

**NLWJC - KAGAN**

**EMAILS RECEIVED**

**ARMS - BOX 060 - FOLDER -002**

**[04/23/1997-04/25/1997]**

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Dennis K. Burke ( CN=Dennis K. Burke/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 09:42:15.00

SUBJECT: Crack Cocaine

TO: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Leanne A. Shimabukuro ( CN=Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

My understanding is that the Sentencing Commission is going to make an announcement on the 29th that they are recommending a "pinch" in the disparity between crack and powder cocaine sentences.

Unlike last time, they are not amending the guidelines, which created a situation where Congress had to affirmatively disapprove the guidelines or they became operative. They are just announcing their position (at least, that is my understanding at this point).

Under current law, a defendant in possession of 5 grams of crack cocaine receives a 5 year mandatory minimum. However, it takes 500 grams of powder cocaine for a defendant to receive a 5 year mandatory. Thus, current law has a 100-1 disparity in penalties between a crack defendant and a powder cocaine defendant.

The Sentencing Commission is supposedly going to recommend a "pinch" - - Powder penalties would be a range 125-375 grams for a 5 year mandatory and crack would be 25-75 grams.

The Criminal Division is recommending to the AG that the powder level be 250 grams for a 5 year mandatory and a 25-50 range for crack.

Senators Hatch and Abraham have a bill that would have a 5 year mandatory for 100 grams of powder and keep current law for crack - - 5 grams, 5 years. In other words, Hatch just increases the penalties for powder cocaine so the that disparity is 20-1 instead of current law, which is 100-1.

In summation:

A defendant will receive a 5 year mandatory minimum for the following amount of grams:

	Current Law	Sent. Com.	Crn Div.	Hatch
Powder	500			
125-375	250		100	
Crack	5			
25-75	25-50		5	

Current law also has what is referred to as a "safety valve." If the defendant has not priors, no gun was used, etc. then the 5 year can be waived.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Cathy R. Mays ( CN=Cathy R. Mays/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 10:08:49.00

SUBJECT: Education/Service Meeting

TO: William R. Kincaid ( CN=William R. Kincaid/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Kenneth S. Apfel ( CN=Kenneth S. Apfel/OU=OMB/O=EOP @ EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael Cohen ( CN=Michael Cohen/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Robert M. Shireman ( CN=Robert M. Shireman/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Jill M. Pizzuto ( CN=Jill M. Pizzuto/OU=OMB/O=EOP @ EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

There will be a meeting TODAY at 1:30 p.m. in Bruce Reed's office to discuss policy proposals for the service summit. Let me know if you CANNOT attend or if you are sending someone else.

Thanks.



Dear Anna:

Thank you for writing concerning legislation to create national uniform standards for certain types of securities litigation. The new regime put in place by the Private Securities Litigation Reform Act is still in its infancy, and one of the issues that will need to be considered as we gain experience with the Act is how its provisions affect the roles of state and federal courts in private securities fraud litigation.

The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) has just released a report that I requested, assessing the effects of last year's legislation, including the Act's impact on litigation, investor protection, and information made available to investors. We will be reviewing the SEC study and other reports and data to assess the need for further action. We look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Anna G. Eshoo  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 10:33:57.00

SUBJECT:

TO: ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN ( ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

McCurry needs Texas Q &A and Florida Lawsuit Q & A by noon! -Laura

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 10:53:52.00

SUBJECT: Message events/announcements for May/June

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Just checking in -- did you folks ever put together a list of possible announcements for May/June, as requested last week by Sylvia (via Communications)?

Thanks,

Eli

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 11:09:54.00

SUBJECT: Re: Message events/announcements for May/June

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Thanks...



**Q&A re: Florida Lawsuit**  
**4/23/97**

**Question:**

The state of Florida has sued the federal government to overturn a portion of the landmark welfare law bill that eliminates benefits for most legal immigrants. Governor Chiles says the welfare law will leave state and local governments in Florida holding the bag for billions of lost benefits. What is the White House's position on this?

**Answer:**

The President believes legal immigrants who work hard, pay taxes and contribute to American society and fall on hard times through no fault of their own should get medical and other vital assistance when they need it. That's why his budget provides \$14.6 billion in assistance for those legal immigrants who, through no fault of their own, are unable to work: children and individuals who are disabled.

As you indicated, the state of Florida filed a lawsuit yesterday. The lawyers at the Department of Justice have just begun to look at it, and I do not have an indication from the Department about their plans. Generally, however, the role of the Department of Justice is to defend the federal government when it is sued.

**Q&A re: Texas Welfare Plan**  
**4/23/97**

**Question:**

The Associated Press reported yesterday that the "Texas Welfare Plan is Stalled at White House." Is it the usual procedure for the President to personally decide state welfare reform requests?

**Answer:**

One of the reasons the President signed the welfare reform law was so that the states would no longer have to petition Washington to impose tough work requirements and time limits and provide incentives to make work pay better than welfare. The new law provides states with great flexibility in operating their welfare, or Temporary Assistance to Needy Families, programs.

The state of Texas is asking for far-reaching changes in Medicaid and Food Stamp laws which affect several agencies. The agencies are working as hard as they can to examine all of the relevant issues, and we hope to get the State of Texas an answer soon. The agencies have kept the White House informed of their decision making process.

As you know, the Administration gets a lot of waiver requests from the states. The agencies conduct a routine review process for each of them. Because this is a complicated issue, the review has been lengthy, probably a little more than we expected. But the agencies are working to provide Texas with a response as soon as possible.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Lyn A. Hogan ( CN=Lyn A. Hogan/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 12:18:26.00

SUBJECT: First Lady's Teen Preg Prevention Event

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Cynthia A. Rice ( CN=Cynthia A. Rice/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Katharine Button ( CN=Katharine Button/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Nicole R. Rabner ( CN=Nicole R. Rabner/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

The message of the May 2 event will be something like: we continue to make encouraging though modest progress at reducing the problem of teenage pregnancy (teen birth rates have gone down four years in a row and new data will soon be released to show that teen sexual activity is declining). However, this is still a daunting problem that needs are continued support.

What we know now is that this problem has no single solution, but rather many solutions which are being implemented in communities around the country. Every community has its varied approach to teen pregnancy prevention because every community has its own unique set of circumstances and beliefs that drive that approach. The key to really making a difference in this problem is at the local level through individualized community-based approaches. Today, we are happy to recognize 12 such community-based programs, each making a difference but doing it their own way.

Re: releasing new data at or before the May 2 event

Melanne and I had a conversation with Melissa about whether or not to release the HHS report and/or the grants. We decided to release neither.

--Because the new data in the report is underwhelming -- though it does show some progress -- Melanne and Melissa would not release the report at the event but would say that a report will soon be released that shows modest success toward the goal of reducing teen pregnancy.

--On the grants side, on May 1, Sec. Shalala will be at an out of town event were she will talk about girls and the media and particularly focus on teenage pregnancy and smoking as they relate to young girls. There she will announce the Secretary's girl power grants for 9-14 year olds, that in part focus on teen pregnancy prevention. The only other grants we could announce would be the abstinence grants, which are a little too

controversial for this event. Instead, Melanne will have the First Lady talk about Sec. Shalala's announcement and reiterate the importance of building the self-esteem of young girls as a way to prevent early pregnancy.

Questions/commments?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Tracey E. Thornton ( CN=Tracey E. Thornton/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 12:31:23.00

SUBJECT: Product Liability meeting with POTUS

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Tracey E. Thornton/WHO/EOP on 04/23/97  
12:14 PM -----

Elisa Millsap  
04/22/97 09:56:18 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Tracey E. Thornton/WHO/EOP, Peter G. Jacoby/WHO/EOP  
cc:  
Subject: Product Liability meeting with POTUS

FYI

----- Forwarded by Elisa Millsap/WHO/EOP on 04/22/97  
09:56 AM -----

Jason S. Goldberg 04/22/97 09:31:19 AM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
cc:  
Subject: Product Liability meeting with POTUS

There will be a meeting with the POTUS on Product Liability on Friday,  
April 25, from 9:30 - 9:50 a.m.

Only the following people may attend:

- Erskine Bowles
- Sylvia Mathews
- John Podesta
- Gene Sperling
- Bruce Lindsey
- John Hilley.

The purpose of the meeting is to discuss our current position on product liability and the process for handling the issue inside the Administration.

Thanks.

Message Sent

To:

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Melissa Green/OPD/EOP

Jennifer D. Dudley/WHO/EOP

June G. Turner/WHO/EOP

Sara M. Latham/WHO/EOP

Carole A. Parmelee/WHO/EOP

Terri J. Tingen/WHO/EOP

Elizabeth R. Newman/WHO/EOP

Elisa Millsap/WHO/EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Emil E. Parker ( CN=Emil E. Parker/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 12:37:26.00

SUBJECT: Privatization

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Kathleen M. Wallman ( CN=Kathleen M. Wallman/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Anne H. Lewis ( CN=Anne H. Lewis/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

We at the NEC remain quite interested in the Texas privatization issue. Could you send Anne or me a copy of the Kevin Thurm options paper (exepcted today?) when you get a chance? Thank you very much.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 12:40:13.00

SUBJECT: Any news on E.O. issue?

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 13:09:01.00

SUBJECT: Copy of service summit memo

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP on 04/23/97  
01:11 PM -----

Diana Fortuna  
04/23/97 11:19:31 AM  
Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP, Cathy R. Mays/OPD/EOP  
cc:  
Subject: memo

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

Unable to convert ARMS\_EXT: [ATTACH.D50]MAIL468374210.116 to ASCII,  
The following is a HEX DUMP:

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**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

**FROM:** Bruce Reed  
**SUBJECT:** Potential Policy Announcements for the Summit  
**DATE:** April 23, 1997

The following are potential policy announcements you could make at the upcoming Summit on service and in the radio address on Saturday.

**RADIO ADDRESS**

You will announce that we are sending our America Reads legislation to the Hill, and use that opportunity to emphasize AmeriCorps' role in America Reads. You can also talk about your vision of the Summit and highlight America Reads as a great example of meeting the Summit's challenge on volunteering, tutoring, and literacy. In addition, you can announce that Federal agencies are making a "commitment" to the Summit that they will expand the number of schools that they have adopted or established partnerships with from approximately 1,500 schools to 2,000 schools by the year 2000. Working through partnerships established by their agencies, Federal employees tutor, purchase equipment, and hold career days.

**MONDAY SPEECH AT SUMMIT**

When you laid out your original vision of national service back in 1992, you set forth two fundamental principles that captured the public imagination: first, that all young Americans willing to give something back should have the chance to get help for college; and second, that we should challenge those young people to help solve our toughest problems, "as teachers, police officers, child care workers -- doing work our country desperately needs," as you said in the first Georgetown speech.

AmeriCorps, though still a well-kept secret, has gone a long way toward realizing your overall ideal of citizen service. But for budgetary and partisan political reasons, it will not become universal anytime soon, and because of its decentralized structure, AmeriCorps has not succeeded in marshaling a nation-wide effort to target a compelling national problem like education or crime.

Your speech in Philadelphia is a chance to breathe new life into that original ideal. We can't escape the budgetary constraints, but we can give more young people an incentive to serve, and most important, we can set forth a clear national mission of the problems we need them to solve. The following proposal are designed with that in mind.

**Automated Records Management System**  
**Hex-Dump Conversion**

**1. Interest-free Year of Service**

As you know, Rev. Tony Campolo has urged you to make it easier for college students and recent graduates to take a year off for service. Thanks to your income-contingent loan program and to earlier changes allowing loan deferments for service, students can already take advantage of reduced loan payments if they take low-paying service jobs, and can take time off for service without having to begin repayment of their loans. Your FY98 budget also includes a proposal to encourage service by no longer treating loan forgiveness as taxable income, so that students who universities forgive their loans will no longer have to pay taxes on it.

The only remaining barrier is the interest that accumulates on unsubsidized loans during the period of service. The cost of having the Federal government pay that interest is minimal -- \$7 million over 5 years. This is an inexpensive proposal, and the typical benefit is not enormous, but it would make this policy universal, and it would allow any young person to take time off to serve without increasing his or her debt burden. The Education Department has expressed some concerns about this.

**2. Police Corps**

You can announce \$20 million in grants to 17 states for the Police Corps program. The Police Corps was created in your 1994 Crime Bill to increase the number of community police officers with advanced education and training, and was one of your pledges during the 1992 presidential campaign.

The Police Corps offers educational assistance to qualified college students who commit to enter the police after graduation and serve in the force for at least four years. Students accepted into the Police Corps receive up to \$7,500 in educational assistance for up to four years of undergraduate study. In addition, Corps recruits receive 16 weeks of rigorous training to help make them effective community police officers. As an incentive to police departments to take recruits, state and local law enforcement agencies receive cash assistance for employing Police Corps officers -- \$10,000 per participant for each year of the recruit's service.

This announcement nearly triples the number of states that will receive Police Corps funds, from 6 to 17 states, and is double the funding appropriated in FY 1996 for the program. It will fund about 650 recruits. Your FY 1998 budget contains \$20 million in funding for Police Corps.

**3. Teacher Corps**

We believe your Summit speech should include a ringing call to service for young people to teach in inner cities. Nothing would do more to breathe new life into the ethic of service than to enlist young Americans in a national effort to transform inner-city schools that are crying out for their energy, idealism, and talent.

One way to do this would be to announce the proposal described below, which provides \$400 million over four years in incentives for approximately 48,000 new teachers. If this seems too costly to propose in the current budget environment, it could be ramped up more slowly at about half the cost and impact. You could also propose a more modest expansion of AmeriCorps'

support for Teach for America, as long as we also address quality concerns about that program. Alternatively, your speech could simply include a strong call to young people to take up the challenge of teaching in inner cities without proposing a new initiative to provide federal support.

Such an initiative could still be included in the Administration's Higher Education Act proposal, which will be transmitted this summer.

Over the next decade, the nation will need to hire some 2.3 million teachers. Of these, approximately 15%, or 345,000 (approximately 35,000 per year), will be hired in central cities, in schools with large concentrations of low income students. An additional 207,000 (approximately 20,000 per year) will be needed in isolated, and often poor, rural areas. These types of communities face the greatest difficulties in attracting and retaining qualified teachers. Urban areas in particular receive significantly fewer applications for positions than neighboring suburban districts, and attrition rates in urban areas can often reach 30% to 50% in the first five years. They are therefore most likely to fill classroom vacancies with teachers who lack preparation, don't meet licensure requirements, or who are teaching outside their field. As a result, the students in these communities -- who need the *most* qualified teachers in order to meet higher academic standards -- often get exactly the opposite in the classroom.

We propose a new national effort to help attract and retain teachers in high poverty central city and rural schools. **This new initiative would be a part of the Administration's proposal for the reauthorization of Title V of the Higher Education Act. The basic framework for this initiative could be announced at the summit, while many of the details could be further developed by the Education Department over the coming months.**

This initiative would provide competitive grants to 100 local partnerships involving urban or rural school districts and institutions of higher education, to be used to provide incentives for individuals to prepare to teach, and to remain, in underserved schools. These would include 2-3 year fellowships for undergraduate students (including for a "5th year" program that provides intensive and sustained classroom experience for undergraduates after they have acquired a strong liberal arts background); one-year graduate fellowships for **post-baccalaureate students, including recent liberal arts graduate and mid-career professionals seeking to enter teaching; stipends for teachers' aides and other education paraprofessionals seeking to move up a career ladder into full teaching positions; and 1-2 year "residencies" for beginning teachers that would provide a lighter teaching load coupled with additional time for class preparation, being coached or mentored, or working in other ways with more experienced teachers.**

**The incentives would range from fellowships that cover tuition and fees (which average \$3,500 at undergraduate public institutions) to forgivable loans to salary supplements for beginning teachers.** Successful competitors would have to demonstrate that they have a high quality teacher preparation program, and that the program fits into a comprehensive, thoughtful strategy for recruiting and retaining teachers.

The Education Department proposes to fund this initiative at \$100 million a year for five years, beginning with the FY1999 budget. The Education Department estimates that this initiative will help attract and retain at least 48,000 teachers into high poverty central city and rural schools. This is approximately 17% of the estimated need in those communities. This is not an issue for this year's appropriations battles, and we have not tried to identify a specific offset. However, it will compete with your other discretionary priorities in the out-years. If you wish to proceed, we will work with OMB to determine what funding level we can commit to right now, recognizing that the parameters of NDD spending may change before we submit the FY99 budget.

We are also exploring ways to link this initiative to AmeriCorps, which already provides scholarships (but no stipends) to 1,000 teachers in Teach for America. As you know, Teach for America has been fairly successful in capturing the imagination of the public and of college students, but to this point has not provided the preparation and support those new teachers need to succeed in the classroom and remain in the profession. We could use existing scholarship funds to expand AmeriCorps' commitment to Teach for America, but we should also look for ways to make sure that preparation needs are addressed.

#### **4. Child Care Corps**

You could also announce that you will expand AmeriCorps to include a new child care corps. The child care field has great difficulty attracting and retaining qualified workers, especially well-educated and trained workers who can go on to become leaders in the field. Your recent conference on early learning was the latest confirmation that it is critical to increase the quality of child care. Yet very few of our most talented young people enter this field.

The program would offer AmeriCorps scholarships to individuals who agree to work in child care in low-income areas for two years. It would be open both to those currently working in the field and to those seeking to enter. Members of the corps would not get a stipend from AmeriCorps, but a scholarship of \$4,725 a year for two years, which could be used either to repay existing student loans or to pay for further education. Some of these scholarships could be earmarked to help people leaving welfare to get college training to become child care workers.

The Corporation for National Service estimates that it could support a corps of 2,000 people a year without any increase in their budget or permission from Congress, as long as these individuals get only scholarships and not stipends as well. Under pressure from members of Congress to reduce the cost of an AmeriCorps member, the Corporation has begun to emphasize these "scholarship only" awards, and its scholarship trust fund has excess funds.

Non-profit groups would apply to become part of this program, and would have to demonstrate that they could offer participants high-quality training and mentoring during their two years of service, including development of management and leadership skills. In addition, corporations could sponsor members by paying for their salaries, and universities that specialize in early childhood education could match our scholarships.

### **5. Mentoring/Tutoring 1 Million Kids**

In preparation for the Summit, Federal agencies have joined their counterparts in the private and non-profit sectors by making public "commitments" to the goals of the Summit. Agencies have identified over 40 initiatives where they will work with partners in the volunteer or service sectors to mentor and tutor kids, expand afterschool programs, and offer young people opportunities to serve. We are trying to determine whether these commitments add up to an additional 1 million kids being mentored or tutored as a result of Federal government efforts.

### **FIRST LADY SPEECH AT CLOSING CEREMONY**

The First Lady will represent the Administration at the closing ceremony on Tuesday. We are exploring the option that she could announce Kaiser Permanente's commitment of \$100 million over the next five years to provide health coverage to 50,000 children in California.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 13:44:06.00

SUBJECT: Harris's rewrite of our Summit Declaration rewrite

TO: Michael Waldman ( CN=Michael Waldman/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Donald A. Baer ( CN=Donald A. Baer/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Katherine Hubbard ( CN=Katherine Hubbard/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stephen B. Silverman ( CN=Stephen B. Silverman/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Ann F. Lewis ( CN=Ann F. Lewis/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Harris made only very minor changes to our draft, so it looks pretty good to me.

Let me know asap what you think. Corporation wants to forward it to Summit people today.

----- Forwarded by Diana Fortuna/OPD/EOP on 04/23/97  
01:42 PM -----

JGompert @ cns.gov  
04/23/97 12:39:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Diana Fortuna  
cc:  
Subject: Summit Declaration

Diana -- Here is the draft with edits by Harris and me. It has NOT gone to others yet, but they are calling, and I will need to respond this p.m.

JG

SUMMIT DECLARATION DRAFT 4/23/97

Two centuries ago, America was founded on the proposition that just as all people are endowed by their Creator with unalienable rights, citizenship entails undeniable responsibilities. As each of us has the right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness, each of us has an obligation to give something back to country and community a duty to take responsibility not just for ourselves and our families, but for one another. We owe a debt of service to fulfill the God-given promise of America and of her children.

In this time of opportunity at the dawn of a new century and a new millennium the need for shared responsibility is self-evident.

People of all ages and from all walks of life must claim society's problems as their own pulling together, leading by example, and lifting American lives. The challenges of today, especially those that face our children, require a special commitment of us all.

