

June 24, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed, Elena Kagan
Gene Sperling, Sally Katzen

SUBJECT: Summer Announcements and Events

Listed below are ideas for announcements and events that you could do this summer. We have noted which of our offices has primary responsibility for each idea.

Health (DPC/NEC as noted below)

Release New Executive Order Authorizing OPM to Terminate FEHBP Insurance Plans That Are Out of Compliance with Kennedy-Kassebaum Law. This policy would strengthen enforcement of the Kennedy-Kassebaum law by allowing the Federal Employees' Health Benefits Plan (FEHBP) to take action against any insurer that discriminates against sicker patients -- including by terminating the insurance plan. Although we have not seen many reports of discrimination recently, advocates would characterize this action as reducing the likelihood of future abuses. We would announce the policy at an event including men and women who have suffered from these kinds of insurance practices. (DPC)

Release New HHS Report on Long-Term Care and Announce Policy Initiative(s). A new report from HHS shows that millions of American families care for chronically ill elderly relatives and friends, and that this care places a significant strain on families. The President could announce an initiative to encourage private long-term care insurance by offering it through the FEHBP and/or counseling Medicare beneficiaries to consider private insurance. In addition, if we are willing to consider proposals with budgetary effects, we could announce a new respite care tax credit, which we are in the preliminary stages of reviewing. (DPC/NEC)

Approve the 25th State Children's Health Insurance Program. As of today, HHS has approved the CHIP plans of 20 states, which should cover about 2.5 million children when fully implemented; we expect to reach the half-way mark by approving the 25th CHIP plan early next month. We could use this occasion to release another progress report and hold an event featuring families already helped by the program and a bipartisan group of governors. (DPC)

Enhance Welfare-to-Work Commitment by Giving States Option to Maintain Health Insurance for Working Adults. We may be able to issue a new HHS regulation that would allow more states to provide Medicaid coverage to more low-income two-parent families. (Current federal law, applicable in all states without pre-welfare law waivers on this subject,

limits Medicaid to only those two-parent families in which the parents work less than 100 hours per month.) States believe that this regulation would enhance welfare-to-work efforts and encourage two-parent families. The regulation, however, has large cost implications (about \$800 million over five years), and we are currently discussing with OMB whether an offset for such a regulation is needed. (DPC)

Announce Policies for People with Disabilities. We have been working on administrative and legislative policies to enable people with disabilities to (1) reside in their communities, rather than institutions, and (2) return to work activities. For example, we are working on a legislative proposal to provide personal care assistance services to enable people with disabilities to return to work. We also are exploring ways to develop and spread new technologies that enable people with disabilities to live and work more easily. These proposals generally will have budget implications; we are currently working with OMB on finding appropriate offsets. We could announce these actions on July 26, the anniversary of the Americans with Disabilities Act. (DPC/NEC)

Announce Outreach Effort for Low-Income Medicare Beneficiaries. A new report, to be released by Families USA in early July, will show that about 3.9 million eligible Medicare beneficiaries -- nearly half of all eligible beneficiaries -- do not get premium assistance. We could release an executive directive to HCFA, SSA, and the Administration on Aging to implement new outreach and enrollment initiatives. (At the very least, such an action would inoculate us against the Families USA report, which is likely to receive a great deal of attention). (NEC)

Education (DPC/NEC as noted below)

Announce New Legislation, With Offsets, to Reduce Class Size. Senator Murray intends to introduce legislation with as many as 20 co-sponsors to implement your class size initiative. DPC and OMB are working with Murray's staff on potential offsets that she could use in making this announcement. We think you could participate in the announcement of this legislation (as you previously expressed interest in doing) without binding yourself to using the offsets for this (and only this) purpose. (DPC)

Announce New Bilingual Education Plan. You could transmit legislation to reform the federal bilingual program, including by requiring school districts to establish a goal of moving all Limited English Proficient (LEP) students into regular English language classes within three years. We are sending you a separate memo on the pros and cons of taking this action. Irrespective of whether you decide to transmit such legislation, you could take other actions to assist LEP students -- for example (1) propose ways to strengthen teaching for LEP students (e.g., by recruitment and training initiatives); (2) issue a directive to the Secretary of Education to report on best practices of teaching English to LEP students, as well as to conduct or support further research in this area; (3) support community-based initiatives that supplement school programs for LEP students; and (4) propose ways of strengthening foreign language education

for English-speaking students. Some of these proposals would have budgetary implications, but we do not yet have good cost estimates. (DPC)

Announce First Grants of Comprehensive School Reform (Obey/Porter) Program. The Education Department will soon be ready to announce grants under the new Comprehensive School Reform program. These grants will support proven school reforms in hundreds of schools. You or the Vice President could make this announcement. (DPC)

Launch the Education Department's Summer Reading Initiative. Seventy partnerships across the country will launch summer reading programs aimed at young children next month. You could help to kick off these programs, while calling on Congress again to enact America Reads (if it has not yet done so). (DPC)

Announce Grant to DC Training Alliance. You could announce a Labor Department pilot program that would give a \$1.2 million planning grant (the "metro-tech grant") to the DC, MD, and VA job-training systems to train workers to meet the demand in this area's high-tech industry. The pilot program will fund 100 workers. We expect the pilot to lead to a demonstration project serving 3,000 people at a cost of \$17 million. We can announce this grant anytime the near future. (NEC)

Participate in School Construction and Smaller Class Size Day. You, the Vice President, Mrs. Clinton, and Mrs. Gore all could participate in a back-to-school day that would focus on school construction and smaller class sizes. In advance of this day, you would ask parents, volunteers, Members of Congress, and community leaders to join together to help rebuild, renovate, and modernize local public schools. The event would provide a terrific visual and give Democrats in Congress a chance to highlight this important issue in the fall. (NEC)

Report on Success of School-to-Work Program. We expect a major study to be released soon on School-to-Work, one of the signature programs of your first year in office. If it is positive, we might use the release of this study to highlight the program, call for the business community's continued participation in it, and attack right-wing opposition. We are not sure of the timing of this report. One problem with this event is that our current budget scales back the school-to-work program (from \$400 million to \$250 million). (NEC)

Crime and Drugs (DPC)

Announce Support for Child Access Prevention Legislation, Issue Child-Proof Gun Challenge, and Issue Regulation on New Gun Signs. You could (1) support child access prevention legislation (both Sen. Durbin and Rep. McCarthy have bills) that would hold adults liable if they give children easy access to guns; (2) challenge industry to get a child-proof gun (i.e., a gun that can be shot only by authorized adults) on the market by the year 2000; and/or (3) announce a Treasury Department regulation (responding to a directive you signed a few months ago) requiring gun dealers to post signs warning gun purchasers about their responsibility to keep

guns away from children.

Report on Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative and Press for Congress to Fund Our Budget Request. The second anniversary of your gun tracing initiative falls in July, and we may have a report by then on the continued success of this program. (If not, the report will be ready later in the summer.) Our budget asked for \$28 million to expand this initiative, which the House appropriations subcommittee fully funded last week. An event could keep up the pressure for full funding of this initiative. We could combine the event with the actions on youth access to guns described above:

Announce Federal Drug Strike Force for Chicago and Support for Chicago's Anti-Gang Ordinance. DOJ is prepared to announce that it will dedicate some 300 federal agents and 20 prosecutors to form a drug strike force in Chicago. We have promised Mayor Daley that we will make this announcement soon. At the same time, we could comment on the brief we just filed in the Supreme Court supporting Chicago's anti-gang ordinance.

Announce New Demonstration Project to Fund Faith-Based Anti-Crime Programs. DOJ is now considering whether and how to put together a demonstration project to fund faith-based anti-crime programs, such as the one profiled recently in a Newsweek cover story. We will have to work through some constitutional concerns, but we could be ready to go on this new effort by mid-summer. Some of your advisors, however, have reservations about such a religiously-oriented grant program.

Announce New COPS Grants. We will have several opportunities this summer to announce new cop grants, including grants targeted to combating methamphetamine use and extensions of prior grants (i.e., a fourth year of funding) in small cities. We should try to time such an announcement to coincide with new crime statistics.

COPS in Schools. By the end of the summer, the Departments of Justice and Education should be ready to (1) offer recommendations to you for getting more police to work with schools (in response to your directive last week); (2) release COPS grants to provide additional law enforcement assistance in schools; (3) hold a conference on how law enforcement officers can help to keep schools safe; and (4) issue a report on the success of the Safe and Drug Free Schools Program. We could try to package these announcements in a single event.

Release Early Warning Guide for Schools; Follow Up With Annual Report on School Safety. In compliance with your recent directive, the Departments of Justice and Education are scheduled to complete by the end of summer a guide for schools on how to identify and respond to early warning signs of troubled youth. We could combine release of this report with a White House meeting with officials of the cities that recently have suffered school shootings. A month or so later, in early October, the Justice Department will be ready to release the annual report on school safety that you ordered in the wake of the Paducah shooting. This document will compile all data on school crime, discuss successful strategies to reduce school violence, and include a

checklist for parents on school safety. You could use the release of this report as an opportunity to address hundreds of schools by satellite on school violence issues.

Launch Nationwide Phase of Our Anti-Drug Media Campaign. You are currently scheduled to announce the national roll-out of the \$195 million media campaign in July. ONDCP will buy a "roadblock" on network TV that night, unveil new ads, and host local events in scores of participating cities.

Release Drug Court Grants. You could announce the latest drug court grants from DOJ and highlight the success of this program, as you previously have indicated some interest in doing. (As you know, a recent study showed some very good results.) You could combine the release of these grants with the launch of the anti-drug media campaign discussed just above, or alternatively combine it with the release of new DUF/ADAM (Drug Use Forecasting/Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring) data, which will almost certainly show that most arrestees in our major cities test positive for drugs, and that more resources are needed to test, treat, and sanction these offenders.

Release Results of Household Survey. The Household Survey -- one of two major drug surveys on teen drug use -- should be out by August. Last year's survey was the first to indicate a dip in teenage drug use, and this year's is likely to show the same. The Survey also will contain new data on youth tobacco use.

Release Stalking Report and Associated Policies. DOJ is preparing a report showing that about eight million women in this country report having been stalked. We are working with DOJ on policy recommendations to go with this report, but have not yet determined their exact content.

Tobacco (DPC)

Bring Medicare Suits Against Tobacco Companies? We and the Counsel's Office will advise you within the next couple of weeks on whether the federal government should bring suit against the tobacco companies for losses to the Medicare program caused by tobacco-related disease. If you choose to go ahead with these suits, you can direct the Attorney General to prepare the suit for filing. (There is little chance that the suit will actually be ready to file this summer.)

Prevent Filmmakers from Using Federal Facilities for Films that Contain Youth Smoking. We are exploring whether agencies that oversee federal facilities (e.g., DOD, the Forest Service) can require, as a condition of granting a permit to film a movie on those facilities, that the movie not show (or perhaps, not glamorize) youth smoking or drug use. Your advisors are very split on this idea -- some love it, some hate it -- and we are continuing to explore it.

Release Report on Effects of Price Increases on Youth Smoking. We are ready to release a Treasury Department report showing how price increases can dramatically reduce youth

smoking. This report should be useful to show the absurdity of the House Republicans' "no-money" approach to this problem. When they release that bill, we will have Treasury (or commission an independent expert) to do a report on the likely effects of the bill on youth smoking.

Release Results of Household Survey. As discussed above.

Welfare-to-Work (DPC/NEC as noted below)

Release Report Showing the Increase in the Proportion of Welfare Recipients Going to Work. Following on the GAO report last week, HHS is scheduled to report to Congress on the increase in work among welfare recipients. The report should have some new data, although it also will collate previously released figures. Sometime this summer, HHS also will receive information from the states on whether they are meeting the welfare law's work participation rates. This information should generate a fair bit of interest, but it is not yet clear whether the news will be good. (DPC)

Endorse Individual Development Account Bill. You have indicated interest in doing an event to endorse and highlight the Coats-Harkin IDA legislation. This bill would establish a four-year, \$100 million demonstration program under which state, local, and nonprofit entities would match money deposited into IDAs by low-income families. One event idea is for you to go to a community development bank and help a welfare recipient open a bank account; we could use such an event to push for CDFI funding at the same time. Another, simpler idea is to do a Rose Garden event with the sponsors of the bill and welfare recipients. (DPC/NEC)

Food Safety (DPC)

Call for Congress to Fund Our Food Safety Initiative and Pass Legislation Giving FDA and USDA More Enforcement Authority. The relevant House and Senate subcommittees allocated almost no funds to our food safety initiative; at the same time, our proposals to give USDA additional recall authority and give FDA additional authority over imported foods are languishing. You could do an event with members of Congress and food safety advocates urging Congress to act on these measures. (Summer is the time when people think most about these issues.) We must ensure, however, that such an event is consistent with our overall strategy on the Agriculture Appropriations bill.

Veterans (DPC)

Announce Coordinated Effort to Assist Homeless Veterans. We have been working with the Veterans' Administration on a plan to help the 250,000 homeless veterans in this country. The plan would involve outreach efforts, substance abuse treatment, and mental health care, in addition to housing assistance. The annual cost would be about \$30 million. Assuming we believe we can find this amount of money in next year's budget, you could direct the VA now to

come back to you with a plan on how to address this issue.

Rural Issues (DPC/NEC)

Deliver Speech on Rural Issues. DPC, NEC, and USDA have prepared a rural agenda for a speech sometime this summer. The agenda includes: (1) the use of new technologies, such as distance learning and telemedicine, to benefit rural areas; (2) the enforcement of antitrust laws in agricultural-related industries; (3) the expansion of programs that help farmers manage risk; (4) the promotion of free trade; (5) the expansion of agricultural cooperatives; and (6) the renewal of the ethanol subsidy. We also could announce all or part of this agenda through a radio press conference in which you, the Vice President, and Secretary Glickman could participate.

Financial Services (DPC/NEC)

Announce Consumer Credit and Financial Services Bill of Rights. DPC and NEC are developing an initiative -- including both administrative actions and a legislative proposal -- aimed at educating consumers about the use of credit and bank services, improving the information consumers receive, and targeting predatory practices. This initiative is still at an early stage of development, but we probably will be ready by near the end of the summer.

Pensions (NEC)

Announce Pension Proposals. Your advisors have reached consensus on two pension proposals (in addition to the proposals announced in January). The joint and two-thirds/three-quarters survivor annuity proposal would increase benefits for some surviving spouses of pension plan participants, while the other proposal, initially advanced by Rep. Price (D-NC), would allow workers to count FMLA time toward pension vesting requirements. This would ensure that those (relatively few) workers close to the 1,000-hour minimum requirement for vesting do not lose a year of vesting because of time taken off under FMLA. This can be billed as a women's pension item.

Housing (NEC)

Announce HUD-NAR "One America" Agreement. HUD and the National Association of Realtors (NAR) have reached a final agreement on the "One America Broker" program. Under the program, NAR will sponsor training for real estate professionals on how to better serve minority and immigrant home buyers. The training will address adherence to Fair Housing Act principles, as well as ways to expand the housing choices available to minorities and other underserved groups. Realtors who complete the course and commit to serving these groups would be able to use the "One America" logo in advertising and promotional materials, which could help them to attract additional clients. To be certified, realtors must be free of any Fair Housing Act violations. The agreement could be announced/highlighted by you or the Vice President at an event with a minority or immigrant new home buyer who previously experienced

discrimination and (possibly) a realtor with an outstanding record serving underserved groups.

International Economics (NEC)

Announce Trade Adjustment Assistance Package. We could do an event on helping everyone benefit from a global economy. This event could have four different components, focused on both worker and community adjustment:

- You could announce the consolidation and reform of the Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) program and the NAFTA-TAA program. This would more than fulfill your promise to strengthen the TAA/NAFTA-TAA programs during the fast track debate.
- A possible Executive Order establishing a coordinating committee on community adjustment issues. This could be modeled after the Executive Order on defense adjustment programs.
- You could call on Congress to pass your EDA budget and NADBank budget, so that we can effectively deal with communities that have severe and sudden economic distress.
- Memorandum of Understanding between NADBank and EDA so that they work better together. This is important to Rep. Torres and the Hispanic Caucus. NADBank/CAIP and EDA have done a lot of work together, but it could be an important symbolic message to the Hispanic Caucus for the relationship between the two to be formalized.

