



Office of U.S. Congressman Tim Roemer

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Date: 5/7/99

To: Bruce Reed

Of: Domestic Policy 456-2878

Pages (Including Cover Sheet): 3

From: David Cleary for Tim Roemer

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Comments: Mr. Roemer is looking for input on this
proposal from Goodling. He'd like to know what weaknesses,
deficiencies, and omissions you see, plus ideas on
how to improve the targeting proposal.

**Academic Achievement for All Act (Straight A's Act)
5-6-99**

*Eric -
Republicans*

Short Title: "Academic Achievement for All Act (Straight A's Act)"

Purpose:

- To boost the academic achievement of all American students, and to focus the resources of the Federal government upon such achievement;
- To give states and large school districts maximum freedom in how they boost academic achievement and implement education reforms
- To hold states and school districts accountable for boosting the academic achievement of all students, especially disadvantaged children.

States May Execute Optional Charter Providing Flexibility:

- A State may, at its option, execute a charter with the Secretary that allows the state to commingle funds from some or all state-administered formula grant Federal K-12 programs. Specific categorical program requirements would no longer be in force for those commingled programs. In exchange for this extra flexibility, the state will be held strictly accountable for academic results.

School Districts May Execute Charter Providing Flexibility, Where State Has Not Done So:

- If a state has not or does not intend to exercise the charter option, then a school district within such state may apply, through the state, to the Federal government, for such a charter.

Distribution of Funds from Feds to the State Level:

- The current formula grant for the categorical programs would be used to determine how much money goes to the state for purposes of the Act.

How Funds Are Distributed Within the State:

- Distribution of funds within state shall be determined through the regular state legislative process by the state legislature in conjunction with the governor.

Charter: The terms of the charter would be for 5 years.

Within State Use of Funds. For any education purpose permitted by state law.

Assurances regarding Federal law. Must provide assurances regarding maintenance of effort, civil rights laws, equitable participation of students and professional staff in private schools, parental participation, etc.

Accountability—Performance Objectives. State must adopt/establish specific, measurable, numerical performance objectives for the 5 year agreement for student achievement.

Accountability—Standards and Assessments. State must have in place standards and aligned assessments or have developed a system to measure the degree of change from one school year to the next in student performance.

Accountability—Performance Data. If the state chooses to include Title I, Part A, the state must have in place a system under which assessment information is disaggregated for the State, each local educational agency, and each school, except that such disaggregation shall not be required in cases in which the number of students in any such group is insufficient to yield statistically reliable information or would reveal the identity of an individual student.

Accountability—Reporting. State provides assurances within one year of executing a charter, it will present a report of baseline data on student academic achievement to the Secretary. For each succeeding year of the charter, the state or district will present a report of annual updated data on the progress of the state or district on academic improvement. For each year, such data must be disaggregated where Title I, Part A is included.

Rewards and Penalties. A system of rewards and penalties would be established and implemented based upon achieving (or not achieving) the performance objectives.

Report on Impact of the Act. Interim and final reports shall be prepared which report on the impact of the Act.

Educ-Repubs.

House Republican Budget Shortchanges Education

	President's Request	House Republican Budget	Difference
America Reads	\$260 million	\$0	\$260 million
Education Technology	\$475 million	\$425 million	\$50 million
High Hopes	\$140 million	\$0	\$140 million
Summer Jobs	\$871 million	\$0	\$871 million
Out-of-School Youth	\$250 million	\$0	\$250 million
Head Start	\$4,660 million	\$4,500 million	\$160 million
School Construction	\$5,000 million over five years	\$0	\$5,000 million over 5 years
Class Size	\$1,100 million	\$0	\$1,100 million
After-School Programs	\$200 million	\$60 million	\$140 million
Goals 2000	\$501 million	\$246 million	\$255 million
Title I	\$7,767 million	\$7,375 million	\$392 million
Education Opportunity Zones	\$200 million	\$0	\$200 million
Teacher Recruitment	\$75 million	\$0	\$75 million

House
REPUBLICAN
Conference

REALITY CHECK

*Educ -
Repubs*

<http://Hillsource.house.gov>

JOHN BOEHNER
Chairman
8th District, Ohio

October 9, 1998

PRESIDENT CLINTON APPLAUDS CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO IMPROVE EDUCATION

On Wednesday, President Clinton stepped back from his rhetoric to applaud the good work done by this Congress to improve educational opportunities for our nation's children:

"Clinton, who has sharply criticized a 'do-nothing' Congress resistant to the bulk of his education agenda, soft-pedaled that theme Wednesday as he emphasized that bipartisan cooperation got the higher education bill passed. 'This is the way America should work. This is the way Congress should work,' he said." (emphasis added)

- Associated Press, 10/7/98

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TO: Brenda Benjamin

House
REPUBLICAN
Conference

REALITY CHECK

JOHN BOEHNER
 Chairman
 8th District, Ohio

October 10, 1998

President Clinton's Education Rhetoric Hides His Preference for Vetoes over Results

The President's Rhetoric:

"Members of Congress should not go home until they pass a budget that will strengthen our public schools for the 21st century."