We have a special obligation to America's children to see that all young Americans have:

caring adults in their lives, as parents, mentors, tutors, coaches;

safe places with structured activities in which to learn and grow;

a healthy start and healthy future;

an effective education that equips them with marketable skills;

an opportunity to give back to their communities through their own service

We therefore highly resolve to work together to be champions of youth to ensure these fundamental resources for all of America's children.

We will do so through citizen service, through voluntary action, through commitments by ourselves and the organizations to which we belong, through partnerships spanning both public and private life, but above all as one community.

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====

ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

RFC-822-headers:

Received: from conversion.pmdf.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)  
id <01III1P0KF57K003P4K@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for "Diana Fortuna"@oa.eop.gov; Wed,  
23 Apr 1997 13:38:42 -0500 (EST)

Received: from gatekeeper.eop.gov by PMDF.EOP.GOV (PMDF V5.0-4 #6879)  
id <01III1P0H0PF4003A4D@PMDF.EOP.GOV> for Diana\_Fortuna@oa.eop.gov; Wed,

23 Apr 1997 13:38:36 -0500 (EST)

Received: from cns.gov by gatekeeper.eop.gov; (5.65v3.2/1.1.8.2/17Oct95-0424PM)

id AA27388; Wed, 23 Apr 1997 13:38:32 -0400

Received: from smtpgate.cns.gov (smtpgate.cns.gov [204.124.231.18])

by mailrelay.cns.gov (8.6.9/8.6.9) with SMTP id MAA28481 for

<Diana\_Fortuna@oa.eop.gov>; Wed, 23 Apr 1997 12:24:47 -0500

Received: by smtpgate.cns.gov with Microsoft Mail id

<335E3B62@smtpgate.cns.gov>; Wed, 23 Apr 1997 12:40:02 -0400 (EDT)

=====  
===== END ATTACHMENT 1 =====

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Cynthia A. Rice ( CN=Cynthia A. Rice/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 14:38:24.00

SUBJECT: Texas blowup at today's welfare technicals markup

TO: Stephen C. Warnath ( CN=Stephen C. Warnath/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Emily Bromberg ( CN=Emily Bromberg/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Today's Ways and Means technicals markup was a quiet, bipartisan affair until Rep. Johnson of Texas went into a tirade about the Administration's delay in responding to the Texas proposal. He had poster-sized copies of the Shalala-Glickman-Reed memo to the President displayed behind him. The chair ruled his amendment out of order and the Administration representatives there were not called upon to comment. This per Irene Bueno of HHS.

The Committee did pass a sense of the Congress re: benefits for the Hmong.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Cynthia A. Rice ( CN=Cynthia A. Rice/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 14:47:30.00

SUBJECT: More Texas--

TO: Emily Bromberg ( CN=Emily Bromberg/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Ed Lorenzen left me a message to say that Rep. Stenholm will feel compelled to join Rep. Johnson on any legislative proposal re: Texas. I just left a message for Monahan to see where our new options are. Bruce, did Thurm call you back about this yesterday?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 18:44:35.00

SUBJECT:

TO: ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN ( ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Are you going w/ Rahm to Schumer Mtg. He has a car @ 5:15. Call Laura  
65584

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:23-APR-1997 18:45:48.00

SUBJECT: Re: Q & A's

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Laura Emmett/WHO/EOP on 04/23/97 06:03 PM -----

Stephen C. Warnath  
04/23/97 05:48:11 PM  
Record Type: Record

To: Laura Emmett/WHO/EOP  
cc:  
Subject: Re: Q & A's

Laura, I guess I don't expect that the President is likely to get immigration questions on Friday. If he does, the most likely question is welfare and immigrants, perhaps on Florida's suit challenging the welfare bill. Mike has a Q&A that was put together for his briefing today (and I think he was asked about it). But by Friday the press will probably have moved on to other things.

Other immigration matters going on include INS' release yesterday of higher legal immigration numbers (27% increase). This may begin the discussion again about the appropriate level of legal immigration, but I don't think that the White House press is likely to ask about it Friday. And there was a hearing today on border control. Representative Silvestre Reyes apparently called for splitting INS in two with one component to deal with enforcement and the other with services such as naturalization. Again, probably not a topic for Friday.

So the bottom line is that the White House Press probably won't ask about immigration, at least outside of the context of welfare.

Thanks.



**Questions and Answers on AmeriCorps:**

**Q: Isn't it a disappointment to you that AmeriCorps, your signature program on service, is under constant fire from Congress, and has barely survived the past few years?**

A: I am very proud of AmeriCorps and what it is accomplishing in over 1,100 communities across this country. Today, 25,000 AmeriCorps members are serving in over 1,100 communities cross America; 45,000 AmeriCorps alumni have already given a year of service to their country. The AmeriCorps program provides opportunity for those who are willing to shoulder responsibility for their community. In exchange for a year of full-time service, AmeriCorps members earn educational opportunity -- a \$4,725 scholarship that helps pay for college or training, or pay back student loans.

National service is also a way of getting things done. For example, AmeriCorps has a key role to play in my America Reads initiative. Today, AmeriCorps members tutor children, serve as mentors for teens, renovate low-income housing, immunize children against preventable diseases, restore national parks and coastlines, and participate in hundreds of other service projects in the areas of education, public safety, and the environment.

I am also proud of the Corporation for National Service's other service programs:

- Learn and Serve America promotes service as a way to learn through schools, universities, and community organizations. Young people of all ages learn from service activities such as teaching younger children to read, designing a neighborhood playground, or starting a school recycling program. Students who participate often earn higher grades and have a better understanding of their communities' needs.
- The National Senior Service Corps includes the Foster Grandparent Program, which matches seniors with children and youth with exceptional needs; the Retired and Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP), where seniors tutor and mentor at-risk youth, teach English to immigrants, and organize neighborhood watch groups; and the Senior Companion Program, whose members help other seniors live independently.

It is unfortunate that there have been partisan attacks on the program. However, more and more people are becoming aware of all that AmeriCorps members bring to a community, and I believe that the partisanship will give way to a recognition that this program works.

**Q: Isn't the cost per AmeriCorps member very high?**

A: The average cost per AmeriCorps member is about \$17,000 -- but opponents of the program have often exaggerated that cost. These funds go for a modest living allowance, health coverage, some overhead, and most importantly, \$4,725 for an education voucher upon completion of at least 1,700 hours of direct service. In addition, the Corporation for National Service has a plan to reduce that amount to \$15,000 in the next two years.

In addition, AmeriCorps is a cost effective program. One study showed that every federal dollar invested in AmeriCorps returns \$2.60 in direct, measurable benefits. Finally, community groups that sponsor AmeriCorps members must raise at least one-third of the program costs -- and they do, from the largest corporations to local mom and pop hardware stores. Last year, AmeriCorps raised over \$41 million from the private sector -- from companies that know a good return on investment when they see it. They raised another \$50 million in funding and in-kind contributions from state and local agencies like schools, police departments, and health facilities.

AmeriCorps is a wise investment that pays off for taxpayers in three ways:

- Direct service benefits communities in tangible ways such as improved math scores, restored natural resources, safer streets, and immunized infants
- Education awards help pay for college or pay back loans ... not with a grant, an entitlement, or a gift from the government, but because the AmeriCorps Member earned it by producing substantial results for his or her community
- Skills learned and the civic ethic developed through service generates a lifetime of benefits from productive, better educated citizens with a life-long dedication to service. Recognizing this, the Civic Forum (which includes Vin Weber and communitarian academic Amitai Etzioni) gave the 20,000 Members of AmeriCorps its first-ever Exemplary Civic Achievement Award.

**Q: Doesn't AmeriCorps hurt the charitable sector and the volunteer ethic by displacing local charities? Don't AmeriCorps members' living allowances and education awards discourage uncompensated volunteering?**

A: AmeriCorps is a welcomed resource for charities and a nucleus for uncompensated volunteers. Voluntary organizations proudly participate in AmeriCorps, including Habitat for Humanity, scores of United Ways and YMCAs, the National Council of Churches, the National Multiple Sclerosis Society, and the American Red Cross.

That's because AmeriCorps members extend the reach of volunteers. They provide intensive, long-term relief following floods, earthquakes and other natural disasters; keep services running during the low-volunteer hours of a working day; and organize community-wide efforts in which more volunteers can participate, such as river

clean-ups, public park restorations, and housing renovations and rehabilitations.

AmeriCorps members bring more volunteers to the community. Last year, Volunteer Maryland's 55 AmeriCorps members recruited and engaged 7,500 volunteers who provided services valued at over \$4 million. For every AmeriCorps Member in Magic Me, there are at least 100 volunteers engaged in weekly service. AmeriCorps-led projects such as community-wide service days or volunteer management programs make it easy and attractive for citizens who want to participate in an occasional, but meaningful, volunteer experience.

AmeriCorps members provide full-time service like Peace Corps Volunteers or members of the all-volunteer armed forces. Like them -- and like past national service participants such as the veterans of the Depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps -- AmeriCorps members earn a living allowance, and just like the others, they accomplish far more than sporadic volunteer efforts.

Finally, AmeriCorps moves decision-making out of Washington. Two-thirds of AmeriCorps funds go directly to the states to support locally designed and operated programs. AmeriCorps programs are managed by bi-partisan state commissions whose members are appointed by each Governor.

**Q: How could your AmeriCorps program allow one of its regional directors, Michael Woo, to use an AmeriCorps fax machine and letterhead to try to arrange a meeting between Indonesian-American business owners and Commerce Department officials, in coordination with John Huang, according to documents provided by the Democratic National Committee?**

A: Corporation for National Service CEO Harris Wofford has stated: "The simple facts are: an unauthorized letter on Corporation stationary dated August 1, 1996, came to our attention on April 15, 1997. On April 17th, 1997, Senator Grassley and Representative Hoekstra sent a letter to me requesting information about this unauthorized letter. I responded immediately .... The Inspector General and Department of Justice have been asked to investigate, and I therefore cannot comment further.

"From day one, my policy has been that no Corporation employee may participate in political activity while on the job or otherwise holding himself or herself out as a Corporation employee. And I have gone all out to make sure that AmeriCorps members, the local project directors who select members, and administer Corporation-assisted service programs, and the state executive directors of the governors' state service commissions understand their duty to enforce strict guidelines against partisan political activity. I have enforced this policy vigorously.

"I have asked the Inspector General to ascertain whether my strict policies about political activity are being adhered to and to work with me on steps to make sure that no violations occur.

Automated Records Management System  
Hex-Dump Conversion

"The issues raised ... are deeply troubling to me. I am proud of the staff of the Corporation and the 25,000 AmeriCorps members serving their communities, who adhere to our strict policy about partisan activity."

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Cathy R. Mays ( CN=Cathy R. Mays/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 09:38:25.00

SUBJECT: Conference Call

TO: Elizabeth Drye ( CN=Elizabeth Drye/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Toby Donenfeld ( CN=Toby Donenfeld/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce R. Lindsey ( CN=Bruce R. Lindsey/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Donald H. Gips ( CN=Donald H. Gips/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Rahm I. Emanuel ( CN=Rahm I. Emanuel/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Jennifer D. Dudley ( CN=Jennifer D. Dudley/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Michelle Crisci ( CN=Michelle Crisci/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Lori L. Anderson ( CN=Lori L. Anderson/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

There will be a short conference call TODAY at 3:45 p.m. to review tobacco press strategy for tomorrow. Others on the call will be Melissa Skolfield, Jim O'Hara, and George Phillips.

Due to the amount of traffic today on the conference lines, I'm still working with the switchboard to work out the conference lines/codes. I'll be sending you another e-mail message to notify you of the code/number you will use.

Thanks.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 09:49:53.00

SUBJECT: Message event/announcement memo

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Just a friendly reminder. No one's been bugging me for this material yet, so I assume it's not urgent, but whenever you folks get a chance to finish it...

Thanks,

Eli

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Cathy R. Mays ( CN=Cathy R. Mays/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 10:05:30.00

SUBJECT: Today's Conference Call

TO: Rahm I. Emanuel ( CN=Rahm I. Emanuel/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce R. Lindsey ( CN=Bruce R. Lindsey/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Jennifer D. Dudley ( CN=Jennifer D. Dudley/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Lori L. Anderson ( CN=Lori L. Anderson/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Michelle Crisci ( CN=Michelle Crisci/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

The information for today's 3:45 conference call:

Phone: 456-6777

Code: 3211

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Irene Yeh ( CN=Irene Yeh/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 10:37:51.00

SUBJECT: reminder- 4/25 mtg

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Toby Donenfeld ( CN=Toby Donenfeld/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

There is a 2:00pm meeting Friday, April 25th in Room 211 with Kenneth Raske and Dennis Rivera.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 11:18:31.00

SUBJECT: More info on interest free service

TO: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael Cohen ( CN=Michael Cohen/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

On student loans and service, here's the story. There are 4 types of breaks on student loans you can offer people who serve.

1. Income contingency -- We did this in 1993. It says that if you can take a low-paying service job, your loan payments will be only a limited percentage of your income, and ultimately forgiven after 25 years.
2. Loan deferment -- This predates us. It is used when (1) someone wants to take time off during school but doesn't want to have to start paying back loans during that time; or (2) someone finishes school, but argues they have a good reason they don't want to start paying back their loans. You can get a deferment for up to 3 years. You are eligible if you are unemployed, or if it would create an "economic hardship," which includes service. There is no separate service deferment. There used to be, but the system got so complex that it was simplified in 1992.
3. Subsidize all loan deferments for service-- This is our new idea. This means that no interest accumulates on loans during the period of service. We already do this for subsidized loans, which are about 2/3 of the volume, so this would fix unsubsidized loans and make it universal.

The \$7 million cost over five years would allow 12,000 borrowers with unsubsidized loans to get this benefit during their deferment. The average benefit would be \$600. This estimate assume that no one is induced to serve. If the program cost doubled to \$14 million because the subsidized deferment would be more attractive, the number of beneficiaries would increase to 24,000, each receiving \$600.

In answer to your question as to whether we could do this for more than one year of service: This cost estimate already assumes that this could be for up to 3 years. The estimate simply reflects historical data on people who request a deferment due to economic hardship for "service-related" reasons, so it is a mix of people requesting 1, 2, and 3 years of deferments. I don't think we would want to go past the 3 year point.

4. Tax Incentives for Student Loan Forgiveness - This is our existing legislative proposal. It says loan forgiveness for service reasons by non-profit charitable or educational institutions should not be taxable.

Loan forgiveness by public institutions is already not taxable if it is for service reasons.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Ann F. Lewis ( CN=Ann F. Lewis/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 11:25:14.00

SUBJECT: Radio Address 5/10

As we know, the 5/3 address will be about the trip to Mexico. The 5/10 address will I agree that it would be preferable to do a domestic issue for this date, but wonde

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stephanie S. Streett ( CN=Stephanie S. Streett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 11:27:08.00

SUBJECT:

TO: ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN ( ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Erskine's office is looking for talking points asap. Please advise.

-Laura 65584

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sarah A. Bianchi ( CN=Sarah A. Bianchi/OU=OMB/O=EOP [ OMB ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 11:59:14.00

SUBJECT: Medicare Trust Fund Report Talking Points

TO: Jason S. Goldberg ( CN=Jason S. Goldberg/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Paul J. Weinstein Jr. ( CN=Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Kevin S. Moran ( CN=Kevin S. Moran/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: April K. Mellody ( CN=April K. Mellody/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Russell W. Horwitz ( CN=Russell W. Horwitz/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jonathan A. Kaplan ( CN=Jonathan A. Kaplan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jeanne Lambrew ( CN=Jeanne Lambrew/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Patricia F. Lewis ( CN=Patricia F. Lewis/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary E. Glynn ( CN=Mary E. Glynn/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Melissa Green ( CN=Melissa Green/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jake Siewert ( CN=Jake Siewert/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====  
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

Unable to convert ARMS\_EXT:[ATTACH.D85]MAIL43333431E.116 to ASCII,  
The following is a HEX DUMP:

FF57504306050000010A020100000002050000000C11000000020000248B0035C2C55349B00A53  
4959C3B02C501F71EC7D5944200FEA8CFBE42D23C6A2850B88EA604FDBE1821F6A3AF152FD6F90

**MEDICARE TRUST FUND TALKING POINTS**

April 23, 1997

**THE UPCOMING MEDICARE REPORT WILL NO DOUBT CONFIRM WHAT THE PRESIDENT HAS CONSISTENTLY STATED -- THAT REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS SHOULD COME TOGETHER AND ENACT MEDICARE REFORM THIS YEAR.**

**WE WELCOME CONCERNS ABOUT THE TRUST FUND. PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS BEEN ACTING TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEM SINCE HE TOOK OFFICE.**

- The President's 1993 Economic Plan extended the life of the Trust Fund by three years.
- In 1994, the reforms included in the Health Security Act would have strengthened the Trust Fund by five years.
- In 1995 and 1996, the President proposed a Medicare plan that would have extended the life of the Trust Fund for at least a decade.

**THIS YEAR THE PRESIDENT'S BALANCED BUDGET GUARANTEES THE LIFE OF THE TRUST FUND FOR A DECADE.**

- HCFA's Chief Actuary confirms that the President's Medicare proposals would extend the life of the Trust Fund by at least ten years.

**ACTION IS NEEDED -- REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS SHOULD USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO COME TOGETHER IN A BIPARTISAN MANNER TO ADDRESS THE NEED FOR REAL MEDICARE REFORM.**

- *The need for responsible intervention to improve the Trust Fund is real.* The President has a proposal that addresses this need in a responsible way, without imposing devastating provider cuts, increasing beneficiary costs, or enacting structural changes that devastate the program and the people it serves.
- *This report should not be used irresponsibly.* The upcoming Trust Fund report should not be used to recklessly frighten the 38 million Medicare beneficiaries and their families into thinking that their benefits are in imminent danger. They simply are not.
- *We have time to act this year.* Over \$120 billion remains in the Trust Fund (as of March 1997). While incoming revenues are somewhat less than outgoing payments, the current balance in the Trust Fund means that there is no danger that claims will not be paid.

**IT IS TIME TO PUT PARTISAN DIFFERENCES ASIDE AND AGREE ON MEDICARE REFORMS THAT WILL EXTEND THE LIFE OF THE TRUST FUND AND STRENGTHEN THE MEDICARE PROGRAM.**

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 12:08:46.00

SUBJECT: Re: Message event/announcement memo

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

They definitely beat you this time...we got it yesterday. I can even forward it to you as proof...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 12:11:52.00

SUBJECT: Re: Message event/announcement memo

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I won't even tell you when OSTP gave us theirs, because I don't want to rub it in...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 12:21:30.00

SUBJECT: Re: Message event/announcement memo

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Actually, it varies. NEC gave us about ten, OSTP only two or three, CEQ gave us way too many, etc. A handful of good ones is really all we need...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Peter G. Jacoby ( CN=Peter G. Jacoby/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 12:29:50.00

SUBJECT: Late Term Qs&As

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Any volunteers?

----- Forwarded by Peter G. Jacoby/WHO/EOP on 04/24/97  
12:27 PM -----

Elisa Millsap  
04/24/97 11:32:21 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Tracey E. Thornton/WHO/EOP, Peter G. Jacoby/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Late Term Qs&As

Do you know if Elena is doing the late term Qs&As for the Hashimoto press conference tomorrow?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Tracey E. Thornton ( CN=Tracey E. Thornton/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 12:59:42.00

SUBJECT: Late Term Qs&As

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Tracey E. Thornton/WHO/EOP on 04/24/97  
12:48 PM -----

Elisa Millsap  
04/24/97 11:32:21 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Tracey E. Thornton/WHO/EOP, Peter G. Jacoby/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Late Term Qs&As

Do you know if Elena is doing the late term Qs&As for the Hashimoto press conference tomorrow?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Christa Robinson ( CN=Christa Robinson/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 13:21:18.00

SUBJECT: 4-23-97 Cabinet memo (internal)

TO: Nicole R. Rabner ( CN=Nicole R. Rabner/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: William R. Kincaid ( CN=William R. Kincaid/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stephen C. Warnath ( CN=Stephen C. Warnath/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Eric P. Goosby ( CN=Eric P. Goosby/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sarah A. Bianchi ( CN=Sarah A. Bianchi/OU=OMB/O=EOP @ EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Leanne A. Shimabukuro ( CN=Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lyn A. Hogan ( CN=Lyn A. Hogan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Cathy R. Mays ( CN=Cathy R. Mays/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Pauline M. Abernathy ( CN=Pauline M. Abernathy/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael Cohen ( CN=Michael Cohen/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth Drye ( CN=Elizabeth Drye/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Christopher C. Jennings ( CN=Christopher C. Jennings/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Dennis K. Burke ( CN=Dennis K. Burke/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Diane C. Regas ( CN=Diane C. Regas/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Cynthia A. Rice ( CN=Cynthia A. Rice/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: WEINSTEIN\_P ( WEINSTEIN\_P @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY [ EOP ] ) (OPD)  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Christa Robinson/OPD/EOP on 04/24/97  
01:17 PM -----

#### AGRICULTURE

Today - A group of Black Farmers will march outside USDA. At 1:00pm, the Secretary will meet with the Congressional Black Caucus and representative of the black farmers group on Capitol Hill. He will also hold the first interagency task force meeting re: food gathering.