Announce New Sanctions Policy. You could announce the release of a Presidential Decision Directive on Sanctions which would establish a joint NEC/NSC interagency sanctions review group to monitor and coordinate broad United States government sanctions policy. The group would ensure that prior to sanctions being implemented the Administration would conduct a cost/benefit analysis. The group could also review existing sanctions in place to determine whether they are still serving an important purpose in fulfilling our policy objectives. The time could be ripe for such an announcement because of the keen awareness on the Hill and elsewhere about the proliferation of new sanctions regimes and their cost to the U.S. economy. An interagency process has been working on such a directive; work could be finalized in time for an announcement. Because the Glenn Amendment has crystallized opinion about the problems with unilateral sanctions, this can and should be done sooner rather than later (i.e., over the next couple of weeks).

Give Major International Trade Speech. You could articulate U.S. trade objectives for the year leading up to the 1999 WTO Ministerial Conference, which we are hosting. You could also announce the selection of the city for such an announcement. Over 20 cities have expressed interest; the conference will bring international attention and over 10,000 attendees from foreign government, business, press and NGOs. The policy initiative would be a refinement of the goals outlined at the May 1998 WTO Anniversary in Geneva.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Big Challenge for 21st C. Gov

5 Fresh start on gov. bills

C. Romo → SS/HC → LTC, change
P. Chirba → SS, Trade, Health, Trade
December 3, 1998

7 TAVU →
8 EELU → Europe, meet → sponsor, Trade
→ WCO → Trade
Fisher

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: JOHN PODESTA

9 Security → of House CI II
→ UNO & Peacekeeping
Peace

THROUGH: MARIA ECHAVESTE

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN
STATE OF THE UNION PLANNING GROUP

MW Community →
Arthur & William
Wood

SUBJECT: HIGHLIGHTS OF DOMESTIC AND ECONOMIC POLICY MEMOS

You have been sent several memos from the policy councils, suggesting an array of new possible policies — some big, some small. The purpose of this memorandum is to identify what we believe are the most significant of these new policy proposals, so you can begin to see the shape of a possible State of the Union and budget.

~~This is not an exclusive list.~~ In addition, it does not include many of the smaller proposals — many of which were included in the memoranda to you from the policy councils — which will undoubtedly be a part of the final speech. It reflects discussion among Bruce Reed, Elena Kagan, Gene Sperling, Sally Katzen, Maria Echaveste, Paul Begala, Jack Lew, Mark Penn, Lael Brainard and Doug Sosnik, among others.

Social Security. At this moment we don't have anything further to add to the ongoing discussions about what to say on Social Security — except to reaffirm that, given the central place of Social Security in the speech last year, there will be enormous pressure to show some specificity in this address.

Long-Term Care Initiative. As you know, this is politically very powerful, and speaks to a real source of deep anxiety for typical families. The most important new proposal would be for a tax credit of up to \$1,000 for disabled elderly or their caregivers (at a cost of about \$6 billion over 5 years). In addition, the package could include a nursing home quality initiative; respite services, training and counseling for families who care for severely-impaired elderly relatives; and new long-term care options for federal employees.

In addition to Social Security and long-term care, the policy councils are developing a full agenda of issues of particular concern to elderly Americans — including measures to fight

fraud and other crime that preys on seniors, to provide housing and transportation for the elderly, and to strengthening pension protections and enhance pension portability.

Education – teacher quality. The DPC believes that the most important and memorable new element to your education agenda should be a focus on teachers – teacher training, teacher quality, teacher recruitment. This would build on the success this year of beginning to hire 100,000 new teachers (a proposal, it is worth noting, that gained more political traction than any previous education reform efforts).

The proposal being crafted will have several elements. Most noteworthy would be a new requirement, tied to federal aid, that new secondary teachers pass competency tests in a subject before they can teach it. In addition, we will mount a nationwide crackdown on teacher education schools, and move to reform teacher certification. These steps will be coupled with increased teacher recruitment scholarships, funds to help teachers go back to college when they teach outside their field. We can use the opportunity of the reauthorization of the ESEA to provide both “carrots” and “sticks” for a teacher quality initiative.

In addition, we will advance an expanded initiative on social promotion – giving communities that end social promotion more money for after school and summer school, tutoring, and other means to help children live up to high standards. Finally, there would be an array of other education initiatives, including a focus on failing schools and a renewed call for school modernization.

Breaking the cycle of violent crime – a Crime Bill II. The 1994 Crime Act will expire at the end of FY 2000. We recommend that you challenge Congress to pass a new crime bill that builds on the core elements of the successful 1994 Act – more police, smarter punishment, and more prevention. We believe that a new Crime Act should include the following elements: First, it should hire more community police and community prosecutors, with an emphasis on technology and training. It should expand the use of probation supervision and drug testing and treatment for prisoners and parolees. It should press your longstanding firearms priorities (juvenile Brady, Brady II, federal CAP legislation and child safety locks), and crack down on gun crimes and gun traffickers. Finally, in addition to other crime bill prevention programs, we could invest in promoting values-based crime and violence prevention efforts.

International economics. Last year, you discussed the international financial crisis when it was in its relatively early stages. Given the continued financial turmoil, and its impact on our own economy, we believe that the speech should have a significant discussion of world economy and the need to strengthen the international financial architecture. The NEC will be working to flesh out what should be said in this area, as well as an ambitious trade agenda building on the goals you anticipated at the WTO speech in Geneva. This will be the first time a broad television audience has heard your new synthesis on trade.

Tobacco/prescription drugs for Medicare beneficiaries. Our best leverage over the tobacco industry is the prospect of a federal suit to recoup Medicare costs associated with

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smoking. We could call on Congress to enact Senator Graham's legislation to authorize such a lawsuit (which would make the Justice Department more likely to bring it). At the same time, we could ask for funds for DOJ and HCFA to prepare a lawsuit against the tobacco industry. We could pledge that any proceeds from such a lawsuit would be used to provide a new prescription drug benefit to Medicare beneficiaries.

Route

At the same time, you would once again push for the Patients' Bill of Rights, and could propose an array of expansions of coverage (including, possibly, a smaller version of the Medicare buy-in).

4710 - Revisited

Workforce skills initiative – closing the skills gap. With the long struggle for the GI Bill for Workers now successfully completed, you can more overtly address this remaining piece of your lifetime learning agenda. Under a proposal being developed by the NEC, every dislocated worker would get training within five years, every unemployed person would get some kind of reemployment services, and every worker would have access to one-stops. You could also advance an adult literacy initiative. You could also challenge American companies to train American workers first, before seeking to import foreign high-tech workers.

There are, of course, other significant policies being developed.

* Child care and after-school care will need to be revisited.

* **Environment –** EPA and CEQ are working on a quality-of-life based agenda that would help communities attain 'green spaces' such as parks and wilderness, and address uncontrolled development (the subject of 200 environmental ballot initiative victories this November), and initiatives to protect coastal and river areas. In addition, you can discuss next steps on climate change.

* **Consumer protection –** From a financial consumers bill of rights now being developed by the NEC, to an array of other consumer protections, you can propose a consumer protection agenda (this would be the first such explicit agenda in one of your State of the Union Addresses).

* **Strengthening democracy for the Year 2000 –** In addition to campaign finance reform, we are developing new proposals to increase voting and enhance democratic participation, such as making Election Day a holiday.

* **An appeal for One America,** including an overt appeal against anti-immigrant sentiment (as you did powerfully at Portland State)

* **Medical research and medical ethics issues**

* **Y2K**

✓ The Millennium Project

Finally, we are working with the National Security Council on its proposals and outline.

April 5, 1999

MEMORANDUM TO TODD STERN

FROM: Bruce Reed
SUBJECT: Comments on Draft Chapters of Race Book

The second half of this memo outlines my concerns about and changes to the policy chapters of the draft race book. With a little good faith, I believe these changes can easily be incorporated, although this is not the first time I have suggested them.

For the most part, however, the real shortcomings of the current draft have little to do with policy. Despite a lot of hard work by all concerned, the current draft falls far short of what I thought the President was looking for -- a bold, honest, Clintonesque vision of race and America for the 21st Century.

I see three fundamental problems:

1. *This draft does nothing to advance the President's goal of launching a new debate on race.* The President has made clear that the whole point of the race initiative was to move beyond the old debates of the '60s and '70s toward a new debate about race. This draft could have been written 20 years ago:

- It lays out new rights, but deliberately goes out of its way not to mention responsibilities -- even replacing the President's trademark "opportunity, responsibility, community" with "opportunity, community, heart." Responsibility isn't just missing from the litany, it's missing from every chapter.
- Instead of advancing the President's long-held philosophy that the best way to close the opportunity gap is through universal programs that expand opportunity for all but disproportionately help minorities, the draft focuses almost entirely on narrow, targeted programs to help particular populations. Big, pressing problems that affect most Americans and hit minorities hardest -- like the need for child care and health care -- are lucky to get a paragraph, while the section on the need for more social science research goes on for four pages.

- The draft does nothing to reframe the race debate, focusing more on black-white concerns than on the complex new challenges we face as a nation that is almost majority-minority. There is a chapter on Native Americans – why is there no chapter on the New Immigrants or the New Citizens?

2. *No one reading this draft would think it was written by Bill Clinton.* Going back to his 1992 speeches in Detroit and Macomb County, the President has never had one philosophy for minorities and another for whites -- he has always tried to deliver the same message to both. But this draft is written in a different voice, oddly disconnected from the tone, the policies, and the force of the man who has been working on these issues for two decades.

- The draft leaves the impression that we're only now getting around to doing something about race. But this subject has formed part of the underlying mission of the Clinton Presidency from the outset.
- The President is famous for wrestling with the many hard issues that surround race, and for that reason, when he talks about race in a speech or town meeting, he comes across as honest, revealing, interesting. Throughout, this draft flattens and oversimplifies complex problems. For example, as I outline below, the crime chapter skips over the hard truths that made the Memphis speech so profound.
- Throughout the draft, the words just don't sound like Bill Clinton. For example, I have heard the President talk about education a thousand times; the education chapter doesn't sound anything like him. His analysis of the problems is richer, his priorities clearer, his empathy deeper, his impatience for progress and weariness of easy answers more evident. The real Clinton is missing from these pages.

3. *It isn't bold and it isn't interesting.* This draft does a serviceable job of conveying basic information about race. But as I have suggested, if the point of the race book is to put forth a bold vision, provoke a good debate, or even just change a few minds, this draft falls short. Neither the rhetoric nor the vision rise to the occasion.

EDUCATION CHAPTER

The centerpiece of this chapter, about the "Compact for Equal Opportunity in Education," just doesn't work. Despite repeated meetings on this topic, and direct guidance from the President on down that this chapter needs to advance his existing education agenda, it still does not. This section (pp III.1-19 to III.1-27) needs a fundamental rewrite or it will undermine the real centerpiece of the President's education agenda, which he laid out in the State of the Union.

The authors seem intent on minimizing the President's sweeping ESEA proposals -- which the President has called a "sea change" in education policy -- in one throwaway paragraph, so they can devote most of the discussion to a new effort (the "Compact") that is inconsistent with what we've already proposed. This is particularly troubling because the President's own proposal is bolder, more coherent, and more likely to reduce racial disparities in achievement than the vague idea sketched out in the draft.

As I said to the authors two months ago, "Every time he speaks on this subject, the President makes a powerful argument for why his plan is fundamental to closing the education opportunity gap, by ensuring a qualified teacher in every classroom, consequences for schools that fail, and high expectations coupled with the help it takes to meet those expectations. Obviously, the book need not be limited to proposals the President has already made. But since the ESEA debate is the most important shot he'll have at these problems in his Presidency, it deserves more than a paragraph."

This section needs to change in two fundamental ways: First, it needs to make a strong, compelling case for the President's ESEA proposal (and related investments) as the centerpiece of his vision for increasing educational opportunity. The President has given dozens of off-the-cuff speeches that make his argument for equal opportunity in education better than this draft does. The book needs to explain why poor schools aren't working and the sea change we've proposed to fix them -- that low-income students have suffered the most from decades of federal indifference to results, and now for the first time, we're demanding accountability; that every child has a right to functioning schools, qualified teachers, and high expectations; and that failing schools, lousy teachers, and social promotion will no longer be a local option.

Second, the Compact section needs to be reworked to mesh with ESEA or junked altogether. The most sensible change would be to make the ESEA reforms the heart of this Compact, rather than a prelude to it. The description of the Compact on p. 21 and in the text box on p. 23 doesn't work, for a variety of reasons. The whole proposal is too vague to make much sense, but its few specifics conflict with what we're already doing. It turns some measures we've already proposed to require nationwide (like report cards and takeovers of failing schools) into local options, and resurrects others we've rejected (like expert panels). [As an example of what might happen under the Compact, the draft cites Dade County's efforts to turn around failing schools -- which is already required under our ESEA proposal.] The essence of the Compact is

to offer (and then threaten to take away) broader flexibility in federal grant programs -- which we have already proposed to do through ESEA, and may already have signed into law through Ed-Flex by the time the book comes out. Most troubling, it undercuts the President's ESEA proposal by suggesting that "our ambitions must be higher" (p. 25) and that "the special challenge of racial disparities requires special measures" like the Compact (p. 26). The whole point of our ESEA proposal -- as well as our class size, school construction, and after-school proposals -- is to close the gap. We should make arguments for it, not against it.

We would be happy to rewrite this section, but Paul Glastis -- who writes all the President's education speeches -- might be the best candidate to do so.

Other Line Edits

5 -- The paragraphs on vouchers don't fit, and don't make sense. For one thing, the President is opposed to the federal use of funds for vouchers, not vouchers themselves. Moreover, we're just asking for trouble if we imply that vouchers will "reinforce race and class segregation." This section should be dropped.

17 -- These three principles don't exactly sing. The first principle ought to be along the lines of "First, we must eliminate racial disparities in education by raising expectations for everyone and doing more to help everyone meet those expectations -- because every child can learn."

28-29 -- The draft suggests we have given "lip service" and made "compromises" in our ideals, but doesn't say how.

32 -- Testing and standards should be discussed later, under expectations and accountability (p. 41), not as the introduction to a section on school equity. And we're for the standards movement. We're for high standards now and everywhere -- not down the road after every aspect of unequal funding has been addressed.

34 -- We have a host of proposals in our ESEA package to improve the quality of teaching for poor and minority children. They're not mentioned.

CRIME

The proposal in this chapter to require community action plans for targeted crime funds (p. 16) is a warmed-over version of Bush's weed-and-seed program. It is supposed to target assistance to communities that need it most -- but it sets up a process of plans, reviews, and accountability that will make it harder for those communities to get money than if they applied through the regular COPS program. It's a small, not particularly sensible proposal, and it bears little relation to what we're actually doing in our budget or our crime bill.

40-41 -- We cannot say that the lack of trust in law enforcement "may even promote crime" or imply that criminals are more likely to commit repeat acts of domestic violence because of the way they were treated by law enforcement. We have never made excuses for criminal behavior, and we should not start now. We can make a persuasive argument about the need for greater trust without accusing law enforcement of causing crime.

48 -- The section on racial profiling needs to be rewritten to reflect the Executive Order we're actually going to do, which Justice is still drafting.

58 -- The concluding paragraph is a reminder of why the current draft is tired instead of interesting. No one would argue with the truism that schools are better than jails. But the draft skips over the basic truths that have distinguished the President's views on crime and that made his Memphis speech so profound -- that individuals and families regardless of circumstance have a responsibility to obey the law and help the police fight crime; that crime causes poverty, not the other way around; that if we don't make neighborhoods safe, there will never be enough businesses, jobs, or taxes to support decent schools; and that we will never succeed in reducing racial and class isolation and tension unless we continue to reduce crime. If our goal is to promote an honest dialogue about America's problems, we should tell the whole story, not fall back on cliches.

