntary drug coverage. We are moving in the right direction. Tonight, let us pledge to go the final mile. Let's give our seniors the life-saving medicines they need at prices they can afford.

I hope the Congress will complete another piece of unfinished business. Let's raise the minimum wage. 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]

We have one final, fundamental obligation: to ensure that the guarantee of Social Security remains rock-solid, and that hard-working Americans have the retirement years they have earned. Last year, I sent Congress legislation to honor our commitment to older Americans and future generations by extending the life of the Social Security trust fund until the year 2050. This year, our budget outlook gives us an even better opportunity. So I say to this Congress, let's get this job done.

As we work 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. Americans are right to ask hard questions about globalization. But those who say we ought to drop out of the international economy, or put the brakes on trade, are simply wrong.

Trade has been a major force behind our economic growth. Exports create stable, high-paying jobs. Imports bring us a wide variety of products – and keep them affordable. 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. In an era of globalization, we have a profound interest in making opportunity truly global.

We need to make sure trade is fair to Americans. First and foremost, that means enforcing our own trade rules, and protecting our workers, industries, and environment. But we don't want a world in which others cannot sell to us – because that means we cannot sell to them. We need to make the WTO more open and more responsive to real

people – and remember that a global economy based on rules is far preferable to one with no rules at all.

We need to make sure we benefit when China joins the WTO and agrees to live under the same trade rules we do. I ask Congress to pass Permanent Normal Trade Relations status for China. We must not miss this tremendous opportunity. This deal will not solve all our problems with China, or change the lives of its people overnight. But it is a step in the right direction. And it will give Americans great new opportunities in every sector of China's vast market.

Engagement in the global economy is an investment in our shared future. People here benefit most when people everywhere can look ahead with hope. That is why we pledged to do our part to reduce the debts that burden the world's poorest nations. I ask Congress to continue its support for this effort. I also ask you to finalize our trade initiatives for Africa and the Caribbean Basin – perhaps the most important effort ever to promote economic growth in those places. Building stronger trading partners will help America master the new economy is good for America. And it is the right thing to do.

Reforming education... rewarding work... mastering the new economy... all these elements work together to expand opportunity into nearly every corner of our country. But not yet every corner. During the last six months, I have traveled across America, shining a spotlight on the potential I see in places not yet blessed by our nation's prosperity. I have taken these trips because I want all of American business to see what enormous opportunities there are in America's new markets. I have been glad to have a number of you join me along the way.

Together, we have seen the power of public-private partnership from rural Appalachia to the Delta. We have seen the spark of investment, and the energy of community empowerment, in inner cities from Williamsburg, in Brooklyn, to Watts, in Los Angeles. We have seen that a sound infrastructure can bring opportunity even to the remote regions of Indian country. Now, more than ever, we have the means to do it: to tap the potential of new markets, to unlock the potential of new workers. For business, it's the smart thing to do. And for America, it's the right thing to do.

In this year's budget, I am calling 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 for America's Private Investment Companies, modeled on the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, 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.

When I visited Pine Ridge, South Dakota, 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 the first Americans. My budget increases by more than \$1 billion our commitment to meet the special challenges Native American communities face: from health to education, and from law enforcement to 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. My budget rewards farmers who do the right thing for our environment; and, through our New Markets Initiative, helps them diversify their economic base. And it doesn't just mend the farm safety net – it strengthens 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 digital economy and those who don't. That gap exists along lines of education, income, region, and race. But the very technology that drives our new economy also creates the tools to ensure that everyone, from the city to the farm to the reservation, can join in building our nation. My balanced budget would create 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 unless you have the tools to play.

RESPONSIBILITY

To achieve our potential as a nation in the 21st Century, we must not only provide more opportunity for all – we must demand more responsibility from all. Franklin Roosevelt called responsibility "the discipline of a democracy."

America's first responsibility is to love and support their children. 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 toughen child support enforcement even further. [details TK] 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.

We must do everything we can to find families for children who have none. Consider this: in the last four years, we have increased the number of children adopted out of the foster care system by 30 percent. Tens of thousands more children now enjoy the warmth and confidence that comes from having a permanent home. 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 led our Administration's efforts to achieve these goals, someone who has worked tirelessly for children as long as I have known her: our First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Government's responsibility is to keep its citizens safe. 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 America at all levels took more responsibility for fighting crime. We passed the Brady Bill in 1993, and stopped over half-a-million felons, fugitives, and domestic abusers from buying guns. Gun crime has since fallen 35 percent. We passed an historic crime bill in 1994, and helped local communities fund 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 serious crime is at a 25 year low and the homicide rate is at its lowest point in 31 years, no one believes America is as safe as it should be. We ought to dedicate ourselves to making 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 do as the First Lady has suggested, and give parents what they most need: one rating system for all their children's entertainment—a system that is easy to understand and enforce.

We also have a responsibility to preserve and protect our environment for our children and for generations to come. As Theodore Roosevelt said, when it comes to our natural resources, we should “take the long look ahead.”

I am very grateful for the opportunities Vice President Gore and I have had to take that “long look ahead” – to show that a stronger economy and a cleaner environment can and must go hand-in-hand. We have rid hundreds of neighborhoods of toxic waste; ensured cleaner drinking water for millions of families; and taken the boldest steps in a generation to improve the air we breathe. Two weeks ago, I had the pleasure of standing on the north rim of the Grand Canyon where I announced the creation of three new national monuments -- preserving some of our nation’s most glorious natural treasures. With this new effort, our Administration has now safeguarded more land in the continental United States than any other since Theodore Roosevelt launched our nation on the path of conservation a century ago.

As we embark on a new century, we have an opportunity to bestow upon the American people a new conservation legacy. Tonight, I propose nearly \$1.5 billion a year in permanent funding to preserve precious places across America. This new Lands Legacy initiative will save threatened wild lands, restore salmon and other wildlife, protect our coasts, and help local communities preserve the farms, meadows, and parks that help keep nature a part of our daily lives.

We must also do more to help communities grow in ways that enhance every citizens’ quality of life. In the 1990s, the loss of farmland and other open space more than doubled, and Americans spent more time stuck in traffic than ever before. The Livable Communities initiative launched by Vice President Gore provides new tools for smarter growth. Tonight I propose to strengthen this program with new funding to help communities build light rail and other transit systems. It’s time we did more to save our precious green spaces.