Tomorrow - The Secretary will interview with AG Day TV.

#### COMMERCE

Today - The Secretary will meet with the Japanese ambassador. He will also interview with TIME magazine.

#### DEFENSE

Today - The Secretary will interview with Charles Lane of the New Republic.

#### DRUG POLICY

Today - The Secretary will meet with the Boys & Girls Club in Atlanta.

#### ENERGY

Today - At 1:00pm, the Secretary will hold a press conference re: refrigerator standards.

#### HHS

Today - The Secretary will participate in a "girl power" volunteerism event in Philadelphia with the President of Nike.

Tomorrow- The Secretary will hold a press conference re: the medicare and social security trust fund.

#### HUD

Today - The Secretary will hold a press conference with Sec. Rubin re: legislation for fair housing pricing.

#### INTERIOR

Today - The Secretary will attend the Park Ranger of the Year event at the White House.

#### JUSTICE

Today - The AG will interview with ABC re: the Justice Department generally. The IG will appear on Larry King.

Tomorrow - The AG will attend an Earth Day Fair at Justice. FDA will hold an event re: tobacco.

## TRANSPORTATION

No public events.

## TREASURY

Today - The Secretary and Sec. Cuomo held a press conference re: fair housing pricing.

Tomorrow- The Secretary will hold a press conference re: the medicare and social security trust fund.

## VETERANS

Today - The Secretary will testify before the House Appropriations Committee re: budget.

## Message Sent

To: \_\_\_\_\_

BAER\_D @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY  
BALDERSTON\_K @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY  
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VOLES\_L @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY  
Stuart M. Schear/WHO/EOP  
Christa Robinson/OPD/EOP  
Marcia L. Hale/WHO/EOP  
Sylvia M. Mathews/WHO/EOP  
Ronda H. Jackson/WHO/EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jason S. Goldberg ( CN=Jason S. Goldberg/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 13:35:46.00

SUBJECT: Call Erskine 66798

TO: ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN ( ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 13:37:13.00

SUBJECT:

TO: ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN ( ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Can you call Erskine at 456-6798 asap

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Sarah A. Bianchi ( CN=Sarah A. Bianchi/OU=OMB/O=EOP [ OMB ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 15:26:03.00

SUBJECT: Medicare Q&As

TO: Beverly J. Barnes ( CN=Beverly J. Barnes/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Mary E. Glynn ( CN=Mary E. Glynn/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jonathan A. Kaplan ( CN=Jonathan A. Kaplan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Russell W. Horwitz ( CN=Russell W. Horwitz/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: April K. Mellody ( CN=April K. Mellody/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Nancy A. Min ( CN=Nancy A. Min/OU=OMB/O=EOP @ EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Paul J. Weinstein Jr. ( CN=Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jake Siewert ( CN=Jake Siewert/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jason S. Goldberg ( CN=Jason S. Goldberg/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Kevin S. Moran ( CN=Kevin S. Moran/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lawrence J. Haas ( CN=Lawrence J. Haas/OU=OMB/O=EOP @ EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====  
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

Unable to convert ARMS\_EXT:[ATTACH.D15]MAIL40465531F.116 to ASCII,  
The following is a HEX DUMP:

FF575043E6060000010A020100000002050000002441000000020000F62CEA6269B328ADC4EFCE  
1AB63D9CC91B7C08EDCF1E44F9DAB7430507BE7D2CF62C8264CBEDD77DD14E916FE6026B098449

## MEDICARE Q&As

*Question: Doesn't the Medicare Trust Fund Report just confirm that President has continually demagogued Medicare and failed to address the real needs of the program?*

*Answer:* No. The Medicare Trust Fund Report confirms what the President has continually stated -- that Republicans and Democrats have to come together to enact Medicare reforms to extend the life of the Trust Fund. The President has been addressing this important issue since he came into office.

His 1993 Economic Plan extended the life of the Trust Fund by three years. In 1994, the reforms included in the Health Security Act would have strengthened the Trust Fund by five years. In 1995 and 1996, the President proposed a Medicare plan that would have extended the life of the Trust Fund for at least a decade. And this year the President's balanced budget guarantees the life of the Trust Fund for at least a decade.

*Question: Should Medicare beneficiaries worry that the Medicare Trust Fund is in imminent danger?*

*Answer:* *This report should not be used irresponsibly.* The upcoming Trust Fund report should not be used to recklessly frighten the 38 million Medicare beneficiaries and their families into thinking that their benefits are in imminent danger. They simply are not.

*The need for responsible intervention to improve the Trust Fund is real.* The President has a proposal that addresses this need in a responsible way, without imposing devastating provider cuts, increasing beneficiary costs, or enacting structural changes that devastate the program and the people it serves.

*We have time to act this year. Over \$120 billion remains in the Trust Fund (as of March 1997).* While incoming revenues are somewhat less than outgoing payments, the current balance in the Trust Fund means that there is no danger that claims will not be paid.

The President believes that it is time to put partisan differences aside and agree on Medicare reforms that will save the Trust Fund.

**Question:** How do you respond to the Republican criticism that your Medicare plan does nothing but preserve the status quo?

**Answer:** That is absolutely not true. The President's budget takes important steps to modernize Medicare and bring it into the 21st century through a number of structural reforms including:

- **Establishing new private plans** including Preferred Provider Organizations and Provider Sponsored Organizations -- available to seniors and people with disabilities.
- *Establishing market-oriented purchasing for Medicare* including the new prospective payment systems for home health care, nursing home care, and outpatient hospital services, as well as competitive bidding authority and the use of centers of excellence to improve quality and cut back on costs.
- *Adding new Medigap protections* making it possible for beneficiaries to switch

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- *Expanding coverage for preventive services* including expanding services for mammographies and colorectal screening, improving self-management of diseases like diabetes, and extending respite benefits that are increasingly important to our older Americans.
- *Empowering America's seniors to make educated choices about their health care* by providing beneficiaries with comparative information on all managed care and Medigap plans in the area where they live. To help make those comparisons meaningful, the budget would create standardized packages for additional benefits.

**Question:** Does the President support creating a Medicare Commission?

**Answer:**

- The President has consistently said that we need a two step process to address the financing needs of the Medicare program. First, he has called for Republicans and Democrats to come together immediately to address the short-term financing needs of the Medicare Trust Fund. The President has proposed a balanced budget plan to enact reforms that extend the life of the Trust Fund well into the next decade. He also believes that we need to develop a bipartisan process to examine and make recommendations on the long-term needs of the Medicare program, and he looks forward to working with both parties to develop the best process possible.

**Question:** Democrats are saying that the Administration has gone far enough with Medicare savings. Are you concerned that your base Democrats will withdraw their support?

**Answer:** The President has put forth a strong Medicare proposal that extends the life of the Trust Fund to 2007 while modernizing and strengthening the program. The President has always been and always will be opposed to excessive Medicare cuts. He is working with the Democratic Leadership to ensure that any Medicare proposal is based on strong policy rationale and does not excessively or unfairly burden Medicare beneficiaries or the providers who serve them. Democrats have always been responsible stewards of the Medicare Trust Fund, and the President is confident that there will be broad Democratic support for any necessary reforms to the program.

**Question:** Do you plan to eliminate any of the new benefit improvements in your Medicare plan?

**Answer:** While everything will clearly be “on the table” in our budget discussions, we are extremely sensitive about making any changes to the important beneficiary improvements in our Medicare plan. Over three quarters of Medicare beneficiaries earn less than \$25,000 per year. Improving benefits and fixing flaws in the program which place undue costs on this vulnerable population is a high priority for this Administration. The President’s proposal to cover preventive services is recognized by Republicans and Democrats alike as a sound, cost-effective investment.

**Question:** *The President has included a home health care transfer gimmick in the budget. How can he possibly defend it?*

**Answer:** Let's be clear: our \$100 billion in Medicare savings does not include the home health care transfer. The \$100 billion (\$138 billion over six years) is the net reduction from the baseline that adds to deficit reduction.

The policy you mentioned was in our budget last year, and it was in the House Republican budget in 1995 that every Republican in the House voted for.

**Our overall policy to home health visits in excess of 100 out of the HI trust fund is responsible and makes sense: it protects the Medicare Trust Fund till 2007 while not putting harmful cuts on hospitals that would hurt quality or put excessive burdens on beneficiaries -- while balancing the budget in 2002.**

**Background**

***Originally designed as a post-acute care benefit for beneficiaries who had been hospitalized, home health has increasingly become a chronic care benefit, not linked to hospitalization. Our proposal restores the original split of home health***

*care benefits so that the first 100 home health visits following a 3-day hospitalization would be reimbursed by Part A and all other visits --including those not following hospitalization --would be reimbursed by Part B.*

**Question:** **Follow:** If home health transfer is not a gimmick then why don't you include it as part of the Part B premium?

**Answer:** We have always been concerned about out-of-pocket costs for Medicare beneficiaries. Older Americans spend, on average, 20 percent of their income on health care and three-fourths have incomes lower than \$25,000. We have to be careful that as we reform the Medicare program, we do not place undue burden on low-income seniors.

**Question:** *Is the President now considering including it in the premium or imposing copayments on home health services?*

**Answer:** The President is not ruling anything in or out at this point. The President looks forward to continuing our discussions with Congress. However, he will certainly not agree to any change that will place undue burden on Medicare beneficiaries.

**Question:** *Will you tell seniors -- at least high income seniors -- that we can't be giving them this huge subsidy while we are passing debt on to our children?*

The President is not philosophically against asking the highest-income seniors to pay a little more. In fact, in 1993, the Administration asked high-income seniors to pay more for their Part A benefits; so he is willing to make those tough choices. But the President has also found that we can present a strong and credible budget without having to start opening the door to premium increases on Medicare recipients.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Christa Robinson ( CN=Christa Robinson/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 15:26:14.00

SUBJECT: 4-24-97 Cabinet Memo (internal)

TO: Nicole R. Rabner ( CN=Nicole R. Rabner/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: William R. Kincaid ( CN=William R. Kincaid/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Stephen C. Warnath ( CN=Stephen C. Warnath/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Eric P. Goosby ( CN=Eric P. Goosby/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sarah A. Bianchi ( CN=Sarah A. Bianchi/OU=OMB/O=EOP @ EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Leanne A. Shimabukuro ( CN=Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lyn A. Hogan ( CN=Lyn A. Hogan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Cathy R. Mays ( CN=Cathy R. Mays/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Pauline M. Abernathy ( CN=Pauline M. Abernathy/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael Cohen ( CN=Michael Cohen/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth Drye ( CN=Elizabeth Drye/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Christopher C. Jennings ( CN=Christopher C. Jennings/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Dennis K. Burke ( CN=Dennis K. Burke/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Diane C. Regas ( CN=Diane C. Regas/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Cynthia A. Rice ( CN=Cynthia A. Rice/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: WEINSTEIN\_P ( WEINSTEIN\_P @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY [ EOP ] ) (OPD)  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Christa Robinson/OPD/EOP on 04/24/97  
03:33 PM -----

#### AGRICULTURE

Today - The Secretary will kick off a major new initiative to help children & enhance natural resources in D.C.

#### EDUCATION

Today - The Secretary will announce a report by the National Council of Education and Statistics.  
He will also do a media tour re: the volunteer summit.

#### HHS

Today -The Secretary will hold a press conference re: the Medicare and social security trust fund.

#### INTERIOR

Today - The Secretary will hold a noon press conference re: an agreement between the National Parks Service and American Airlines.

#### JUSTICE

Today - The AG will attend an Earth Day Fair at Justice. The AG was asked about a new juvenile justice initiative, counter-terrorism legislation, and CWC in her weekly press availability.

#### LABOR

No public events.

#### OPM

Today - The Director will testify before the House Subcommittee on Civil Service.

#### TREASURY

Today - The Secretary will deliver an address at the Center for National Policy at 1:45pm. The Secretary will hold a press conference re: the Medicare and social security trust fund.  
Tomorrow - At 12:00pm, the Secretary will hold a press conference re: Sunday's G-7 Summit.

#### USIA

Today - The Director will speak at an area elementary school re: volunteerism.

Message Sent

To:

---

BAER\_D @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY  
BALDERSTON\_K @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY  
BEAUBAIRE\_D @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY  
CAPLAN\_P @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY  
CATTALINI\_A @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY  
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MASON\_J @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY  
MCCURRY\_M @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY  
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VOLES\_L @ A1 @ CD @ LNGTWY  
Stuart M. Schear/WHO/EOP  
Christa Robinson/OPD/EOP  
Marcia L. Hale/WHO/EOP  
Sylvia M. Mathews/WHO/EOP  
Ronda H. Jackson/WHO/EOP  
Jonathan Murchinson/WHO/EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Barbara D. Woolley ( CN=Barbara D. Woolley/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 15:27:35.00

SUBJECT: Tobacco Court Decision

TO: Ann F. Lewis ( CN=Ann F. Lewis/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Maria Echaveste ( CN=Maria Echaveste/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael Waldman ( CN=Michael Waldman/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Rahm I. Emanuel ( CN=Rahm I. Emanuel/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Ron Klain ( CN=Ron Klain/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Anne E. McGuire ( CN=Anne E. McGuire/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce R. Lindsey ( CN=Bruce R. Lindsey/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth Drye ( CN=Elizabeth Drye/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Michelle Crisci ( CN=Michelle Crisci/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Marjorie Tarmey ( CN=Marjorie Tarmey/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

The Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids is holding a news conference to "Analyze the Tobacco vs. FDA Decision" on Friday, April 25, 2:00 pm, Mayflower Hotel. Participating in the news conference is Matt Myers (CTFK), Alan Morrison (Public Citizen), Dr. C. Everett Koop, Jennie Cook (ACS).

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Cynthia A. Rice ( CN=Cynthia A. Rice/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 15:57:10.00

SUBJECT: Statement of Admin Position on Technicals bill

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

OMB has asked by 5:00 today for clearance of the following short and simple statement of administration position on the technicals bill:

"The Administration supports House passage of H.R. 1048, which will help ensure the effective implementation of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996."

This seems accurate.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 16:00:27.00

SUBJECT: Any word on the message memo yet?

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Once I hear from DPC, I'm going to send the batch in to Ann and Sylvia...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Tracey E. Thornton ( CN=Tracey E. Thornton/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 16:33:30.00

SUBJECT: Products in Senate

TO: Bruce R. Lindsey ( CN=Bruce R. Lindsey/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: John L. Hilley ( CN=John L. Hilley/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Elisa Millsap ( CN=Elisa Millsap/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Jennifer D. Dudley ( CN=Jennifer D. Dudley/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I spoke briefly with Senator Breaux today and we should get a document from his staff today cob. His effort has had the effect of moving the Republicans into a posture of talking concessions. I'll get the document to you as soon as it comes. Republicans have scheduled a mark-up for May 1 in Commerce Committee.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jennifer D. Dudley ( CN=Jennifer D. Dudley/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 16:49:16.00

SUBJECT: Please call Bruce Lindsey 6/2668

TO: ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN ( ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 17:21:06.00

SUBJECT: one more time on Teach for America

TO: Michael Cohen ( CN=Michael Cohen/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

The Corporation swears that this is true: Teach for America has 900 members now (not 1,000 or 2,200, as they reported to me earlier), and ALL of them have AmeriCorps scholarships.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 17:43:29.00

SUBJECT:

TO: ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN ( ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

We have tobacco quotes and Q & A's for your clearance. Call Laura 65584

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 18:20:21.00

SUBJECT: AmeriCorps cost per member

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

On the cost per AmeriCorps member, here is some info:

Average cost per AmeriCorps member for fiscal year 1996 -- \$17,629.  
Agreement with Grassley will reduce that to \$17,000 for fiscal year 1997;  
\$16,000 for fiscal year 1998; and \$15,000 by fiscal year 1999.

Most of that goes directly to the AmeriCorps member (or a school on his/her behalf):

\$6,700 toward a living allowance of \$7,600, with the remainder raised by the local sponsor

\$1,200 for barebones health insurance coverage and to assist a few members with child-care costs

\$4,725 for an education voucher upon completion of at least 1,700 hours of direct service

Total Corporation-funded benefits per member: about \$12,625.

Remainder pays for:

governor-appointed bipartisan commissions that run annual statewide competitions among local nonprofit groups wishing to sponsor AmeriCorps members

equipment, materials, recruitment, training, and oversight-costs that are being cut as part of the reform agreement with Grassley  
the Corporation

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 18:32:01.00

SUBJECT: Teach for Am vs. Notre Dame

TO: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael Cohen ( CN=Michael Cohen/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

The Corporation is touting an alternative to the Teach for America model that they fund based at Notre Dame. For what it's worth, here's the details:

Recruits and trains recent college grads to serve as AmeriCorps members teaching in severely understaffed Catholic parochial schools across the South. Sponsored by Alliance for Catholic Education.

After 2 intensive summer trainings, two years of university courses, and full time teaching, members earn a Masters of Arts in education. Matched with a mentor from that school. Their students do service-learning. 80 members last year; good record with principals.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Tracey E. Thornton ( CN=Tracey E. Thornton/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:24-APR-1997 20:07:18.00

SUBJECT: Volunteer Liability

TO: Bruce R. Lindsey ( CN=Bruce R. Lindsey/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Elisa Millsap ( CN=Elisa Millsap/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Jennifer D. Dudley ( CN=Jennifer D. Dudley/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: John L. Hilley ( CN=John L. Hilley/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

We're hearing that Repubs will file a cloture petition on this bill tomorrow which would put it on the floor early next week -- they're timing it for our summit in Philly of course. I've talked to DOJ and National Service folks. DOJ said their statement will be over here tomorrow. I've also talked to Hollings' folks and they think they can offer up an alternative but we'll talk again about what that would look like. Elena and Bruce, can you guys take a look at this Justice stuff tomorrow and let me know if it's going in the right direction, i.e., not conflicting on where we are on product liability? txs

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Elizabeth Drye ( CN=Elizabeth Drye/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 08:42:16.00

SUBJECT: Tobacco Conference Call .

TO: Donald H. Gips ( CN=Donald H. Gips/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Rahm I. Emanuel ( CN=Rahm I. Emanuel/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Toby Donenfeld ( CN=Toby Donenfeld/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce R. Lindsey ( CN=Bruce R. Lindsey/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Cathy R. Mays ( CN=Cathy R. Mays/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Jennifer D. Dudley ( CN=Jennifer D. Dudley/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Michelle Crisci ( CN=Michelle Crisci/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

We will hold a conf. call starting btw 11:30 and 11:45 on the results of the tobacco decision with HHS/DOJ/WH (after we draft first POTUS statement and finalize Q&A). Number for WH is 6-6766; code is 9910. I'll call your office when we're ready to start.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Emily Bromberg ( CN=Emily Bromberg/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 10:39:04.00

SUBJECT: flsa

TO: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Cynthia A. Rice ( CN=Cynthia A. Rice/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

According to DOL, a number of welfare advocates and labor unions are planning a press briefing on the application of labor laws to welfare recipients 5/1 at 12:30. Sponsors are AFL-CIO, AFSME, SEIU, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Women's Legal Defense Fund. Speakers include Kathy Wilkinson--the minimum wage worker who introduced POTUS at min wage bill signing. Hill visits are like to happen as well. According to DOL, message is "not to attack us for inaction but provide support for a favorable decision".