OTHER CHANGES

p. (Intro)-8: As noted above, the new litany of "opportunity, community, heart" is ludicrous. The President can't and shouldn't walk away from "responsibility" in his race book. It was the central theme of the most important speech he has given on the subject.

p. (I)-22: This page refers to "hidden bigots" like "the teacher in your child's school, a policeman who might detain you, or your supervisor at work". "Hidden bigot" is not a phrase to throw around lightly. It's certainly not fair to single out teachers and police -- public servants who are no more likely to hold racist views than people in other professions, and should not be stereotyped.

January 4, 2000

MEETING WITH DEMOCRATIC LEADERS DASCHLE AND GEPHARDT

DATE: Wednesday, January 5, 2000
LOCATION: Oval Office (Meeting)
 Roosevelt Room (Statement)
TIME: 4:00 pm – 5:00PM (Meeting)
 5:00 pm – 5:20PM (Statement)
FROM: Chuck Brain
 Bruce Reed
 Gene Sperling

I. PURPOSE

To meet with Congressional Democratic Leaders Daschle and Gephardt to highlight the Democratic agenda for the second session of the 106th Congress.

II. BACKGROUND

While there were several major accomplishments during the first session of the 106th Congress, including money to hire additional cops and teachers, financial services overhaul, and the Jeffords-Kennedy bill; there still remains a major unfinished agenda that includes gun safety, minimum wage, the Patients' Bill of Rights, and prescription drug benefits for Medicare beneficiaries. In addition, your budget will contain new initiatives and provide for more responsible budgeting than the Republicans have resorted to in recent years.

UNFINISHED AGENDA

A. Patients' Bill of Rights

As you know, both the House and Senate have passed different versions of a Patients' Bill of Rights. The House-passed Norwood-Dingell bill is much stronger than its Senate counterpart. It is now important that we work closely with the Democratic leadership in both the House and Senate for a conference report that reflects our goals for true managed care reform. The Republican leadership would like to see something enacted into law to respond to public pressure on the issue of HMO reform, but their idea of a good bill will differ greatly from yours. This will be a challenge because they have tried to stack the conference against those who support meaningful reform. You sent a letter to the Speaker of the House on

November 4 expressing concern that only one of the 13 Republican conferees appointed to the conference voted for the Norwood-Dingell bill and that the members of the conference committee are heavily weighted to special interests who oppose the legislation.

The House-passed Norwood-Dingell bill would provide new patient protections to all Americans in all health plans, and hold health plans accountable when their actions cause harm to patients. It provides meaningful patient protections, such as the right to emergency care wherever and whenever a medical emergency arises; the right to access the health care specialists that a patient needs; the right to ensure care is not disrupted during treatment; the right to an unbiased internal appeals process and an independent external appeals process that allows patients to get the care they were promised; and the right to hold health plans accountable for actions that harm patients.

Unfortunately, through a procedural mechanism, the Republican leadership in the House attached this bill to H.R. 2990, the Quality Care for the Uninsured Act, also known as the Talent "access bill" (passed, 227-205). Your administration strongly opposes this narrowly-passed legislation. The bill is unfunded, would spend some \$50 billion of the Social Security Surplus, and expands the availability for Medical Savings Accounts and association health plans. Although called an access bill, analysis suggests that it would provide additional coverage to less than 1% of the current uninsured population. It does contain some provisions that we support including a 100 percent deduction for health insurance premiums for the self-employed.

The Senate Democrats voted as a block for all Democratic amendments to S. 1344 and against all Republican amendments and final passage of the bill. Opposition to the bill focused on the fact that the bill covers only those 48 million Americans who are enrolled in health plans exempt from state regulations, and not the additional 113 million people in state regulated plans. In addition, the final bill did not include a provision that would have allowed patients to sue their health plans in state court for damages if they were harmed because their plan refused to provide treatment.

In conference we will need to ensure that, consistent with your letter to the House Leadership on October 7, costs associated with the final bill are fully offset. The House Republican Leadership refused to allow offsets to be included in the legislation, hoping that the fact that it was not paid for would be a disincentive for some members to support the final combined bill.

B. Minimum Wage

On November 9, 1999, during consideration of the Bankruptcy Reform Act of 1999 (S. 625), the Senate considered an amendment by Senator Kennedy

(D-MA) to raise the minimum wage by \$1.00 over two years and provide \$9.5 billion in small business tax cuts. The amendment to the Bankruptcy Reform Act of 1999 (S. 625), was tabled (50-48). Senator Domenici (R-NM) then offered a successful (54-44) amendment to the bankruptcy bill to raise the minimum wage by \$1.00 over three years and provide \$18.4 billion in tax cuts over five years. The amendment also included a provision that would undermine overtime pay for hourly employees by excluding bonuses and commissions from the rate of pay used to determine overtime pay.

In a Statement of Administration Policy issued November 8, 1999, you threatened to veto S. 625 if language delaying an increase in the minimum wage, threatening overtime pay for hourly workers, and targeting tax breaks away from working families remains in the bill. The bankruptcy bill is still pending before the Senate.

Senate Democrats will again push their legislation to raise the minimum wage by \$1 over two years in 2000. While the Republican leadership opposes any increase, their caucus has forced them to offer an alternative minimum wage bill.

The House bill (H.R. 3081) would have raised the minimum wage \$1.00 an hour over three years, and provided huge, untargeted, unfinanced tax cuts. Efforts by several moderate Republicans and Democrats to move this bill stalled. The bill was approved by the Ways and Means Committee on November 9 (23-14), but did not reach the floor before the House recessed for the year.

C. Gun Safety

As you know, last June, the Senate passed juvenile crime legislation containing a number of gun provisions including: background checks at gun shows; child safety locks for handguns; a ban on importation of large capacity ammunition clips; and a permanent bar on violent juveniles from owning guns. The House voted down similar gun provisions later in the fall. Chairman Hyde and Congressman Conyers engaged in lengthy internal negotiations prior to adjournment, but were unable to reach agreement on the gun measures – with gun shows remaining a particular sticking point. And despite repeated attempts by the Democratic leadership to urge the conference to convene and include gun provisions in the final bill, the conference committee met only once and the juvenile crime bill remained stalled through the end of the session.

Gephardt and Daschle may raise the issue of whether the gun debate should remain focused solely on passing the more limited Senate-passed gun provisions, or whether the debate should press forward on new gun proposals such as gun licensing and registration. We should try to get a better sense from them about where the Democratic caucus is on broadening the gun debate. You should also know that the FY 2001 budget will include significant new resources to enhance enforcement of

gun laws with additional ATF agents, inspectors, and local and federal gun prosecutors. Finally, if the leaders inquire about out talks with the gun industry, you should signal that negotiations are about to get underway and also gauge their support for our strategy of threatening a HUD-led lawsuit.

D. Prescription Drugs

Last June, you announced the specifics of your Medicare plan that included a proposal to establish a new voluntary Medicare "Part D" prescription drug benefit.

Your drug benefit, in the context of broader reform, has a zero deductible and pays for half of all drug costs up to \$5,000 when fully implemented. It uses private sector purchasers to negotiate discounts for Medicare beneficiaries that are also accessible after the cap has been reached. On October 25, 1999 you announced that you would send legislation to Congress to reserve one-third of the non-Social Security surplus for Medicare, including a prescription drug benefit.

Particularly among the House Democrats, there has been an enormous increase in interest in this issue. Not only because it is impossible to reform Medicare without offering some prescription drug coverage, but also because this issue has become one of the highest priority domestic policy issues for the electorate. House and Senate Democrats want to work closely with us on this issue -- both on message and legislative strategy -- during the next session.

The vetoed Republican tax package included a tax deduction to offset the cost of prescription drug insurance for seniors. But the proposal was widely criticized because the seniors who most need the drug benefit do not file taxes and would not be eligible for the tax deduction, and because the proposal does nothing to make affordable insurance more accessible. The Republican leadership continues to quietly support the status quo by failing to move forward any of the bills designed to address this challenge.

The Democrats have responded with a number of proposals in three distinct areas. Rather than endorse a particular approach, we have tried to use their bills as illustrations of the importance of moving ahead on the prescription drug cost and coverage issue. Their proposals can be used to underscore the numerous problems Americans face in accessing affordable prescription drugs, as well as to highlight the unwillingness of this Congress to act.

The Democrats' proposals fall within three distinct areas: (1) Expanding prescription drug coverage: Congressmen Stark and Dingell, and Senators Kennedy and Rockefeller have introduced a more expensive and comprehensive, but complicated, prescription drug benefit. While promising front end and catastrophic coverage, it leaves seniors with drug costs of \$1,500 to \$3,200 exposed and vulnerable. With a 75 percent premium subsidy, our actuaries estimate that it costs nearly \$300 billion

over 10 years (compared to our \$116 billion).

(2) Reducing prices of prescription drugs: Congressmen Allen, Waxman, Turner, and Berry have introduced legislation (the "Allen bill") that would require pharmacists serving seniors to provide them with access to the same discounts they provide to Federal and corporate purchasers. This policy is viewed by the drug industry as price controls, and this criticism has been validated by a number of businesses, insurers, and elite policy validators. Congressman Allen counters that this policy is not price controls, since the drug industry can choose the level of discounts it provides to large purchasers and thus the discount provided to Medicare beneficiaries through their local pharmacists. The bill has a broad coalition of Democratic sponsors (over 130 sponsors including Blue Dogs, New Dems, and traditional liberals), but is not going anywhere and has very few advocates in the Senate. It is attractive to many however, because there are no new Federal costs since it provides no new insurance coverage. It simply requires access to discounts that are currently unavailable. To terrific press, the House Democrats, led by Representative Waxman have released studies in more than 40 states outlining the impact of the existing price discrepancy and how it harms seniors.

(3) International drug parity: Congressman Sanders and Berry and Senators Dorgan and Wellstone introduced legislation permitting the re-importation of prescription drugs from Canada to pharmacies in the United States in order to access the discounts that Canadian pharmacists receive. The FDA has raised strong safety concerns about this legislation, but it is an example of the frustration members of Congress, and the public at large, are having with the price differentials between drugs sold in Canada and the United States, even though these medications were initially manufactured in this country.

In the Senate, Senators Wyden and Snowe have introduced legislation to provide subsidies for HMOs and Medigap plans to offer prescription drug coverage. We have criticized this legislation because it is a block grant approach that undermines Medicare's guarantee of coverage and does not provide for a workable fee-for-service benefit, thus making access to affordable prescription drugs impossible for millions of beneficiaries living in rural communities. Senators Breaux and Frist offered a prescription drug benefit in the context of broader Medicare reforms; at the time of the release of their plan, they had suggested a Medicaid benefit for beneficiaries up to 150 percent of the poverty level. We have criticized this benefit as inadequate because over half of the seniors without prescription drug coverage have incomes over 150 percent of the poverty level.

Under legislation introduced in October by Senator Jeffords, the Federal government would purchase Medicare supplemental insurance policies covering prescription drugs for low-income seniors. All beneficiaries enrolled in Medigap would be eligible to purchase new drug-only plans "DrugGap".

NEW AGENDA

School Construction and Modernization Approach

In your FY 2001 budget proposal, you will demonstrate your commitment to investing in school construction and modernization. Nationally, there is an urgent need for school modernization. One-third of all schools need extensive repair or replacement. The average public school in America is 42 years old, and school buildings begin rapid deterioration after 40 years. \$112 billion is needed just to repair the existing schools across the nation. A record 52.7 million children are enrolled in elementary and secondary school today, and this number will climb to 54.3 million by 2008. Twenty-four hundred new public schools will be needed by 2003 to accommodate rising enrollments.

(1) School modernization and tax credit bond proposal: This new type of bond – a tax credit bond – would provide interest-free financing to help state and local governments pay for school construction and renovation to help address issues of aging facilities and overcrowding. Instead of paying the interest and principal on school construction bonds, the issuer would only be responsible for repaying the principal. The federal government would provide tax credits to the bondholders in lieu of interest payments. The Administration's proposal would support nearly \$25 billion in bonds over the next two years to help states and districts build and modernize up to 6,000 public schools. Senator Daschle and Representative Rangel are the main sponsors of the Senate and House bills, respectively.

(2) School renovation loan and grant program: This will be your new proposal regarding school infrastructure. The School Renovation program would provide interest free federal loans and grants to needy school districts to fund urgent renovations. The loan program would be targeted to those districts unable to finance the interest cost associated with facilities renovation. The smaller direct grant program would provide direct funding to the needy school districts unable to finance the capital expenditures associated with school renovation. Renovations funded through loans and grants could include repairs to roofs, climate control systems, or plumbing. Loans and grants could also fund school modernization to improve technology capability, if no other source of funds is available.

BUDGET FRAMEWORK

Last month, several members of your Economic Team met with Senator Daschle and Representative Gephardt to begin discussions on the budget framework, including caps, the baseline, and initiatives. The leaders believe that: (1) having issues on

which to fight over the next year is imperative; (2) we cannot produce a budget within the caps; and (3) we must work together to craft a rollout strategy on the caps issues that will maximize the benefit to Democrats.

Caps are the most pressing issue, beyond the school construction announcement, that we will face with our Democrats. The basic story we plan to use is:

- **PAYGO and caps worked.** In the era of large federal deficits, PAYGO and caps provided the necessary fiscal discipline. However, under budget surpluses, PAYGO and the caps were overtaken.
- **Last year's budget shredded the caps.** Republicans relied on gimmicks and tricks to stay within the caps, and the real constraint was the Social Security surplus.
- **The Administration's FY2001 budget is going to come clean.** The Administration's FY2001 budget removes last year's gimmicks and tricks, and provides realistic out-year numbers for discretionary spending and surpluses.

Your Economic Team will continue to work with the leaders to coordinate the rollout of the budget. To maximize the Democrats' leverage, two strategic issues need to be addressed:

- **Neutralizing tax-and-spend attacks on Democrats.** Coming clean in the FY2001 budget will inevitably result in Republican tax-and-spend attacks against Democrats. We will need to anticipate this and be prepared to respond.
- **The Republicans' response to our caps strategy.** In response to our rollout of the caps strategy, the Republicans may (1) try to stay within the caps or (2) raise the FY2001 caps and have unrealistic out-year caps to pay for a tax cut. While the first strategy will ultimately fail, it would produce a chaotic budget process. The second could result in making it easier for the Congress to get out of town in the fall with perhaps more of our priorities funded. House Democrats may prefer more chaos to achievements in this area.

TAXES

Last year we avoided an irresponsible \$782 billion tax package by clearly being able to sustain a veto if the Republican Leadership attempted an override. It is imperative to preserve our ability to sustain a veto. Two components of your budget are important in this regard: your proposed tax bill and your desire to do "first things first."

While your tax bill is still underdevelopment, the aim is to approximate the size of last year's tax proposal (approximately \$250 billion set over 10 years) and to focus on working families. These provisions are likely to include provisions involving the EITC, health care, education, marriage penalty relief, and a smaller version of USA accounts.

Regarding "first things first," it is important to Democrats on the Hill to make the tax cut contingent. However, this contingency must be credible. You should solicit their views as to whether or not saving Social Security or solving Medicare meets the credibility test.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Pre-Brief

President

John Podesta

Steve Ricchetti

Joel Johnson

Doug Sosnik

Chuck Brain

Jack Lew

Gene Sperling

Bruce Reed

Charles Burson

Monica Dixon

Chris Jennings

Meeting

President

John Podesta

Joel Johnson

Chuck Brain

Jack Lew

Gene Sperling

Bruce Reed

Steve Ricchetti

Charles Burson

Bill Corr, Senator Tom Daschle's Chief of Staff

Steve Elmendorf, Representative Gephardt's Chief of Staff

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed Press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

-- You meet with Democratic Leaders Daschle and Gephardt in the Oval Office.

-- You proceed to the Roosevelt Room to for Statement with Leaders Daschle and Gephardt.

--You make remarks.

--Senator Tom Daschle makes brief remarks.

--Representative Richard Gephardt makes brief remarks.

--You depart.

VI. REMARKS

To be provided by Speechwriting.