-- President Clinton, 10/9/98

The President's Record – Vetoes, Not Results:

The biggest challenge this nation faces in improving quality education is the president's veto pen:

- ✘ DC Scholarship bill to provide 2,000 of the capital's poorest children a chance to escape one of the worst school districts in the nation
- ✘ Education Savings Accounts to provide middle-income families with tax relief for elementary and secondary education expenses.
- ✘ Back-to-basics common-sense literacy programs.
- ✘ Lower costs for school construction bonds
- ✘ Incentives for teacher testing and merit pay
- ✘ Safe-schools anti-gun provision
- ✘ Tax relief for employer-provided education assistance and qualified state tuition programs

The Republican Record – Quality Education for our Children's Future:

Even with the president's veto pen Congressional Republicans have been successful at enacting education reforms emphasizing local control, parental involvement, and accountability:

Making College More Affordable

- ✓ Lowest student loan interest rate in 17 years
- ✓ Highest ever Pell Grants awards
- ✓ The Balanced Budget Act of 1997 helps pay for college through: tax deduction for student loan interest, flexible IRAs allowing withdrawals for college or trade education, Education Savings Accounts for post-secondary education expenses

Sending More Dollars to the Classroom:

- ✓ Dollars to the Classroom Act (House passed)
- ✓ Education at a Crossroads project (Final Report Issued July 1998)

Promoting Education Excellence

- ✓ 21st Century Classrooms Act (P.L. 105-34)
- ✓ Loan forgiveness for new teachers (Higher Ed Amendments)
- ✓ Quality Head Start reauthorization

Honoring State & Local Authority

- ✓ Individuals with Disabilities Education Act Amendments, with increased funding to help states meet their needs. For the first time since the original IDEA law was enacted, the local share of special education costs can be reduced
- ✓ Increased funding for state and local Education Block Grants (FY99 Labor-HHS Appropriations Act)

Training High Skill Workers

- ✓ Carl Perkins Vocational-Technical Education Act amendments of 1997 (In Conference)
- ✓ Workforce Investment Act (P.L. 105-220)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO: Bill Kincaid

ORGANIZATION: APC

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FAX NUMBER: 456-558/7028

FROM: Julie Green

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MESSAGE: AP story

2pm press conf w/ Lett & Crowder on Hill

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Ex # 456-5581 / 7028

GOP education plan gets prominent spot in 1998 agenda

Eds: INSERTS new grafs 17-18, bgng, Former President... to UPDATE with former President Gerald Ford's comments on GOP and abortion issue; picks up 17th graf pvs, bgng, The year, , ,

*Edvc -
Repubs.*

By ALAN FRAM

Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) - Republicans hope their multibillion-dollar plan to offer tax breaks to parents of private school students and boost other education aid will help Congress swipe the political spotlight from President Clinton.

Senate GOP leaders planned to unveil an eight-point education package today, a week before lawmakers return from a winter break that began in mid-November. Since then, Clinton has reigned over the political landscape, unwrapping headline-grabbing plans to balance the budget next year, ease access to Medicare and child care, and other proposals.

Republican leaders of the House and Senate foresee a year dominated by attempts to help schools, cut taxes, revamp the Internal Revenue Service and fight illegal drugs. With the entire House and one-third of the Senate up for re-election in November, the GOP wants to contrast its solutions to Clinton's on problems such as child care.

"It's an issue that we know is of concern to a lot of Americans," Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., said Sunday on CNN's "Late Edition." "And we want to look at how to best help them with caring for their children rather than turning it over to some government organization."

But that's not enough for many conservatives, who are already accusing Lott and House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., of timidly avoiding hard fights with Clinton over top-tier issues like national defense and overhauling the tax system.

"Conservatives must cease shadow boxing," 1996 GOP presidential hopeful Steve Forbes wrote in an open letter to Republicans on Jan. 11. "They must be willing again to fight for substance and principle rather than trying to hold on to office for the sake of holding office."