As we cherish our own land, we must also help other nations that are struggling to protect theirs. As almost any schoolchild can tell you, the rain forests are the lungs of our planet. Yet these fragile sanctuaries of life, which harbor more species than any place else on earth, are still disappearing at a rate of [250] acres a minute. Tonight, I propose a new Greening the Globe initiative to help stem this devastating loss. This [\$150] million initiative will help developing countries from the Amazon ... to Asia ... to the rich Congo basin strengthen their economies by preserving, instead of destroying, their irreplaceable natural heritage.

The gravest environmental challenge of the new century is the threat of global warming. Last year was the second warmest year on record in the United States, just shy of the record set only a year before. All across the country, people are feeling the effects of our changing weather – more flooding, more droughts, more deadly heat waves.

Tonight, I announce three major new efforts to deal with this problem. First, I propose a [\$100 million] initiative to help developing countries adopt clean energy technologies, so they can grow and prosper without poisoning their air and further endangering our climate. Second, to strengthen our efforts here in the United States, I propose closing the loophole that allows for the continued operation of old power plants, which are the leading cause of greenhouse pollution. Third, I call on the auto industry to join us in the fight against global warming. Together, we have developed the technology to produce cars that are far more fuel-efficient. I challenge you now to move these cars from laboratory to the showroom floor.

Let us take the “long look ahead.” Let us put 21st century technology to work building a 21st century economy in harmony with our environment.

At a moment when American power is unprecedented, and the world is coming together around the ideals Americans have lived by and died for, we have a responsibility, to ourselves and to our partners around the world, to lead. Let’s never forget the Americans who have struggled to give us this chance. Let’s 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 all 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, doing our part to answer the big questions that will decide the character of the 21st century.

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 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 do its share].

We should be proud of the role America played in bringing 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 turned the tide against ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. Thanks to them, a million innocent people are home. And 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.

[Recognize Mitchell and Kosovo soldier in box; need to stay the course.]

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 confront the risk of 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 peaceful, 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 to our future. A generation from now, let no one say that we did not do our part to help.

As for China, we must promote our interests with firmness, but not with fear. So let us say clearly that 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 force us to 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.

We must work with other nations to destroy terrorist and criminal networks and to target the havens that launder their money. This year, I will propose a law giving America new tools to protect our financial system from money laundering.

A bigger challenge is to prevent terrorists and potential adversaries from acquiring deadly weapons. We can do that by working with Russia to keep nuclear weapons secure and continuing to reduce our arsenals. By restraining North Korea's nuclear and missile programs and Iran's, and continuing to prevent Iraq from threatening its neighbors. And by strengthening 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, 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 world 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. It isn't right. And it isn't in our interest.

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 Colombia 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 fight the killer diseases that are stealing the future from developing nations. My budget calls for a new \$150 million investment in the global fight against AIDS and other diseases. And I will call on our partners in the G-7 and around the world to join us in supporting a Millennium Trust Fund 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 question is the most important of all: Will America continue to lead? How do we see ourselves and our role for next century?

In the 20th century, America was thrust into position of 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 can choose to see our role as a burden. I choose to see it as a blessing.

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 support our top international priorities 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.

As we cross the threshold of the new millennium, we have a responsibility to use the twin engines of digital information and biotechnology to usher in a new age of enlightenment. It is already clear that this will be a Millennium of medical miracles. Our

increasing knowledge of the physiology and genetics of the human body promise remarkable treatments for disabilities and disease.

In the last 100 years, the life expectancy of the average American has increased by almost 30 years, as a result of breakthroughs like penicillin and the polio vaccine. We are now on the brink of sequencing the human genome, which may allow us to cure diseases such as cancer, AIDS and Alzheimer's. And the new science of nanotechnology is giving us the ability to manipulate atoms and molecules in ways that could help us detect tumors the size of a single cell, or develop molecular computers that can store the Library of Congress on a sugar cube.

The intense global proliferation of Internet services portends a time when an increasing fraction of human knowledge will be literally at our finger tips. Our ability to share our thoughts, ideas, experiences and dreams across the boundaries of space and time, can bind our species together in a powerful web of wisdom and wealth.

Here in America, science and technology have fueled much of our growing prosperity. It has resulted in higher productivity without inflation. Information technology alone is responsible for fully one-third of our recent growth. And the high-tech jobs it is spawning pay nearly 80 percent more than the private sector average.

If we want our current prosperity to continue into the 21st century, we must continue to encourage the creation and spread of new technologies. That is why 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 not only an investment in research and technology, it is an investment in America's future. And we can not move forward without it.

But, as we find more and more ways to take advantage of the wonders of science and technology, we must be certain they are rooted in our oldest values. In addition to ensuring that the benefits of technology are equally shared by all our citizens, we must take steps to make sure our financial and medical privacy are not invaded.

Last year, our Administration proposed rules that will protect some of Americans' most sensitive information, their medical records. This year, those rules will be put in final form. We also took a first step to protect citizens' financial records in the financial modernization bill. But, as I said when I signed that law, we need to do much more. I will be sending legislation to the Hill to complete that unfinished business.

I am also concerned and intend to take action to prevent genetic discrimination – the use of genetic information by employers in their hiring decisions. Finally, we will continue to build privacy protections into the actions of the government itself. And tonight I want to issue a strong challenge to on-line companies to do more to protect the privacy of their customers.

Nearly forty years ago, as we began our 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." Let us make our progress a force for good.

COMMUNITY

One of the best ways to be a force for good is to empower our citizens, strengthen our neighborhoods and build a community of all Americans. Together, let us build a new community agenda.

Alexis de Toqueville observed that in America, helping others is not just charity or compassion, it is a sign of good citizenship. Like our country itself, the face of the philanthropic tradition is changing--becoming more diverse and younger. To broaden the base of giving even more, I am proposing new tax incentives to promote charitable giving. 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. More than five years and 150,000 Americorps volunteers later, a new generation of Americans has shown the way through service--teaching children, cleaning up the environment, helping the homeless and countless other ways.

Like returning Peace Corps volunteers and military veterans, Americorps graduates 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 volunteer 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 that technology is making it possible to increase involvement 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 one of immigrants. Like those before them, our new immigrants are enriching our national community and renewing the spirit of America. And just like those before them, learning English is the key to reaching their full potential.

Demand for English language classes is so high, 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 and lifeskills 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?

Two years ago, Hillary and I created the White House Millennium Council to help bring Americans together--to reflect on where we have been as a nation—who we are—what we want to be. This fall, the First Lady hosted one of America's leading geneticists at a millennium evening discussion at the White House. He affirmed what faith has taught us. He said all humanity, genetically, is 99.9 percent the same. In large ways and small, it is easy to forget that truth. But honest and real differences can only be explored, confronted and worked through, and diversity can only be celebrated when we recognize that the most important fact of life is our common humanity.