VII. ATTACHMENTS

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Gene

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 27, 2000

MEETING WITH THE U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

DATE: Friday, January 28, 2000
LOCATION: Blue Room- Receiving line
East Room- Speech
TIME: 9:30am- 10:30am
FROM: Mickey Ibarra

Mickey

I. PURPOSE

To address a bipartisan group of over 200 mayors to amplify your State of the Union message.

II. BACKGROUND

The U.S. Conference of Mayors (USCM) is convening in Washington for their annual Winter Meeting from January 25- 28. The meeting focuses primarily on gun and drug violence, community empowerment, technology and e-commerce. Since the beginning of your presidency, the mayors have been strong and vocal partners of you and your Administration.

Secretary Slater will participate in the program with you. Attorney General Reno, Secretaries Cuomo, Herman, Riley, Summers, Babbitt, Ambassador Barshefsky, Administrators Browner and Alvarez and other Administration officials are scheduled to address the mayors throughout this year's Winter Meeting.

Today, Mayor Wellington Webb (D- Denver, CO), President of the USCM, unveiled the final version of the Conference's "New Agenda for America's Cities." The "New Agenda" presents a 10-point plan to address issues such as public safety, housing, schools, promoting arts, culture and sports, land and open space preservation, tax cuts for challenged neighborhoods and working families, workforce training, modernizing infrastructure, and increasing access to affordable healthcare. It will serve as the USCM's guide through the presidential elections of 2000.

In your remarks, you will highlight your accomplishments as they relate to cities, present the remaining challenges and outline a vision for the new century.

You have addressed each Winter Meeting of the USCM since 1993. You last addressed the mayors via videotape from the White House in June 1999 during their summer meeting in New Orleans.

NOTE: The USCM provided viewing facilities at the site of their Gala for the mayors and other participants to watch your State of the Union Address on Thursday.

III. PRE-BRIEF PARTICIPANTS

Mickey Ibarra
Lowell Weiss
Bruce Reed
Gene Sperling
Maria Soto

IV. GREET PARTICIPANTS

Secretary Rodney Slater
Secretary Andrew Cuomo
General Barry R. McCaffrey
Administrator Carol M. Browner
Mayor Wellington Webb (D-Denver, CO), President, USCM
Mayor H. Brent Coles (R-Boise, ID), Vice President, USCM
Mayor Mark H. Morial (D- New Orleans, LA), Chair of the USCM Advisory Board
Tom Cochran, Executive Director, USCM
Approximately 200 mayors (list attached)

V. PRESS PLAN

Open Press.

VI. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You proceed to Blue Room for receiving line.
- You begin a receiving line with all guests.
- You meet briefly with USCM Leadership— Mayor Wellington Webb, Mayor Brent Coles, Mayor Marc Morial and, Tom Cochran.
- You, Mayor Webb, Mayor Coles, Mayor Morial, Secretary Slater, Secretary Cuomo and, Mickey Ibarra are announced into the East Room. Secretary Slater and Mayor Webb accompany you to stage, you take a seat.
- Secretary Slater makes brief remarks and introduces Mayor Webb.
- Mayor Webb makes brief remarks and introduces you.
- You make remarks.

NOTE: Mayors will proceed to the North Lawn to do regional press immediately following the event.

VII. REMARKS

To be provided by speechwriting.

VIII. Attachments

- A. List of participating mayors
- B. U.S. Conference of Mayors Agenda
- C. *A New Agenda for America's Cities*
- D. Summer Jobs/Implementation of the Workforce Investment Act
- E. Guidance on Community Reinvestment Act and Financial Modernization for U.S. Conference of Mayors
- F. Internet Tax and Digital Divide Talking Points

ATTACHMENT A

The 68th Annual Winter Meeting The U.S. Conference of Mayors White House Briefing Attendees

Alabama

Bernard Kincaid, Birmingham

Arizona

Sam Kathryn Campana, Scottsdale

Neil G. Giuliano, Tempe

Thomas J. Hessler, Sierra Vista

John C. Keegan, Peoria

Robert E. Walkup, Tucson

Marilyn R. Young, Yuma

Arkansas

Jim Dailey, Little Rock

Patrick H. Hays, North Little Rock

California

Charlie Abrams, Walnut Creek

Dan Albert, Monterey

Curt Andre, Turlock

Ralph Appezzato, Alameda

Robert T. Bartlett, Monrovia

Cathie Brown, Livermore

Jerry Brown, Oakland

Willie L. Brown, Jr., San Francisco

Talmage V. Burke, Alhambra

Louis Byrd, Lynwood

Roberta Cooper, Hayward

Rosemary M. Corbin, Richmond

Tom Daly, Anaheim

Shirley Dean, Berkeley

Frank G. Fry, Westminster

Karl E. Gaytan, Colton

Gregory C. Hill, Redondo Beach

Guy S. Houston, Dublin

Thomas S. Levyn, Beverly Hills

Richard Marcus, Culver City

Rosario Marin, Huntington

Gus Morrison, Fremont

Judy Nadler, Santa Clara

Miguel Pulido, Santa Ana

Carmen Sabatino, Modesto
Rosemary Stasek, Mountain View
Ben Tarver, Pleasanton
Judith Valles, San Bernardino
Lori Van Arsdale, Hemet
Pat Vorreiter, Sunnyvale
Shelia Young, San Leandro

Colorado

Mary Lou Makepeace, Colorado Springs
Wellington Webb, Denver

Connecticut

H. Richard Borer, Jr., West Haven
John DeStefano, Jr., New Haven
Gene F. Eriquez, Danbury
Joseph P. Ganim, Bridgeport
Timothy D. Larson, East Hartford
Dannel P. Malloy, Stamford
Lucian J. Pawlak, New Britain

District of Columbia

Anthony Williams, Washington

Delaware

James H. Sills, Jr., Wilmington

Florida

Clarence E. Anthony, South Bay
Larry D. Bartley, Titusville
Jack Brady, North Lauderdale
Alex G. Fekete, Pembroke Pines
James F. Fielding, Port St. Lucie
David J. Fischer, St. Petersburg
E. L. Foster, Ocala
Bruce Grady, Ft. Myers
Richard J. Kaplan, Lauderhill
Neisen Kasdin, Miami Beach
Scott Maddox, Tallahassee
Alex Penelas, Miami-Dade
Jimmy Weekley, Key West

Georgia

Floyd Adams, Jr., Savannah
C. Jack Ellis, Macon
Patsy Jo Hilliard, East Point

Bob Young, Augusta

Idaho

H. Brent Coles, Boise

Robert D. Corrie, Meridian

Maxine Horn, Nampa

Illinois

Irwin Bock, Hanover

Charles E. Box, Rockford

Karen M. Bushy, Oak Brook

Thomas C. Carper, Macomb

Richard M. Daley, Chicago

Gerald L. Farley, Mount Prospect

Ross Ferraro, Carol Stream

Ronald S. Ghilardi, Lisle

Kent M. Karraker, Normal

Jim Gitz, Freeport

Al Larson, Schaumburg

Catherine J. Melchert, Bartlett

Lorraine H. Morton, Evanston

Arlene J. Mulder, Arlington Heights

Rita L. Mullins, Palatine

Daniel Pierce, Highland Park

Charles W. Scholz, Quincy

Indiana

James Brainard, Carmel

Duane W. Dedelow, Jr., Hammond

John Fernandez, Bloomington

Scott L. King, Gary

Mark J. Lawler, Anderson

Russell G. Lloid, Jr., Evansville

Robert A. Pastrick, East Chicago

Bart Peterson, Indianapolis

Iowa

Preston A. Daniels, Des Moines

John R. Roof, Waterloo

Kansas

Bob Knight, Wichita

Carol Marinovich, Kansas City

Joan Wagnon, Topeka

Kentucky

David L. Armstrong, Louisville
Thomas L. Guidugli, Newport
William I. May, Jr., Franfort
Eldon Renaud, Bowling Green

Louisiana

Marc H. Morial, New Orleans
Edward G. Randolph, Jr., Alexandria

Maine

Kaileigh A. Tara, Lewiston

Maryland

Dean L. Johnson, Annapolis
Martin O'Malley, Baltimore

Massachusetts

John Barrett, III, North Adams
David B. Cohen, Newton
Nicholas J. Costello, Amesbury
Patricia A. Dowling, Lawrence
Gerald S. Doyle, Jr., Pittsfield
Patrick C. Guerriero, Melrose
Frederick M. Kalisz, Jr., New Bedford
Dorothy A. Kelly Gay, Somerville
Richard J. Kos, Chicopee
Edward M. Lambert, Jr., Fall River
Dean Mazzarella, Leominster
Patrick J. McManus, Lynn
Michael J. McGlynn, Medford
Thomas M. Menino, Boston
James A. Sheets, Quincy
Bruce Tobey, Gloucester
John T. Yunits, Jr., Brockton

Michigan

Dennis W. Archer, Detroit
James Billis, Curumma
Michael A. Guido, Dearborn
Robert B. Jones, Kalamazoo
Walter Moore, Pontiac
Gregory E. Pitoniak, Taylor
Woodrow Stanley, Flint
Robert J. Thomas, Westland
Gary Zych, Hamtramck

Minnesota

Karen J. Anderson, Minnetonka
Chuck Canfield, Rochester
Norm Coleman, St. Paul
Jean Harris, Eden Prairie
Elizabeth B. Kautz, Burnsville
Sharon Sayles Belton, Minneapolis
Gene Winstead, Bloomington

Mississippi

Susan Boone Vincent, Laurel
Larry L. Brown, Natchez
Harvey Johnson, Jackson
John Robert Smith, Meridian

Missouri

Kay Barnes, Kansas City
Clarence Harmon, St. Louis
Darwin Hindman, Columbia

Montana

Charles F. Tooley, Billings

Nebraska

Hal Daub, Omaha
Jerry Ryan, Bellevue
Don Wesely, Lincoln

Nevada

Tony Armstrong, Sparks
Oscar B. Goodman, Las Vegas
Jeff Griffin, Reno

New Hampshire

Robert Baines, Manchester

New Jersey

J. Christian Bollwage, Elizabeth
Sara B. Bost, Irvington
Robert L. Bowser, East Orange
Thalia C. Kay, Pemperton
Timothy C. McDonough, Hope
Douglas H. Palmer, Trenton
Ralph Peterson, Sr., Pleasantville
George A. Spadoro, Edison

New Mexico

Bill B. Owen, Roswell

Ruben A. Smith, Las Cruces

New York

Roy A. Bernardi, Syracuse

Richard A. Bucci, Binghamton

Ernest D. Davis, Mount Vernon

Joseph Delfino, White Plains

James A. Garner, Hempstead

Glen D. Gilmore, Hamilton

William F. Glacken, Freeport

Joseph A. Griffo, Rome

William A. Johnson, Jr., Rochester

Albert P. Jurczynski, Schenectady

Anthony M. Masiello, Buffalo

Mitchell Sahn, Hewlett

North Carolina

Jack Cavanagh, Jr., Winston-Salem

Susan W. Kluttz, Salisbury

Dr. George W. Liles, Concord

Patrick McCrory, Charlotte

Jennifer T. Stultz, Gastonia

North Dakota

Bruce W. Furness, Fargo

Ohio

David J. Berger, Lima

Dennis M. Clough, Westlake

Carleton S. Finkbeiner, Toledo

Donald L. Plusquellic, Akron

Lydia J. Reid, Mansfield

Don L. Robart, Cuyahoga Falls

John T. Saraga, Xenia

Marilou W. Smith, Kettering

Michael R. Turner, Dayton

Charles Sanders, Waynesville

Oklahoma

Jim Bushnell, Muskogee

M. Susan Savage, Tulsa

Oregon

James Torrey, Eugene

Pennsylvania

Donald T. Cunningham, Jr., Bethlehem

William L. Heydt, Allentown

Thomas D. McGroarty, Wilkes-Barre

Thomas J. Murphy, Jr., Pittsburgh

John Street, Philadelphia

Wilbert A. Young, Wilkesburg

Puerto Rico

Jose E. Aponte, Carolina

Sila M. Calderon, San Juan

Gerardo A. Cruz, Ceiba

William Miranda-Marin, Caguas

Cesar Mendez Otero, Rio Grande

Rolando Ortiz, Cayey

Carmelo Perez-Rivera, Isabela

Victor M. Soto Santiago, Tom Baja

Rhode Island

Vincent A. Cianci, Jr., Providence

James E. Doyle, Pawtucket

Ralph A. Mollis, North Providence

John O'Leary, Cranston

South Carolina

Robert D. Coble, Columbia

Roddey Connolly, York

Tennessee

Victor Ashe, Knoxville

Sharon Goldsworthy, Germantown

Jon Kinsey, Chattanooga

Bill Purcell, Nashville

John T. Rowland, Cleveland

Texas

Kenneth Barr, Ft. Worth

Lee P. Brown, Houston

Robert E. Burns, Midland

Filemon Esquivel, TX

Elizabeth G. Flores, Laredo

Ronald Kirk, Dallas

John Longstreet, Plano

Jack Miller, Denton
David Moore, Beaumont
Michael D. Morrison, Waco
Loyd Neal, Corpus Christi
Carlos M. Ramirez, P.E., El Paso
Richard Rozier, DeSoto
Fidel R. Rul, Jr., Alice
Mary Lib Saleh, Euless
Charles Scoma, North Richland Hills
Windy Sitton, Lubbock
Bill Souder, Hurst
Nancy Watkins, Haltom
Kirk P. Watson, Austin

Utah

Ross C. Anderson, Salt Lake City
Lewis K. Billings, Provo
Randy Fitts, South Salt Lake
Matthew R. Godfrey, Ogden
Gerald L. Wright, West Valley City

Vermont

Peter Clavelle, Burlington

Virginia

David A. Bowers, Roanoke
E. Dana Dickens, III, Suffolk
James W. Holley, III, Portsmouth
Timothy M. Kaine, Richmond
Meyera E. Oberndorf, Virginia Beach
William Ward, Chesapeake

Washington

Brian Ebersole, Tacoma
Rosemarie M. Ives, Redmond
Paul Schell, Seattle

West Virginia

John W. Lipphardt, Wheeling

Wisconsin

John M. Antaramian, Kenosha
Susan J. M. Bauman, Madison
Paul F. Jadin, Green Bay
Timothy T. Seider, Greenfield
Maricolette Walsh, Wauwatosa

(1/21/00)

**THE U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS
WINTER MEETING 2000**

**CAPITAL HILTON HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
January 25 - 28, 2000**

MESSAGE TO CONFERENCE ATTENDEES

Unless otherwise noted, all plenary sessions, concurrent sessions, committee meetings, task force meetings and social events are open to all mayors and other officially-registered attendees.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 25

Registration

1:00 - 6:00 p.m.
(Upper Lobby)

Employment and Training Council Board Meeting

(Closed)
9:00 - 5:00 p.m.
(California)

This is a meeting for members of the Employment and Training Council, staff to Mayors on workforce development issues.

President: **SUSAN CLEERE FLORES**
Assistant General Manager
Community Development Department
Los Angeles

Reception

6:00 - 7:30 p.m.
(Congressional/Senate)

ANTHONY M. MASIELLO
Mayor of Buffalo
Vice-Chair, Brownfields Task Force

MICHAEL R. TURNER
Mayor of Dayton
Chair, Mayors and Bankers Task Force

Employment and Training Council Annual Meeting
8:00 - 4:00 p.m.
(St. Regis Hotel)

This is a meeting for members of the Employment and Training Council, staff to Mayors on workforce development issues.

Member Mayors will occupy the pre-assigned seats in the Presidential Ballroom, Upper Lobby, Capital Hilton Hotel. (Non-member Mayors will occupy the reserved seats on the floor of the Plenary Sessions.)