GOP leaders plan an Oct. 9 adjournment this year, plus several lengthy recesses, to give lawmakers time to campaign for re-election. While in session, Republicans hope their education proposals will help replace voters' memories of earlier GOP efforts to cut school spending and abolish the Education Department.

Gingrich has said education also will be a priority in the House, where initiatives are likely to include education savings accounts and federal aid for private school tuition.

The Senate package, described by a GOP aide who spoke on condition of anonymity, will focus on primary and secondary schools and will be called BOOKS - the Better Opportunities for Our Kids in School bill. It will include \$2.6 billion for a plan by Sen. Paul Coverdell, R-Ga., to create tax-advantaged savings accounts to help parents pay education costs, including private school tuition. Democrats stalled that last year in the Senate.

Also included will be \$200 million to better train teachers and parents to teach reading, a \$75 million pilot program of vouchers for low-income students and more money for disabled students, anti-drug programs and publicly financed charter schools that operate free of many regulations.

It also will require that most federal aid be spent for classrooms, not education bureaucracies, and allow states to use

funds to test teachers' skills and give them merit pay raises.

The legislation will compete directly with an education package Clinton will include in the 1999 budget he will introduce next month. He would spend billions to recruit teachers, rebuild crumbling schools and help Hispanic students.

Tax cutting will be another Republican theme this year, coupled with a drive to balance the federal budget this year or next. But though Republicans agree on the goal, their tax-cutting proposals vary widely.

Some favor across-the-board rate reductions while others want targeted reductions such as eliminating the tax increase - the so-called "marriage penalty" - that hits many people when they marry. Chairman Bill Archer, R-Texas, of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee plans to spell out his preferences Tuesday.

Other areas the GOP may push include child care, where Republicans may answer Clinton's proposals with tax breaks of their own, and tighter control of health maintenance organizations used by growing numbers of Americans.

Also certain is an effort to override Clinton's veto of legislation banning some late-term abortions. The Senate is expected to fall short, but Republicans value the issue because the procedure - called "partial-birth abortion" by those who oppose it - is highly unpopular.

Former President Gerald Ford, however, is warning the GOP not to become preoccupied with the abortion issue, which he said could splinter the party and threaten its chances of regaining the White House in 2000.

"If we get way over on the hard right of the political spectrum, we will not elect a Republican president," Ford said in an interview in today's New York Times. "I worry about the party going down this ultra-conservative line," Ford said.

The year also will likely see:

-Early votes on revamping the federal campaign finance law, with no big changes expected.

-Talk but no real action about overhauling Social Security and Medicare in preparation for a fiscal crunch when baby boomers start retiring in a decade.

-An uncertain attempt to approve a mammoth settlement with the tobacco industry.

[federal&education&department]



**COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
2181 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-8100**

February 4, 1997

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Exec-Republicans

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

There is nothing more important to the future of our Nation than providing the opportunity for a high quality education for all Americans. We believe this can be achieved by working together and building on what we know works: expecting every child to master basic academics; engaging and involving parents; and getting taxpayer dollars to the classroom where they can do the most good. The Committee on Education and the Workforce will be at the center of this effort.

We are sure you agree that the measure of our success on behalf of our children cannot be the number of programs we create or dollars we spend – it must be measured by the academic success and well-being of our Nation's children. On this front, there is much work to be done as you correctly noted in your address tonight. We look forward to working in partnership with you to effectively assist our Nation's parents, teachers, school leaders, communities and States in giving our children the best education possible.

House Republicans have developed an extensive legislative and oversight agenda on education. Our work will begin with a focus on reforming several key laws which expire or are in clear need of reform – IDEA, the Higher Education Act, Job Training, and Juvenile Justice, among others. We are sure you will agree these programs must be our Committee's first priority. We need to look at each and determine what works, and what's wasted, before considering any major new initiatives to expand the Federal role.

First, we intend to reform the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act consistent with the principles of the bipartisan IDEA Improvement Act of 1996, which enjoyed strong bipartisan support. We will continue to emphasize these themes: focusing on children's education instead of process and bureaucracy; giving parents increased participation in decision-making; and, giving teachers the tools they need to teach all children. Both the Senate and House have firmly demonstrated their commitment to providing the funding necessary to educate these children with special needs, without imposing financial burdens on local schools and governments.