Not helpful. Any chance we'd make our decision known (with privatization) by then?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Emily Bromberg ( CN=Emily Bromberg/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 10:44:53.00

SUBJECT: flsa

TO: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Cynthia A. Rice ( CN=Cynthia A. Rice/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

by the way, they have asked Seth Harris to meet with the group-and of course he is inclined to say yes.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Elizabeth R. Newman ( CN=Elizabeth R. Newman/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 10:58:30.00

SUBJECT:

TO: ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN ( ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Reminder: Caribbean Immigration Meeting in Sylvia's office - right now -  
thanks

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 11:52:30.00

SUBJECT: Interesting info from Wendy Kopp of Teach for America

TO: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael Cohen ( CN=Michael Cohen/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

She is going to the summit; she was invited by Billy Shor.

She says she can't go much beyond the current 900-1,000 for 3 reasons.

She says her ideal size would be 1,200! No way could she double it.

1. They are limited to official teacher shortage areas and have various certification constraints imposed by school districts. So they aren't in lots of places for lots of reasons -- not in Boston because there's a teacher glut; not in Phila she thinks because of rules about certification. She says a lot of the shortage is actually in areas like special ed and bilingual that aren't qualified for. This all seems very different than we thought!

2. Applicants: She doesn't think she can get more than about 500 high quality people a year. The number of their applicants has shrunk from 3,600 to 2,500 in the last 3 years. They would love to have more applicants, and said if the president wanted to challenge more college students that would be great -- but then I said maybe it wouldn't be because of item 2!

3. Management and financial constraints.

She suggested that the President call for an expansion of the teacher corps concept into more professional areas (child care corps, anyone?) to add to the youth corps model of AmeriCorps, which is fine, toward more "professional" corps. She is sending me something on this.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 11:54:45.00

SUBJECT: Teach for America

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I thought I sent this to you guys as well, but I obviously didn't...  
----- Forwarded by Jonathan Prince/WHO/EOP on 04/25/97  
11:52 AM -----

Jonathan Prince  
04/25/97 10:39:43 AM  
Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP  
cc:  
Subject: Teach for America

Take the attached to a meeting and try and skim them if you have a chance. My gut feeling about the bottom line is this: TFA is controversial (by definition, given the following articles), but clearly defensible. Much of the criticism seems to come from a small cadre of self-appointed critics from Ed Schools. There are certainly individual anecdotes of TFA failures, but it's not as if there's a shortage of Ed School trained teacher failure stories either...

One other observation: How come every single article mentions AmeriCorps? What's that all about? Duhhh.  
----- Forwarded by Jonathan Prince/WHO/EOP on 04/25/97  
10:35 AM -----

Thomas D. Janenda  
04/24/97 08:29:10 PM  
Record Type: Record

To: Jonathan Prince/WHO/EOP  
cc:  
Subject: Teach for America

We found the attached stories on Teach for America. There does seem to be a fair mixture of criticism and praise. Call with questions. Thanks

===== ATTACHMENT 1 =====  
ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

WPCB

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!Copyright1996TheNewYorkTimesCompanyTheNewYorkTimesJanuary7,1996,Sunday,LateEdition-FinalSECTION:Section4A;Page26;Column1;EducationLifeSupplementLENGTH:1816wordsHEADLINE:TEACHINGTEACHERS;TeachforAmerica:LearningtheHardWayBYLINE:ByRACHELSHTEIR;RachelShteirisafreelancewriterbasedinNewYorkBODY:FiveyearsafterTeachforAmericabegansendingrecentcollegegraduatestosomeofthepooresturbanandruralschools,theorganizationfindsitsselfstilltryingtohandleitsgrowingpainswithgrace.TeachforAmericawhichsprangfromthe1989seniorthesisthatitsfounder,WendyKopp,wroteatPrincetonUniversity,hasplaced3,000teachersandgainedbothpraiseandstrongcriticismforitsmethods.Everyyear,aftertraining500recruits--manyofthemgraduatesofIvyLeaguecolleges--forfiveweeks,theprogramassignsthemtotwo-year-teachingpostsinareasasvariedasNewYorkCity,theMississippiDeltaandSouthCentralLosAngeles.PatternedafterthePeaceCorps,TeachforAmericahasbeenhardhitbywhatitsdirectorofdevelopment,RichardBarth,callsa"belt-tighteningcrisis."In1995therecruitingstaffwasslashedfromseventotwo.(Overall,theorganizationemploysabout80people.)Tomaintainoneoftheprogram'sessentialcomponents--theon-sitementorswhohelpnewrecruitsgetadjustedtoteaching--TeachforAmericahasbeguntoseekoutpartnershipswithlocaluniversitiesandcommunitycolleges,aswellastorelymoreheavilyonalumnitocontributeandexpertise."We'resteppingbackfromtryingtotakeonalltheresponsibilityourselves,"explainedMs.Kopp,28,assheistheorganization'sheadquartersinNewYorkCity'sfinancialdistrict.Inaddition,TeachforAmericaisstrugglingtorebutitscritics.InMay,respondingtoseveralrecentstudiesbyeducationalgroupscriticizingitsteachertrainingprogram.TeachforAmericareleasedareportit (@), hadcommissioned.Accordingtothereport,themajorityofsuperintendentsarehappywiththeteachers'work."Insomeareaswecomeoutlookinggood,"Ms.Kopp,said.ShaaronMitchell,theplacementcoordinatorintheUnifiedSchoolDistrictofOakland,Calif.,said:"They'reclimatechangers.Theythinkoutofthebox."TeachforAmericaispartofalargertrendthathasemergedsinceheearly1980's,whenstatesbegan to offer alternative licensings or certification programs for teachers. Such programs allow liberal arts graduates and others without education degrees to work as teachers in areas where there are teacher shortages. Most of these schools are found in poor districts. According to data collected by the National Center for Education Information in Washington, 40 states now offer such programs, up from 33 in 1990. "If the school district provides adequate mentoring and support," said Pat Dingdale, the education committee chairwoman for the National Parent-Teacher Association, in Chicago, "any alternate certification program can work." Yet many of Teachfor America's critics argue that such support is not forthcoming. In 1991 Melissa McDonald graduated from Tufts University with a degree in American history. She then spent a turbulent nine weeks in a New Orleans school she described as "a trash can" before reluctantly leaving Teachfor America. She is now a manager at the Nature Company in Boston. "I had 10-year-olds who had failed second grade three times," said Ms. McDonald. She blames Teachfor America for her quick departure because it placed her in the school and failed to give her support. "The corps members who finished their two-year commitments had strong mentors--and their schools wanted them there," she said. In New York City, first-year Teachfor America teachers make about \$28,000, about \$4,000 less than first-year teachers with master's degrees. During their two-year commitment, progra

Participants have the option of working toward their permanent licenses. Supporters of Teach for America say that over the last five years the program has filled a gap in recruiting hard-to-find bilingual, special education and math/science teachers. According to the organization's statistics, the number of fit teachers who finish the two-year commitment has risen from 70 percent in 1990 to 85 percent in 1993. The statistics also indicate that the organization does better than the education profession overall in recruiting minorities, who now make up 46 percent of all corps members. This figure includes 24 percent African-Americans, 8 percent Hispanic and 8 percent Asians. -@), According to figures from the National Library of Education, 86.5 percent of all teachers nationwide are white and 7 percent are African-American, 4 percent Hispanic and 1 percent Asian. According to Teach for America statistics on the first group of program teachers, who finished in 1992, some 55 percent are still teaching, although 72 percent remain in education. By contrast, only 7 percent of teachers with master's degrees nationwide have dropped out of teaching after three years. Teach for America, however, says that in the areas where it teaches are employed, the overall turnover rate tends to be much higher, up to 50 percent. And Ms. Kopp says as much about training teachers, the program seeks to create leaders. "I'd like people to someday talk about T.F.A. the way they talk about the Rhodes Scholarship," she said. In the summer of 1993, President Clinton approved Teach for America as part of AmeriCorps, his national service initiative. The program now receives about 21 percent of its \$5.2 million budget from AmeriCorps, which also pays off participants' undergraduate loans and offers small grants for future education. The majority of Teach for America's money, however, still comes from corporations and individuals--among them are the Lilly Endowment Corporation and Philip Morris. Yet because of Teach for America's budget cutting, some of its most ambitious initiatives are being dropped, like the costly and time-consuming efforts to get statesto accredit its five-week summer training program as an alternative route to teacher certification. And two education divisions of Teach for America have left to become nonprofit companies. The two divisions are Teach, which focuses on recruiting people in other professions to become teachers, and The Learning Project, which helped design the Houston Summer Institute where Teach for America teachers are retrained. In addition, many educators in traditional graduate teacher-training programs remain skeptical about Teach for America's long-term impact. "What Teach for America is doing would be more productive if they recruited for the long term instead of a pit stop," said Linda Darling-Hammond, a professor of education at Teachers College at Columbia University in New York. By putting teachers into the neediest schools, she said, the program is cheating a generation of "high risk" children. -@), Professor Darling-Hammond also accused the program of taking jobs away from teachers who are more qualified. "Districts can only legally hire us if they have a shortage," Wendy Kopp responded. But last year in Seattle, which has no teachers shortage, the Board of Education voted to hire 17 Teach for America teachers, even though Washington state certifies 2,500 teachers every year. Of these, half remain unemployed after receiving certification. "The vote was controversial," said Ted Andrews, the state's director of professional education and certification. Most teacher educators critical of Teach for America say they do not oppose alternative certification as such, but what they characterize as the program's slapdash approach to training. "The summer institute is a series of one-hour workshops with no curriculum," said Robert Roth, a professor of education at the State University of California at Long Beach, who evaluated Teach for America's summer training institute in Houston for several states in 1993. "The students could choose anything they wanted in any order," he said. "In five weeks you cannot train a teacher's first step into the classroom. We have difficulty doing that in four years." Teach for America, however, said the training institute's recruit teach at a summer enrichment program for students in Houston's public elementary schools. In the afternoons and evenings, according to program outlines, the trainees attend curriculum workshops. Veteran teachers and experienced corps members are asked to evaluate the performance of the new recruits on a daily basis. "It was like educational boot camp," said Catherine Schoeffler, who got a sociology degree at the University of Southwestern Louisiana before teaching at a tiny elementary school in Ruleville, Miss. Pam Briskman, a Teach for America recruit from Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif., said, "I really don't think that anything can prepare you for the first day of class." Ms. Briskman, who has taught at Bret Harte Middle School in Oakland, Calif., for three years, said she feels that the Teach for America approach is at least as effective as the traditional teacher-training education programs from which her colleagues graduated. In New York, at P. S. 280 West 155th Street in Harlem, Gina Laporta, an English major who graduated from Boston College in 1994, said her training was adequate, but her first year of teaching was still an enormous struggle. -@), "All of a sudden I was going to be responsible for 20 children who wanted to be

ucated. "For several months she was in shock, she said, overwhelmed by a classroom where many of the students had emotional problems for which she had no training. She was assigned two mentors -- one from Teach for America and the other a veteran teacher at the school. But even now, Ms. Lapaort does not know if she will stay a third year. "I change my mind every day," she said. David Gunderson had a different experience. After graduating from Yale University in 1989 with a major in political science, he wanted to teach before medical school. But because he didn't want to spend a year getting a degree in education, he found that Teach for America presented an ideal opportunity. Mr. Gunderson spent four years teaching life science at Compton High in South Central Los Angeles. "It's the greatest education you'll ever have," he said. Now Mr. Gunderson intends to go back to medical school and to earn a master's degree in public health. "In 10 years, I'd like to be living in a rural area where I can practice medicine half the time and teach the other half," he said. For Seth Kugel, who finished his two-year stint in the South Bronx in New York last year, an academic critic of Teach for America is the point. Mr. Kugel, who is now a first-year student at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, said: "If you're a T.F.A. teacher, you don't have to worry about staying, about pension, about red tape, about getting the ideal job in the ideal school -- you don't have to worry about getting out of the South Bronx. You don't have to learn the system. If you're in T.F.A., you can just teach." GRAPHIC: Photo: Wendy Kopp's Teach for America has put 3,000 recent college graduates into poor schools. (Andrew Lichtenstein for The New York Times) LANGUAGE: ENGLISH LOAD-DATE: February 28, 1996 (+ Copyright 1995 The Washington Post The Washington Post April 29, 1995, Saturday, Final Edition SECTION: OP-ED; Pg. A17 LENGTH: 783 words HEADLINE: Teachers For America Get an 'A' BYLINE: Colman McCarthy BODY: Beneath a "Love the Earth" poster on the front wall of the classroom, Carol Browner, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, spoke to 27 fifth- and sixth-grade students at Powell Elementary School in the Petworth neighborhood. Browner was as much a listener as a talker. The class discussion ranged from who should pay the cost of water pollution to the Three R's of garbage: reduce, reuse and recycle. The Powell children were well spoken and well prepared, as naturally they would be. Their teacher is Kristin Bijur, a first-year faculty member placed at the school by Teach for America (TFA). Two classrooms down the hallway, the brightly painted hall was Maryann Guzman, also from Teach for America. For a few rewarding and warm-hearted moments, Browner and the two young women, who are 1994 graduates of Middlebury and the University of the District of Columbia, came together in their support of Teach for America. Since 1990 the program has recruited, trained and placed 2,800 recent college graduates -- out of 15,000 applicants -- for poor and underserved urban and rural schools. Two-year commitments are made. One thousand TFA teachers are currently working in 12 states, with \$2 million of the program's \$7 million budget coming from AmeriCorps, the federal service agency. On April 25 Browner was one of 40 government officials, including eight members of the House and Senate, who went into Teach for America classrooms as part of "Recess Duty." This involvement and support is needed right about now. Teach for America is under siege on two fronts: from Congress, which is hearing Newt Gingrich grumble that AmeriCorps and its programs are "coerced voluntarism" and should be axed; -@), and from a few professional educators who carp that TFA is a band of well-meaning amateurs unfit for the rigor of the classroom. Though not to be dismissed, the Gingrich assault is likely to lose force as members of Congress learn of the AmeriCorps successes in their states and districts. Sniping from the educational establishment is a greater threat because it comes under the guise of academic credibility. The experts must know, after all. In "Who Will Speak for the Children? How 'Teach for America' Hurts Urban Schools and Children," published recently in Phi Delta Kappan, a scholarly journal, Linda Darling-Hammond scorns TFA as "a frankly missionary program." Darling-Hammond is a professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University. She writes: "TFA has recruiters and advocates who have focused much of their attention on the advantaged college graduates for whom TFA serves as some thing useful to do on their way to their 'real jobs' in law, medicine or business, rather than on the young people who will be the students of those advantaged college graduates in urban and rural classrooms." That put-down -- last heard 35 years ago when the first Peace Corps volunteer was mocked as rich-kiddabblers -- is unfounded. According to TFA records, 47 percent of its teachers continued to teach after the first two years. Eleven percent are in education-related jobs, and 7 percent are going on for graduated degrees in education. Darling-Hammond derides TFA as being "bad for the schools" to which it supplies teachers. The kids "are often poorly taught" and the program "undermines the profession's effort to raise standards." Well away from the high professorial perches of Columbia, where standards are preserved in tabernacles of ivied wisdom, those in the trenches every day with TFA teachers -- school superintendents and principals -- have other views. A TFA survey last year of 40 superintendents found that 97 perc

ent believed TFAs were as competent or better than the overall faculty. Seventy percent of 233 principals said TFA teachers were superior to the average new teacher. At Powell Elementary, Harriet Weatherspoon, the principal since 1983, says she would like to have at least two more TFAs. Of Kristin Bijur and Maryann Guzman, she says: "They're motivated, creative and energetic. They've brought new ideas to our school. They have genuine concern for their students." And what are the children saying? In Kristin Bijur's all-minority classroom, not only do the students' affection for their teacher on full display -- reaching out to touch her on the arm or confiding things to her as they left for lunch -- but they had shown the visitor from EPA that they had done their homework. Browner, impressed at the depth of the children's questions, told them on leaving: "You obviously have an excellent teacher who has taught you a lot about the environment." Now on to teaching the bright folk -- the pols and profs. LANGUAGE: ENGLISH LOAD-DATE: April 29, 1995

Copyright 1995 The New Republic, Inc. The New Republic JANUARY 23, 1995 SECTION: Pg. 13 LENGTH: 1774 words HEADLINE: MRS. EDBY LINE: Sara Mosle HIGHLIGHT: TEACH FOR AMERICA'S MISGUIDED CRITICS. BODY: This decade America's public schools will take on more than 2 million new teachers, a 35 percent increase over the 1980s. This influx is an absolute necessity both to replace an aging teacher population and to accommodate a new baby boom. Yet, as Derek Bok has pointed out in *The Cost of Talent*, the number of undergraduates and graduate students getting degrees in education has plummeted by 40 to 50 percent since the mid-1970s. Minorities, in particular, have become increasingly underrepresented. And the academic level of those who are becoming teachers has also declined. Their scores on college boards are well below the national average in reading and math. Those who do score high tend to teach in private schools and are more likely than their counterparts to leave teaching after only a few years. Given these grim realities, one would think that educators would applaud Teach for America, the program started by Princeton graduate Wendy Kopp in 1990 to recruit recent college graduates to teach in poor urban and rural schools. The program has placed some 2,800 teachers in public schools nationwide. It has received \$2 million from AmeriCorps, President Clinton's national service initiative. So pleased have Baltimore, Seattle, Oakland and all of North Carolina been with their first hire that they recently approved its training program as sufficient preparation for certification. Despite these successes and much media praise, it has come under fire from the educational establishment. The reason is obvious: Teach for America has begun to pose a threat to the monopolistic school system of education that has traditionally held over teacher preparation. The establishment's unofficial spokesperson has been Linda Darling-Hammond, a professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University. Hammond is a long-time opponent of alternative certification programs and has made an industry of attacking Teach for America. (She's been quoted in nearly every article about the program.) In the September *Pi Delta Kappan*, the leading scholarly journal for teachers, she has produced a dense footnote-screed that has rapidly become the definitive critique of TFA: "Who Will Speak for the Children? How Teach for America Hurts Urban Schools and Students." The essay has attracted wide attention, most notably in *The New Yorker*, which made a favorable mention of Hammond's argument in a recent "Talk of the Town." What's galling about Hammond's argument to some one like me -- I entered teaching through Teach for America and have taught for three years in public classroom. Hammond insists that the program has been a colossal failure. Here evidence, such as it is, is almost entirely from secondary sources, which she has culled for example to support her thesis. She offers no indication of ever having visited a teacher's classroom. Her copious footnotes, which have impressed commentators, mostly refer to her own writings, to "private" communications or to selective bits of Michael Shapiro's *Who Will Teach for America?* that run counter to Shapiro's own conclusion, which is that "Teach for America has succeeded." For example, Hammond offers one former principal, Beverly Hall, who she says was unhappy with her recruits. Strangely, that's not what Hall told *The New York Times* on December 5, 1990. Then Hall described her first hire as "a natural... a very successful teacher, 'who' taught the best math lesson I've ever seen." Hammond cites an anonymous superintendent at length, who she claims was dissatisfied with the program. She also quotes Miguel Ceballos, a high school math teacher in East L.A., whose words about his students she pieces together out of context from nine pages in Shapiro's book. "One day you'll teach and the next day they'll forget," Ceballos said. "I'm doing it by rote learning and that doesn't work... I keep asking, 'What am I doing here?'... I'm losing them." From this, Hammond draws the sweeping conclusion that Ceballos "clearly lacks an understanding of how people learn mathematics," is "without a repertoire of techniques beyond rote learning" and is "blaming the students for his lack of skill." In Shapiro's book, though, Ceballos uses a variety of techniques -- a baseball game to teach fractions, for instance