Live Music
8:30 - 9:00 a.m.
(Upper Lobby)

DRUG CRISIS IN CITIES AND RURAL COMMUNITIES
9:00 - 12:00 noon
(Presidential Ballroom)

Opening Remarks:

WELLINGTON E. WEBB
Mayor of Denver
President, The United States
Conference of Mayors

Presiding: **H. BRENT COLES**
Mayor of Boise
Vice President, The United States
Conference of Mayors and
Co-Chair, Drug Control Task Force

Video Introduction

Comments: **JOE HAWE**
Sheriff
Clallam County (Port Angeles), WA

DONNIE R. MARSHALL
Administrator (Acting)
Drug Enforcement Administration
U.S. Department of Justice

Press Conference

1:45 p.m.
(New York)

STANDING COMMITTEES

Jobs, Education and the Workforce

2:00 - 3:30 p.m.
(California)

Chair: BEVERLY O'NEILL
Mayor of Long Beach

Presentations: *The Clinton Administration's
School Construction Proposal
and Other Education Issues*

THE HONORABLE
RICHARD W. RILEY

Secretary
U.S. Department of Education

Workforce Development Act Implementation

RAYMOND L. BRAMUCCI

Assistant Secretary for
Employment and Training
U.S. Department of Labor

Criminal and Social Justice

2:00 - 3:30 p.m.
(Federal "B")

Chair: JEFF GRIFFIN
Mayor of Reno

Presentations: *The Clinton Administration's "21st Century
Law Enforcement and Public Safety Act"*

ERIC H. HOLDER, JR.

Deputy Attorney General
U.S. Department of Justice

*Community Policing and the Next
Generation of the COPS Program*

THOMAS C. FRAZIER

Director
Office of Community Oriented
Policing Services
U.S. Department of Justice

Chair: PATRICK McCRORY
Mayor of Charlotte

Presentation: THE HONORABLE
CAROL M. BROWNER
Administrator
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

Health and Human Services

3:30 - 5:00 p.m.

(South American "A")

Chair: DAVID W. MOORE
Mayor of Beaumont

Presentations: *Mental Health: The Report
of the Surgeon General*
THOMAS H. BORNEMANN, Ed.D.
Deputy Director
Center for Mental Health Services
U.S. Department of Health and
Human Services

JOHN FORD
President
Discovery Health Media

*The African Mayors' Initiative for
Community Action on AIDS at the
Local Level (AMICAALL)*
THE HONORABLE
JUANITA MILLENDER-McDONALD
U.S. House of Representatives (CA)

Community Development and Housing

3:30 - 5:00 p.m.

(Congressional)

Chair: WILLIE L. BROWN, JR.
Mayor of San Francisco

Presentations: *Congressional Housing Proposals*
THE HONORABLE
JOHN KERRY (Invited)
U.S. Senate (MA)

Small Business Administration Briefing
THE HONORABLE
AIDA ALVAREZ
Administrator
Small Business Administration

Sponsors: Microsoft
Fannie Mae
Federal Express
Oracle
The United States Conference of Mayors

USCM Advisory Board Dinner
(Invitation Only)
7:30 p.m.
(St. Regis Hotel)

Hosted by: MARC H. MORIAL
Mayor of New Orleans
Chair, The United States Conference
of Mayors Advisory Board

Sponsor: Nationwide Retirement Solutions
a Nationwide Financial Company

THURSDAY, JANUARY 27

Registration
7:00 - 6:00 p.m.
(Upper Lobby)

**MAYORS AND BUSINESS COUNCIL
PLENARY BREAKFAST**
(All Mayors and Official Business
Council Representatives Only)
7:00 - 9:00 a.m.
(Congressional)

Local Governments in the Digital Age

- *E-Commerce*
- *Innovations in Technology*

Presiding: WELLINGTON E. WEBB
Mayor of Denver
President, The United States
Conference of Mayors

Welcome and Remarks:
ANTHONY A. WILLIAMS
Mayor of the District of Columbia
Chair, Electronic Commerce and
Internet Technology Task Force

Remarks: JERRY BROWN
Mayor of Oakland
Chair, Cities in the Digital Age
Task Force

THE HONORABLE
BUD SHUSTER
Chair, Committee on
Transportation and Infrastructure
U.S. House of Representatives (PA)

THE HONORABLE
ALEXIS HERMAN
Secretary
U.S. Department of Labor

Greetings: C. VERNON GRAY
Council Chair, Howard County, MD
President, National Association
of Counties

CONCURRENT SESSIONS

***CHALLENGES TO YOUR CITY'S
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAM***

10:30 - 12:00 noon
(South American "B")

Moderator: GEORGE CURRY
Editor-In-Chief
emerge Magazine

Panelists: WELLINGTON E. WEBB
Mayor of Denver

DAN MUSE
Denver City Attorney

BILL CAMPBELL
Mayor of Atlanta

SUSAN J.M. BAUMAN
Mayor of Madison

PREVENTING SCHOOL VIOLENCE

10:30 - 12:00 noon
(Federal "B")

Moderator: SHARON SAYLES BELTON
Mayor of Minneapolis
Chair, School Violence and Kids
from 2:00 to 8:00 pm Task Force

Panelists: JAMES D. TORREY
Mayor of Eugene

WILLIAM A. JOHNSON, JR.
Mayor of Rochester, NY
Vice Chair, Regionalism and
Smart Growth Task Force

KENNETH L. BARR
Mayor of Fort Worth
Co-Chair, Regionalism and
Smart Growth Task Force

M. SUSAN SAVAGE
Mayor of Tulsa
Trustees Representative, Regionalism
and Smart Growth Task Force

Respondents: RALPH GROSSI
President
American Farmland Trust

J. RICHARD KREMER
Vice President
American Institute of Architects

Unveiling: *Wall of Victims of Gun Violence in Cities*
12:00 noon
(Presidential Ballroom Foyer)

Public/Private Partnership Awards Luncheon
12:00 - 2:00 p.m.
(Congressional/Senate)

Presentation of Awards:
WELLINGTON E. WEBB
Mayor of Denver
President, The United States
Conference of Mayors

VINCENT A. CIANCI, JR.
Mayor of Providence
Chair, Mayors and the Business
Community Task Force

Presentation: *2000 Annual Conference*
PAUL SCHELL
Mayor of Seattle
Host of 68th Annual Conference
June 9-13, 2000

Greetings: DUANE MEEK
President
Nationwide Retirement Solutions

Report: HERB TYSON
Director, Intergovernmental Relations
U. S. Department of State

Announcement: ALLAN ROSENBAUM, Ph.D.
Director, Institute for Public
Management and Community Service
Florida International University

Arts, Culture and Recreation

2:00 - 3:30 p.m.

(South American "B")

Chair: MARC H. MORIAL
Mayor of New Orleans

Presentations: *Passing the Urban Parks Legislation*
JANE DANOWITZ
Executive Director
Americans for Our Heritage and Recreation

The Army Corps of Engineers New Direction
LT. GENERAL
JOE N. BALLARD
Commander
United States Army Corps
of Engineers

The Urban Forestry Program
JAMES LYONS
Under Secretary for Natural
Resources and Environment
U.S. Department of Agriculture

Mayors/Films/Economic Development
J. THOMAS COCHRAN
Executive Director
The United States Conference of Mayors

Museums and Cities
BEVERLY SHEPPARD
Acting Director
Institute of Museum and
Library Services

USCM Executive Committee (Closed)
3:30 - 4:30 p.m.
(California)

The Mayors Institute on City Design
Roundtable Discussion
(All Mayors Invited)
3:30 - 4:30 p.m.
(Senate)

FRIDAY, JANUARY 28

Registration

7:00 - 12:00 noon

(Upper Lobby)

Meeting with the President of the United States

(The White House - Mayors Only)

All Registered Mayors Invited

8:30 - 10:30 a.m.

Transportation will be provided. Buses will depart at 7:45 a.m. from the K Street entrance of Hotel and will be available for return to the Hotel.

CLOSING LUNCHEON

11:30 - 2:00 p.m.

(Presidential Ballroom)

Presiding: WELLINGTON E. WEBB
Mayor of Denver
President, The United States
Conference of Mayors

Greetings: BOB KNIGHT
Mayor of Wichita
President, National League of Cities

Presentations: *The United States Conference
of Mayors Arts Award for
Programs Reaching Youth at Risk*
1999 Benefactor: Christina Mattin

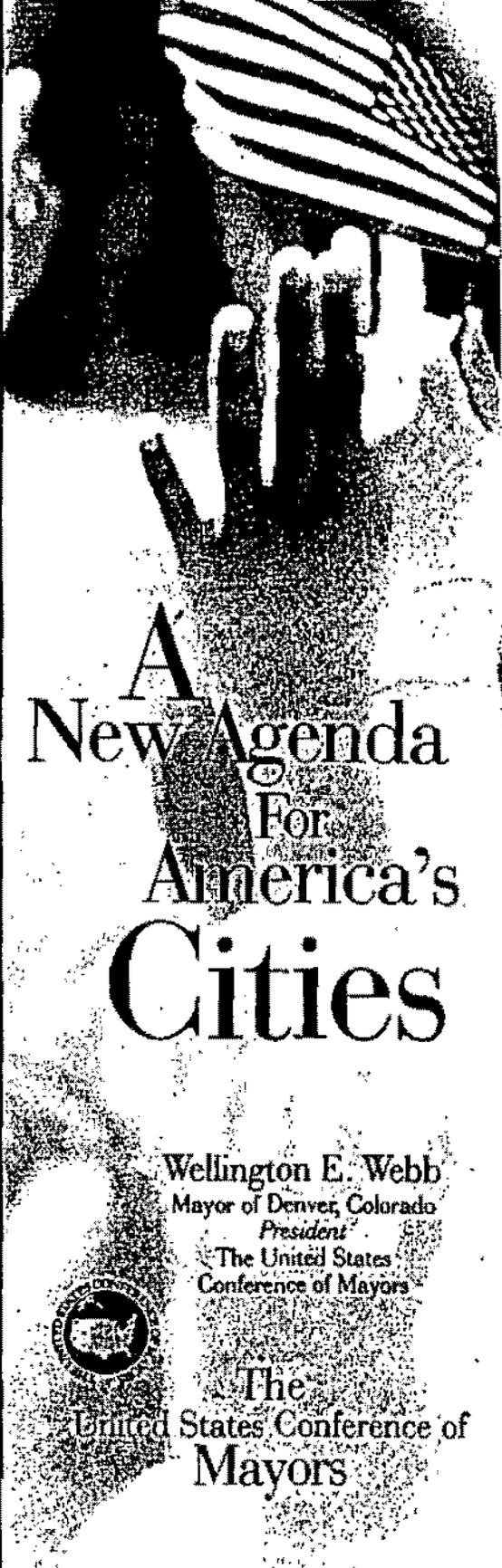
*U.S. Postal Stamp Honoring
Patricia Roberts Harris
Former Secretary of Health and
Human Services and Housing and
Urban Development*

Update: PATRICK J. McMANUS
Mayor of Lynn
Co-Chair, Urban Water Council

JAMES H. SILLS, JR.
Mayor of Wilmington
Co-Chair, Urban Water Council

Address: THE HONORABLE
RICHARD A. GEPHARDT
Minority Leader
U.S. House of Representatives (MO)

CAMPAIN 2000



A
New Agenda
For
America's
Cities

Wellington E. Webb
Mayor of Denver, Colorado
President

The United States
Conference of Mayors



The
United States Conference of
Mayors

Statement by Wellington E. Webb
Mayor of Denver
President
The United States
Conference of Mayors

As we approach the critical 2000 elections, it is essential that candidates address those issues of greatest importance to the future of our nation. The next administration must support policies which allow our economy to continue to grow, and which ensure that every citizen has the opportunity to benefit from the economic prosperity.

To make this a reality, we must understand that the American economy is not being driven by the federal government, or the 50 states. A study conducted by Standard and Poor's DRI for The U.S. Conference of Mayors and National Association of Counties in November 1999 found that 317 "metropolitan economic engines" are driving the growth which has made us the number one economic nation on earth. These metro economic engines are comprised of core cities, neighboring suburbs, surrounding counties and the businesses within them, which account for approximately four out of every five Americans.

Fact: The nation's 317 metro economic engines accounted for a staggering 89 percent (over \$2 trillion) of the nation's economic growth for the period 1992-1998.

Fact: Metro economies often exceed entire state economies. In fact, the economic output of the 10 largest city/county metro areas in the U.S. exceeds the combined output of 31 states.

Fact: If city/county metro economies were ranked with nations, 47 of the world's top 100 economies would be U.S. metro areas. Chicago's metro economy ranks above Switzerland's, Providence above Vietnam's, and Birmingham above Kuwait's.

The next President must support "A New Agenda for America's Cities" to...

The economic output of the 10 largest city/county metro areas in the U.S. exceeds the combined output of 21 states. And if city/county metro economies were ranked with nations, 47 of the world's top 100 economies would be U.S. metro areas.

U.S. Metro Economies: The Engines of America's Growth. The U.S. Conference of Mayors and National Association of Counties. Standard and Poor's DRI. November 1991

To comply with existing federal laws and regulations, the nation's water and wastewater infrastructure requires new capital investment of more than \$275 billion over 20 years.

U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. January 1997

I. Make Government More Responsive to Local Priorities & Metro Economies

- Establish within the White House a Domestic Policy Advisor, similar to the National Security Advisor, who has sweeping authority over the federal agencies to promote the economic well-being of our metro areas and provide regulatory flexibility to local governments to meet critical local needs.
- Streamline existing federal funding to provide direct flexible resources to local governments with increased local accountability, avoiding unnecessary bureaucracy at the state level.
- Champion legislative changes to allow local governments to dedicate a portion of intergovernmental transfers (including block grants and discretionary awards) for locally established priorities.
- Support a community tax initiative that provides local governments with a specific amount of flexible federal tax incentives that can be structured to meet local needs.

II. Help Local Leaders Make America Even Safer

- Support comprehensive gun safety measures to help keep guns away from kids, the mentally ill, and criminals.
- Increase flexible funding to support local police officers and law enforcement technology and equipment.
- Increase efforts to stop drugs from entering this nation, and attack illegal drugs being produced within our borders.
- Ensure that every person has access to drug treatment on demand.
- Support drug free prisons and drug treatment for prisoners, and require that every prisoner pass a drug test prior to release back onto our streets and in our neighborhoods.

The nation's 1998 murder rate dropped to its lowest rate in 32 years, 6.3 murders per 100,000 residents. The Nation's law enforcement agencies reported that during the first 6 months of 1999 when compared to the same time period of the previous year: murder declined 13%; robbery declined 10%; forcible rape declined 8%; aggravated assault declined 7%; burglary declined 14%; motor vehicle theft declined 12%; and larceny-theft declined 8%.
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Bureau of Justice Statistics

In 1996, handguns were used to murder 2 people in New Zealand, 15 in Japan, 30 in Great Britain, 106 in Canada, 213 in Germany and 9,390 in the United States.
Center to Prevent Handgun Violence

94% of women and 86% of men support requiring background checks on people who want to buy any type of gun.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
NBC NEWS Poll July 1999

Drug and alcohol abuse and addiction are implicated in the crime and incarceration of 80% - some 1.4 million - of the 1.7 million men and women behind bars in America. Only 150,000 of the 840,000 inmates with a need receive treatment.

National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University, January 1998

III. Invest in Kids and Public Schools

38% of the nation's fourth-graders do not read at basic levels.

National Assessment of Educational Progress & Children's Defense Fund, 1999

The Head Start program, which has a proven record for improving outcomes for children, still serves less than half of the eligible 1,622,000 three and four year-olds.

Children's Defense Fund, 1999

At least five million children are "latchkey kids" who come home to an empty house after school.

National Institute on Out-of-School Time, 1998

Urban, suburban, and rural schools need at least \$112 billion to repair existing schools that are in a serious state of disrepair. In order to meet rising enrollments 2,400 new schools will need to be built by 2003.

U.S. General Accounting Office, 1996

- Support world class teachers in world class public schools, including physical infrastructure improvements, technology investments, class size reductions, increased school safety, and a new focus on teacher training and recruitment.
- Support investment in early childhood education for children ages zero through five, including Head Start, and before- and after-school opportunities for all children.
- Require states to establish eligibility criteria for federal child care assistance based on income alone, eliminating artificial distinctions between welfare and low-income families.
- Establish a single, more targeted and fully refundable federal child care and dependent care tax credit that would better serve low- to moderate-income families with pre-school age children.