The Honorable Bill Clinton

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Another priority is addressing the serious problem of violent juvenile crime and juvenile delinquency. Our Committee will act on the Juvenile Crime Control and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1997. We will adopt a balanced approach which focuses on: prevention; accountability; and helping young people turn their lives around.

We intend to complete action to reform and improve job training programs for adults. We must help States and communities improve the quality of job training -- so it leads to employment for the 21st Century. Our efforts will center around: enhancing individual choice by empowering individuals to select their own employment options and training providers; ensuring that programs provide quality training for the 21st Century; and, making training relevant by driving resources and authority to the States and local communities.

Finally, we want to strengthen opportunities for Americans to get an affordable, high quality postsecondary education. We must work together to keep American higher education first in the world by: making and keeping higher education more affordable; simplifying the student aid system; and stressing academic quality.

While moving forward on our legislative priorities, we have begun an extensive oversight project, "Education at a Crossroads: What Works and What's Wasted." Congress is carefully examining the full extent of federal involvement in education to see how it can be improved to enhance student learning. Young Americans are clearly not performing up to their full academic potential -- despite the over 760 federal education programs which span 39 federal agencies at the price of \$120 billion annually. This project will attempt to find out why. We will also work to identify examples of excellence in education and ask how we can better support this kind of positive change.

During the last several months, we have observed with great interest as you have announced and developed your education agenda for your second term of office. We are anxious to study the details of these proposals and to work with you to explore issues that have been brought to our attention about these initiatives.

We in Congress are committed to finding sensible solutions to keep the price of attending college reasonable, and have already held hearings around the country to help us find solutions. While we support and share the intent behind the HOPE Scholarship proposal, we must be very careful that tax policy not be allowed to drive questions about the quality of higher education. There are also other critical questions that need to be answered as we work to expand college opportunities for Americans:

How will the federal government know if a student has a "B" average?

Will the Internal Revenue Service collect report cards in the same manner they obtain written reports to verify other tax data?

The Honorable Bill Clinton

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February 4, 1997

Will your proposal give the U.S. Department of Education extended authority in private post-secondary education matters?

Will this proposal encourage grade inflation by linking an arbitrary "B" average to the \$1,500 tax credit?

How will your plan prevent further tuition inflation which could result by schools raising tuition to capture new funds?

The higher education community has raised concerns that your proposal will not increase access to higher education for low-income students but will simply subsidize students who would have attended nonetheless. How do you respond to that criticism?

You have also proposed to create a new, multi-billion dollar training and work program for welfare recipients. As you know, we worked with your Administration in the last Congress to undertake a comprehensive reform of the federal job training system. This work will continue this year. Several questions about your new proposal arise:

Are you proposing another job training program on top of the numerous Federal programs already in existence?

Will this initiative be part of current bipartisan efforts to consolidate and integrate Federal job training and employment programs - many of which are targeted toward welfare recipients and other economically disadvantaged adults?

As we understand it, your proposal for this program would send funds directly to the largest 100-150 largest cities and urban areas (with high levels of long-term welfare populations) while rural and suburban jurisdictions would have their program funds administered directly by the State - even if that local jurisdiction has responsibility for administering the overall welfare program. Is this approach overly-complicated administratively and unfair to suburban and rural areas?

You have also proposed a new federal program for local school construction. Congress recognizes that many schools desperately need renovation and repair. Your proposal to subsidize local bonds for construction and renovation raises some serious questions, including:

Is school construction and renovation a federal responsibility, or is it better carried out by states and local communities? It is important that any new construction program not jeopardize existing Federal priorities nor over-stretch the Nation's interest in a focused federal role in education.

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Would this proposal effectively reward school districts that have poorly managed their own taxpayers' resources? Nothing we have seen would prohibit the interest subsidy from going to poorly managed school districts.

Would the proposal drive up school construction costs by imposing costly government mandates - such as mandating that unrealistically high union wages be paid on federally financed projects - ultimately costing taxpayers more and providing students with less?

How does the proposal address the infrastructure concerns of rural school districts? Does it ignore rural districts in order to benefit urban schools?

Finally, literacy is a major problem in America. In fact, the federal government already spends over \$400 million on programs to address literacy, and an additional \$14.6 billion on other targeted programs intended to help improve the reading skills of children such as Title I, Head Start and IDEA.

Every child must learn to read as early as possible once they enter school, and literacy must be seen as a family issue, not just the child's problem. We will carefully review all Federal programs, as well as your proposal, to focus federal efforts on what programs and practices work. As part of our review, we will ask:

Does your proposal ask more of volunteers than they can reasonably be expected to do? What is the advantage of funding training for part-time volunteers, as opposed to improving the reading instruction skills of teachers?