We are more united than ever, but we have work to do. We cannot turn our backs on the climate of hate that spawned such recent incidents as the murder of young Matthew Shepard or the dragging death of James Byrd in Texas.

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 that this moment was earned through America's drive for discovery and our enduring quest for freedom and opportunity for all. Not even the most far-sighted of our forebears could have predicted that American ingenuity and spirit would lead the world to the unprecedented heights of peace and prosperity that we enjoy today.

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.

MISCELLANEOUS

Strategy Session
Wednesday, January 12, 2000
Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates

Mood of the Country

	10/28	11/09	12/07	12/15	1/12
Country: Right/Wrong Track	47/40	52/38	53/34	52/36	55/30
Economy: Right/Wrong Track	68/25	73/20	70/22	69/23	78/16

Favorability						
	President Clinton	52/47	54/44	57/43	55/44	56/43
	Gore	50/45	49/43	51/44	48/46	52/43

President Clinton	52/47	54/44	57/43	55/44	56/43
Gore	50/45	49/43	51/44	48/46	52/43

Clinton Job Approval	62/38	66/33	65/35	66/33	68/30
Strongly Approve	24	28	26	28	28

Strongly Approve	24	28	26	28	28
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	10/28	11/09	12/06	12/15	1/12
Foreign Policy Job Approval	55/43	61/36	61/37	58/40	61/36
Strongly Approve	18	25	17	17	19

Most Important Issue (Open End) Too -

Education - **11%**
 Morality/Family Values - **10%**
 Economy/Jobs - **10%**
 Health Care - **8%**
 Fighting Crime - **5%**
 Preserving Social Security + Preserving Medicare - **5%**
 Taxes - **3%**

Telusa →

284 credn

28% conlin

Dechen
College Town

289 credit → just a good

[you say it is]
Schöner.

541 mps
Coccoloba

What is the Most Important Issue (Closed End)

<i>Among the following choices</i>	All	12/20
Education	20	18
Social Security /Medicare	17	18
Healthcare	12	14
Guns and Youth Violence	12	12
Keeping the Economy Strong	11	9
Moral Decline	8	18
Taxes	5	4
Foreign Affairs	3	4

With Congress out of session, approval of Congress is up, and the Congressional horserace has tightened somewhat to a seven point Democratic lead. The generic presidential remains tight, at a 2 point Democratic advantage.

Congressional Approval

	10/18	10/28	11/09	12/07	12/15	1/12
Congress	43/50	46/46	48/46	52/44	50/43	53/40
Congressional Republicans	37/56	40/52	38/55	43/49	37/53	44/47
Congressional Democrats	48/44	47/44	49/44	51/41	48/42	52/39

Congressional Horserace

	10/18	10/28	11/09	12/07	12/15	1/12
Democrat	44	44	44	43	45	44
Republican	38	38	37	38	36	37

Generic Presidential Horserace

	11/09	12/07	12/15	1/12
Democrat	43	38	42	43
Republican	38	45	39	41

Presidential Horserace (Dem / Rep)	D	R	I
Jan. 12	86/7	3/89	35/37
Dec. 15	80/7	9/84	34/36
Dec. 7	82/9	2/88	23/46
Nov. 9	83/7	6/83	39/34

Newspaper Headlines

Mideast Peace Talks: 5; Tax reform: 2; Greenspan: 1; Move-in: 1; Probe: 1

Date	Day	Newspaper	Headline
01/10	Monday	USA Today	Clinton Probe: controversial investigation of Pres. Clinton by Robert Ray
01/06	Thursday	USA Today	Mideast Peace Talks: President Clinton expected back at WV talks today
01/06	Thursday	USA Today	Clintons Move In: President Clinton walks around family's new home
01/05	Wednesday	The Washington Post	Greenspan Nominated For Fourth Fed Term: Clinton Hails Leadership
01/05	Wednesday	The New York Times	Clinton Pushes Peace Talks
01/05	Wednesday	USA Today	Mideast Peace Talks: President Clinton and Madeline Albright have "productive"
01/04	Tuesday	The New York Times	Israel and Syria Return to Search for Major Accord: President Clinton with Prime Minister of Israel
01/04	Tuesday	The Washington Post	Israel, Syria Begin Talks: Clinton meets with each side
01/04	Tuesday	The Washington Post	Clinton Taps Big Donors for Special NY Account
01/03	Monday	The Washington Post	Clinton to Push Tax Ideas
01/03	Monday	USA Today	Clinton to Revive Tax Cut Proposals

Television Headlines

Move-in: 3; Columbia Aid: 2; Mid-East peace talks: 1; Memorials: 1

Date	Station	Order	Headline
01/11	NBC	5	Clinton Announces Land for Memorials; Hoping It Will Be His Legacy
01/11	CBS	9	Clinton Calls for Big Increase in Anti-Drug Aid to Colombia
01/11	ABC	9	Clinton Administration Proposes Military Aid Package for Colombia
01/06	NBC	4	Clintons Spend 1st Night In NY House; He Will Become Resident
01/05	NBC	4	Clintons Spend The Night in Their New House in New York
01/05	CBS	12	Clintons Arrive at their NY Home; She'll Stay, He Won't
¼	CBS	7	Furniture Deliveries Arrive At Clintons' New York Home
¼	ABC	4	Clinton In WV To Oversee Syrian-Israeli Peace Talks

In the News

A number of the President's activities received wide and favorable coverage in the last week. Over two thirds were aware of his work on the Israeli-Syria talks, and close to sixty percent said it made them more favorable. Proposals on expanding CHIP and school construction were particularly popular.

Did you hear anything about...	% Aware	More/ Less Fav	D	R	I
Did you hear about President Clinton working to broker a peace agreement between representatives of Israel and Syria who have been meeting in West Virginia?	68	59/19	74/7	42/37	60/17
Did you hear about President Clinton nominating Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan for another term?	63	62/21	74/8	60/28	55/27
Did you hear about President Clinton proposing a \$2.7 billion expansion of the children's health insurance program to cover more uninsured children with healthcare?	56	75/16	89/4	51/39	78/10
Did you hear about President Clinton's proposing an additional \$1.3 billion to renovate aging public schools?	55	71/17	91/1	49/46	70/10
Did you hear about President Clinton's proposal to prevent websites from dispensing medications through the Internet without prescriptions or licenses?	47	52/30	67/15	33/50	51/29
Did you hear about President Clinton designating land for three new national monuments of about a million acres of rare and scenic land in the American west?	46	47/30	54/27	33/46	51/23
Did you hear about President Clinton announcing \$2.4 billion in federal spending cuts as required by last fall's budget deal with Congress?	39	42/35	56/23	28/56	36/32

Accomplishment Statistics

Moving people off the welfare rolls and creating the best American economy in a generation are seen as the top accomplishments of the Clinton Administration.