IV. Confront America's Affordable Housing Crisis

- Stimulate the supply of affordable housing by expanding the low-income housing tax credit, creating a new affordable housing trust fund, and establishing an historic tax credit for older residential neighborhoods.
- Increase housing programs for the elderly to meet the needs of our aging population.
- Support safety and security improvements for all public housing residents and the upgrading of public housing to decent and safe standards.
- Support a partnership with the private sector to invest in technology and skills development to help public housing residents become self-sufficient in the modern information-based economy.
- Increase flexible block grant housing and community development investment targeted in blemished neighborhoods to take advantage of untapped domestic markets and leverage private investment.
- Dramatically increase the resources for public-private, mixed-income housing programs that discourage the concentration of poverty.
- Support a comprehensive program to end hunger and homelessness over the next decade which attacks the problems of mental illness, drug addiction, and housing shortages.

Between 1994 and 1996, Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds were used by local leaders to build or rehabilitate 641,000 affordable housing units and to create 445,000 new jobs for low to moderate income people.

National Housing Project, 1999

In 1995 an all-time high of 5.3 million households (with 12.5 million people) were very low-income renters living in severely substandard housing or paying more than one-half of their income for rent.

Rental Housing Assistance: The Crisis Continues
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1998

America's inner-city neighborhoods possess enormous retail purchasing power—estimated at \$331 billion last year, or one-third of the \$1.1 trillion total for the central cities in which those neighborhoods are located.

New Markets: The Untapped Retail Buying Power in America's Inner Cities
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1999

In 1999 requests for emergency shelter increased in surveyed cities by an average of 12%, with 69% of the cities registering an increase. Requests for shelter by homeless families alone increased by 17%, with 68% of the cities reporting an increase.

A Status Report on Hunger and Homelessness in American Cities: A 30-City Survey
The U.S. Conference of Mayors, December 1999

V. Promote Arts, Cultural and Sporting Amenities

The nonprofit arts industry employs 1.3 million people in full-time jobs; receives \$1.4 billion in federal, \$1.2 billion in state, and \$790 million in local government revenues; and has an overall economic impact of \$37 billion.

Jobs, the Arts and the Local Economy
Americans for the Arts, 1994

- Promote the arts as a national and international economic asset and increase support for national and local arts, culture, and humanities institutions.
- Support local efforts to encourage the development of sports facilities of all types which serve the metro region, promote tourism, and enhance communities.

VI. Direct Tax Cuts to Challenged Neighborhoods and Working Families

An investment of \$1.5 billion over five years in a commercial revitalization tax credit would generate \$8 billion in private investment.

Joint Committee on Taxation
U.S. Congress

- Support tax incentives to assist first-time homebuyers and help leverage private investment in distressed and older areas to create jobs, preserve housing, and create neighborhood businesses.
- Ensure that any significant tax cut predominantly benefit low and middle income working families.
- Respect state and local tax laws and not inhibit the ability to collect revenues from e-commerce.

VIII. Build a Competitive Workforce for the Global Economy

Nearly half of CEOs of the nation's fastest growing companies report inadequate numbers of information technology workers to staff their operations.

Coopers and Lybrand, 1996

16% of job applicants lack the reading and math skills to perform the jobs for which they are applying – up from 19% of job applicants two years earlier.

American Management Association, 1998

Only 27% of local officials surveyed report that there are adequate child care services, and only 30% reported that there are adequate transportation services to support people moving from welfare to work.

Setting Economic Opportunity in the New Millennium, The U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1999

68% of America's manufacturers report difficulties in finding qualified workers, from unskilled production-line positions to highly technical computer programmers.

National Association of Manufacturers, 1998

- Build a competitive workforce for the 21st century economy by providing directly to local governments flexible block grant funding to be used in partnership with the private sector to reduce the skills gap, link workers to regional jobs, address youth unemployment, tap into the central city labor force, and help move people from welfare to work.

- Continue the transition from welfare to work by investing in child care, health care, food support, and transportation assistance, and insist that states commit their existing federal resources to these priorities.

VII. Help Communities Grow Smarter by Recycling America's Land, Preserving Open Space, and Supporting Local Parks

- Take actions to help eradicate the more than 600,000 brownfield sites throughout the nation, restoring these properties to productive use and helping to preserve farmland and open spaces.

- Partner with local areas to create and expand local parks and recreational opportunities, and preserve open spaces for all Americans.

- Support tax incentives and changes to federal inheritance laws to encourage the preservation of farm and forest land, and similar measures to encourage families to live in existing communities.

One million acres of farmland – an area that is larger than the State of Delaware – are lost each year to development.
American Farmland Trust, 1997

180 cities estimated they had more than 178,000 acres of brownfields, an area exceeding the total land area of Atlanta, Seattle, and San Francisco.

Recycling America's Land, The U.S. Conference of Mayors, April 1999

The redevelopment of brownfields in just 168 cities could generate more than 675,000 jobs.

Recycling America's Land, The U.S. Conference of Mayors, April 1999

98% of those polled felt that parks and recreational activities are important to the quality of life in their communities. 92% of responders felt that all levels of government should work towards preserving and expanding parks and open spaces for future generations.

The 1999 Urban Parks Survey, The United States Conference of Mayors and National Association of Counties

IX. Modernize Our Infrastructure While Protecting Our Environment for Future Generations

- Create a new 21st Century High Speed Rail System for America.
- Enforce the Transportation Equity Act (TEA 21) provisions requiring metropolitan planning organizations to emphasize repair and investment in their patterns of spending.
- Ensure that taxpayers know how states are expending federal funds in the area of transportation by requiring that federal and state departments of transportation disclose annually where their investments are made.
- Increase investment in new rail projects to modernize and diversify our metropolitan transportation systems to reduce congestion and improve economic productivity.
- Expand investment in the nation's airports and ports, critical assets for our nation's future productivity and growth.
- Invest in the nation's water and wastewater infrastructure, including tax incentives and other measures to advance private/public partnership in meeting these capital needs.
- Protect our nation's future drinking water supply through the preservation of open spaces and farmland.
- Deliver resources through a direct environmental block grant to address local environmental challenges.

Traffic congestion in just 68 urban areas cost travelers \$72 billion in 1997.

Trans. Transportation Institute Annual Mobility Report, 1999

Across America today, there are nearly 200 rail and other fixed guideway projects now being planned, engineered, or constructed.

New Starts Working Group, 1999

In five years, Americans' drive time increased by more than 40 hours. On a typical day, the average mother spends more than an hour driving, traveling 29 miles and taking more than five trips.

High Mileage Moms, Surface Transportation Policy Project, May 1999

Airport infrastructure is underfunded by at least \$3 billion annually.

U.S. General Accounting Office, 1998

X. Increase Access to Affordable Healthcare

At least 13 million (or 34%) of Medicare beneficiaries have no insurance coverage for prescription drugs.

National Economic Council, Domestic Policy Council, July 1999

60% of people with a history of mental illness do not get help.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 1999

Despite the 1997 enactment of the State Children's Health Insurance Program, the percentage of uninsured children has remained unchanged -- at 11.1 million.

Medicare and Health, October 1999

The number of uninsured Americans grew by around one million to 41.3 million between 1997 and 1998.

Bureau of the Census, 1999

- Support a program to ensure that affordable health insurance is available for every child, backed by a stronger federal local partnership to make families aware that such benefits are available.

- Increase prescription drug coverage for senior and low income citizens through Medicare and Medicaid payment systems.

- Assess the adequacy of mental health care currently available from the public sector and private insurance system, and work with public and private sector partners to increase the availability of quality, affordable mental health care.

ATTACHMENT D

SUMMER JOBS/IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WORKFORCE INVESTMENT ACT

ISSUE:

- One issue that the Mayors appear to be focusing on is the effect of implementation of the Workforce Investment Act (WIA) on local Summer Jobs programs. Among the changes in WIA was the consolidation of the Year-round Youth and Summer Jobs programs.
- The idea was to give local areas more flexibility on deciding how much funding to devote to each program. The Summer Jobs program has always been the most politically popular program, but at-risk young people are more likely to see long-term benefits from participating in a year round program.
- WIA also included a 15% set aside from each funding stream (Dislocated Worker, Adult Training and Youth Training) for the Governors to target additional funding to particular state needs.
- In addition, WIA requires that 30% of Youth Training dollars go to serve out-of-school youth.
- The 15% set aside for the Governor, combined with the requirement that 30% be targeted to the more expensive to serve out-of-school population could mean that fewer young people are served by Summer Jobs programs. Mayor's are arguing that this will be the case. They are also concerned that the increased focus on performance will make each person more expensive to serve, also resulting in fewer people participating in the program.

RESPONSES:

- Local governments now have increased flexibility to distribute resources between Year-Round Youth and Summer Jobs programs as they see fit.
- The 15% Governor's reserve money could all go to Summer Jobs. This would result in a significant increase in Summer Jobs funding. The reserve was seen as a way to provide more state flexibility. One could argue that in times of low unemployment, like now, Governors would more likely put more money toward Summer Jobs than Dislocated Workers.¹
- WIA's focus on better performance will make the programs better for all participants.
- We might also consider a supplemental Appropriation for Summer Jobs, if the effect of WIA implementation turns out to be as severe as some Mayor's seem to be anticipating.

¹ There is a concern, however, that much of the money will be targeted to welfare populations through the Adult training funding stream. Also, the Summer Jobs program has traditionally been viewed as a Mayor's program and Governors may be hesitant to direct money to it for that reason.

ATTACHMENT E

GUIDANCE ON COMMUNITY REINVESTMENT ACT AND FINANCIAL MODERNIZATION FOR U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS Prepared January 27, 2000

Q: We understand that the Administration accepted harmful provisions that undermine the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) last year in order to reach agreement on major banking legislation. While we understand that you had other objectives and fought to preserve CRA as best you could, it appears that concessions to Senator Gramm weakened CRA, which is so important to our work spurring greater investment in our cities? Why did you make that choice? What can we do from here to fix the problem?

A: I know that some have characterized the agreement we reached last year as harmful to CRA, but I have to disagree. We fought very hard for new provisions that preserve, and in some ways, strengthen CRA and we rejected changes that would have weakened it. There are some provisions that we think we not necessary, but we feel comfortable they will not harm the extraordinary success we have had in spurring over \$1 trillion in new commitments to lend in underserved communities through CRA during my Administration.

I was prepared to veto the legislation if it failed to establish an important new prospective principle: banking organizations seeking to use new non-banking powers must meet their CRA obligations. The conferees met our demands. As a result, thousands of cases where banks want to get involved in securities and insurance activities, previously exempt from CRA review, will for the first time be covered. If we had not reached agreement on this legislation last year, banks would continue to merge with securities firms and insurance companies without any consideration of their CRA record.

We also fought to eliminate wholly unacceptable measures that would have weakened CRA and dramatically narrowed other objectionable provisions. We also reached agreement on legislative history that will help to ensure that the sunshine provisions are interpreted in a way that prevents undue burdens on the community groups that have been so successful in helping banks find the profitable lending opportunities in their own communities.

ATTACHEMENT F

INTERNET TAX AND DIGITAL DIVIDE TALKING POINTS

1. Digital Divide commitment by 3Com

3Com will be announcing \$1 million in grants to help close the digital divide in 10 U.S. cities at a press conference with the U.S. Conference of Mayors. Cities are using the grants to wire schools, for example. The 3Com press release will specifically mention the New Markets trip that you will use to focus attention on the digital divide in the spring.

2. Internet tax issue

Summary: The last meeting of the Advisory Commission on Electronic Commerce will be held on March 20-21 in Dallas. The Administration has been meeting internally to see if we can continue to play an "honest broker" role between state and local government and industry, but this may not be possible because of the positions of the Commission members. The commission does not have representatives from "bricks and mortar" companies, and many of the state and local representatives (e.g. Governor Gilmore) are taking an extreme anti-tax position.

Internal Administration position: This is the position that the Administration has been floating to both industry and state and local representatives, although we have not gone public with this position:

- Permanent ban on Internet access taxes;
- 2-year extension on the current moratorium on multiple and discriminatory taxes on electronic commerce - no change in "nexus" definitions;
- Urge state and local governments to work on simplification of sales and use taxes.

Our rationale for this is that the Commission was delayed in getting started because of problems with the nomination process, and can't possibly deal with the complicated issues surrounding the application of sales and use taxes during the time remaining. In any event, states and localities will be hard-pressed to get "nexus" (either legislatively or through the courts) until they simplify sales and use taxes.

Industry position: At the staff level, industry members of the Commission have been developing a position that is unacceptable to the Administration, and will be strongly opposed by most state and local representatives. It's conceivable that Gilmore might oppose it -- since it does open the door to sales and use taxes on e-commerce in the future. Below are some of the elements of their proposal.

- Permanent ban on Internet access taxes.

- 5 year extension of moratorium on "multiple and discriminatory" taxes on electronic commerce.
- Repeal of 3 percent federal telecommunications excise tax (cost \$52 billion over 10 years), and reduce and reform state and local telecom excise taxes.
- 5-year moratorium on taxation on digital goods or their equivalent -- e.g. music that can be downloaded, a CD ordered over the Internet, or a CD purchased in a store.
- No nexus even if there is an affiliation between a merchant and its online counterpart (e.g. Barnes and Noble bookstore and its Web site), and even if the "bricks and mortar" store is used for returns and warranties.
- A commission would review state and local progress on simplification, report to Congress, and might ultimately recommend that nexus be granted by the Congress if certain criteria were met. However, any taxation of remote sales would need to be revenue-neutral, and offset by tax cuts.

Suggested talking points

- The Administration's position on this issue is that we need to allow the Internet to grow and to flourish - but we can't strip states and cities of the revenue that they need to fight crime and educate our children.
- I don't think it makes sense to tax Internet access. We want as many people as possible to get connected.
- But I think there is no economic justification for saying that just because you order something over the Internet -- it should never be taxed. That could put "bricks and mortar" companies at a real disadvantage.
- We may not be able to work out a consensus on this issue during the next 2 months -- given the makeup of the Internet tax commission. I think that it may make more sense to have a short-term extension of the existing moratorium -- and give states and localities some additional time to work on simplification. But I'd like to hear what you think on this issue.

February 24, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Karen A. Tramontano
Thomas Freedman

Subject: Long Term Planning Follow-Up

This updated memorandum reflects the themes and issues we discussed with you during the long-term strategy meeting last week. Based on that meeting, we are working with communications, press and the policy councils to develop strategies to implement those themes and issues.

At our meeting, we agreed there are two key times during which you can maximize opportunities to shape the public legislative debate. The first runs from late March (at the conclusion of the nominating process) until late July (the Republican convention). The second occurs during the appropriations end game in September and October. Our planning will fully utilize these times. Since the most important congressional votes and legislative work will take place before each recess and immediately before the session ends, scheduling will hold May 22 – 26; June 26-30; July 24 – 28; September 25 – 30 and the relevant part of October. In addition to your formal meetings with members of Congress to discuss pending legislative business, we will also sometimes schedule informal congressional meetings on those evenings when you are working.

I. Major Themes

A. World Stewardship

We have segmented foreign policy issues into four groupings. The first group of issues are those where the stakes are high, a significant amount of your time is required and success depends upon your personal involvement at the highest level. Because we do not know exactly when you will be needed to work on these issues, we will keep your schedule somewhat flexible. Throughout the year, these matters will continue as high priorities; we will adjust your schedule, as circumstances require.

- ◆ Middle East (March/April) (Prior to September deadline)
- ◆ Northern Ireland (Prior to May)
- ◆ Russia (Elections & Aftermath—March 26 and April 16)
- ◆ NMD, ABM, CTBT
- ◆ China PNTR/WTO (February-July)

We agreed that China requires special emphasis. As a result, your schedule will reflect what it will take to win that vote. A fair amount of your time will be needed to retail and publicly frame this issue. We will set time aside for the following:

- ◆ Congressional meetings (4 each month)
- ◆ Business meetings (February 24, 2000)
- ◆ Speeches (March 1 & March 8, 2000)
- ◆ Elite Press
- ◆ National Press
- ◆ Regional/District Press
- ◆ Kick-Off with Former Presidents (March 28, 2000)

The second group reflects high priority areas requiring less direct attention from you. Scheduling for these matters is much more likely to be within our control. There are other objectives in this grouping e.g. Africa Trade/CBI that may require your attention but will be primarily carried by others.