With the federal government already spending \$7 billion on remedial education and \$4 billion on Head Start, why doesn't the literacy proposal re-evaluate ineffective class room based reading initiatives in these existing programs?

Does the federal government really need another literacy program? How does this program fit into the already existing maze of Washington-based literacy programs?

Does your proposal place an appropriate focus on promoting effective family literacy programs which help parents become literate and support the value of education in their child's life?

We welcome your support and the expertise of the Administration in answering the many questions we have raised in this letter. We believe you agree that a thoughtful approach is called for if we are to make lasting progress in contributing to a better education for our children.

Beginning with the GI Bill after World War II, and accelerating since the mid-1960's, Congress has enacted hundreds of well-intended education programs. Clearly, some of these

The Honorable Bill Clinton

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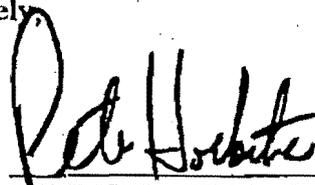
February 4, 1997

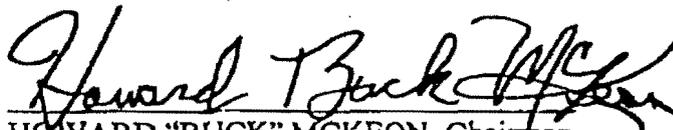
efforts have been very successful. Other programs have made little, if any, impact on improving student learning.

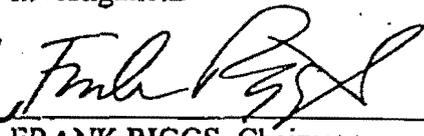
Before we can seriously consider creating major new programs, we must better understand the impact of federal programs and regulations on how schools teach and how students learn. We must not create programs that lull us and the American public into a false sense of accomplishment. We must not rest until every American child and citizen receives the quality educational opportunity they deserve. We ask you to join with us in this endeavor.

Sincerely,


BILL GOODLING, Chairman


PETE HOEKSTRA, Chairman
Subcommittee on Oversight and
Investigations


HOWARD "BUCK" MCKEON, Chairman
Subcommittee on Higher Education, Training
and Lifelong Learning


FRANK RIGGS, Chairman
Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Youth
and Families

cc: Richard Riley

FBI seeks to deter aid to Rudolph

New charges part of attempt to show fugitive 'is no hero'

By Kevin Johnson
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — With Eric Rudolph already facing criminal charges related to the bombing of a Birmingham, Ala., abortion clinic earlier this year, there was no pressing need to file additional charges Wednesday implicating him in the 1996 Olympic park blast.

But by taking that legal action, law enforcement officials hoped they could enlist the public's help in a frustrating manhunt and dissuade possible anti-abortion sympathizers from helping Rudolph elude an army of federal agents in the thickly wooded terrain of western North Carolina.

"We would hope that nobody would look at this defendant... as a hero," FBI Director Louis Freeh said Wednesday.

Though Freeh said there was no immediate evidence that a group or individuals were helping Rudolph, the director made it clear that he wanted to "motivate people to help us."

Among the new allegations, Rudolph, 32, is charged with the July 27, 1996, bombing of Centennial Olympic Park on a night when it was teeming with athletes and visitors.

For months after the blast, which left two people dead and more than 100 wounded, investigators mistakenly pursued a park security guard, Richard Jewell, as a primary suspect.

Jewell was later cleared of any involvement in the attack after it was revealed the FBI used questionable tactics during their initial interrogation. The FBI's embarrassment was compounded when the inquiry established that Jewell actually performed in heroic fashion in helping to clear the park after the explosion.

Freeh acknowledged Wednesday that the bureau has since been able to place Rudolph in Atlanta on the day of the blast and that agents have assembled a "very good

timeline" of his whereabouts in the city during that day.

Authorities revealed little of the new evidence linking Rudolph to the Olympic bombing, but they did unveil a picture of the suspect wearing an olive-colored T-shirt, khaki shorts and hiking boots. Investigators said the photograph was taken at another time, but the clothing may be similar to what Rudolph wore on the night of the Olympic park attack.

Similarities in the bomb-making materials recovered at the Olympic park and the material collected at two other bomb scenes — the Jan. 16, 1997, bombing of the Atlanta Northside abortion clinic in nearby Sandy Springs and a blast a month later at the Otherside Lounge, a lesbian nightclub in Atlanta — moved authorities to charge Rudolph with those crimes as well.