e. He isn't lamenting his inadequacy as a teacher, but the specific difficulty he had teaching a single subject: decimals. He worries about losing his students not to inattention but to gangs. Yet Hammond twists such candor into a confession of failure. This is typical of her method throughout. Far from recognizing the need to attract more qualified people to the profession, Hammond insists that "the alternative to smart, untrained farecruits are smart, well-trained farecruits from an array of top colleges." But this is simply not true. -@), One of the biggest misunderstandings about Teach for America is that they have somehow circumvented the normal rules for becoming teachers in the cities and towns where they've been sent. In fact, wherever teachers have worked, they have entered the classroom through existing routes, most of which were redesigned precisely to bring good teachers to disadvantaged areas. Take New York City, Hammond's example. Nearly one-sixth of the city's teachers are uncertified. They are what are known as "permanent substitutes" who teach on "temporary" licenses. The only requirements for this license are a b.a., a passing score on the National Teachers Exam and no criminal record. It's taught with such a license. So more than 10,000 other teachers in the city each year--of which New York's 200 or so teachers are in a subset. Actually, a 1991 study by the Community Service Society found that in the city's eight poorest districts--where, incidentally, nearly all teachers work--the fraction of uncertified teachers was close to one-third. That's because, as Hammond elsewhere concedes, "The districts where most teachers are hired are poor urban and rural districts with high turnover rates." Even so, 70 percent of teachers who complete their two-year commitment, and 60 percent went on to teach a third year. The rates have only gotten better. Among the 1992 corps, 84 percent completed their two years. Yet, according to the United Federation of Teachers, nearly 20 percent of all teachers citywide quit after their first year. Furthermore, many teachers have gone back to school to take precisely the courses that Hammond says they need. And teachers are hardly unusual for teaching before they go to school. That's what Hammond herself did, and half of Teachers College's own students have done the same. What's more, many of the credentials accepted by the city are far more dubious than those offered by teachers. The city doesn't care where you get your education credits--as long as you receive the requisite number. Consequently, many teachers take correspondence courses or equivalency exams to get their credentials. I received six credits myself--the equivalent of two semester-long courses--by passing a three-hour multiple-choice exam in the teaching of reading. At the same time, a year of graduate work I did at Oxford is simply not counted because the Board of Ed has never been able to figure out how many credits I should receive since Oxford doesn't award them. There's a certain lack of perspective exhibited by those who complain about teachers. The city is notorious for its inability to fire incompetents. Several districts are renowned for their corruption. Far too many schools in the city are dilapidated, grossly overcrowded and without supplies. Aren't these problems a little more pressing? Shapiro, Hammond's source, remarks on teachers' success: "If this is arrogance, then it is arrogance of the best kind, the sort necessary to withstand the assault that comes from... a system that continues treating teachers as bodies." Hammond, though, dismisses their as an advantaged college graduate for whom teachers assume something useful to do on their way to their real jobs, in law, medicine or business. "I'm not sure what she means by 'advantaged,'" but if she means that teachers tend to have higher board scores, come from colleges with more rigorous academic programs and score far higher on the National Teachers Exam than other first-year teachers, she's right--but why is this bad? And if she means that because of their high academic standing, they are often lured away by other professions, then she's right again. But as Richard Murnane, an education professor at Harvard, has demonstrated, this is true of all teachers--not just teachers--who have more rigorous academic backgrounds. All professions must compete for talent. It's not a badge of honor that the worst public schools have tended to attract those with the fewest options. Hammond insinuates that teachers are somehow contemptuous of minority kids. What's so outrageous about this claim is that Teach for America has done a far better job of recruiting minorities to teach than schools have. Forty percent of teachers are people of color. That's true of only 10 percent of school graduates nationally. Hammond closes her argument by sanctimoniously quoting Jonathan Kozol: "Charity is no substitute for justice." But she seems to have forgotten how Kozol got his start. His first book, *Death at an Early Age*, begins: "With no training in education and no experience as a teacher, I was sent into an overcrowded ghetto school on a substitute basis, given a year-long assignment... to teach a fourth-grade class." They were in 1964, and Kozol had just returned from Oxford, where he had studied poetry on a Rhodes Scholarship. In other words, he was exactly the kind of person Teach for America recruits and whom Hammond disdains. And as his book painfully recounts, he was surrounded by teachers, many of whom grossly neglected, who had exactly the kind of credentials that Hammond finds so indispensible.

nsable. Kozol was famously fired before the year was out for "curriculum deviation": he taught at Langston Hughes poem to his class. The school board's official explanation for his dismissal is eerily similar to criticism of TFA today: "He was unsuitable in training, character and temperament" and "obviously unsuited for the highly responsible profession of teaching." If Hammond has her way, there's little chance the Kozol of the future will ever enter the classroom. And we would be poorer for it. Sara Mosle, a former assistant literary editor of *nr*, writes frequently about education. -@), LANGUAGE: English LOAD-DATE: August 13, 1996

SHOW: NEWS8: 51pm ET January 15, 1995 Transcript #1052-9 TYPE: Package SECTION: News; Domestic LENGTH: 554 words HEADLINE: Teach for America Claims Success Five Years After Onset GUESTS: CLIFF FLOWERS, Teach for America Teacher; JEAN MARTINEZ, Teacher; WENDY KOPP, Teach for America Founder; ERMA JEFFERSON, Barnard Elementary School; AARON DANZIG, Former Corps Teacher; HIGHLIGHT: Five years ago, the Teach for America program put exemplary college students in public schools left needy by a teachers shortage. The much-criticized program has been successful, and many teachers stayed on. BODY: JEAN NEMESERVE, Anchor: It was a novel idea, putting graduates from top universities to work in need schools, and now, five years after Teach for America began, alumni are meeting in Washington to assess its progress and its future. Kathleen Koch reports. CLIFF FLOWERS, Teach for America Teacher: [teaching] What were some of the things that would happen? What were some of the details that you can recall? Antoine? KATHLEEN KOCH, Correspondent: Cliff Flowers is no ordinary teacher. He's an engineering graduate, teaching fifth grade at a Washington, D.C., elementary school as part of Teach for America, a national teacher corps. Then the non-profit program recruits America's best and brightest to spend two years teaching in urban and rural public schools that have a hard time attracting teachers. Participants often become much-needed role models. CLIFF FLOWERS, Teach for America Teacher: What I see, too often in fact, are -@), children who learn of other things - whole learn of poverty; whole learn of violence; whole learn of what's on television, what's on radios, and there's nothing there to counter-balance that. So that's, you know, for me, the goal. JEAN MARTINEZ, Teacher: [teaching] So what's going to go after the 'n'? KATHLEEN KOCH: At the first reunion of Teach for America, alumni got together to brighten up a Washington, D.C., school. Initially, Teach for America was criticized for dropping young people into difficult teaching environments with little training. Skeptics also wondered whether participants would keep teaching after their two years were up. It turns out 47 percent of alumni, like Jean Martinez, are still teaching. JEAN MARTINEZ: I think people really see the need, and they realize they're responsible for it, and, you know, you also fall in love with your kids. KATHLEEN KOCH: Wendy Kopp, who dreamed up the corps in her senior thesis, says they've also overcome doubts about recruits' teaching skills. WENDY KOPP, Teach for America Founder: -and I guess the best evidence of that is the reaction of the principals, who, you know, rave about corps members - want more corps members. KATHLEEN KOCH: Indeed, seven of 10 principals surveyed say their recruits are better than the average novice teacher. ERMA JEFFERSON, Barnard Elementary School: They're very bold. They're positive, they're young, and they're good. KATHLEEN KOCH: Since 1989, 2,800 recruits have been placed as teachers in 16 parts of the country. Many alumni, even if not in the classroom, continue to tutor or work on projects to improve education. AARON DANZIG, Former Corps Teacher: The one thing that I feel for teaching, for education, the importance of education, hasn't diminished just because I stopped teaching - if now, maybe, it's grown. KATHLEEN KOCH: Grown - like the students clearly have who are touched by these unique teachers. 1st MALE STUDENT: Maybe anybody will have a fighting chance, right? KATHLEEN KOCH: Kathleen Koch for CNN, Washington. -@), The preceding text has been professionally transcribed. However, although the text has been checked against an audio track, in order to meet rigid distribution and transmission deadlines, it may not have been proofread against tape. LANGUAGE: ENGLISH LOAD-DATE: January 16, 1995 -@), The Boston Globe December 25, 1994, Sunday, City Edition SECTION: LEARNING; Pg. A14 LENGTH: 550 words HEADLINE: Teacher corps said to be sinking fast; In Academia/ ANTHONY FLINT BYLINE: By Anthony Flint, Globe Staff BODY: Education, perhaps like no other field, is a place where ideas wax and wane, regenerate and then wither away. Reformers come up with what seem like great ideas, they get all kinds of attention for a while and then, either because somebody realizes they've been tried before or the results don't come speedily to fruition, everyone just quickly loses interest. School-based management. Charter schools. We'll see what happens with school-to-work. Few ideas in education seem to have any staying power. Remember all the emphasis on standards? When a panel suggested guidelines for teaching of history, all we heard was that leftists had hijacked the process and George Washington wasn't mentioned enough. Ascendant Republicans may very well try to strangle the standards movement in the cradle (and dismantle the National Endowment of the Humanities while they're at it). Never mind that the idea of

standards got underway in the Bush administration. Standards, as a concept, have simply puttered, lost in the fog of cultural warfare. Now comes the latest honeymoon to end: Teach for America, touted four years ago as a novel way to direct Peace Corps-minded college graduates into the places they are really needed, urban schools. Founded by Wendy Kopp, a Princeton student who cooked up the notion in her thesis, TFA got all kinds of press around 1990 for harnessing volunteer spirit to save the schools. There were reports from the start. Teacher unions were n't crazy about the idea; it seemed to suggest that all the schools needed were young, energetic college grads to walk in and save the day. In fact, urban school life is much more complicated than that, as scores of underprepared TFA recruits found out. -@), Some schools had difficulty finding anything of substance for the volunteers to do. Now Teach for America is on the brink of financial collapse, says US News & World Report. The organization depends on private grants for its \$8.4 million budget, but is facing an \$800,000 deficit and the prospect of a dramatic downsizing. Thus another educational innovation appears headed for the dustbin of dare we say it? - history. -@), Copyright 1994 The Washington Post The Washington Post November 6, 1994, Sunday, Final Edition SECTION: BOOK WORLD; PAGER 4; EDUCATION REVIEW LENGTH: 1821 words HEADLINE: Assessing Teach For America SERIES: Occasional BYLINE: Jay Mathews BODY: GILLIAN WILLIAMS, 22 years old and eager to teach, walked into P. S. 98 four years ago and received the educational equivalent of a punch in the stomach. She was given 33 of the school's most difficult fourth graders, and told to do what she could. She had just graduated from Columbia University with a degree in sociology. She had no credentials and almost no teaching experience. But she was determined to use the auspices of a new national organization, Teach For America, to find a classroom where children needed her. As a reward for her enthusiasm, she was given a class divided between recent arrivals from the Dominican Republic who spoke no English and refugees from a aborted program for children with disciplinary problems. "It was very tough," Williams says. "But a mentor teacher and an assistant principal helped her, and she discovered" that those kids were very special, and would remain a part of my life. "Today Williams is still teaching successfully in New York, becoming in the process an example of what the much-maligned and financially troubled Teach For America can do for troubled schools. She says she is happy that she learned her profession in the classroom rather than from the limped education courses she is now required to complete for her teacher's certificate. But whether her story is representative or not of this effort to toss some of the nation's brightest college graduates into its worst schools is a matter of ferocious debate. After four years, Teach For America has proved it can help some schools and coax some talented people into teaching careers, but there is little agreement yet on whether the effort is worth the cost. -@), Several stories have surfaced of full-time trained Teach For America corps members, as they are called, abandoning classes or treating students like prison camp inmates. A lengthy article in the latest edition of the Phi Delta Kappan by Linda Darling-Hammond, one of the most prominent education professors in the country, damns the organization as "bad policy and bad education." But TFA has won federal designation under the Clinton administration's AmeriCorps national service program which will provide \$2 million of what has been its annual \$7 million budget. And many of its successful young teachers say they have learned something about absorbing the basics of their craft that may accelerate the overdue overhaul of the nation's education schools. Teach For America grew out of the senior undergraduate thesis written at Princeton by its founder and leader, Wendy Kopp, a politically adept and energetic 27-year-old whose resemblance to the actress Tori Spelling. She argued that bright college graduates could be tempted to try teaching, and energize worn-out schools, if given a chance to dive in without the usual year of education courses. She won corporate funding for the venture, led by companies like Philip Morris. As she watched the program develop, she says, she learned that the more a person who wants to teach is exposed to a real classroom, the better and faster they learned what they needed to do to teach. Education schools require students to spend hours listening to lectures and reading thick, often densely written books, with relatively little time trying things out in the classroom. Teach For America does the opposite -- throwing its corps members into full-time teaching jobs with only six weeks of academic preparation and student teaching. It makes for a difficult first year, Kopp says, but in many cases they learn faster than they would otherwise. Darling-Hammond, in her assault on Kopp and Teach For America, agrees that education schools have problems but denies that Kopp's group offers any solutions. Teach For America, she writes, "is bad for the recruits because they are ill-prepared. They are denied the knowledge and skills they need, and many whom might have become good teachers are instead discouraged from staying in the profession. It is bad for the schools in which they teach, because the recruits often create staffing disruptions and drain school resources... It is bad for the children because they are often poorly taught. With their teach

ers foundering, they are denied opportunities to fully develop the skills they need. "Darling-Hammond, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, includes 63 footnotes in her article, but like Teach For America itself she has no detailed independent study of the program on which to base her critique. Kopp and her board aborted one evaluation they had ordered when, Kopp says, the evaluator failed to document the work he had promised to do and began to ask questions that strayed from determining how well the corps members were teaching. Darling-Hammond instead reports conversations with educators who had had unhappy brushes with Teach For America corps members and quotes from books and articles that have reported individual failures. "While TFA has some success stories, which hit out widely, "Darling-Hammond writes, "these are far outnumbered by the problems. Such failures are especially pronounced among recruits who are placed in elementary and middle schools but have had no training in child development, learning theory, or such essential skills as how to teach reading. "Robert A. Roth, chair of teacher education at California State University, Long Beach, underlined the training failures in a 72-page evaluation of the summer institute done last year at Teach For America's request. "There is no required course of study," he wrote. "There is no depth and there is no linkage between the workshops. . . It's insufficient, and I think they would admit to that. "But overall statistics compiled by TFA indicate that the successes outnumber the failures. From 1990 through this year the organization, based in a rambling collection of ill-furnished offices near Wall Street, received 15,300 applications and accepted 2,762 recent college graduates as corps members. It placed 706 teachers in schools in 1991, then cut back to about 500 a year after deciding its budget and training facilities could not accommodate more. This year there are 105 corps members teaching in Baltimore and 77 in the District. Seventy percent of the teachers recruited nationally in 1990 and 72 percent of the teachers recruited in 1991 completed their two-year commitments. In all cases they were paid by their local districts at rates set for other teachers of similarly limited experience. Darling-Hammond, citing the work of author Michael Shapiro, emphasized that only 42 percent of the 1990 recruits taught a third year, an attrition rate she says is "nearly twice that of other new teachers. "But given the low level of pay and working conditions in the schools served by the program, and TFA's stated goal of giving young people a chance to try teaching with no long-term commitment, the difference is not surprising. -@), Corps members asked about the Darling-Hammond article apart from their tongues before answering, as if confronted with a parent upset that they use a marker rather than white chalk. They say the Columbia professor has not seen enough of the work, and does not understand that they would not have risked teaching if they had been forced to sit first through a year of oft dull and pointless education courses in graduate schools. "I had worked with the State Department for three summers and pretty much figured I would go there or the Peace Corps," says Erika Lomax, a University of Virginia graduate now teaching Spanish at Jefferson Junior High School in the District. "But I thought there were a lot of things going on at home, and this gave me a chance to help out "without committing to a lengthy teacher preparation. For every story of a Teach For America corps member breaking down, there is a similar sad tale of a education school graduate struggling in a difficult school. A TFA survey of 233 principals this year indicates that the Teach For America recruits are, if anything, somewhat more successful than the young people coming to teaching by the conventional route. Asked how the corps members compared with "other new teachers with whom you have worked, "27.5 percent of the principals said outstanding, 39.3 percent said above average and 28.4 percent said average. Only 4.8 percent said they were below average or poor. Thus, more than 60 percent of the principals said the corps members were outstanding or above average in comparison to other teachers. They particularly praised the Teach For America teachers' impact on extracurricular activities, their innovative ideas and their coaxing students to seek opportunities outside their communities. Henry Gradillas, who retired this June as principal of Birmingham High School in Los Angeles, says the corps members were particularly effective when he paired them with veteran teachers. Gradillas' wife Stephanie, a language teacher at Roosevelt High in predominantly Hispanic East Los Angeles, says she liked the aspirations that corps members imparted to children. "The kids were anxious to really do well in their classes," Gradillas says. Teach For America's successes are, in a way, a measure of how weak and ill-funded many urban and rural schools are. If such institutions paid teachers well and provided enough equipment and special programs to serve poor children, they would not have to resort to hiring recent college graduates with only a summer's worth of training. But it is unlikely those schools are going to find more resources soon. Their -@), principals argue that Teach For America is much better than nothing. TFA has "found a niche to fill," Roth says, "but it is a niche that shouldn't exist. "Kopp, for her part, acknowledges that the organization must do more to train its teachers and improve

their skills during the school year. Teach for America now employs 40 veteran teachers as full-time support directors to visit corps members in their classrooms and tell them what they are doing wrong. "It is clear that our teachers need extensive support and development," Kopp says. She has pushed that idea further with a new organization called TEACH!, designed to recruit, select and train teachers on a contract basis. Darling-Hammond called the new effort a continuation of "the TFA tradition of fostering simplistic approaches to teaching," but at a time of widespread experimentation with teacher training, it is likely to attract many customers. Shapiro, whose book *Who Will Teach For America?* pointed out several weaknesses in the organization, says she thinks Kopp's undergraduate inspiration has up to now produced a contradictory mix of ill-tested assumptions and unintended consequences. "But she is still getting people to teach who wouldn't have done it before," he says. "I give her credit for that." Jay Mathews is a New York-based reporter for *The Washington Post*. GRAPHIC: PHOTO, ERIKA LOMAS, A MEMBER OF TEACH FOR AMERICA, TEACHING SPANISH IN JEFFERSON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL IN SOUTHWEST D.C. JAMES A. PARCELL; PHOTO, HELAYNE SEIDMAN FORT WPLANGUAGE: ENGLISH LOAD-DATE: November 6, 1994