- ◆ Columbia
- ◆ Greece-Turkey-Cyprus
- ◆ Kosovo/Southeast Europe—Making the case for US engagement
- ◆ International Debt-Relief
- ◆ Vaccines (March 2, 2000)
- ◆ Africa Trade/CBI

The last two groups identify planned trips and other potential travel you asked us to consider:

- ◆ Asia (India) (March 18– 26)
- ◆ Germany (April – May)
- ◆ G-7 Summit (July 21 – 23)
- ◆ APEC (November 15 – 16)

Potential Travel:

- ◆ Columbia + another Latin American Country
- ◆ Russia (After elections)
- ◆ Middle East (Depending upon events)
- ◆ Nigeria & Portugal (May-June)
- ◆ Ireland
- ◆ Additional stops in Asia trips, e.g. Korea, others
- ◆ Consider adding Alaska & Hawaii to Asian trips

B. Economic Stewardship

We have focused this section on your economic stewardship, the benefits of the new and expanding economy, and the need to do more to ensure that all citizens have a share and a stake in our nation's economic growth. We plan to showcase throughout the year your record on fiscal discipline and show how you continue to make the hard choices to ensure a strong economy. You asked that we consider focusing on poverty as a discrete issue including a review of welfare-to-work programs and an analysis of the nature of poverty. In addition we will highlight the following:

- ◆ The Economic Summit - a one-day summit (April 5).
- ◆ New Markets' Tour/Closing the Digital Divide (April 10 - 12)
- ◆ Round table—Community Reinvestment Act (May)
- ◆ The New Economy - Major Speech at UPENN (February 24)
- ◆ The President's Record on Fiscal Discipline
- ◆ Medicare solvency
- ◆ Social Security - transferring interest savings
- ◆ Paying down the public debt
- ◆ Working Families tax package:

Long-term care
Retirement Accounts
EITC - Marriage Penalty
Medicare buy-in
Child Care
Tuition Tax Credit

C. Domestic Leadership

This section addresses issues where you are an established leader, where we want to continue your leadership, and where you are likely to achieve some of your SOTU initiatives.

1. Education

We agreed that education would get attention only if it is at the center of a battle—either in the Congress or in the states. As we develop a strategy we will look for fights that will bring education into sharp focus.

You asked that we consider developing a 2-day education tour where we highlight a failing school that is improving in venues like East LA. We are tentatively holding May 11 - 12 for the tour which will begin with a National Teacher of the Year event. In April we are proposing that you travel to Atlanta to speak to education writers at the Education Writers' Conference.

Here in Washington the debate will begin with the reauthorization of ESEA. The elements of the reauthorization debate are outlined below:

- ◆ ESEA Reauthorization (February through June)
 - Social Promotion
 - Education Reform including low performing schools
 - School Accountability
 - Education Standards

As in the past, the education debate will re-engage during the congressional appropriations battle. The funding battle will provide another opportunity to highlight education.

- ◆ Education funding - September through October
 - 100,000 teachers
 - School Construction
 - After-school care
 - Head Start
 - GEAR-UP

2. Environment

We agreed to plan a few major environmental events using dates when the public pays attention to the environment like Earth Day, Memorial Day and the 4th of July. Major initiatives, like Lands' Legacy, Monuments and Roadless, could be unveiled in big events on these key dates to underscore their importance and improve the chances that you will successfully drive the issue. You asked that we add the Redwoods and the Everglades issues to this list. You also asked us to consider travel to the Rio Grande and Nevada to showcase other environmental initiatives. Plans are underway to highlight your accomplishments in the run-up to Earth Day including events on new generation vehicles, monuments and the 30th Anniversary of Earth Day on the Mall.

- ◆ Power Generation (prior to Earth Day)
- ◆ Lands' Legacy (September-October)
- ◆ *Executive Actions - Sequoia National Monument (April 15)*
- ◆ *Bacca Ranch*
- ◆ Roadless Forests - Final Rule November/December
- ◆ Redwoods
- ◆ Everglades

Three related and no less important issues are:

- ◆ Kyoto/Climate Change
 - Although progress in the Senate on the Kyoto treaty is highly unlikely, the Kyoto negotiations may bear some fruit. If progress is achieved, we will

highlight it but also make clear that progress on Kyoto is a good deal for business (November). We continue to work on a power generation proposal for release in April before Earth Day (April 22).

◆ **Fuel Efficiency**

If we complete a "declaration of intent" with the trucking industry to conduct research that will lead to fuel efficiency, air emissions and safety improvements, much like PNGV, you could sign the declaration (April/May). We will evaluate whether electricity deregulation could pass the Congress this year and develop a strategy to improve its chances. We will also look at showcasing bio-fuels research, energy improvements in housing and energy conversion opportunities.

◆ **New Generation Vehicles**

Similarly, we are working with the auto industry on an agreement to include SUVs in their new research and development effort on fuel efficiency for new generation vehicles. SUVs are the auto industry's biggest market, expanding this partnership to SUVs would be a big victory. Tentatively we are looking at a meeting between the auto industry and you in late March to highlight the successes of the Partnership for New Generation Vehicles and to showcase the new demos that get better than 70 mpg. We may also be ready to announce an Executive Order to improve fuel efficiency in the federal fleet.

3. Science & Technology

◆ **Research** – The 21st Century Research Fund includes a \$3 billion increase in research. Since the Republicans will top your investment, we will work with OSTP on a strategy to ensure that additional increases are not exclusively directed for NIH. We will also include the Livermore, Huntsville and Brookhaven labs as vehicles to demonstrate the government's investment in research.

◆ **The Human Genome Project** – The first sequence draft will be completed this year. The draft represents 90% of the human genome sequence. An announcement could be ready by May. You indicated that this is a priority and you very much want to be involved. We will also look for ways to demonstrate how the genome project will improve people's lives.

◆ **Genome Privacy**—As technological advancements progress, there is tremendous public concern about the release and use of personal medical data. On February 8th, you issued an Executive Order on Genetic Discrimination. In May, you and Tony Blair will sign a Joint Statement opening access to research data.

- ◆ **Research Ethics** – There is also growing concern about the use of gene therapies. Your Bioethics Advisory Board will recommend a government-wide office to oversee the government's involvement in gene therapy research and use. If you embrace these recommendations you could create a new office on "Human Research Subjects Protections." The Board is also likely to issue findings regarding human subjects protections. You could announce these findings as well. (April-June)
- ◆ **Research Misconduct**—Work is underway to develop new guidelines regarding scientific research and misconduct. We believe these guidelines will be well received and very appropriate for you to announce. (September-November)

Technology

As Internet technology expands, questions about cyber access and personal privacy are growing. You have been ahead of the curve on these issues. Throughout the year, we will highlight your initiatives in the following areas:

- ◆ **Closing the Digital Divide:**
Advocates applauded the Digital Divide budget initiative you announced in DC. The New Markets' Tour in April will provide another platform for you to talk about your proposals to close the digital divide. Americorps is working locally with Steve Case and America On-line on a digital divide project that has been quite successful—we will look for ways to include Americorps in an event on this topic.
- ◆ **Connecting Schools to the Internet:**
The Department of Education released a report showing that we have made some progress in achieving our goal. The Vice President declined the announcement. Bruce Reed will provide the details to you. Another vehicle to get more schools connected to Internet will be your school modernization proposals. Our campaign to enact school modernization will provide additional opportunities for you to highlight this progress.
- ◆ **Technology and Disabilities**
There is growing interest about the use of technology to assist people with disabilities and technology's use in telemedicine. You could demonstrate these advancements and the government's investments in research by going to sites where these technologies are being made available to the disabled.
- ◆ **The International Space Station**
You could visit the American crew before their departure to the Space Station. Alternatively, you could call the space station sometime between August and December to talk to the crew. These events would highlight scientific advances made during your Administration.

- ◆ Privacy
There is growing public concern about invasions into personal privacy as a result of technological changes. Work is underway to develop the rules of the road for cyber-privacy
- ◆ Webside Chats
You indicated an interest in continuing webside chats. We will begin these chats with the five constituent groups Loretta Ucelli outlined for you.

4. Health

In addition to the Medicare Reform debate and the political debate on the Patients' Bill of Rights, we believe there will be three vital health care debates where you can promote your SOTU initiatives and in the case of medical errors, take additional executive actions.

- ◆ Health Care Expansion
- ◆ Prescription drugs
- ◆ Medical errors (February 22)

You asked that we also consider a White House Conference or a Summit that would focus the public's attention on Medicare and Aging, CHIPS-Parents and/or Prevention. In addition, the HHS and USDA are hosting a conference on nutrition; we will look for ways to involve your Council on Physical Fitness, too.

5. Crime

Successfully concluding the gun issue is less likely this year given the nature of the political debate and the current make-up of Congress. Nonetheless we are suggesting ways to focus and engage the debate. Dates that are important to note are the Million-Moms' March, the Columbine Anniversary and the anniversaries of the school shootings in Arkansas, Oregon and Kentucky. Since Colorado failed to pass a gun licensing law by one vote last week, citizens have announced that they will launch a ballot initiative in April. We have a tentative hold on your schedule for April 12 to travel to Colorado to announce the initiative.

- ◆ We will continue to work aggressively to facilitate a settlement with gun manufacturers. If a settlement appears unlikely, we will recommend becoming more directly involved in the litigation. The discussions with the gun manufacturers are ongoing and could continue through August.
- ◆ Like last year, we will engage in an appropriations battle with Congress to fund 50,000 more cops. We will schedule events to highlight your accomplishments and leadership. (September - October)

- ◆ In addition to the report you announced on February 4th, there will be other opportunities to promote your gun enforcement initiative. In March/April the Treasury will issue another report on illegal gun trafficking. To bring more attention to your initiative you could roll out the report at a responsible gun manufacturer like Smith & Wesson.
- ◆ To promote your "Smart Guns" initiative and to continue the gun debate you could also visit a manufacturing venue that uses this new technology. (March-July)
- ◆ There are 12 states that have gun-licensing statutes--the Massachusetts law is most like your proposal. To focus attention on your licensing initiative, you could visit a state with similar laws and take a gun safety class or register for a license. (February-October)
- ◆ This month the Youth Violence Initiative will announce its new board including Steve Case and perhaps Oprah Winfrey. Throughout the year, the Initiative will have additional policy announcements and accomplishments to announce with you.

6. National Service

This is one of your signature programs and we must continue to highlight this theme. Last year we developed a communications plan to give Americorps a higher profile, with your help Americorps' profile rose. This year Americorps is on the path to reach 100,000 volunteers. We plan to showcase this achievement by adding service events with Americorps volunteers to your schedule. Americorps would like you to participate in National Service Day on April 17; we are tentatively holding a couple of hours on your schedule for service. We will also ask the Vice President whether he is interested in speaking at the City Year event.

7. Race

As President, you have effectively used public speeches, the Race Initiative and now the "One America" office to elevate and redefine the American dialogue on race. We will continue to weave these issues into the fabric of everything we do. As you know, you will travel to Selma, Alabama on March 5 to join the walk across Pettus Bridge. We will also look for more communities like Fairfax, Virginia to highlight the multi-ethnic nature of America. We recommended establishing a process to help bring the race book to completion. Your guidance is needed on whether to proceed.

D. Unfinished legislative business

This section outlines some of the issues that will be at the center of the political debate. Some pundits are predicting that nothing will get done legislatively—especially on these issues. We believe, however, these issues can be raised above political cynicism and, in some cases, passed into law. The issues are:

- ◆ Patients Bill of Rights
- ◆ Minimum Wage
- ◆ School Construction (tax proposal)
- ◆ Common Sense Gun Control
- ◆ Campaign Finance Reform
- ◆ Hate Crimes
- ◆ Equal Pay

E. Consumer Protection

You have been very successful in demonstrating how government can protect citizen consumers. Work is being done on the following issues to produce policy initiatives and executive actions for your review that will continue your success in these areas.

- ◆ Food Safety - including GMOs
- ◆ Airline Safety
- ◆ Medical Privacy
- ◆ Financial Privacy

II. Message Vehicles & Venues

As we discussed, it will become increasingly difficult to dominate the news. In addition to honing our message, delivery and amplification, we will need more of your time to maintain public leadership on key initiatives. You agreed to the strategic options set out below as additional means to improve the media's coverage of the issues.

◆ The Press

- ◆ Continue to hold one press conference each month
- ◆ For key issues, put time aside for one-on-one press interviews and roundtable discussions to build up to or to amplify an issue or event
- ◆ Write "op eds" and other articles to amplify specific initiatives or positions
- ◆ As your administration draws to a close, develop a strategy for print and electronic media to put your imprimatur on the "legacy" stories that will be written.

◆ Domestic Travel

Traveling to specific venues may provide unique opportunities to increase exposure for some initiatives like National Monuments, Lands Legacy, Agriculture and guns. Additionally, there is also one state you have not visited—Nebraska. We will work on a planning a trip to Nebraska. You indicated you are interested in returning to Alaska and Hawaii.

You asked that we carefully review the states where we will hold message events to maximize coverage and impact. We are reviewing the following states: Pennsylvania—outside Philadelphia, Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Vermont, Maine, Washington and Oregon.

◆ National Conventions

We will review the list of organizations that will be hosting national conventions in Washington, DC. Where appropriate we will use these venues as opportunities for you to speak to a specific issues or “drop-by” the event.

◆ Fundraising Venues

Throughout the year you will be speaking at a number of fundraising events. We suggest using these venues from time to time to discuss policies that you have officially announced earlier in the day. For example, on February 29 we are planning to have a state-by-state report on Medicare prescription drug coverage. Your fundraising speeches later in the day may provide a perfect venue to amplify the report.

◆ The White House

You would like to use the ceremonial power of the White House to recognize individuals who have benefited from your policies. Additionally, you indicated that you would like to invite supporters, members of your cabinet and others to Camp David or to the White House to thank them. Nancy will follow-up.

Executive Orders

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 10, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR BRUCE REED

FROM: ANN O'LEARY
CC: ERIC LIU
TOM FREEDMAN
HEATHER HOWARD
SUBJECT: EXECUTIVE ORDERS

This memo is intended to provide you with a list of outstanding and suggested executive orders from the children and families team. Please provide us guidance on which orders you would like to move forward, release, or, alternatively, no longer consider.

Executive Orders Already Announced by the President:

Ending Parental Discrimination in the Federal Workplace

- First Announced: State of the Union in 1999
- Substance: This EO would prohibit discrimination against parents in the Federal workplace, specifically with regards to hiring and promotion.
- Legislative action: Senators Dodd and Kennedy introduced the "Ending Discrimination Against Parents Act of 1999" in November 1999 and the President released a statement of support at the time of introduction.
- Possible rollout: This EO could be rolled-out at the White House Conference on Teenagers as part of the message that we need workplaces that support parents in their roles as parents. This EO would send a basic message that individuals should not be discriminated against based on their status and role as parents. The release of the EO would also allow us to highlight the Dodd-Kennedy bill once again.
- Status of EO: Draft completed (see attached). Needs to be cleared through OMB.

Under Congresswoman Maloney's bill, family member is expanded to include domestic partner, grandparent, parent-in-law, adult child, or sibling.