Earlier this year, Rudolph also was implicated in the Birmingham abortion clinic bombing, which killed a police officer and severely injured the clinic's head nurse.

"There may be persons who admire Rudolph because he is charged with bombing abortion clinics and places frequented by gays and lesbians," Freeh said.

"As the charges make clear, this defendant is no hero. The bombs that exploded were carefully designed to the maximum extent to kill and maim and injure the innocent, and that is exactly what happened not only at abortion clinics but also in a public park full of innocent people who came out that night only to have a good time."

Freeh and other officials said Wednesday that the manhunt for Rudolph would continue and would remain focused on the rugged terrain near Rudolph's hometown of Murphy, N.C. Up to 200 agents have been assembled there at various times since July, when Rudolph was last spotted by a local resident.

Since that time, agents have been engaged in one of the largest sustained dragnets in the history of the FBI.

The effort, however, has been slowed by rocky terrain and a dense forest canopy limiting surveillance from the air.

Woody Anderson, director of the Southeast Bomb Task Force, hoped that foliage thinning with the change of season would increase visibility in the area and that the onset of colder weather might flush Rudolph from his hiding place.

Anderson described Rudolph as an experienced woodsman who may have prepared himself for just such an occasion.

"This guy is very comfortable in the woods," Anderson said.

► FBI increases pressure, 1A

GOP learns campaign lesson on education issues

By Jill Lawrence
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Gone are the days when Republicans would bash teachers unions and talk of killing the Department of Education. This campaign year, the GOP is talking about better teachers, smaller classes, higher standards and, in the bipartisan budget deal emerging Wednesday night, more federal money for education.

NEWS ANALYSIS Polls this election season consistently find that education is the public's top concern. They also show that, as in the past, most people prefer Democrats' handling of education.

The Republicans' uphill fight in the public relations wars was to be underscored today when Hillary Rodham Clinton and top administration officials open a White House conference on school safety.

But Republicans have learned a lot since 1996, when they were perceived by some voters as hostile or indifferent to public education. Led by GOP governors, they are now speaking more softly about parents, kids and learning. And many more of them are addressing the subject.

"You cannot ignore issues that people are talking about," GOP pollster Linda DiVall says. Democratic pollster Celinda Lake predicts "a record number of candidates running on education" in both parties between now and the elections Nov. 3.

Education is particularly important this year for House candidates because it is a key issue for female voters. More than two dozen close contests — and ultimately the majority control of the House of Representatives — could hinge on whether and how women vote.

The pressure on congressional Republicans in-

tensified recently when President Clinton revived proposals to spend \$1.1 billion as a down payment on hiring 100,000 new teachers and \$5 billion in tax subsidies for school construction. The latter proposal faded in the face of adamant GOP opposition. But Republicans did sign on for \$1.1 billion in new education spending after winning concessions Wednesday that give school districts more flexibility in using the money.

"We have always been for education," says Rep. John Linder of Georgia, head of the GOP House campaign committee. "We just believe it should be controlled at the local level."

Rep. Vic Fazio of California, Democratic Caucus chairman, had a different explanation: Republicans, he said, are "desperate not to look anti-education."

In 1996, Republicans made harsh attacks on the National Education Association. Some regarded these as attacks on teachers, who generally enjoy community support. Efforts to abolish the Department of Education also had a negative symbolic impact with some voters. The party chairman at the time, Haley Barbour, warned after the election that Republicans would have to communicate better with voters about education.

Republican governors have done this best. They show themselves attuned to concerns about standards, class size, teacher quality and facilities that are crowded or crumbling.

"There is continued evidence that Republican governors have turned the corner among people most concerned about education," GOP pollster Bill McInturff says.

Among people who choose education as the most important issue facing the nation, 42% said in a McInturff poll in November 1997 that they'd vote for a Democrat for governor; just 28% said they'd vote Republican. But by July 1998, the Republican candidates for governor were virtually tied (40%-39%) on this question.

GOP gubernatorial candidates, like their Democratic counterparts, are using education prominently in their ads. Maryland Republican Ellen Sauerbrey calls Democrat Parris Glendening "a governor who builds stadiums instead of classrooms."

Texas Gov. George W. Bush and his wife, Laura, talk about their top goal: "making sure all Texas school children are able to read."

House Republicans are still pushing for federal tuition vouchers to help parents pay for private school, which Clinton opposes as a threat to public schools.