What do you think is the best thing that President Clinton has accomplished during his term in office <i>Sorted by 1st choice</i>	1 st	1 st + 2 nd	D	R	I
Moving 6.8 Million People Off Welfare Rolls	16	29	17	22	12
Creating The Best American Economy In A Generation	15	27	15	10	18
The Lowest Unemployment In 40 Years	11	21	12	12	9
The Largest Investment In Children's Health Care In 35 Years	10	22	10	11	11
The Largest Budget Surplus In History	9	13	7	7	11
Creating 19 Million New Jobs	7	16	9	1	10
Getting 200,000 More Kids In Head Start	6	14	11	4	2
Reducing Violent Crime To Its Lowest Level Since 1973	4	14	3	1	6
Funding 100,000 New Teachers	4	14	5	2	5
Funding 100,000 New Police Officers	4	9	1	5	5

55/42% think that President Clinton has / has not tried to ensure that the prosperity of the booming economy has spread to all Americans.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
74/23	37/57	52/47	51/45	59/38

T.I.P.M.I.

State of the Union

71/24% think America is / is not prepared for the 21st Century.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
69/20	69/30	75/25

While Americans overwhelmingly agree we are prepared for the 21st century in technology and economic issues, there are concerns about our preparedness in education, healthcare, poverty, and racial issues.

Here are some issue areas. For each one, please tell me if we are prepared for the 21 st century in it (ranked by prepared)	ALL	D	R	I
Technology	90/8	84/13	93/4	93/7
Our economy	77/19	65/26	92/5	76/23
Competing with other nations	77/19	74/21	76/22	79/17
Working together for peace	60/36	67/28	62/34	56/43
Putting our fiscal house in order	57/38	59/33	53/43	58/39
Having a ready military	54/37	51/39	66/22	31/60
Reducing dependence on welfare	43/52	52/41	36/61	41/56
Education	42/57	44/55	40/58	41/57
Getting along with the races	42/56	41/57	31/67	52/47
Healthcare	32/65	29/64	30/67	36/63
Fighting poverty	31/67	30/67	44/55	26/73

29% say the opportunities that people need have remained the same over a long period of time; 66% say we need a new definition of opportunity for these new times.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
30/65	32/57	25/72

65/28% believe we need /do not need a new opportunity agenda.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>< 35 Years</i>	<i>> 35 Years</i>
66/22	57/36	71/26	74/22	62/29

Suppose President Clinton were to announce a new opportunity agenda. For each issue, please tell me if you think it should be a part of a new opportunity agenda or not?	ALL	D	R	I	Fem. W/ Kids	< 35 Years	> 35 Years
Home ownership tax credits for low income families	89/10	97/2	80/19	88/10	92/7	94/5	86/12
Expanding access to health care coverage for children and the poor	88/11	99/1	75/24	89/11	94/5	92/7	85/13
School construction bonds to modernize up to 6000 schools	81/16	92/5	66/32	82/15	91/6	95/3	76/21
Increasing head start and early childhood learning funding	80/19	91/9	60/39	84/15	91/8	89/10	75/24
More funding for test prep and other programs to send poor children to college	80/19	92/8	56/43	87/12	83/16	85/15	79/20
Improving teacher quality, and turning around or shutting down failing schools	80/17	82/14	77/21	79/19	84/14	82/17	81/16
Expanding the child care tax credit	78/20	82/11	69/30	79/20	91/5	89/10	74/22
Universal pre-school that provides access to pre-school for every 4-year old in America	76/23	83/17	54/46	85/12	86/13	92/7	71/27
Universal after-school programs	76/23	89/10	60/39	75/24	90/8	86/13	71/27
Expanding new markets tax credits for rural and inner city areas	75/19	73/16	78/19	76/21	81/11	87/12	72/20
Funding to train women for non-traditional, high tech jobs.	74/24	83/16	68/31	72/26	82/15	78/22	74/24
Increasing funding for community technology centers to provide poor families access to the internet	64/31	84/11	37/56	65/31	73/25	77/22	58/36
Expanding housing vouchers	57/33	64/24	38/57	66/25	64/28	65/28	52/37

New Opportunity and New Family Agenda

Suppose President Clinton said we need a new opportunity agenda for the 21st century, and that means expanded access to college, universal pre-school, programs to spread prosperity to all areas of the country, and programs to reward work and renew working families.

This makes **82/16%** more / less favorable towards President Clinton.

82% more (41% much + 41% somewhat)

16% less (9% much + 7% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Women W/Kids</i>	<i>< 35 Years</i>	<i>> 35 Years</i>
96/2	60/39	85/12	77/21	86/12	90/7	93/5	78/20

Suppose President Clinton said we need a new family agenda – programs that expand children's access to healthcare and education; programs that help prevent kids from falling prey to violence and guns; programs that make sure that child support is paid and families are helped with tax cuts that help them bring up their families.

This makes **82/16%** more / less favorable towards President Clinton.

82% more (42% much + 40% somewhat)

16% less (9% much + 7% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Women W/Kids</i>	<i>< 35 Years</i>	<i>> 35 Years</i>
94/5	63/36	85/12	77/20	87/12	91/7	93/6	79/19

New Issue Proposals

People overwhelmingly support a proposal to step up efforts to get deadbeat parents to pay their child support.