- Legislative Action:** In June 1999, Maloney introduced her bill to amend FMLA in order to expand the definition of family member.
- History of Issue:** During promulgation of regulations, OPM was asked to adopt a broad definition of "family" and "spouse," but declined citing Congressional intent and DOMA.
- Pros:** The expansion of family member recognizes the changing nature of the American family. With a broad definition that does not only focus on the domestic partner issue, it is one that the Administration could claim credit for with grandparent groups, long-term caregivers, as well as gay rights groups.
- Cons:** By highlighting this issue through EO, Congress could strike out against other OPM policies that have allowed for the broader definition of family. In addition, opening up FMLA through EO could provide Congress with an impetus to provide legislative "fixes" to other perceived FMLA problems, such as restricting the definition of "serious illness."
- Recommendation:** I would recommend this EO with the OPM definition of family member which leaves out the domestic partner language, but clearly intends to signal the inclusion of domestic partners. This EO signals that the WH understands the changing nature of the family and is providing a model workplace for employees.
- Status of EO:** Not yet drafted

Non-discrimination on basis of sexual orientation in Federal Contracts

- First Considered:** As part of a WH working group on issues of sexual orientation and domestic partner benefits. The group includes WH Counsel (Eddie Corriea, Paul Oetken), OPL (Jullian Potter), and DPC (Mary Smith and myself).
- Substance:** This EO would prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation by any Federal contractor.
- History:** In June 1941, President Roosevelt issued EO 8802 forbidding race-based discrimination by Federal contractors and shortly thereafter, he issued EO 9001 forbidding defense contractors to discriminate on the basis of race.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

**FURTHER AMENDMENT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 11478,
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT**

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, and in order to provide for a uniform policy for the Federal Government to prohibit discrimination based on an individual's status as a parent, it is hereby ordered that Executive Order 11478, as amended, is further amended as follows:

Section 1. Amend the first sentence of section 1 by substituting "sexual orientation, or status as a parent." for "or sexual orientation."

Sec. 2. Insert the following new sections 6 and 7 after section 5:

*Sec. 6. An individual has the status of a parent, if, with regard to another individual who is under the age of 18 or who is 18 or older but is incapable of self-care because of a physical or mental disability, that individual –

- (a) stands in loco parentis to such other individual; or
- (b) has the status of –
 - (i) a biological parent;
 - (ii) an adoptive parent;
 - (iii) a foster parent
 - (iv) a stepparent;
 - (v) a custodian of a legal ward; or
 - (vi) a person who is actively seeking legal custody or adoption.

*Sec. 7. The Office of Personnel Management shall be responsible for developing and implementing guidance to effectuate the provisions of this order prohibiting discrimination on the basis of an individual's sexual orientation or status as a parent."

Sec. 3. Amend section 4 by substituting "and appropriate to carry out its responsibilities under this Order" for "appropriate to carry out this Order."

Sec. 4. Renumber current sections, 6, 7, and 8 as sections 8, 9, and 10, respectively.

Executive Order

NONDISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE, SEX, COLOR, NATIONAL
ORIGIN, DISABILITY, RELIGION, AGE, SEXUAL ORIENTATION,
AND STATUS AS A PARENT IN FEDERALLY CONDUCTED EDUCATION
AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including sections 921-932 of title 20, United States Code; section 2164 of title 10, United States Code; section 2001 et seq., of title 25, United States Code; section 7301 of title 5, United States Code; and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, and to achieve equal opportunity in Federally conducted education and training programs and activities, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Statement of policy on education programs and activities conducted by executive departments and agencies.

1 -101 . The Federal Government must hold itself to at least the same principles of nondiscrimination in educational opportunities that it applies to the education programs and activities of State and local governments, and to private institutions receiving Federal financial assistance. Existing laws and regulations prohibit certain forms of discrimination in Federally conducted education and training programs and activities -- including discrimination against people with disabilities, prohibited by the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, 29 U.S.C. 701 et seq., as amended, employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, or religion, prohibited by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. 2000e-17, as amended, discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin or religion in educational programs receiving Federal assistance, under Title VI of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964, 42 U.S.C. 2000d, and sex-based discrimination in education programs receiving Federal assistance under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, 20 U.S.C. 1681 et seq. Through this Executive order, discrimination on the basis of race, sex, color, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, age,

- (d) ab a stepparent;
- (e) ab a custodian of a legal ward;
- (f) ab a person who is actively seeking legal custody or adoption; or
- (g) ab a person who stands in loco parentis to such an individual.

Sec. 3. Exemption from coverage.

3-301. This order does not apply to members of the armed forces, military education or training programs, or authorized intelligence activities. Members of the armed forces, including students at military academies, will continue to be covered by regulations that currently bar specified forms of discrimination which are now enforced by the Department of Defense and the individual service branches. The Department of Defense shall develop procedures to protect the rights of and to provide redress to civilians not otherwise protected by existing Federal law from discrimination on the basis of race, sex, color, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, or status as a parent and who participate in military education or training programs or activities conducted by the Department of Defense.

3-302. This order does not apply to, affect, interfere with, or modify the operation of any otherwise lawful affirmative action plan or program.

3-303. An individual shall not be deemed subjected to discrimination by reason of his or her exclusion from the benefits of a program limited by Federal law, or a program established consistently with Federal law, to individuals of a particular race, sex, color, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, age, disability, or status as a parent different from his or her own.

3-304. This order does not apply to ceremonial or similar education or training programs or activities of schools conducted by the Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, that are culturally relevant to the children represented in the school. "Culturally relevant" refers to any class, program, or activity that is fundamental to a tribe's culture, customs, traditions, heritage, or religion.

3-305. This order does not apply to (a) selections based on national origin of foreign nationals to participate in covered education or training programs, if such programs primarily concern national security or foreign policy matters; or (b) selections or other decisions regarding

complainant as a form of remedial or corrective action by an executive department or agency.

4-403. Any action to discipline an employee who violates this order or its implementing rules, regulations, policies, or guidance, including removal from employment, where appropriate, shall be taken in compliance with otherwise applicable procedures, including the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, Pub. L. No. 95-454, 92 Stat. 1111.

Sec. 5. Implementation and Agency Responsibilities.

5-501. The Attorney General shall publish in the Federal Register such rules, regulations, policies, or guidance, as the Attorney General deems appropriate, to be followed by all executive departments and agencies. The Attorney General shall address:

- a. ab which programs and activities fall within the scope of education and training programs and activities covered by this order, under subsection 2-202, or excluded from coverage, under section 3 of this order;
- b. examples of discrimination conduct;
- c. applicable legal principles;
- d. enforcement procedures with respect to complaints against employees;
- e. remedies;
- f. ab requirements for agency annual and tri-annual reports as set forth in section 6 of this order; and
- g. ab such other matters as deemed appropriate.

5-502. Within 90 days of the publication of final rules, regulations, policies, or guidance by the Attorney General, each executive department and agency shall establish a procedure to receive and address complaints regarding its Federally conducted education and training programs and activities. Each executive department and agency shall take all necessary steps to effectuate any subsequent rules, regulations, policies, or guidance issued by the Attorney General within 90 days of issuance.

5-503. The head of each executive department and agency shall be responsible for ensuring compliance within this order.

Employment Nondiscrimination in Federal Contracts

Employment non-discrimination directly promotes efficient economic performance and productivity. When Federal contractors engage in discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, the unavoidable consequence is a serious adverse impact upon the Federal Government's economy, efficiency, and cost of operations. In order to operate as effectively as possible, the Federal Government must demand that the entities with which it has contractual relations not discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation.

The adverse effects of employment discrimination on federal procurement are demonstrated by the straightforward application of basic principles of market economics. When Federal contractors discriminate, the supply of labor is artificially reduced. Other factors being equal, this decrease in supply will cause an increase in the cost of labor. It is the policy of the Federal government to secure goods and services, to complete Federal contracts, and to see federally assisted construction contracts completed in the most economical and efficient manner possible. Therefore, it is the policy of the Executive branch not to tolerate employment discrimination by Federal contractors.

Every President since Franklin Delano Roosevelt has recognized and acted on the force of this argument. In June 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 forbidding race-based discrimination by Federal contractors. Less than three weeks after entering World War II, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9001 forbidding defense contractors to discriminate on the basis of race. Thus, when economical and efficient procurement has been most vital to the national interest, Presidents have insisted on the non-discrimination principle as crucial to maximizing our procurement efforts.

NOW, THEREFORE, to ensure the economical and efficient administration and completion of Federal Government contracts, and by the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including 40 U.S.C. 486(a) and 3 U.S.C. 301, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. It is the policy of the executive branch to oppose all forms of discrimination, including discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

Sec. 2. It is the finding of the executive branch that discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation interferes with the economical and efficient administration and completion of Federal contracts and federally assisted construction contracts.

Sec. 3. All Federal contractors are hereby forbidden to engage in discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

Sec. 4. The Office of Management and Budget is directed to issue regulations to enforce this Executive Order. These regulations shall establish:

(a) procedures by which individual allegations that a Federal contractor has engaged in

Sec. 8. The fact that an employment practice has a disparate impact, as that term is used in section 703(k) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, on the basis of sexual orientation does not establish a prima facie violation of this Order, or the implementing regulations.

Sec. 9. This Order does not:

- (a) repeal or modify any Federal, State, territorial, or local law, creating a special right or preference concerning employment or an employment opportunity for a veteran;
- (b) prohibit the enforcement of rules regarding nonprivate sexual conduct, if the rules of conduct are designed for, and uniformly applied to, all individuals regardless of sexual orientation; or
- (c) require the provision of employee benefits to an individual for the benefit of the domestic partner of such individual.

Sec. 10. This Order shall not apply to a Federal contractor that is a religious organization, except that this Order shall apply to employment or an employment opportunity for an employment position of a Federal contractor that is a religious organization if the duties of the position pertain solely to activities of the organization that generate unrelated business taxable income subject to taxation under section 511(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

Sec. 11. Nothing in this Order shall be construed to prohibit a covered entity from enforcing rules regarding nonprivate sexual conduct, if the rules of conduct are designed for, and uniformly applied to, all individuals regardless of sexual orientation.

Sec. 12. Each contracting department and agency shall cooperate with the Office of Management and Budget and provide such information and assistance as it may require in the performance of the its functions under this Order.

Sec. 13. The Director of the Office of Management and Budget may delegate any function or duty under this order to any officer in the Office of Management and Budget or to any other officer in the executive branch of the Government, with the consent of the head of the department or agency in which that officer serves.

Sec. 14. This Order is not intended, and should not be construed, to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers, or its employees. This order is not intended, however, to preclude judicial review of final agency decisions in accordance with the Administrative Procedure Act, 5 U.S.C. 701 et seq.

Sec. 15. This Order shall apply only to contracts in excess of the Simplified Acquisition Threshold.

Sec. 16. This Order is effective immediately.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-4-00
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
November 29, 2000

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Pres. file
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to
Pres
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ORM
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personal file

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed
SUBJECT: What You've Achieved in Domestic Policy

Here are a few key points to emphasize about your achievements in domestic policy over the last eight years:

- 1. Restoring the Vital Center:** Over the past decade, as a candidate and as President, you have set forth a new governing philosophy that has transformed the Democratic party and eclipsed conservatism as the majority American view. The Third Way has brought liberalism into the 21st Century, and shown how government here and abroad can use new means to achieve progressive ends. The enduring value of "opportunity, responsibility, community" is not just that it captures the hearts and minds of a majority of Americans who have no use for the old labels, but that it is the right way – indeed the only way – to solve the problems we face. The only way to turn around a failed welfare system was to reward and demand work at the same time. The only way to make crime rates go down instead of up was to put more police on the street and get guns off the street. The only way to build a new economy was to balance the budget and increase investment at the same time. The only way to raise educational achievement is to invest more and demand more.
- 2. The Basic Bargain: More Opportunity in Return for More Responsibility:** The core of your approach to domestic policy goes back to what you said in your announcement speech in October 1991: "Government has a responsibility to give people more opportunity. People have a responsibility to make the most of it." Everything you've done, from national service and expanding college opportunity to reforming welfare and turning around the inner city, has followed that basic principle. That new synthesis has provided a solid philosophical basis for activist government – to help those willing to help themselves – that may have greater staying power than either the New Deal or the Great Society.
- 3. Restoring America's Confidence in Solving Social Problems:** Eight years ago, many of the problems you inherited – record deficits, rising rates of crime, welfare, and illegitimacy, decaying inner cities – seemed impossible to solve. Experts across the political spectrum considered these problems to be a permanent and growing part of the social landscape. Over the last eight years, your efforts – along with a strong economy and persistent reforms at the state and local level – have restored America's confidence that we can overcome problems that once seemed intractable. As you said, everything

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wrong in America really can be fixed by what's right in America. We have put the theory of "Broken Windows" to work in reverse: when a community makes progress on one problem, like crime, it gets easier to solve another problem, like attracting business, which not only helps reduce crime further but helps solve still other problems, like moving people from welfare to work. People come out from behind closed doors, individuals start to believe in themselves, and what's good about a community begins to outweigh any sense of disorder or despair.

4. **Ending Welfare as We Know It:** One part of the Times series will address your efforts on welfare reform, poverty, and race. Jason DeParle, who is writing that piece, seems to agree that you have fundamentally transformed the politics of poverty, by ending the debate over whether the poor should work and starting a new debate about what we should do to help those who work – from raising the EITC and the minimum wage to providing child care and health care. We have more to do, but so far, what may be the boldest social policy experiment of our time – rewarding and requiring work – is a remarkable success. The welfare rolls have been cut more than half, but more important, those still on welfare are five times more likely to be working than when you took office. We have restored work, not welfare, as the organizing principle for every American, which is a prerequisite for bringing all Americans into the economic mainstream.
5. **A Stealth Urban Agenda:** Without fanfare, you have helped transform American cities from decaying dinosaurs into a new source of economic strength. Again, we have a long way to go, especially in education. But by dramatically expanding inner-city access to capital through CDFIs and the CRA, giving cities a fighting chance against crime, rewarding work over welfare, and promoting empowerment zones, brownfields redevelopment, and other reforms to bring the private sector back into the inner city, you have succeeded where LBJ failed, and undone the damage Reagan did. You've even won bipartisan support to develop new markets in remote corners of America forgotten for decades. You did it all without ever talking about "urban policy" – because you were able to show suburban America that on most of these issues, its interests were the same.
6. **A New Approach to Fighting Crime:** Before you took office, the violent crime rate in America had more than quadrupled during the previous three decades. You've overseen the longest decline in crime on record, with violent crime down 25% and the murder rate at a 31-year low. Cities from New York to New Orleans are safe places to live again. You broke the political stalemate in Washington, helped transform policing in America, and made it possible to speak openly of common-sense measures on guns.
7. **Investing More, Demanding More on Education:** The two pillars of your education agenda – increased national investment, and a nationwide movement on standards and accountability – were barely on the radar screen eight years ago. Now they're at the center of both parties' agenda. Five years ago, the Republicans wanted to eliminate the Department of Education. Now education is their nominee's top priority. The standards movement has taken hold in every state. Both parties agree the national government should no longer tolerate failing schools. Charter schools have grown from 1 to 1700, and it is charters – not vouchers – that represent the real future of school choice and

competition. Math, reading, and SAT scores are up. Nearly all schools are connected to the Internet. College going is at an all-time high, helped by the largest investment in college education since the GI Bill. After-school help has grown 500-fold. The national government is two years into an historic effort to reduce class size, and Congress is on the verge of agreeing to an unprecedented national role in school modernization.

8. **Improving Public Health:** We may have lost the health care battle in 1994, but we are slowly winning the war. Thanks largely to CHIP, which now covers 2.5 million children, the number of uninsured Americans declined in 1999 for the first time in 12 years. Medicare would have gone bankrupt by now, but instead is secure for 25 years. Immunization rates are at an all-time high. A Patients' Bill of Rights is almost inevitable; a Medicare prescription drug benefit is within reach. While congressional Republicans are still too willing to bend to entrenched interests, we are slowly gaining bipartisan support around the country for targeted expansions of health coverage to working families.
9. **Balancing Work and Family:** You enacted a host of policies to help families, from the Family and Medical Leave Act to adoption incentives to the expanded EITC. You also introduced a whole new set of pro-family policies – child care, flextime, paid leave, protecting children from media violence – that represent the next frontier of social policy, as millions of Americans struggle to balance the demands of work and family.
10. **What's Left to Do:** The 2000 campaign highlighted the central challenge for the next decade: to make sure the hard-won surplus is used in a way that continues the prosperity of the last 8 years, addresses our urgent needs in education, health, retirement security, and helping families, and wipes out the national debt. You came into office with one of the most ambitious agendas of any President, achieved most of it, and helped give the country the confidence, the means, and the method to take on the equally ambitious agenda you leave behind.