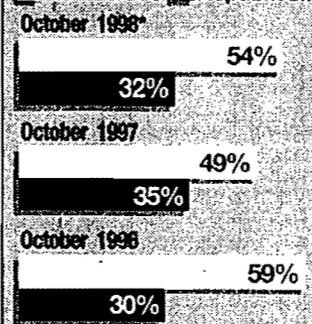
But ads for GOP House candidates are adopting some of the governors' pattern. Freshman

Rep. Anne Northup, R-Ky., surrounded by children, says she founded a bipartisan Reading Caucus. Republican Doug Ose in northern California says he'll ask Congress to devise "a national strategy against school violence."

Education edge for Democrats

Do you think the Republican or the Democratic Party would do a better job of dealing with education issues?

Democratic Republican



*Source: USA Today/CNN/Gallup Poll of 1,004 adults conducted Friday - Monday. Margin of error: ±3 percentage points.

By Kevin Rechin, USA TODAY

Eric Rechin

GOP not ready for fight on schools

Democrats take focus off scandal

By Nancy E. Roman **A1**
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Democrats have put Republicans on the defensive on education in the dying days of the 105th Congress, banking on the issue to draw attention away from the White House sex scandal and propel them to victory Nov. 3.

While negotiating a new budget, Democrats put up a fight for a plan to spend \$1.1 billion on federally hired teachers and modernizing schools.

Yesterday, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat, and House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri brought a first-grade teacher to the Capitol to extol the virtues of more teachers and smaller classes.

"There is no question that children respond better and learn more when they get that individual attention," Karen Dresden of the Hearst Elementary School in the District told a news conference.

Rep. Mark Souder, Indiana Republican, said even though House Speaker Newt Gingrich singled out education as a top issue months ago, the GOP was ill prepared for the battle.

"It was clear to us that this was going to happen, and we weren't ready," Mr. Souder said.

Democrats directed their emotional and political energy on a national goal of reducing class sizes to no more than 18 students during the first three grades.

Republicans, fearful of getting clobbered as anti-education, immediately ceded the battle over money at stake, and turned their attention to how it would be spent. They apparently prevailed last night on their demand to ship the \$1.1 billion to states to be used for anything from new teachers to tutors to computer equipment.

"We're just trying to get the money back to the localities without the strings attached," said Rep. Robert L. Livingston, Louisiana Republican and chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.

He noted that the federal government spends only 5 percent of education dollars nationwide, and that the federal government wasn't involved at all before the 1960s.

Republicans also scored a win last night when administration bargainers dropped Mr. Clinton's demand for nearly \$1 billion a year to help communities leverage bonds for school construction and modernization, a participant who spoke on condition of anonymity told the Associated Press.

On Friday, Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle said Democrats were looking for a good fight over education and health care before returning home to campaign.

"I don't think they're [Democratic colleagues] in any mood to leave unless we've had a good fight on some of these issues," said the South Dakota Democrat after calling for a vote on the House-passed patients bill of rights.

Earlier this year, Democrats tried to build the education battle around an initiative by Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun, Illinois Democrat, to fix crumbling schools by helping to pay the interest on local school projects funded through

bond initiatives.

But it failed to catch fire on the campaign trail, with several Democratic candidates conceding that few had heard of the proposal and fewer were clamoring for it. The issue appears to have done little for Mrs. Moseley-Braun, the most endangered Democratic incumbent, who is running double digits behind her GOP rival, Peter Fitzgerald.

The new approach is class size — something parents of school-aged children relate to.

"As we meet here today, hundreds of thousands of children are beginning their school day in overcrowded classrooms," Rep. Robert Menendez, New Jersey Democrat, said yesterday. "We want to make sure we hire 100,000 new teachers. If it were up to Republicans, they simply would not support these initiatives."

Rep. Jay Dickey, Arkansas Republican, said Democrats keep

asking which party represents the best future for education.

"What is wrong about this is it leaves out the parents and the local school authority," he said. "It is not whether Democrats or Republicans are doing the most. It is about whether we are taking care of our children."

Rep. Asa Hutchinson, Arkansas Republican, said the trouble Republicans have is typical.

Democrats have "been successful at beating the drum on an issue that the public reflects is important," he said. "Republicans win on the fine points, but it takes longer to communicate the fine points."

Mr. Souder said he and Rep. James C. Greenwood, Pennsylvania Republican, approached Mr. Gingrich in July and urged House leaders to develop a strong offense on education. Leaders have had a few events trumpeting education savings accounts and block grants for states.