Now I'm going to read you a list of statements that President Clinton might make, and for each one ask you whether this proposal makes you much favorable to President Clinton, somewhat more favorable, somewhat less favorable, or much less favorable to President Clinton. (Fav/Unfav) Ranked by much more favorable	Much more fav	Fav/Unfav	D	R	I	Fem. W/ Kids
There are too many parents in this country who are not paying what they owe in child support. Suppose the President proposed a plan to crack down on these parents by getting states to boot their cars, by improving the reporting requirements of employers to make sure deadbeat parents pay support out of all their earnings, and by making sure child support money goes directly to kids rather than the government.	58	89/9	91/4	81/19	92/7	97/2
A majority of guns used in crimes come from a relatively small number of gun dealers. Suppose President Clinton proposed a program to dramatically increase penalties for gun dealers who knew or should have known that their guns would be used in criminal activity.	45	74/22	86/9	52/47	81/17	95/4
Too many children are exposed to excessive violence and sexual content in the mass media. Suppose President Clinton proposed a program to create a voluntary uniform rating system to make it easier for parents to control what their children are exposed to in TV programs, video games, CDs, and the internet.	44	78/19	86/12	64/33	81/16	90/8
We should give states incentives to have mandatory high school graduate exit exams so a high school diploma means something.	44	83/13	90/8	73/26	86/8	87/8
Many working Americans donate a significant amount to charity, but are unable to deduct it because they do not itemize on their taxes. Suppose President Clinton proposed a program to allow anyone who donates 750 dollars or more to charity deduct it even if they do not itemize.	40	74/23	78/16	66/33	75/24	74/22

As we come to the end of a new century, suppose President Clinton called on Americans to put aside their political differences and pull together to create of century of progress rather than partisanship.	38	76/20	79/14	58/41	85/11	85/13
We should expand the role of faith-based organizations in providing social services such as drug rehabilitation and after school programs while still maintaining the separation of church and state.	28	71/26	84/12	40/58	82/16	84/13

We need a New Opportunity Agenda. When America started, a ninth grade education was enough; today we must assure access to college. As our forefathers created new opportunities for this country, we must again define what opportunity means in our time -- access to college and preschool -- a lifetime of learning; programs to bring innovation and greater prosperity to all parts of our nation.

86/10% agree / disagree with the statement.

86% agree (46% strongly+ 40% somewhat)
10% disagree (5% strongly + 5% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Women W/Kids</i>
90/4	77/19	90/10	92/6

High School Reform

A majority agree that our high schools have grown too large, and close to three quarters are more favorable to President Clinton's call for making high schools smaller. Furthermore, eight in ten are favorable to a call to do more to help high school kids prepare for college.

Do you think high schools are too large, too small, or the right size?	ALL	D	R	I	Women W/Kids
Too large	54	54	51	55	62
Too small	10	13	4	13	15
Just the right size	23	21	29	21	16

Suppose President Clinton said that the average American high school today is five times bigger in size than it was in World War II--and large high schools can breed the kind of alienation that led to the tragic shootings in Littleton and elsewhere. Smaller high schools are not only safer, but promote greater learning. We must help districts convert large, factory-style high schools into smaller schools.

This makes **73/20%** more / less favorable towards President Clinton.

73% more (39% much + 34% somewhat)
20% less (8% much + 13% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	Women W/Kids
81/13	64/31	73/20	77/19

Supposing that President Clinton said we must do more to help high school students prepare for, and succeed in, college. We must bring advanced placement courses to schools in isolated rural areas via the Internet, increase tutoring and mentoring efforts, and offer disadvantage students the same test prep courses wealthier students use to boost their scores on college entrance exams.

This would make **81/15%** more / less favorable towards President Clinton.

81% more (39% much + 42% somewhat)
15% less (5% much + 10% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	Women W/Kids
89/7	71/25	81/14	84/12

Tax Cuts

32% think it is better to have tax cuts this year, while **63%** think it is better not to have tax cuts but instead use the budget surplus to pay off the national debt.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
24/68	44/53	30/66

Do you think that in the	ALL	Dec. 7	D	R	I
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next 10 years we can afford tax cuts of ...?					
No tax cut	27	31	29	22	28
\$250 billion	22	22	28	25	15
\$500 billion	8	9	6	8	8
\$750 billion	4	3	1	8	4
\$1 trillion	7	8	4	9	10

43/41% trust President Clinton / Congressional Republicans to cut taxes responsibly.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
75/15	8/78	40/41

43/39% trust Congressional Democrats / Congressional Republicans to cut taxes responsibly.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
75/15	8/79	40/32

43/41% trust President Clinton / Congressional Republicans to eliminate the national debt.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
72/19	6/80	45/33

43/42% trust Congressional Democrats / Congressional Republicans to cut taxes responsibly.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
75/13	3/82	43/39

Clinton Plan

A Clinton tax cut plan calling for USA accounts and targeted tax cuts is supported by seven in ten, including 80% of Independents.

President Clinton has a tax cut proposal of \$300 billion over ten years that would set up a retirement savings account system that would give poor and middle class Americans tax credits of as much as \$300 a year to invest privately, would help those without health insurance pay for coverage, and would help cover the cost of long term care.

72/25% support / oppose this plan.

72% support (33% strongly + 39% somewhat)

25% oppose (14% strongly + 11% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
79/18	50/45	80/18

What do you like best about President Clinton's tax cut plan?	ALL	D	R	I
It would help those without health insurance pay for coverage	36	41	28	35
It would set up retirement savings accounts	23	20	20	28
It would help with the cost of long term care.	22	24	20	23
The size of the plan	6	8	4	6

Republican Plan

The Republicans attracted little attention with their new, smaller tax cut, and voters reacted with caution when asked unaided if they supported it, showing their wariness towards risky Republican tax schemes. However, the plan was popular when described, garnering 73% support. Voters still preferred President Clinton's plan by a small margin, 45 to 40.

35/61% have heard / have not heard about the tax cut proposed by the Republicans in Congress.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
33/64	53/40	24/74

35/32% support / oppose the tax cut proposed by the Republicans.

35% support (14% strongly + 21% somewhat)

32% oppose (18% strongly + 15% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
20/52	69/10	25/32

The Republicans in Congress have proposed a tax cut of \$135 billion over ten years that would eliminate the marriage penalty, establish tax-free savings accounts for education, and create tax incentives to help revitalize poor urban and rural areas.

73/24% support / oppose this tax cut proposal.

73% support (30% strongly + 43% somewhat)

24% oppose (12% strongly + 12% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
54/41	91/7	77/22

What do you like best about the tax cut the Republicans in Congress have proposed?	ALL	D	R	I
It would establish tax-free savings accounts for education	27	27	31	25
It would create tax incentives to help revitalize poor urban and rural areas	27	24	24	31
It would eliminate the marriage penalty	22	19	22	25
The size of the plan	7	7	8	5

45% prefer President Clinton's \$300 billion over ten years plan, while **40%** prefer the Republicans in Congress \$135 billion over ten years.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	< 35K	> 35K
72/15	15/77	44/36	62/26	38/44

If the President and Congress agree on a compromise tax cut plan, close to half would give credit to President Clinton, compared to 28% who would give credit to the Republicans in Congress.