© Copyright 1994 Information Access Company, a Thomson Corporation Company ASAP Copyright 1994 Phi Delta Kappa Inc. Phi Delta Kappa September, 1994 SECTION: Vol. 76; No. 1; Pg. 21; ISSN: 0031-7217 LENGTH: 12937 words HEADLINE: Who will speak for the children; how 'Teach for America' hurts urban schools and students; harmful aspects of program that recruits new, young and inexperienced teachers for urban public schools; includes bibliography BYLINE: Darling-Hammond, Linda BODY: With its inadequate training of recruits--many of whom will teach in urban schools--and its disregard for the knowledge base on teaching and learning, Teach for America continues along a tradition of devaluing urban students and deprofessionalizing teaching, Ms. Darling-Hammond charges. IN THE MAY 1994 Kappa, Wendy Kopp, founder of Teach for America (TFA), responded to a critique of her program by Jonathan Schoff, one of TFA's former corps members. 1 Schorr's article had recounted his experience as one of the eager young recruits in to TFA--fresh out of Yale University, with no preparation (but great interest) in teaching, trained in an eight-week summer institute, and plopped into a classroom in Los Angeles. He admits: I--perhaps like most TFAers--harbored dreams of liberating my students from public school mediocrity and offering them as good an education as I had received. But I was not ready... A sbada as it was for me, it was worse for the students... Many of mine... took long steps on the path toward dropping out... I was not a successful teacher and the loss to the students was real and large. 2 -@), Addressing the prospect that TFA-trained teachers might become part of President Clinton's new national service program, Schorr observes that "just eight weeks of training... may belong enough to train neighborhood clean-up workers or even police auxiliaries but it isn't enough for teachers." He concludes that "a quick course and a year in the classroom without the support to make that year successful is a waste of the enormous potential of a young, energetic teaching force." 3 Kopp claims that, while TFA had problems initially, improvements and new plans laid out in her application to the President's Commission on National and Community Service promise "an approach to teacher development that... could make a real contribution to the field as a whole." 4 Yet Schoff's concerns about the training he received in 1990 have been reiterated in a recent evaluation of the 1993 TFA summer institute and by many faculty members and recruits who have participated in the training over the past several years. 5 The "new" program being launched this fall is no better. Conducted through an off-spring organization called TEACH!, which was created when TFA began to fall under increasing criticism and into debt, 6 the new approach offers no systematic curriculum, no continuous faculty, no guaranteed resources for student learning, and no quality control over school placements, mentoring, or assessment. The proposed "outcome-based" assessment system for TEACH! continues the TFA tradition of fostering simplistic approaches to teaching that have little or no grounding in knowledge about how students learn or what teaching strategies may be effective and that offer no prospect of helping recruits meet professional standards of practice. What TEACH! does offer, however, is to relieve states and districts of the burden of quality control. TEACH! promises to recruit, prepare, select, assess, and license teachers. As Kopp explains, "The states in which TEACH! operates will recognize it as an approved route to teacher certification." 7 This sweeping promise--issued by an organization that has produced recruits so poorly prepared that they have been removed from classrooms even where shortages of teachers exist and that has refused to allow a full and independent evaluation--presents a direct challenge to those who are seeking to raise standards for teaching. It is especially disturbing to those who are concerned about the well-being of children in the poor rural and urban districts that targetted. Thus far, the debates over TFA and similar programs have scarcely considered the impact on the children in these schools. It is time for us to focus on them. In this article I examine TFA'

strack record, training, assessments, and operations in terms of their capacity to ensure that at TFA-trained candidates are adequately prepared to meet the needs of their first students. One of these dimensions, TFA's short comings are serious, and they ultimately hurt many schools and the children in them. -@), When TFA first began, the rash idealism of its founders sold under on what is actually a very old approach to recruiting teachers during times of shortage. Though similar initiatives failed to prepare and retain teachers in previous decades, their recent political climate persuaded many funders to take a gamble on TFA, in the hope that it would prove different. However, the evidence now shows that TFA has fared no better than past emergency routes to teaching and much worse than many of today's alternatives. Extremely costly, plagued by questionable fiscal practices, exhibiting continuing problems with training and management, and unable to prepare most of its recruits to succeed in the classroom, TFA demonstrates once again why quick fixes don't change systems. A former TFA board member states that it may never be possible to subject the program to a rigorous analysis because Kopp will not allow scrutiny and pushes out those who raise questions. 8 He notes that, during his association with the organization, staff turnover was extremely high, the "financial numbers never added up" -- the books were not audited despite the board's queries and continued to be unaudited -- and "the retention numbers for recruits were totally unreliable." Worse than TFA's organizational short comings, however, is the trail of failure with their young students that so many TFA recruits have left behind them. While TFA has some success stories, which it touts widely, these are far outnumbered by the problems. Such failures are especially pronounced among recruits who are placed in elementary and middle schools but have had no training in child development, learning theory, or such essential skills as how to teach reading. Schorr's concern about the effect of TFA recruits on the students they serve is a credit to his teaching sensibilities. He is one of the few who went on to earn a teaching certificate, and he was still in the classroom after three years. This places him in the minority of those who entered TFA with him: of the 489 original corps members who entered classrooms in the fall of 1990, only 206 (42%) were still teaching after two years -- an attrition rate nearly twice that of other new teachers. 9 Furthermore, Schorr's concern for the children is absent in the work and thinking of TFA as an organization. However, it is increasingly prevalent in the schools and districts where TFA candidates have so predictably encountered -- and too often failed -- their trials by fire. In many places, parents, other teachers, and district administrators are angry about the chaos TFA recruits have left behind when they couldn't handle the job. These feelings run deep in minority communities, where good intentions that fail to produce good teaching for African American and Latin children look like a thin veil for arrogance, condescension, and continuing neglect. The assumptions -@), Embedded in the questions now being raised about Teach for America's success as a recruitment and preparation program for young teachers are other questions about its mission, purpose, and effects. Who in fact is TFA for? A frankly missionary program, TFA has recruiters and advocates who have focused much of their attention on the advantaged college graduates for whom TFA serves as something useful to do on their way to their "real jobs" in law, medicine, or business, rather than on the young people who will be the students of those advantaged college graduates in urban and rural classrooms. The TFAers are told that they are "the best and the brightest," that they will save the cities and their poor students with their youthful idealism. Because of their innate superiority, they don't need -- or can't be bothered with -- extensive preparation for teaching. Kopp argues that such bright young people couldn't be recruited into the classroom if they had to take much time to get prepared. 10 In her view there are no good preparation programs for teachers -- and, even if there were, it would not matter, because "we really believe teachers are made through experience." 11 Thus the argument is framed, and it is not a new one. During the last era of teachers shortages, in the 1960s, programs like Teach for America proliferated, and they were defended on similar grounds. Glitz and public relations aside, the TFA idea has been revisited during every era of teachers shortage, and the program has always proved inadequate. 12 I described these problems for Kopp when she came to talk to me in 1990. I know of these short comings not only from the results of dozens of studies, but also from first-hand experience that bears many similarities to Jonathan Schorr's. When I graduated from Yale University in 1973, I was lured into an alternative-route program much like Teach for America. I learned little from a slapdash summer institute (better than TFA's, but not very good). And though I was viewed as successful by colleagues and administrators, I knew that what I didn't know limited my capacity to help struggling students whom most needed expert teaching. When I later encountered the learning theory and teaching strategies that I had missed in my initial training, I wondered how society could sanction a program that deliberately denies teachers access to the knowledge they need to be successful. So I took great care describing to Ko

ppthe knowledge teachers need. Itoldher what kind of preparation and mentoring supports would be required to ensure that these recruits would be able to serve children well. Kopp maintained that she was sure she could do in a few weeks whatever it was that universities took much longer to do (though she had never examined a teacher preparation program) and that providing mentors would be the problem of participating districts, not of TFA. If the candidates didn't succeed, she explained to me, it would not really be a problem, because most of them would not stay in teaching anyway. And @), they would have had an important experience that would affect the

ir future lives. She never mentioned the children's lives. The absence of concern for the children is coupled with an apparent disdain for the effort it takes to become knowledgeable about how to teach children well. Perhaps this disdain is reinforced by the unequal social status of TFA recruits and their students. Cameron McCarthy characterizes TFA's appeal as a "selfish dealism, a wish to our authentic, a sense of service that is deeply racialized." McCarthy continues, "While in the 1960s the target of this idealism was the dispossessed in the Third World, the new found idealism of the 90s targets the black and Hispanic minority poor of the inner city, who are seen as the tragic ballast weighing down the productive reserves of this country. . . . There is a complex of discourses that inform the TFA project as illustrated in . . . its media produced images of the sense of threat and danger that the inner city represents, and further, the projection . . . of the Corps member as a special species of green beret educator elite. The latter, given his/her intellectual capacity and social pedigree, is armed . . . with the antidote for minority underachievement in the urban and the rural classroom. 13 In the TFA view of the world, these communities are desperate. Thus they have nothing to lose and everything to gain by hiring these young missionaries, however long they stay and however much or little they know about teaching. In the "best case" scenario, TFAers believe that they will surpass the accomplishment of those obviously incompetent teachers already in the classroom. In the worst case, they see their efforts as "better than nothing," which is what the alternative is viewed as being. Ann Cook, an extraordinary teacher and co-director of the Urban Academy -- a New York City public school that succeeds with students who have been failed by other schools -- strongly disagrees. She argues that privileged and underprepared TFA recruits may be the least likely to succeed with students whose experience they cannot easily understand and whose needs they lack the skills of well-prepared veteran teachers. Cook argues that their "well-intentioned but often ineffective efforts" will leave TFAers "disillusioned and less than @), sympathetic toward those youngsters whose seem to reject their best efforts." 14 Instead, she suggests, TFA should send its recruits to privileged suburbs and private schools, where their chance of success will be greater, and their failures will do less harm. In turn, these privileged schools could lend highly qualified teachers to urban schools, where their expertise would be of more use. This challenge to TFA's assumption is confirmed by the experiences of its recruits, described below. The chain of assumptions undergirding TFA includes at least four that are unwarranted. First, Kopp argues that teacher preparation does not work, that it makes little or no difference to teacher effectiveness. 15 In fact, dozens of studies indicate that teachers who have completed preservice preparation are more successful with students than are teachers who lack such preparation. This is true in fields ranging from high school mathematics and science to early childhood and elementary education. 16 Second, Kopp argues that teachers recruited to students are among the least academically able and that talented recruits cannot be persuaded to enter schools of education. In fact, the same zeal that TFA has tapped is being tapped by preparation programs across the country. Undergraduate and MAT programs at Stanford, Harvard, Columbia, Michigan, Vanderbilt, Southern Maine, and many other schools are training thousands of talented students from selective colleges across the country, and these programs have more top-flight applicants than they can accept. Both interest in and standards for teacher education have been steadily rising for more than a decade. In 1990 graduates of teacher education programs had higher levels of academic achievement than the average college graduate. 17 The alternative to smart, untrained TFA recruits is smart, well-trained recruits from an array of top colleges. Third, TFA assumes that, beyond subject-matter knowledge and general intelligence, no serious preparation is needed to teach effectively. Here the evidence is extremely clear. Beyond a threshold level, subject-matter knowledge makes less difference to teachers' effectiveness than does their preparation in child development, learning theory, curriculum development, and teaching methods. 18 In fact, people who learn effortlessly and have had no training in how to deliberately create learning strategies often find themselves at a loss as teachers. They can't remember how they learned, and so they cannot construct a process for teaching others. Finally, Kopp assumes that school districts have the will and the capacity to train and mentor teachers effectively on their own. This idea has been tested

repeatedly, and it has never succeeded. In fact, the literature of the late 1960s and early 1970s is replete with such proposals, and the schools were filled with pilots very much like TFAa and today's alternative routes. The reason that school districts are unable to prepare new teachers is simple: the districts where most of them are hired are poor urban and rural districts with high turnover rates and few pedagogical or fiscal resources. Moreover, they do not have a strong interest in investing thousands of dollars in the preparation of beginners, most of whom will leave for other occupations or suburbs as soon as they are able. Over and over again, reviews of such district-based efforts find that they leave their candidates underprepared, under-supported, and less effective than candidates who received systematic university-based preparation for teaching.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, in an article published in the Yale Law and Policy Review, Kopp proposes that "schools and school districts assume full responsibility for the recruitment, selection, preparation, and development" of teachers. School of education would be avoided, and states would "abolish licensure laws altogether." Kopp sees her project not only as helping to develop "the innovative school models promised by Chris Whittle," but also as replacing all existing quality controls and strategies for arming teachers with serious knowledge. "This article is not a call for the reform of schools of education," she continues. "It is a call for states to get out of the way."<sup>20</sup> This call to eliminate all professional standards for teaching makes what TFA is doing not only inept but also morally and ethically irresponsible. In the world Kopp wants to invent, who will look out for the children? The Track Record These concerns run deep in New York City, where many of the first TFA recruits were replaced. In September 1990 Newsday ran a story about the initial experiences of TFA recruits.<sup>21</sup> Of these several recruits the article covered, a number of them were in "extreme doubt" and three quit before the first week of school was over, leaving their students with no teachers at all and their schools scrambling to find substitutes. This scenario repeats itself each year. In 1992 eight new TFA recruits quit their jobs in Baltimore by mid-October.<sup>22</sup> From the vantage point of the children, being abandoned by a teacher creates not only a sense of loss, but also hiatus in learning. While children who experience a string of emergency hires and short-termers may never have a real chance to build a foundation of learning, those who are taught by green recruits with no teaching knowledge are a little better off. A district-level supervisor in New York City recalls her experiences with some of the recruits placed in elementary schools, many of whom ultimately had to be asked to leave because they were so poorly prepared. In one visit, she saw a young man assigned to teach first grade who had set up learning centers that featured only labeled exhibits with no learning tasks and who was delivering an hour-long lecture to the whole class. Unaware of the inappropriateness of this approach to teaching first graders, he paid no attention to the children as they began to talk to one another and crawl about on the floor. He simply talked louder as their attention flagged. When the children did not answer his questions, he continued doing what he recalled his teachers' having done. No other strategies were available to him. A visit to a second recruit, assigned to teach second grade, was even more harrowing. When the supervisor entered, the teacher was crying, and the room was in utter chaos. The teacher ran out of the room, leaving the supervisor and a colleague with the children. A third recruit, who was not an native speaker of English, was assigned to teach third grade, but the children could not understand his speech. He was then reassigned to junior high school to teach one subject. None of the recruits had any apparent knowledge of how children learn, how to create a learning environment, or how to assess a classroom situation to make a decision about what to do. None of them stayed in teaching. Although that might ultimately be fortunate for the children and the schools involved, the children had already experienced substantial disruption before their teachers left. Beverly Hall, the current deputy chancellor of the New York City school system, reports similar experiences with TFAers when she was a district superintendent. She recalls that the candidates were so poorly prepared that a number had to be let go - but not before they had undermined the education of the children they were assigned to teach.<sup>23</sup> Ironically, because of the hype about TFA and the political deals made to secure slots for TFA recruits months before school began, a number of them prevented fully qualified teachers from assuming positions when they were replaced in the fall. Most of these better-prepared new teachers departed for the suburbs, leaving both the school system and the students with a even more depleted pool of capable new recruits. Margaret Bradley, principal of P. S. 223, an elementary school in New York City, describes in vivid detail the disappointing record of three TFA recruits assigned to her school. "I thought that these were really bright students who wanted to make a difference," she recalls. "But I found it to be just the opposite in terms of their commitment. I got the idea that many of them could not find jobs, and that that's why they came into this program."<sup>24</sup> A first-grade teacher at Bradley's school "had absolutely no clue. He had a

bsolutely no concept of how to teach reading. "Intensive support from other teachers helped only marginally. A second-grade teacher had so much difficulty that Bradley moved him to fifth grade, "because we could not lose those children. These were children who, I knew from pre-kindergarten, are very bright kids, and I could not do that to them. When you go into the class and you see that there is no real learning going on, you have to act. "Even in the fifth grade, the teacher was unsuccessful. "It wasn't just the fact that he didn't have the teaching strategies, "Bradley says. "It was also that the expectations -@), weren't there. He didn't understand the fact that we want our children to be self-directed learners. "Bradley found the recruits not only "lacking in methods and skills of teaching. "More important, she felt that "they were not really dedicated. They really didn't understand what the needs of the children were. They didn't see why they needed to be here to engage themselves with the parents. . . . I don't think that they really identified with the community and the culture of the students. "One recruit, for example, refused to attend parent/teacher conference night, deciding that his own plan that evening was more important than meeting with his students and their parents. The issues of commitment and of high expectations for children of color are critical ones. Bradley notes that the TFAers "could not understand that the expectations were so high and that we are consistent. The staff began to complain that the TFAers didn't have high expectations of the children. At the end of the year, when the faculty found out they weren't coming back, they were pleased because they did not see them as making a contribution. "These attitudes and limitations appear to derive from TFA's philosophy and training. Thomas Popkewitz, who studied the first year of the program in 1990-91, notes the troubling messages about "multiculturalism" that are conveyed to TFA recruits. Based on interviews, classroom observations, and observations of the TFA training, Popkewitz reports that distinctions were drawn between "the normal child who succeeded in schooling and the child of color who was in opposition to the normalities. The child of color became the other': the one who lacked the motivational attributes, behavioral characteristics, and self-esteem to achieve. "25 In TFA's work with its recruits, it provided a view of the parents and communities of children of color as "pathological. "In TFA training, Popkewitz charges, "children of color are classified as optimally taught by using prescribed procedures and strategies. "They are said to learn best when "psychologically managed" and are "positioned as deviant and pathological in relation to the norms that are privileged in schooling. "These ideas about children and their capabilities translate into pedagogical decisions. Seeing children as needing to be psychologically managed by prescribed procedures and strategies "is related to such choices as TFA's decision to offer training in mechanistic, punitive forms of classroom management, such as Lee Canter's Assertive Discipline. Widely criticized by many educators as damaging and ultimately ineffective and classified as "psychological maltreatment" by the American Psychological Association, 26 Assertive Discipline deflects all responsibility for classroom management from the teacher to the child, relies heavily on punishments for "infractions" -@), (ranging from moving to talking), and is most attractive to those whose "teacher-proof" solutions are the answer to incompetent teaching. 27 Bradley noted that one of the problems of TFA recruits was their use of Assertive Discipline: "They had a new rule every day and they were using the background of the children as an excuse, which is unacceptable in our school. "TFA recruits exhibit the same short comings as other unprepared teachers, who, studies find, tend to blame the students if their teaching is not successful. Untrained beginners are less sensitive to students' needs and differences, less able to plan and redirect instruction, and less skilled in implementing instruction than are those who are prepared. They are less able to anticipate students' knowledge and potential difficulties and less likely to see it as their job to do so. 28 These recruits' failings are especially noted in such school subjects as reading, mathematics, and science and in work with low-income and special needs students. Evaluation of new teachers who have taken other alternative routes often show them to have problems like those of the TFA recruits. In a study of Dallas teachers, those with alternative certification were judged to be deficient in every category of teaching skill much more frequently than those with backgrounds in teacher education, and their students ultimately learned less in reading and language arts. 29 None of TFA's recruits, including those hoping to teach in elementary school, take courses before they enter the classroom in such things as how to teach reading, even though they will be teaching students for whom literacy development under the guidance of a skilled teacher is absolutely essential for survival. One near-est young recruit, who taught initially in New Orleans, finally sought out reading courses at a local college during her second year of teaching. She reported that what she learned in these courses "changed her life. "30 Most recruits don't ever get this training, and the first students suffer accordingly. Pamela Grossman's study of smart, alternative-route candidate

s describes problems that recur in accounts of TFA candidates' teaching. Relying on their prior experience and never having had difficulty learning themselves, they cannot figure out how children actually learn or what to do when a lesson does not succeed. Without formal systems of or induction into teaching, learning to teach is left largely to chance. Although much pedagogical knowledge has been characterized as commonsense, knowledge is not hanging, ripe and fully formed, in the classroom, waiting to be plucked -@), by inexperienced teachers. 31

Kisha Brown, a writing teacher at P.S. 11 in New York and a former support director for TFA, left the organization when she came to believe that TFA did not really want its recruits to become better prepared and was unconcerned about the plight of the minority children who were badly served by its recruits. I could not allow myself to continue to participate in a farce, as I saw it. The organization was not receptive to my ideas as a professional. . . . When I worked as a New York City support director, I supervised 54 teachers in their classrooms -- meaning I visited them once every nine weeks or thereabouts, to observe them, troubleshoot with them, listen to their problems on the phone when they cried at night, because they were ill-prepared to be in the classroom. So I saw it as a disaster about to happen, and I went to Wendy and said to her, "These are some things I see you need now." She did not respond positively to those ideas, and therefore I decided I needed to get out. By the time I got to Wendy, I was saying, "I've got five teachers who have now walked out of their classrooms, and I need help today." I saw teachers strangling out there. They were out on a limb with no place to go, and Teach for America did nothing. When the red flag went up, it was often the school calling just to say, "Come get this person out; they're incompetent, they have no idea what they're redoing." Good intentions, perhaps, but the kids are the ones who suffer. 32

The nature of the problems Brown dealt with ranged from lack of teaching skills, particularly in elementary and middle grades classrooms, to a meeting called by parents to air their complaints about TFA recruits' racial insensitivity. Brown's perception was that many of the recruits were both substantively unprepared and unable to understand and identify with communities and children they perceived as so far removed from their own experience. Brown -@), also reports that, while a great many children were replaced at risk by the lack of preparation of the untrained candidates, TFA blamed the children rather than its own inadequate preparation. Like Jonathan Schorr, many recruits realized they weren't prepared. However, if a recruit criticized TFA, Brown reports, "a note would come from Wendy saying, Check this out; this person needs to be watched." The aim was to be sure that any failures were attributed to the kids, not to the corps. But the recruits themselves often saw things differently from TFA's official position. Margaret Carmody and Tim Bucciarelli, TFA recruits in Washington, D.C., worried about their students. "I know we're learning a lot," Carmody noted midway through her very difficult first year. "But I wonder how much good we're redoing the children. Are they suffering because they have inexperienced teachers? I worry about that." Bucciarelli concurred: "I don't think I'm what they need. Every classroom in schools like these needs an experienced teacher." 33

Such concerns are obvious in every description of the teaching of TFA recruits. In his sympathetic account of Teach for America, Michael Shapiro's description of seven well-meaning TFA candidates unwittingly reveals the kinds of teaching that derive not from the shortcoming of their recruits or their students, but from the shortcoming of the training the recruits received. One teacher, who finds herself handing out detention every few moments (illustrating the Assertive Discipline training she had received), senses that lecturing to students and having them copy notes off the board might not be the most effective teaching strategies. However, Shapiro observes, "her hasty preparation never gave her the chance to experiment in her method and approach before she stepped into a classroom. Now, the necessary trial and error happens before the impatient audience of her students. . . . She knows that they hate copying information off the board almost as much as she hates writing it. But she knows too how much of a struggle the simplest instructions can be." 34

Her experience illustrates why unprepared teachers are less effective in developing students' higher-order thinking skills. Because less-skilled teachers cannot manage the complex tasks required for problem solving, they reduce curriculum demand to simpler routines in order to control student work more easily. 35

By contrast, professionally prepared teachers learn to use methods that support students' development and their independent and critical thinking. 36