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1998

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Repubs

NATO flexes muscle with threat to Serbs

Alliance enters unfamiliar territory

By Seumas Milne
and Richard Norton-Taylor **A**
LONDON GUARDIAN

Whether or not NATO warplanes launch bombing raids on Serbia, the threat to strike has significantly expanded the boundaries of post-Cold War Western military interventions, which began in earnest with the 1991 U.S.-led war to drive Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait.

For the first time, NATO is proposing to take armed action against an independent — if recalcitrant — state, without the support of all five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council over government-sponsored repression inside that state's own internationally recognized borders.

The crucial U.N. Security Council resolution on Kosovo promises only to consider further action if its demand for an end to armed action by both Serbia and Albanian nationalists is ignored.

None of the precedents established since President Bush unveiled the "new world order" after the collapse of the Soviet Union quite fit the Kosovo case. In the aftermath of the Gulf war, the Western powers imposed no-fly zones and a string of other restrictions on the Iraqi government, partly to protect the Kurds and Shi'ite Muslims from Saddam's revenge.

But that followed Iraq's invasion and occupation of another U.N. member state, while the United States' self-proclaimed humanitarian intervention in Somalia came after the complete breakdown of central authority in the East African state.

The Bosnia intervention took place in the context of the disintegration of a federal regime. And although a case can be made that Kosovo's one-time near-republican status in Yugoslavia strengthens a legal basis for secession, all the big powers continue to accept the Albanian-speaking region as Serbian territory.

The Kosovo crisis has nevertheless helped to clarify the emerging rules of the game for the new pattern of post-Cold War intervention.

Air-strike diplomacy, with its echoes of the gunboat diplomacy of an earlier imperial age, is now well-established as the favored form of U.S.-led armed pressure — the nearest military planners can get to a painless procedure for those administering the punishment — in the new world order.

NATO is becoming the unchallenged tool of intervention, underpinned with whatever U.N. authority can be achieved to create a sense of an "international community" consensus, given the growing reluctance of Russia and China to sign up to Anglo-American strategic initiatives.

The United States is increasingly using its military and technological superiority as a political and diplomatic lever.

"Air strikes and the threat to use cruise missiles are seen as a foreign-policy weapon," says Paul Rogers, professor of conflict resolution at Bradford University's Department of Peace Studies in England.

Russia has nothing to match the cruise missile, which beginning next year will be in service with Britain's Royal Navy — further cementing the "special relationship" and allowing Washington's most enthusiastic supporter to join it in "air-strike diplomacy."

Air strikes used for political ends have not been effective, as the recent examples of Sudan, Afghanistan and Iraq have demonstrated. After threats to use force earlier this year against Iraq, the United States later secretly told U.N.

weapons inspectors to back off.

Three types of Western military intervention can be identified in the post-Cold War world:

- The first represents a continuation of the traditional U.S. determination — stretching back to the 19th-century Monroe Doctrine — to bring rogue or ideologically wayward regimes in the Western Hemisphere to heel. The U.S. invasions of Panama and Haiti fall into that classic mold.

- The second is the punitive bombing raid, carried out in retaliation for state-sponsored terrorism, real or imagined. The cruise-missile attacks on Sudan and Afghanistan ordered by President Clinton in August — where the evidence used to justify the attacks was highly controversial, as in the 1986 precedent of the bombing of Libya — come under this heading.

- Then there are the more recent vintage interventions, epitomized by the Bosnia and Kosovo cases — and prefigured in Iraq — where U.S.-led coalitions have tried to reconstruct disintegrating state systems while restricting the room for maneuver of regional powers regarded as hostile to Western interests.

Just as revealing are the cases of destabilizing conflicts, state terror and regional crises that have not brought forth the sort of Western denunciation, shuttle diplomacy and threats to use force targeted at Serbia and its nationalist leader, Slobodan Milosevic, over the last few weeks.

There is little, for example, to distinguish in principle the Serbian onslaught against the Kosovo Liberation Army and Russia's war against Chechen separatists.

There was no Western intervention to back the elected government of Angola in 1992 when UNITA rebels refused to accept the U.N.-sponsored vote and launched a war.

In the greatest humanitarian disaster of the 1990s — the Rwandan genocide of 1994 — the only Western intervention was sponsored by the French, to all intents and purposes in support of forces behind the massacre.

Nor has there been any intervention to enforce U.N. resolutions against Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, Turkey's invasion of northern Cyprus or Israel's occupation of the West Bank and southern Lebanon. In all cases, the offending regimes are Western allies.

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