But if no plan is passed, 66% are happy seeing the money go to paying off the national debt. In this era of surplus, people remain eager to take the opportunity to pay off the national debt. Indeed, the Republicans now talk about the need to pay of the debt even as they continue to recommend tax cuts.

Suppose President Clinton proposed a compromise tax cut of \$350 billion that included elements of his plan, and elements of the Republicans' in Congress plan. If that tax cut passed Congress and was signed into law, **47%** would give credit to President Clinton, while **28%** would give credit to the Republicans in Congress.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
67/13	31/48	42/28

If President Clinton and the Republicans in Congress cannot agree on any tax cut and the money instead goes to paying off the national debt, **66/28%** think this is a good / bad result.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
66/28	65/27	66/30

If President Clinton and the Republicans in Congress cannot agree on the result, **29/42%** will blame President Clinton / the Republicans in Congress.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
9/70	64/10	24/40

Tax cuts aimed at helping more Americans get health insurance are the preferred tax cut, slightly outscoring across the board cuts. USA accounts and disability tax credits also are popular.

Which of the following tax cuts is the most important? <i>Sorted by 1st choice</i>	1st	1st + 2nd	D	R	I
Tax credits to help those without health insurance pay for coverage	16	26	12	12	23
Across the board tax cut for all income levels	16	24	11	37	7
tax credits to set up a retirement savings account, in which the government would match private investments set aside by poor and middle class Americans	13	25	14	7	16
tax credits to help people with disabilities or lasting illness pay for long term care	12	27	16	11	9
tax incentives to help revitalize poor urban and rural areas	8	16	9	7	5
doubling the tax credit for child care	8	14	8	1	13
tax credits for child care	7	16	9	3	8
Establishing tax free savings accounts for education	7	16	8	8	5
eliminating the inheritance and estate tax	4	9	3	5	3
eliminating the marriage penalty	2	9	2	2	2

A majority support re-vamping the tax system to create a national sales tax and eliminate income tax for those earning less than \$100,000 a year.

53/40% support / oppose a plan that would re-vamp the tax system so that people earning less than \$100,000 a year would pay no income tax but a 10% national sales tax, and people earning over \$100,000 per year would continue to pay income tax.

53% support (32% strongly + 22% somewhat)
 40% oppose (24% strongly + 16% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
47/45	52/39	59/35

Bush Plan

Awareness of the Bush plan is down from a month ago, and the plan, when described, does not garner much support – including among Independents. The plan is too big, and despite its popular across the board cut tax rates, can be painted as irresponsible.

30/68% have heard / not heard about Republican Presidential candidate George W. Bush's tax cut plan. (Dec. 7: 41/56)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
26/73	44/56	24/73

24/28% support / oppose Bush's tax cut plan. 48% don't know (Dec. 7 29/24/47)

24% support (7% strongly + 17% somewhat)
 28% oppose (14% strongly + 13% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
13/40	51/12	15/28

Do you think Republican Presidential candidate George W. Bush has proposed a smaller tax cut than, a larger tax cut, or a tax cut of about the same size as the Republicans in Congress have proposed?	<i>All</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
Smaller	7	8	7	6
Larger	9	7	14	8
Same size	29	34	25	27
Don't know	55	51	54	59

Republican Presidential candidate George W. Bush proposed a tax cut plan that would lower taxes for all incomes. His tax cut would also double the child tax credit to \$1000, phase out the inheritance tax on large estates, and reduce the marriage penalty. The plan would cost \$1.7 trillion over ten years.

48/44% support / oppose the Bush tax cut plan.

48% support (17% strongly + 32% somewhat)

44% oppose (25% strongly + 19% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
27/64	77/18	48/44

What do you like best about George W. Bush's tax cut plan?	ALL	D	R	I
It would lower taxes for all incomes	35	32	40	33
It would phase out the inheritance tax	16	12	25	13
It would double the child tax credit	14	11	12	18
It would reduce the marriage penalty	12	15	11	11
The size of the plan	4	4	5	4
Don't know	19	25	8	22

When asked to compare the three plans, President Clinton's plan gets as much support as the Bush and Republican plans put together.

Which tax cut plan do you prefer ...?	ALL	D	R	I
President Clinton – 300 billion dollars over ten years	43	71	12	42
George W. Bush – \$1.7 Trillion over ten years	21	6	39	22
Republicans in Congress -- \$135 billion over ten years	21	11	37	18

Attacks by John McCain on the Bush plan are more effective than generic attacks on the same issues. Two thirds opposed the Bush plan after McCain's attack.

The argument that Bush's plan is so risky that even the Republicans in Congress are proposing a far smaller tax cut is also effective, with 63% opposing Bush's plan after hearing it.

Opponents of George W. Bush's plan say it is a fiscally irresponsible plan that benefits the rich rather than the middle class and lower-income Americans, does not do enough to pay down the national debt, and does not leave behind any money to strengthen Social Security and Medicare.

Given this, 37/53% support / oppose George W. Bush's tax cut plan of \$1.7 trillion over ten years.

37% support (16% strongly + 21% somewhat)

53% oppose (32% strongly + 21% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Fem w/ kids</i>
19/79	62/17	33/58	42/55

Republican Presidential candidate John McCain says George W. Bush's plan is a fiscally irresponsible plan that benefits the rich rather than the middle class and lower-income Americans, does not do enough to pay down the national debt, and does not leave behind any money to strengthen Social Security and Medicare.

Given this, **27/66%** support / oppose George W. Bush's tax cut plan of \$1.7 trillion over ten years.

27% support (9% strongly + 18% somewhat)
66% oppose (43% strongly + 23% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Fem w/ kids</i>
14/79	39/60	29/60	19/63

Opponents of George W. Bush's plan say that it is a risky and irresponsible plan that squanders the surplus and does not leave any money to strengthen Social Security and Medicare. Even the Republicans in Congress are not proposing a tax cut anywhere close to the size of Bush's.

Given this, **31/64%** support / oppose George W. Bush's tax cut plan of \$1.7 trillion over ten years.

31% support (11% strongly + 20% somewhat)
64% oppose (37% strongly + 28% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
12/86	55/37	29/65

A strong majority of nearly three quarters do not believe Bush's tax pledge and say it is irresponsible.