Like other teachers admitted through quick-entry or alternative routes, TFA candidates often had difficulty with curriculum development, pedagogical content knowledge, students' differing learning styles, classroom management, and student motivation. 37

Unprepared teachers usually try to teach in the way they were taught, but with little awareness of the thinking processes -@), undergirding their former teachers' actions and decisions. Without a powerful process of teacher education, new knowledge does not have an opportunity to transform teaching across generations, for prospective teach-

hers cannot profit from advances in knowledge if they are never exposed to them. One comes to sympathy with the earnestness and sincerity of the TFA candidate Shapiro describes. Yet any conscientious educator must be troubled by the young man who explains his use of fear as a primary motivator for students (which is what he himself learned as a child). He appears to have now aware that there is a substantial knowledge base on motivation and development that could have helped him come up with more effective strategies. It is hard not to cringe when reading about this telling a eager student who repeatedly asks him questions about scientific curiosity, "We have no time for explanations." 38 Had he been given an opportunity to learn about teaching, he might have made choices that supported his students' desire to learn, and he could have relied more on their resulting engagement with the subject matter to maintain their interest and effort. It is difficult to read the story of another young recruit who was fired after several weeks of teaching. The descriptions of obviously inappropriate curriculum and teaching methods (rote-oriented and worksheet-driven) are painful to read. These problems, coupled with his inept and heavy-handed attempts at enforcing discipline, lost the class. At the end he concluded, "I don't think the students hated me. I do think they thought I hated them." 39 Still more painful is reading his account of what he thought he learned from his first experience. He started off a new assignment in a newschool by taking away the children's recess, so that they would know how as boss. As Shapiro describes it: And that is how it begins. Or how it begins to end. You come to your first class and they eat you up and you vow that it will not happen again. And you learn what you have to learn to make sure it doesn't. You learn the value of workbooks because even if they're numbingly dull they keep the kids busy and if the kids are busy they are not making trouble for you. 40 What he had learned from his unmediated experience were all the wrong things about teaching and learning and about children and their development. This confirms another repeated research finding: while people do learn from their experience, they do not always learn the right things. Without guidance in interpreting practice and relating it to knowledge based that can inform decisions, teachers can draw the wrong inferences about why things went wrong and what to do about it. As Shapiro notes and as other evaluations confirm, "The one comment I heard repeatedly from Teach for America's pioneer corps was that in the course of their eight weeks of preparation no one had explained to them what to expect in the classroom." 41 The other stories reveal their own variations on this theme. A young elementary teacher recounts her guilt for leaving before the school year is over. A high school math teacher who cares intensely about this charges clearly lacks an understanding of how people learn mathematics. Without a repertoire of techniques beyond rote teaching, he finds himself unsuccessful. Like other recruits, he starts off by blaming the students for his lack of skill, but the questions himself, too: "One day you'll teach and the next day they'll forget. I tried doing it by rote learning and that doesn't work. I give them the problems and they like it but most of them... I keep asking, 'What am I doing wrong here?' I'm seeing students who I began with, going from being interested in school to failing... I'm losing them." 42 After two years, five of these seven TFAers in Shapiro's study had left teaching. Of the two who remained in teaching, one is the young man who was originally fired and found another spot where his undeveloped ideas about pedagogy could be masked by his newly found dictatorial disciplinary style. He had learned to keep the children quiet, if not productively engaged in meaningful learning. The other was a young woman who received many supports from the teachers in her school and looks as though she may be growing into a thoughtful, caring, and reasonably skillful teacher. So, with regard to a long-term contribution of good teaching to the schools, the success rate for this group of high-potential recruits might be estimated at about 14%. Were this the outcome of a teacher preparation program -- one held in such disdain by Wendy Kopp and her supporters -- the program would rightly be put out of business. The costs The costs of TFA to city schools and children are clearly large in human terms. They are also large in monetary terms. If there is a difference between TFA and other alternative certification programs, it is that TFA repeats the mistakes of the other programs at greater cost. At about \$12,000 per candidate in 1993, TFA spends virtually as much for its meager training as it would cost to fully subsidize a recruit to a full-year, high-quality MAT program at one of the top graduate education programs in the country. 43 There the recruit would encounter rigorous coursework in learning theory, teaching strategies, and child development and would experience an intensively supervised internship. TFA's sizable costs for public relations, fundraising, and administration come at the expense of preparation for its recruits. In this respect, TFA is a disadvantage to its own recruits, who, given their promise, could have been prepared to become leaders in the profession, armed with knowledge and skill, rather than stumbling examples of the system's failure. The Training A careful review of TFA's past training and its plans for the newly founded TEACH! pro

gram reveals them to be lower in quality than the worst examples of the teacher education system they claim to replace. TFA is built on a set of assumptions and practices that will prevent it from ever being an adequate or responsible method of preparing teachers: TFA provides almost no time for learning, has no continuing faculty or planned curriculum, exhibits no familiarity with knowledge about teaching, exerts little control over the quality of cooperating teachers, provides no sustained and intensive mentoring, and has developed no meaningful quality control over entry or continuation in teaching. Far from being a bold new way to prepare teachers, it repeats all the failings and problems of the quick-fix routes into teaching that have been around for decades. TFA is nothing like structured teacher preparation. It is also nothing like the Teacher Corps of the 1960s, with which it often compares itself. The Teacher Corps included intensive university-based and school-based training and seminars, closely mentored internships, and both district- and university-sponsored supports for learning. By contrast, TFA recruits get an eight-week summer institute -- roughly half of its spent in a jumble of disconnected one-hour workshops from which they can choose at random, and the other half (about 19 days) in a "student teaching" experience in summer school classrooms. In the new model of TFA, recruits are also slated to get together on four weekends during the school year, during which time they can reflect together on their teaching. Though there is no curriculum or shared body of knowledge for them to reflect on and no continuing faculty member to guide them, this is what Kopp calls the "Professional Teaching Residency" and characterizes as "extensive professional development." <sup>44</sup> How successful will TFA's "new model" of training be? A complete, public accounting may never be made, since TFA will not authorize a full and independent evaluation. As mentioned above, a first evaluation was discontinued. A second, covering the 1993 summer institute, was conducted only under the unusual condition that its author, Robert Roth, not publish his findings and that he negotiate the wording of his report with the TFA staff. Both the evaluators separately characterized TFA's approach to preparation as lacking: TFA ended up giving very little attention to educating teachers. Where they did, 32% it was because of state mandates they had to fulfill, and much of it was technical and instrumental. There was much concern with issues of discipline and very little concern or understanding of issues of curriculum. <sup>46</sup> \*\*\* Quite frankly, their public documents reveal no conceptual framework or structured organization for the curriculum. There is no sequence; there is no scope; there is no sense of what a teacher needs to know about the teaching/learning process. The outcome-based standards are not translated into criteria that delineate what to look for. The evaluation of the TFA summer institute, a document being reviewed by states and districts considering licensing TFA recruits, paints an extremely troubling picture of what TFA considers appropriate preparation for teaching. It is a picture of a program even less connected to knowledge about teaching and learning than many other alternative routes. According to Roth's evaluation, the 1993 summer institute consisted of a collection of one-hour workshops conducted in the lounge areas of dormitories, from which recruits could choose any or none, along with "resource rooms" run by former TFAers with up to three years of teaching experience. The workshops were not cumulative or connected; each one-hour block stood alone. Consequently, there was no opportunity to study anything in depth, and what was offered was necessarily superficial and disconnected. There was no required reading, no homework, and no follow-up. The program looked more like a design for a poorly thought-out adolescent summer camp than a rigorous intellectual experience. Roth's evaluation gives the following description of what Kopp calls her "learner-driven" model: "There is no required set of experiences or workshops or particular content categories. Each learner selects the content he/she wishes to pursue." <sup>48</sup> Thus there is no conception of important and essential knowledge for teaching. Reflective journals and portfolios are suggested but not required, nor are they reviewed by the faculty or made part of the assessment process. Recruits complete self-designed projects, which are not explicitly rated or evaluated. On average, corps members each spend just under 30 hours in workshops. Despite the rhetoric about progression toward "outcome-based standards," the evaluation notes that the training is not organized around the outcomes or connected to a program of study that might lead to them. The curriculum of the summer institute was not developed around objectives, included no sequenced set of experiences or systematic way of pursuing outcomes, used almost no professional literature, and identified no knowledge base for curriculum design. <sup>49</sup> The descriptions of workshops offered in the catalog show that many focus on cookbook techniques, rote approaches to teaching, or brief descriptions of more complex ideas without much elaboration. Lacking access to more powerful approaches to teaching, it should not be surprising that TFAers end up seeing teaching as an endeavor focused primarily on simplistic activities and routines. Support directors and cooperating teachers interviewed for the evaluation

of the summer institute voiced their own concerns that the recruits needed more time in the classroom, more guidance in selecting and designing lessons, and more work on subject matter and pedagogy, on child and adolescent development, and on theories of teaching. 50 At a time when school reform is demanding much more sophisticated knowledge from teachers, when standards of teaching and teacher education are being raised, and when criticisms of professional development are pushing schools to abandon one-shot workshops and the idea of teacher-proof curriculum packages, TFA's straining represents the worst of what the rest of the profession is moving away from. Contrary to Kopp's assertions, what TFA does is not at all typical of teacher education programs. Unfortunately, TFA's approach does reinforce the historic image of teaching as anti-intellectual and the view of teachers as unable to cope with complex knowledge. The ignorance about teaching, learning, and children--as well as teacher preparation--that characterizes TFA's program and its purported assessments is remarkable, though easily explained when the operations of TFA are examined. TFA administrators and the designers of its new TEACH! program are former TFA recruits. With no training and only a year or two of teaching under their belts, they are now developing what TFA calls its curriculum, "along with assessment that TFA hopes to substitute for state licensing requirements. The new director of program design for TEACH!, a young TFA recruit who had no preparation to teach and who lasted only two years in the classroom, once -@), asked me, "Where is this knowledge base that you kept talking about?" Because TFA program designers are unaware of knowledge about learning, development, curriculum, and instruction, much of what TFA promotes are teacher-proof approaches that directly oppose current reforms in teaching and learning. The majority of staff members at TFA summer institutes are also former TFA recruits: most peer facilitators and resource room coordinators have had one or two years of teaching experience, according to Roth's evaluation. Support directors and cooperating teachers are more experienced but are not subject to a rigorous selection process. In Los Angeles, cooperating teachers are chosen by local school principals. Support directors are hired on the basis of a resume and a phone interview; there is no application process or set of standard criteria. 51 No doubt, some of these TFA staffers are themselves quite competent professionals, even if they are unable to transfer their knowledge in one-hour workshops. However, with no knowledge base undergirding the development of TFA's training, there can be no guarantee that students encounter appropriate knowledge in an effective way, which is the point of the system of quality control that professions create through the processes of program approval and accreditation. Roth's evaluation also noted serious shortcomings in the three-week practice teaching component of the institute. While teacher education programs strive to maintain an integrated structure, TFA draws almost no connections between the candidates' fieldwork and their other institute work. "The cooperating teachers indicated they were not aware of what corps members study at the institute." 52 Final evaluations by the cooperating teachers were not shared with the other faculty members. Meanwhile, support directors observed the corps members only twice during practice teaching and for a single lesson each time. This observation was preceded by a pre-observation conference of 10 minutes and followed by a 20-minute post-observation conference. Formal lesson plans were not usually required, and "no particular observation criteria were used as part of an observation form." 53 The level of performance exhibited by the recruits in this process might be inferred from the following dialogue between a peer facilitator (PF) and a corps member (CM): Pre-observation PF: What will I see? CM: The cooperating teacher didn't like my two-hour math activity. PF: How did you like it? -@), CM: Okay. The reluctant students participated. I will have them march around a reference to a workshop on using kinesthetic activities to teach mathematics!. PF: What's your plan for marching around? CM: I haven't had time to plan. PF: How will you teach your math lesson? CM: I'm not sure. PF: What part is guided practice? CM: I will have that in the lesson. Post-observation PF: What happened? CM: It wasn't the greatest connection. PF: Why? CM: It's math: abstract. I didn't have enough time to be creative. PF: What other ideas do you have?" As this excerpt suggests and as the evaluation points out, the path to developing teaching knowledge is unclear, and the criteria for assessing performance are even more mysterious. Quality Control? Remarkably, TFA has argued that its recruits should be hired and licensed based on its own internal evaluation of them. In the summer institute this evaluation was accomplished through an exhibition portfolio. Recruits were supposed to select whatever entries they believed would demonstrate progress toward all outcomes. The evaluation of the institute no test that the required content of the portfolio was unclear, the nature of evidence or documentation was inconsistent and confusing, the TFA staff could not tell the faculty how to evaluate the portfolios, no criteria or benchmark existed, and the data presented were often inadequate for making a judgment about whether the corps member was ready to teach. Members of the

ereviewboard--allofwhomareinstitutestaffmembers--questionedtheconsistency, adequacy, subjectivity, andclaritysurroundingtheprocess.55Someoftheportfoliosshowedlittleevidenceoflearning. Forexample, one (redacted), corpsmembersshowedevidenceofhavingattendedonlyasingleworkshop; anotherpresentedasinglelessonplanasamajorproject; anothershowedevidenceofhavingtaughtonlyfourlessonsallsummer; stillanotherdidnotincludeanyfoldersatall. Apreponderanceofcandidates (44%to55%) failedinfouroftheoutcomeareas. Nonetheless, 98%oftherecruitswererecommendedtoteach, somehavingpassedasfewasthreeofthelloutcomestandards.56Clearly, theproblemsbesettingTFAfromitsinceptionhavenotbeensolved. WhatismoreremarkableisthatTFAintendsforitsnew"portfolioassessment"processtoreplaceallstatelicensingrequirementsanddistricthiringstandards, aswelllasteachereducation. Tobestartedinthesummerinstituteandcompletedduringthefirsttwoyearsofteaching, theportfolioprocessoffersnoguidanceinlearningtoteachandprovidestandardsoforevaluatingteaching. The"performance-basedassessment"planisareflectionofthejargon-ridden, content-freegobbledygookforwhicheducationisoftencriticized. "TFAingenuessarequicktolatchontothebuzzwordsofthetimes--theirproposalsarerepletewithreferencesto"outcomes,""professionaljudgment,""portfolios,"andthelike. However, aclosereadingrevealsthatnoconceptionofhigh-qualityteachingunderliesthejargon, andnosystemorprocessexiststhatcouldmakerecruitsintohigh-qualityteachers. TheTFAprocessbearsnorelationshipittotheseriousworkinportfolioassessmentofsuchresearchersasLeeShulmanandThomasBirdoftheStanfordTeacherAssessmentProject, themorerecentworkoftheNationalBoardforProfessionalTeachingStandards, ortheworkinprogressinConnecticut, Maine, andKentucky. Thispretenseatperformanceevaluationmightbemerecommercialwereitnotintendedtoreplacestateandlocalstandards. ThestatedTFAplanistousethisinternalevaluationprocess, beginninginthefallof1994, intheregionswhereTFAhasgainedapprovalasaroutetocertification. Thestatesareexpectedtocolludeinkeepingteachersignorantoftheknowledgetheyneedtoservetheirstudentswellandinsulatedfromseriousassessmentaccordingtoprofessionalteachingstandards. The"portfolio"hasseveralrequiredcomponents (avideotape, "self-analyses," alessonplan, andevaluationsfromprincipal, supervisor, colleague, students, andparents). Thesemaybesatisfiedinwhateverwaythecruitdecides, withmoststandardsorcriteriaagainstwhichtheseunstandardizedcomponentsshouldbeevaluated. Theprocessisdevoidofsubstanceaboutteachingandlearningandrevealsno understandingofthewaysinwhichseriousportfolioassessmentsforsuchpurposesaslicensingorcertificationareconstructedorevaluated. TheTFAdocumentspellingoutthetailsoftheprocessofportfolioassessmentisfilledwithinstructionsthatoffer nosubstantiveguidance, aswhentheproposed assessor (who, likethemembersofthereviewpanel, isto beaTEACH! employeeratherthanaindependentjudge) isaskedto"assessthesignificance"ofthecomponentsof (redacted), theteacher'sself-developedportfoliowiththeseilluminatingdirections: "Componentsthatgivealotsofinformationandevideaboutanewteacher'sabilityhavehighsignificance; componentsthatgivealittleormisleadinginformationaboutateacher'scapabilitieshavealowsignificance. "Asidefromthequestionofwhymisleadingevidencewouldbeincludedorhowitwouldbeidentified, thecluesthataregiventooassessorsaresilly. Forexample, videotapeswithgoodsoundandpicturequalityshouldbegivenhighsignificance. (Apparently, weshouldnotbeconcernedthattheyshowsomethingsignificantaboutteachingandlearning. Ontheotherhand, "Theratingsofkindergartenstudentsabouttheireachersshouldbegivenlowsignificance," althoughtheassessmentssystemcallsforsuchratingsbystudents. Oneofthecomponentsoftheportfolioincludesapaperforstudentstofillout, featuring smiling-faceandfrowning-face responses to such prompts as "Myteachermakes mefeel. . . ." Whiletherearererferencesto"overallandholisticmeasurementoftheportfolio"using"professionaljudgment," thereisnoindicationofwhatkindsofknowledgeandskillsaretobeexhibitedorwhatcriteriaaretobeusedforevaluation. AssomeonewhohasparticipatedinthegruelingprocessofestablishingstandardsandscoringsystemsfortheNationalBoardforProfessionalTeachingStandards, Ifinditshockingtoreadinstructionslikethefollowing: Todeterminethelevelofperformance, theassessorreviewsthecomponentandthecompanyingself-analysis, writingdownallthesalient, interesting, important, significant, noteworthy, problematicand/orusefulbitsofinformationintheNotessectionoftheComponentAssessmentForm. Oncethesenotesaretaken, theassessorusestheirsicprofessional judgmenttomakearatingofthelevelofperformanceforeachperformancearea. Theratingformdoesn'thelpusidentifyastandardofpractice. Ratingsaredescribedonlyasrangingfrom"++verypositive," describedas"ahighlevelofperformanceinthisperformancearea," to"--verynegative," describedas"averylowlevelofperformance." Assessorsareencouragedto

change their ratings whenever they feel like it. "While the "performance-based assessment" document from TFA contains frequent references to "TEACH! definition of an excellent new teacher," what such a -@), teacher knows and can do is never spelled out. A page of definition tells us that "TEACH! defines an excellent new teacher as one who has demonstrated a competent level of performance in all eleven performance areas." The performance areas themselves are listed in undefined two- or three- word phrases, such as readiness for school, "but they are never described or linked to standards of performance. Assessors fill in blank spaces in each category, but they are not asked to look for anything specific. Candidates provide their own self-analysis" in each category in response to instructions such as "Please explain how the Plans of student work, etc. included in your portfolio demonstrate that you are an excellent new teacher." As elsewhere, there is no invitation here to provide a balanced analysis of strengths and weaknesses. Indeed, whatever it is that the assessors themselves might decide to base their judgments on, the TEACH! instructions make it clear that questions about competences should be resolved in favor of the recruit, not with reference to the welfare of the children he or she is teaching: If the level of performance ratings on the Assessment Synthesis Form contains an even mix of positive and negative ratings, the assessors will have difficulty synthesizing a judgment. A mixed set of evidences suggests not that the resident teacher is a awful teacher but one who is not well portrayed by their sic portfolio. "In the event that a teacher with substantial negative ratings is "not well portrayed" by his or her portfolio, the plans suggest that the teachers should be allowed to continue to teach for yet another year, while working on his or her shortcomings. The plan goes on to describe how candidates who have taught for a full year before experiencing even this vague, ungrounded evaluation would be allowed to continue for a full three years before they would be dismissed. During this time, no one has the responsibility for safeguarding the children, since state and local evaluation standards have been replaced by the TFA process. Moreover, the worth of the data in the portfolio is doubted even by its creators. While the assessment plan acknowledges that the candidates' self-assessment offer "maximum subjectivity," it accords no greater weight to the views of others who evaluate the candidate. The evaluations of supervisors and principals are discounted, with the note that many supervisors and principals "have an inadequate basis for making a judgment" and oftentimes "rely on non-instructional or irrelevant criteria." Similarly, the evaluations of colleagues are not to be trusted since "much knowledge of the peer will be based on hearsay, as actual observations are limited," and "there is a high potential for cronyism and/or envy." 60 Presuming that colleagues' knowledge will be based on hearsay is a telling comment on TFA's failure to offer sustained and serious mentoring to its recruits. Especially in the light of current efforts to raise standards for students and teachers, this kind of half-baked thinking contributes nothing to the cause of systemic change and restructuring. However, it continues a long tradition of devaluing urban students and deprofessionalizing teaching. TFA offers no solution to the fundamental problems of teaching in the educational needs of urban children. It merely exacerbates the unequal access to qualified teachers that minority and low-income children already experience, and it does so in a way that is totally unaccountable for their welfare. Isn't it time for a better idea? The Alternatives There are ways to recruit and prepare highly qualified teachers for urban and rural schools. Federally funded recruitment programs that provided scholarships and forgivable loans to talented college students willing to prepare for careers in teaching were successful in the 1960s and 1970s, just as they were for medicine when Congress passed similar incentives for preparing doctors. Though eliminated by President Reagan in 1980, programs such as the Urban Teacher Corps and the National Defense Education Act should be reinstated as a critical part of the Goals 2000 effort and as a responsible means of encouraging national service for young college graduates. States, school districts, and foundations can also play a role. Connecticut's Educational Excellence Act of 1986 provides one of the most useful models for upgrading teaching and eliminating shortages. Using school funding reform to help equalize beginning teachers' salaries across the state, Connecticut was able to eliminate shortages in the cities while simultaneously raising standards for teacher education and licensing and implementing a beginning teacher mentoring and evaluation program. Some large districts -- such as Hillsborough County, Florida, and Montgomery County, Maryland -- have been able to streamline hiring so as to entice and hire well-prepared teachers early and effectively. Such programs as Recruiting New Teachers and Teachers for Tomorrow have worked effectively to bring talented recruits to urban school systems by expanding and greasing the pipeline for preparation and entry. Other districts, such as Rochester, Toledo, and Cincinnati, have created intensive mentoring programs for beginning teachers that enhance effectiveness, reduce traditionally high levels of turnover, and heighten accounta