George W. Bush went one step further on taxes than read my lips, saying that his position on taxes was, "*not only no new taxes, but also tax cuts, so help me God.*"

24/72% believe / do not believe this statement.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>< 35K</i>	<i>> 35K</i>
11/88	49/46	18/73	31/65	17/78	13/85	28/68

25/73% think that this is / is not a responsible promise for a Presidential candidate to make.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>< 35K</i>	<i>> 35K</i>
17/83	45/51	19/78	31/66	19/79	11/86	29/69

Reasons to Oppose Bush

Several new arguments against Bush tested particularly well. Bush's recent statements on concealed weapons laws and the hunger report in Texas each made more than two-thirds less likely to vote for Bush. The hunger attack swung the horserace from a five point Bush edge against an un-named Democratic opponent to a 13 point Democratic edge,

The swing voters in the election who can be pulled away from Bush are mostly Independent women (65% female and 53% Independent). They are somewhat more optimistic about the mood of the country (59/24 rt/wt), and approving of (70/27) and favorable towards (61/38) President Clinton. They prefer a Republican for President (26 Dem, 38 Rep, 36 undecided) and are favorable towards Bush in much higher numbers (75/11) than Gore (56/35), but prefer a Democratic Congress (41/30). Their top issues are education (14%), healthcare (13%), and the economy (13%).

These are voters who are affected by attacks on Bush's record on hunger and gun control, and with whom the Democratic candidate must hope to debunk the compassionate conservative myth Bush has created.

If the election for President were held tomorrow, **47%** would vote for George W. Bush, **42%** for the Democratic Presidential candidate

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
15/79	92/3	45/38	50/38	44/45

A recent report indicated Texas had the second highest percentage in the US of people suffering from hunger. When confronted with the report, Bush said he didn't believe it, asked where the hungry people were, and said You'd think the governor would have heard if there are pockets of hunger in Texas. This shows Bush is out of touch and not as compassionate as he claims.

Given this, **21/68%** are more/less likely to vote for George W. Bush for President in the general election.

21% more likely (**10%** much more, **12%** somewhat more)
68% less likely (**37%** much less, **30%** somewhat less)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
7/88	48/33	16/75	27/62	16/73

Given this, **37%** would vote for George W. Bush, **50%** for the Democratic Presidential candidate if the election were held tomorrow. **(initial 47/42)**

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
7/89	80/9	34/47	44/46	30/55

As Governor of Texas, George W. Bush signed a law making it easier for people to bring guns to school sporting events, and into churches and synagogues. When people raised concerns about this law, Bush said it is up to teachers to identify people who might threaten public safety. We need stronger leadership than this.

Given this, **18/73%** are more/less likely to vote for George W. Bush for President in the general election.

18% more likely (**8%** much more, **11%** somewhat more)
73% less likely (**46%** much less, **28%** somewhat less)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
9/89	34/48	16/79	28/64	10/82

Given this, **38%** would vote for George W. Bush, **48%** for the Democratic Presidential candidate if the election were held tomorrow. **(initial 47/42)**

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
6/85	83/6	37/47	47/43	29/53

In the current campaign, it is becoming clear that Bush is not ready to be President, and it just does not make sense to take a risk on a candidate who has not been tested or challenged. We need someone who we know can run the country and who we can count on not to place the strong economy at risk.

Given this, **32/55%** are more/less likely to vote for George W. Bush for President in the general election.

32% more likely (**14%** much more, **18%** somewhat more)
55% less likely (**30%** much less, **25%** somewhat less)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
11/81	61/21	32/57	40/48	25/62

Given this, **39%** would vote for George W. Bush, **48%** for the Democratic Presidential candidate if the election were held tomorrow. **(initial 47/42)**

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
7/88	83/5	37/45	45/43	33/52

Bush and Flag

The public is split on whether a state should fly the Confederate flag even if a majority wants to.

Once people hear that a school in Austin flies a Confederate flag, a majority look unfavorably on Bush's position not to take a stand on the issue.

46/48% think that it is right / is not right for states to fly the Confederate flag over government buildings, if the majority in the state wants to.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>South</i>
39/58	55/39	45/47	62/31

Republican Presidential candidate George W. Bush said that if South Carolina wants to fly the Confederate flag over its statehouse, it is not his place to say that is wrong.

This makes **42/44%** more / less favorable towards George W. Bush.

42% more (14% much + 28% somewhat)

44% less (15% much + 29% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>South</i>
30/60	64/23	36/47	56/29

A high school in Austin, Texas, the state George W. Bush is governor of, presently uses the Confederate flag as a school symbol.

Given this, the fact George W. Bush refused to take a position on the confederate flag issue makes **31/52%** more / less favorable towards to George W. Bush.

31% more (13% much + 19% somewhat)

52% less (21% much + 31% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>South</i>
19/72	41/33	34/50	34/43

OSHA Regulations

A majority think the government should not regulate workplace safety for telecommuters, and nearly two-thirds see such regulations as too costly and intrusive.

69/28% think the government should / should not regulate workplace safety for all workers.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
83/15	53/46	68/26	56/40	81/17

The government currently regulates the safety of offices and workplaces. 38/58% favor / oppose the government requiring employers to ensure that when their employees telecommute or work at home, their home work area is safe and healthy.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
48/46	16/81	43/54	31/68	43/49

32% say that such a requirement is only fair since companies have a responsibility to eliminate unsafe working conditions. While 63% say this is costly government interference that will discourage companies from allowing workers to telecommute or work from home.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
40/52	13/85	38/56	28/66	35/59

Which of the following should the government do regarding employees who work at home?	ALL	D	R	I
The government should not interfere in this area at all.	39	27	53	39
The government should issue voluntary recommendations for creating safe and healthy workplaces in the home.	20	21	16	22
The government should study the topic further and issue a report.	15	14	19	15
The government should issue limited regulations to protect workers at home from only the most serious workplace hazards.	12	19	7	9
The government should issue regulations that require employers to assure employees safe and healthy home workplaces.	9	12	4	10

Internet Meetings

Voters would react positively to the webside chat ideas, and react most positively when the concept is framed as using the Internet to make the government more responsive to its citizens.

Supposing that President Clinton held a series of Internet webside chats, in which he responded to questions online about the ways in which technology is affecting the lives of Americans and increasing their involvement in the Democratic process.

This would make **55/32%** more / less favorable towards President Clinton.

55% more (16% much + 39% somewhat)

32% less (15% much + 18% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Internet Users</i>
80/10	28/53	55/36	60/30

Suppose such web chats addressed the interests of different groups, including seniors, women, small business owners, and community service participants, and focused on those who were using the potential of the Internet to improve their lives and the lives of others.

This would make **66/23%** more / less favorable towards President Clinton.

66% more (17% much + 49% somewhat)

23% less (10% much + 13% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Internet Users</i>
87/7	43/40	63/25	72/20

42/54% would be likely / unlikely to participate in an online chat with President Clinton or other senior White House officials.

42% likely (22% very likely, 20% somewhat likely)

54% not likely (35% not at all likely, 19% not very likely)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Internet Users</i>
53/44	38/59	36/60	46/53

Supposing that President Clinton said we need to use new technology to make government more responsive to its citizens and to make government work better for them.

This would make **83/10%** more / less favorable towards President Clinton.

83% more (30% much + 53% somewhat)

10% less (6% much + 10% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Internet Users</i>
96/0	64/22	84/12	89/7

Smart Guns

There continues to be public interest in doing more on gun control, and the smart gun technology is popular, particularly with women with children.

73/23% think that we need to do more / less on the issue of gun control. (June 29 65/23)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Women W/ Kids</i>
86/9	51/46	77/20	61/37	84/11	89/6

68/26% favor / oppose developing smart gun technology that would prevent guns from being fired by anyone but their owner.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Women W/ Kids</i>
71/24	61/29	71/25	58/36	76/17	84/13

Suppose President Clinton proposed \$10 million in research to develop smart gun technology to help keep guns out of the hands of kids and criminals. This would make 59/33% more / less favorable towards President Clinton.

59% more (36% much + 23% somewhat)

33% less (18% much + 15% somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Women W/ Kids</i>
76/19	40/43	58/40	66/34

Military Morale

Over 40% are heard about the study finding morale issues in the military, and eight in ten say it is an important problem. Two thirds would look favorably on a Presidential commission to examine the problem and recommend solutions.

44/56% heard / did not hear about a new study saying that men and women serving in the military feel overworked and underpaid, and lacking necessary resources to carry out their missions.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
44/56	45/55	44/55

78/15% think that this is an important / not an important problem.

78% important (**44%** very + **34%** somewhat)

15% not important (**4%** not at all + **10%** somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
87/9	70/19	76/18

Supposing that President Clinton announced a Presidential commission to study the issue of military morale and make recommendations to improve morale and assure combat readiness.

68/14 % would be more / less favorable towards President Clinton.

68% more (**26%** much + **42%** somewhat)

14% less (**8%** much + **23%** somewhat)

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
89/8	49/21	65/16

Y2K / Millennium Reaction

Americans are split on whether the Y2K preparations were worth it, but 40% say we should take some kind of action to get our money back.

47% think the money and effort the US spent preparing for Y2K was worthwhile.

48% think that it was a waste of money and that the US overreacted.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
49/50	48/45	45/48

55% say there were no computer related Y2K problems because we made the right investments and preparations. **40%** say this was a rip off that was blown out of proportion, and we should try to get some of the money back that was spent preparing.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>
58/39	54/41	52/41

Women in Politics

In general, 17/6% are more likely to vote for a male / female candidate, 76% say it does not matter.

<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	< 35 Years	> 35 Years
16/7	24/5	11/6	18/4	16/7	14/9	17/5

Do you think we have too few, too many, or the right amount of women in major political offices around the country, like governors and congressmen?	ALL	D	R	I	M	F	< 35 yrs	> 35 yrs
Too few	60	74	49	56	57	62	65	61
Too many	4	3	6	1	4	4	2	5
Right amount	28	20	37	29	27	29	31	25

What is the best reason to vote for a woman for political office? [OPEN-END]	ALL	D	R	I	M	F	< 35 yrs	> 35 yrs
Qualifications	19	19	24	16	20	19	14	21
Views / Issues	10	10	13	9	13	7	15	9
Competent / able to do job	9	8	9	11	12	7	8	10
Best person for job	6	3	4	8	7	4	5	6
No reason to vote for a woman	5	6	4	5	6	5	4	6
Different point of view / woman brings diversity	4	5	2	4	5	3	6	3
Educated / Intelligence	4	4	4	8	5	6	3	7
Need to balance power / more women in office	4	6	2	5	4	5	8	4
More caring /,compassionate	3	6	1	2	2	4	2	4
Equality	3	7	0	3	2	5	4	3
Don't vote based on sex	3	0	5	3	2	3	3	3
Experience	2	4	2	1	1	4	3	1
Others	13	14	15	11	8	19	13	14
Don't Know	11	6	12	12	11	10	11	7

What is the best reason NOT to vote for a woman for political office? [OPEN-END]	ALL	D	R	I	M	F	< 35 Year s	> 35 Year s
Qualifications / lack of qualifications	14	20	12	12	13	15	9	17
No reason not to vote for a woman	14	19	19	13	12	16	13	15
Against women in political offices	9	9	13	7	8	10	8	10
Not capable of doing the job	7	7	3	11	8	7	10	7

Stand on issues	6	4	9	7	8	5	10	6
Lacks morals / dishonest / poor personality	6	5	8	6	6	6	7	6
Lacks experience	3	4	21	3	4	2	4	2
Opponent is better for the job	3	2	2	5	5	2	5	3
Too emotional / sensitive	2	4	2	0	1	3	2	2
Wishy washy / lacks strengths	2	2	4	1	4	1	0	4
Don't vote based on gender	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Others	13	15	15	10	13	13	11	14
Don't Know	16	9	9	23	17	16	19	12

I am going to read you a list of candidate qualities. For each, please tell me if you think it applies more to a male candidate, more to a female candidate, or the same to both. Male/Female/Same
Ranked by Female Advantage

	Female – Male	ALL	D	R	I	M	F	< 35 Years	> 35 Years
Honest	14	3/17/76	5/17/72	3/12/83	1/18/76	2/19/72	3/14/79	4/20/76	2/16/82
Cares about people like me	14	3/17/75	2/22/71	4/11/81	3/16/76	5/17/71	2/17/78	5/23/71	3/16/81
Good role model	5	7/12/77	3/8/84	10/15/72	6/13/76	9/15/70	5/9/83	3/9/87	9/13/78
Intelligent	4	2/6/87	5/5/85	1/8/87	1/4/90	2/8/84	3/4/91	2/4/92	3/6/91
Effective – gets things done	3	9/12/73	7/15/72	17/5/73	4/14/76	13/8/72	6/16/74	12/7/80	9/15/75
Knowledgeable	-1	5/4/86	6/4/84	5/3/87	3/3/89	7/3/83	4/4/89	6/4/89	5/4/91
Decisive	-3	11/8/76	9/10/76	18/6/74	5/9/80	13/7/74	8/10/78	13/13/73	10/7/83
Strong leader	-13	18/5/72	17/5/73	17/7/74	18/3/73	20/5/68	16/4/76	16/5/78	20/4/75