bility for tenure. After all, keeping new teachers who are well-prepared is as important as recruiting them. -@), Professional development schools school/university collaborative that function like teaching hospitals in preparing candidates for state-of-the-art teaching -- are springing up across the country. In partnership with universities that are redefining teacher preparation, professional development schools in Cambridge, Boston, New York, Miami, Indianapolis, Louisville, San Diego, San Francisco, and many other cities are addressing the need for well-prepared teachers by providing top-flight preparation for high-quality urban teaching. 61 Foundations can join forces with cities and states to promote this kind of leading-edge practice. Contrary to conventional wisdom, there are many very good teacher education programs that are structured to ensure the kind of high-quality coursework and clinical experiences that fly-by-night operations like TFA cannot provide. In fact, many graduates of Ivy League universities do enroll in these programs, do learn to teach well, and do go on to provide leadership in the profession. I offer just one example, chosen because I happened to know it well, but there are many others. At Teachers College, Columbia University, more than 200 preservice education students come from top colleges all across the country. Their grades and test scores place them in the top percentiles nationally, and they come with a passion and commitment to teaching. In contrast to the slapdash training that TFA recruits receive, students at Teachers College who are preparing to become elementary and middle school teacher take courses in the teaching of mathematics, science, social studies, and reading. Their two semester-length courses in reading are coordinated with their year-long student teaching experiences so that they can apply what they learn directly in practice. They study educational foundations and child development as part of a structured seminar that is also connected to their student teaching. This integrated block of coursework is a rigorous program of readings, activities, and projects that includes curriculum theory and curriculum development, models of teaching and teaching methods, and theory and practice related to learning principles, diverse learning styles, multiple intelligences, multicultural education, and assessment. As part of a structured portfolio and supervision process, candidates complete two guided child studies, a school study, documentation of their students' work and literacy development, and a number of other carefully developed projects aimed at specific demonstrations of competence. All of this is in addition to their classroom work as student teachers. Schools and cooperating teachers for student teaching placements are carefully selected to ensure that students encounter and learn good practice. Many cooperating teachers are in professional development schools launched in collaboration with local schools. Other teachers in restructured schools associated with such nationwide initiatives as the Coalition of Essential Schools. Much of the program is constructed and taught as a collaboration -@), between school-based faculty members and university-based faculty members. Trained supervisors -- themselves carefully selected to be expert veteran teachers -- visit each candidate at least every other week. They participate in their own ongoing seminar, have taken courses and an internship in supervision, and meet as a group every other week to discuss the candidates' progress, to share advice, and to enlist resources as needed. All faculty members and supervisors engage in assessment of all candidates, using common standards and a collective process of presenting and defending their judgments. In contrast to the experiences of TFA recruits, graduates of this program report that they are intellectually challenged and stimulated by the study of teaching and that, when they start teaching, they feel well-prepared. This comment, from a student now returning to the doctoral program, is typical. My graduate work at Teachers College prepared me well for these upcoming changes (interdisciplinary team teaching and alternative forms of assessment). I was exposed to collaborative learning techniques, assessment through portfolio, and curriculum design. I did my student teaching at an alternative school, working as part of an interdisciplinary team. I am now a member of both the Curriculum and Assessment Committees within my own district, examining the New York Compact for Learning to design meaningful and challenging standards for our students. 62 A graduate of Morehouse College was originally recruited by TFA but decided instead to come to Teachers College to better prepare for his work. Having watched friends struggle through the TFA debacle and having just finished his third year of teaching in the Atlanta Public Schools, Chris Ashford is sure that he made the right decision: Had I not had preparation, I would have been a lot more frustrated and a lot less effective as a teacher. I think my biggest problem with TFA is that the program! didn't look at teaching as a profession. Who would go to Surgeons for America - "you give us your enthusiasm and you handw e'll train you -@), to do a heart bypass during the summer" Who would go to Lawyers for America, where you learn to practice law in six weeks? Who's going to send their children to a teacher who's strained in six weeks? It's like putting a Band-Aid on a gunshot wound. This is not an answer

o the problems of urban education. If anything, it cheapens education. It gives you the idea that anyone can teach. I'm not surprised that TFA recruits found that they couldn't do what was expected of them. You cannot teach anybody to acquire the kinds of things they need in a summer program. It is absolutely impossible. If anything it has produced a sense of frustration and a sense of hopelessness in the recruits. If TFA officials were serious they would offer a much more extensive preparation experience. They think that youth and enthusiasm will outweigh experience and good knowledge. If you can foster both of these in someone, then you'll have a good teacher. Young people need good teachers now more than they ever did before. If you're serious about your profession, then you're going to have to make that extra effort. "It is clear from the evidence that TFA is bad policy and bad education. It is bad for the recruits because they are ill-prepared. They are denied the knowledge and skills they need, and many whom it might have become good teachers are instead discouraged from staying in the profession. It is bad for the schools in which they teach, because the recruits often create staffing disruptions and drain school resources. The schools don't get the help they need, and more lasting solutions are not pursued. It is bad for the children because they are often poorly taught. With the teachers foundering, they are denied opportunities to fully develop the skills they need. They often lack continuity in instruction and are frequently exposed to counterproductive teaching techniques that can destroy their inherent desire to learn. Finally, TFA is bad for teaching. By clinging to faulty assumptions about what teachers need to know - and by producing so many teaching failures, it undermines the profession's efforts to raise standards and create accountability. In TFA, no one is accountable for what prospective teachers experience and what they learn - and no one is accountable for ensuring that children get teachers who are prepared to help them learn. As Jonathan Kozol has observed, "Charity is no substitute for justice." There are alternative ways of putting ill-prepared recruits in classrooms for a revolving-door trip into and out of teaching. These alternatives are what the children need. And we must all speak for them. 1. Jonathan Schorr, "Class Action: What Clinton's National Service Program Could Learn from 'Teach for America,'" *Phi Delta Kappan*, December 1993, pp. 315-18. 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 317, 318. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 316. 4. Wendy Kopp, "ITAR Revisions Under Way," *Backtalk Letter*, *Phi Delta Kappan*, May 1994, p. 734. 5. Robert Roth, *Teach for America 1993 Pre-service Institute Program Review*, Summer 1993. See also Deborah Appleman, "Is Idealism Enough? 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Personal communication with Lisa Peterson. 31. Pamela L. Grossman, "Learning to Teach Without Teacher Education," *Teachers College Record*, vol. 91, 1989, p. 205. 32. Interview with Kisba Brown, 8 June 1994. 33. -@), Larimer, p. 27. 34. Shapiro, pp. 61, 65. 35. K. Kathy Carter and Walter Doyle, "Teachers' Knowledge Structures and Comprehension Processes," in J. Calderhead, ed., *Exploring Teacher Thinking* (London: Cassell, 1987), pp. 147-60; Walter Doyle, "Content Representation in Teachers' Definitions of Academic Work," *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, vol. 18, 1986, pp. 365-79; and Jan Berquist Hansen, "The Relationship of Skills and Classroom Climate of Trained and Untrained Teachers of Gifted Students" (Doctoral dissertation, Purdue University, 1988). 36. Charles E. Skipper and Richard Quantz, "Changes in Educational Attitudes of Education and Arts and Science Students During Four Years of College," *Journal of Teacher Education*, May/June 1987, pp. 39-44. 37. Darling-Hammond, op. cit.; Grossman, op. cit.; Findings on Learning to Teach; Sharon Feiman-Nemser and Michelle B. Parker, "Making Subject Matter Part of the Conversation: Helping Beginning Teachers Learn to Teach" (East Lansing, Mich.: National Center for Research on Teacher Education 1990); and N. Mitchell, *Interim Evaluation Report of the Alternative Certification Program* (Dallas: Department of Planning, Evaluation, and Testing, Dallas Independent School District, REA87-027-2, 1987). 38. Shapiro, p. 38. 39. Ibid., p. 74. 40. Ibid., p. 89. 41. Ibid., p. 74. 42. Ibid., p. 152. 43. TFA's annual report for 1993 shows revenues of \$6,388,773 spent to place 537 recruits. See *Charting a New Course*. 44. TFA Revisions Under Way, "p. 73. 45. Personal communication with Robert Roth, TFA summer institute evaluator. 46. Personal communication with Thomas Popkewitz, 30 June 1994. 47. Personal communication with Robert Roth, 29 June 1994. 48. Roth, op. cit., p. 34. 49. Ibid., pp. 22, 31. 50. Ibid., pp. 34, 56. 51. Ibid., p. 19. 52. Ibid., p. 45. 53. Ibid., pp. 40, 46. 54. Ibid., pp. 41-42. 55. Ibid., pp. 63-68. 56. Ibid., p. 11. 57. "Performance-based Assessment," mimeographed manuscript, *Teach for America*, 9 March 1994. 58. Ibid., pp. 5, 12. 59. Ibid., p. 12. 60. Ibid., pp. 25-26. 61. For an overview of these programs, see Linda Darling-Hammond, *Professional Development Schools: Schools for Developing a Profession* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1993). 62. Personal communication with Julie Cara Medow. 63. Personal communication with Chris Ashford, 6 July 1994. LINDA DARLING-HAMMOND is a professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. Elaine Joseph provides research assistance for this article. GRAPHIC: Other IAC-NUMBER: IAC15806548 IAC-CLASS: Magazine LANGUAGE: ENGLISH LOAD-DATE: April 15, 1996 -@),

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Lyn A. Hogan ( CN=Lyn A. Hogan/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 12:36:20.00

SUBJECT: Women's Issues

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Sorry to bug you, but I didn't get a response back from you on the following. My last day will be next Tuesday and I need to do something with all of the women's issues files I have, especially the late term abortion files that date back to the beginning of the debate. I can archive everything, but you might want them. Alos, on the other women issues, is somebody goong to take them over, or should I archive all of that too?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 12:59:36.00

SUBJECT: You aren't pushing for a pres. directive related to the summit to be done

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

This was an idea we had but had basically given up on getting done this week. But staff secretary, OMB counsel, and OPM say they are still getting signals to keep working on it on a crash basis. Any clues?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Emily Bromberg ( CN=Emily Bromberg/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 13:50:43.00

SUBJECT: Re: flsa

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

thanks for the congrats. but don't think deputy assistant will prevent me from fleeing to NYC at the first opportunity!

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 14:14:38.00

SUBJECT: Morgan State

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:



## MORGAN STATE COMMENCEMENT

New scientific discoveries and technological developments promise all kinds of benefits to our society: longer and healthier lives; cures for what were once considered incurable diseases; universal access to university libraries; up to the second information. The potential to improve people's everyday lives is enormous. But at the same time, new science and technology raises a host of ethical and moral questions that we are only just learning to ask, let alone come to grips with and answer.

Leading America into a national discussion of these issues -- asking the questions, answering some of them, and laying down the moral markers that must guide us as we look for more answers -- is a task ripe for the Presidential bully pulpit.

There are two major categories of science and technology that raise distinct, although often related, types of new questions: biology and medicine on the one hand, which raises religious questions, questions about the nature of humanity, as well as privacy issues; and information technology on the other hand, which raises all kinds of privacy questions, as well as many civil liberty related issues.

The President's speech could focus on both areas, but a thoughtful discussion would be better advanced with a primary focus on one set of issues.

There are a good number of policy options in the pipeline that could be used to provide substance to the speech:

**Genetic Screening:** The President could propose major legislation to prohibit insurers from using genetic screening information as a basis for denying coverage. It's worth noting that in the early 70s some African-Americans were denied health care coverage by insurers and jobs by employers because they were identified as sickle cell anemia carriers.

**Cloning Report:** NBAC's report is due a week later (May25); their final meeting is scheduled for the day before (May 17). Presumably, if we pushed a little, the President could announce their findings and comment on them. At this point, we expect their recommendations to be essentially in line with the President's position.

**Diabetes:** It is possible, but unlikely, that a major diabetes announcement could be ready.

**Tuskegee:** The President is currently scheduled to discuss the Tuskegee experiments the week before the commencement. Given the subject and the venue, he should certainly reiterate his strong feelings against the kind of human testing that went on in Tuskegee.

**Information Technology:** If the President were to discuss information technology issues, he could announce creation of an ELSI (Ethical, Legal, and Social Implications) grant program housed at NSF, similar to the existing one housed at NIH, to explore looming information technology questions and develop answers.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 14:16:33.00

SUBJECT:

TO: ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN ( ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Prince 65692

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 14:16:48.00

SUBJECT: Re: attcahed

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Many thanks...what you lost on timing you won on style...don't tell NEC I said that...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 14:19:41.00

SUBJECT:

TO: ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN ( ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Prince: one pager on your computer, talked to Kalil, Gabriel; sorry for delay, helping Service speech. call me when you can.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 14:57:49.00

SUBJECT: URGENT Q & A's

TO: Stephen C. Warnath ( CN=Stephen C. Warnath/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Christa Robinson ( CN=Christa Robinson/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Nicole R. Rabner ( CN=Nicole R. Rabner/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Cathy R. Mays ( CN=Cathy R. Mays/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jennifer L. Klein ( CN=Jennifer L. Klein/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Christopher C. Jennings ( CN=Christopher C. Jennings/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Eric P. Goosby ( CN=Eric P. Goosby/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Diana Fortuna ( CN=Diana Fortuna/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Michael Cohen ( CN=Michael Cohen/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Sarah A. Bianchi ( CN=Sarah A. Bianchi/OU=OMB/O=EOP @ EOP [ OMB ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Paul J. Weinstein Jr. ( CN=Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Leanne A. Shimabukuro ( CN=Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Cynthia A. Rice ( CN=Cynthia A. Rice/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Jeanne Lambrew ( CN=Jeanne Lambrew/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: William R. Kincaid ( CN=William R. Kincaid/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Lyn A. Hogan ( CN=Lyn A. Hogan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Thomas L. Freedman ( CN=Thomas L. Freedman/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elizabeth Drye ( CN=Elizabeth Drye/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Dennis K. Burke ( CN=Dennis K. Burke/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Pauline M. Abernathy ( CN=Pauline M. Abernathy/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Correction: this briefing book is for the President's interview with Face the Nation this weekend.

----- Forwarded by Laura Emmett/WHO/EOP on 04/25/97 03:01 PM -----

Laura Emmett  
04/25/97 02:53:36 PM  
Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message  
cc:  
Subject: URGENT Q & A's

Stuart Schear is putting together a briefing book for the President's summit. Does anyone have any new Q & A's since yesterday's? If so please e-mail them to me asap so we can get them to the press office. Thanks.

Elizabeth- we need tobacco, etc.

Message Sent

- To: \_\_\_\_\_
- Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP
  - Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP
  - Pauline M. Abernathy/OPD/EOP
  - Sarah A. Bianchi/OMB/EOP
  - Dennis K. Burke/OPD/EOP
  - Michael Cohen/OPD/EOP
  - Elizabeth Drye/OPD/EOP
  - Diana Fortuna/OPD/EOP
  - Thomas L. Freedman/OPD/EOP
  - Eric P. Goosby/OPD/EOP
  - Lyn A. Hogan/OPD/EOP
  - Christopher C. Jennings/OPD/EOP
  - William R. Kincaid/OPD/EOP
  - Jennifer L. Klein/OPD/EOP
  - Jeanne Lambrew/OPD/EOP

Cathy R. Mays/OPD/EOP  
Jonathan Prince/WHO/EOP  
Nicole R. Rabner/WHO/EOP  
Cynthia A. Rice/OPD/EOP  
Christa Robinson/OPD/EOP  
Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OPD/EOP  
Stephen C. Warnath/OPD/EOP  
Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OPD/EOP

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jonathan Prince ( CN=Jonathan Prince/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 15:18:54.00

SUBJECT:

TO: ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN ( ELENA (Pager) #KAGAN [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Prince 65692

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Melissa Green ( CN=Melissa Green/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 15:36:00.00

SUBJECT: Mtg to prep. for Senate Commerce markup of Ashcroft Product Liability bill

TO: Bruce R. Lindsey ( CN=Bruce R. Lindsey/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Peter G. Jacoby ( CN=Peter G. Jacoby/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Tracey E. Thornton ( CN=Tracey E. Thornton/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Jennifer D. Dudley ( CN=Jennifer D. Dudley/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Kathleen Wallman will chair a meeting in room 231 on Monday 4/28 at 10:00am. Markup is Thursday.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 15:52:49.00

SUBJECT: Re: Policy/announcement memo

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Bruce N. Reed ( CN=Bruce N. Reed/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

I hasten to add that while I said you were later than NEC, I also said you were better...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Barry J. Toiv ( CN=Barry J. Toiv/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 16:03:12.00

SUBJECT: adoptions

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

The 4/24 Wash. Times has a piece about legislation approved by Ways and Means Committee on adoption. Is this our proposal or based on it? If so, should we not be doing some sort of press on it?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Eli G. Attie ( CN=Eli G. Attie/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 16:27:32.00

SUBJECT: Re: attcahed

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Believe me when I say that style is more important than substance...

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Christa Robinson ( CN=Christa Robinson/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 16:46:51.00

SUBJECT: Weekly Report - Police Officers Memorial Event

TO: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

On May 15, 1997, you will be attending the Annual Police Officers' Memorial Event hosted by the Fraternal Order of Police on the Mall. This is an opportunity to layout your crime agenda for the coming year, and make a strong push for your juvenile justice legislative package which is being marked-up in the House this week. Specifically, you could argue for the inclusion of your proposed requirement that safety locks be sold with every gun, which is currently absent from the House bill. The FOP and most other police organizations strongly support this provision.

The main policy announcement could be that you are sending legislation to the Hill that day that would expand the "Deegan" Law, which provides educational scholarships to the children of federal officers killed in the line of duty, to state and local officers. The Police Corps funding you will be announcing at the Service Summit does include educational scholarships to state and local officers' children, but new legislation would make this an entitlement identical to the Deegan Law so that children of all law enforcement officers can receive an education in the case of a tragedy.

In addition, you could use this forum to announce new concealed weapons technology and new "smart gun prototypes" which will help protect police officers in the future.

FYI: (Police officers are acutely aware that there is a lot of work to be done before this technology becomes useful on a daily basis, so this should not be the centerpiece of the speech. It does, however, show that we are looking to reduce injuries to cops down the road.)

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Stephen C. Warnath ( CN=Stephen C. Warnath/OU=OPD/O=EOP [ OPD ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:25-APR-1997 18:45:53.00

SUBJECT: weekly

TO: Elena Kagan ( CN=Elena Kagan/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: Laura Emmett ( CN=Laura Emmett/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

If you need another submission for the weekly, I have place one on the h:  
drive at  
\weekly25.scw.

Thanks