

# Seeking to Clone Schools of Success for Poor

A1

By JODI WILGOREN

Banging on desks and stomping their feet, the students chant daily — not just multiplication tables and state capitals but big thoughts, too: "Knowledge is power, power is freedom, and I want it." Their teachers carry cell phones, on call for homework help at all hours. Parents sign contracts enumerating daunting demands — if they slip up, their children can be punished.

KIPP Academy, a pair of public middle schools in poor sections of Houston and the Bronx, requires 70 percent more class time than its counterparts — including Saturday and summer sessions. Its black and Hispanic students consistently get top scores on standardized tests.

As the national political debate focuses on the question of how to raise achievement among poor and minority children, KIPP, founded five years ago by a pair of young Ivy Leaguers, has drawn keen attention from left and right, idealistic dogooders and entrepreneurial free-marketeters. Honored last year by the liberal Children's Defense Fund, the school was highlighted at last month's Republican National Convention, where its pupils were on stage, rapping, "Read, baby, read."

Now, in an unprecedented effort to turn a boutique school success story into a national network, Donald G. and Doris Fisher, the founders of the Gap clothing chain — who know something about building a franchise — have given \$15 million in seed money to create hundreds of KIPP clones across the country.

"If you can replicate the success of KIPP at a bunch of places, and eventually on a scale that cannot be dismissed by lots of excuse-making, do you end up forcing change on the larger system?" asked Scott Hamilton, director of the new KIPP Foundation, which will train teachers to open charter schools in KIPP's image. "Our hope is the answer is yes."

Successful schools for the poor have long been written off as wildflowers in the educational desert that dominates their neighborhoods — mirages or miracles, but dubious prospects for portability. Their outstanding results were chalked up to the local context, support from private donors or the particular brilliance of a dynamic leader.

The expansion of KIPP — which stands for Knowledge is Power Program — is the most ambitious and intriguing of a host of new replication projects spawned by the growing practice of holding schools accountable for student achievement. Fueled

by the freedom offered by charter schools, which receive public funds but are run independently, this trend could change the educational landscape from one defined by districts and states to one divided more by curriculum and style.

Edison Schools, the for-profit company started by Christopher Whittle, will soon have 108 campuses in 21 states, each copying a detailed program. Whole-school reforms like Success for All, which sell packaged curriculums, have become a huge growth industry. There are also looser networks, like E. D. Hirsch's Core Knowledge schools and Théodore R.Sizer's Coalition of Essential Schools, linked by a broad set of educational values. And Teacher's College at Columbia University has joined with Replications, Inc., to copy KIPP and other excellent schools in New York on a small scale.

"We've got brand-name everything else," observed Chester E. Finn Jr., an education analyst at the Manhattan Institute. "Now we have Comer schools and Hirsch schools, and we're going to have KIPP schools and Edison schools — you're going to be able to move into a new city and say, 'Show me the local Hirsch school.' That's not a bad idea for a modern mobile society."

KIPP's ambitious project is unique for its focus on school leadership, a concept that has grown in importance as education has become infused with business principles. The foundation's yearlong training began this summer for the first four KIPP fellows with an intensive six-week seminar at the University of California, Berkeley, business school. This fall, the fellows will immerse themselves in KIPP culture during eight-week "residencies" at each campus. By January, they will be ensconced in Atlanta, Houston, Washington, D.C., and rural North Carolina, working full-time to set up their schools, each scheduled to open with 75 fifth graders next year.

In addition to creating hundreds of new schools — the fellowship is slated to grow to 12 people next year, then 25, 50, 75, 100 and 150 — the KIPP Foundation will search for existing schools that share its philosophy. To remain in the network — which will offer financial support, technical assistance, help with teacher recruitments, camaraderie and annual \$25,000 bonuses for high performance — schools will be evaluated every four years.

"What's intriguing about it is that they are focusing on issues of culture, the values and norms and beliefs about children's capacities to learn and adults' capacities to teach," said Richard F. Elmore, a professor at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. "That's where most of the so-called replication efforts fail."

KIPP grew out of a marathon 12-hour conversation about the problems plaguing public education between Michael Feinberg and David Levin as they drove a gray Ford Taurus from Los Angeles to Houston in the summer of 1992, weeks after finishing the University of Pennsylvania and Yale University. They were new recruits of Teach for America, the national program that

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The New York Times

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an extended school day and year, rewards and consequences for student and staff achievement, and outstanding academic results. For now, the schools will not carry the KIPP name, a brand the founders are wary of watering down. (Mr. Feinberg, 31, is stepping down as director of the Houston school to become chief executive officer of the foundation; Mr. Levin, 30, remains principal in the Bronx and will serve as a consultant to the KIPP network.)

"We want the smell of the place to be the same," said Mr. Feinberg, a mix of drill sergeant and Little League coach who stands 6-foot-4 and shaves his head. "They'll look like cousins. They're not twins, but they're all related."

The rest is up to the school leaders.

Though the foundation hopes to make its fellowship competitive and prestigious, this year's class was selected in a hurry, largely through word of mouth. Three of the fellows, like KIPP's founders, are Teach for America alumni. The fourth is Derrick Lockwood, a nondenominational minister and 15-year veteran of private and public schools in Atlanta, where Gov. Roy Barnes hopes to open as many as 10 KIPP academies. The fellows receive a \$45,000 stipend, plus the Berkeley boot camp — which cost \$250,000 — and a \$1 million loan for school buildings.

"It was, literally, an opportunity that fell out of the sky," said Caleb Dolan, 25, who plans to open his school in Gaston, N.C., a tiny town near the Virginia border where he has been teaching sixth grade since 1996. "We came home from school one day and there was a message on the machine that said, 'Would you like to run a charter school?'"

"It's always been my pipe

places college graduates in impoverished schools.

Two years later, frustrated by the limitations of their classrooms but inspired by a Los Angeles teacher, Rafe Esquith, the pair convinced the Houston district to let them stretch class from 7:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. They recruited 50 fifth graders, printed T-shirts and taped Mr. Esquith's motto, "There are no shortcuts," over the door. The next year, the duo split: Mr. Levin returned home to New York to start a branch of the program there, and Mr. Feinberg expanded in Houston, recruiting three teachers to help him with the new crop of 72 fifth graders.

Today, KIPP-New York outperforms all other Bronx middle schools on New York's standardized tests, and 98 percent of the students at KIPP-Houston pass all sections of Texas' state exams. Eighth-grade graduates have earned \$5 million in scholarships to the nation's top private high schools over the past two years, and continue to earn good grades in their new schools.

"Nothing these guys do, nothing that they do, is beyond the reach of every school in the country, period," said Samuel Casey Carter, who highlighted KIPP in a report on successful schools for the conservative Heritage Foundation, and is helping write a "users' guide" for the new network schools. "This is not rocket science, this is very, very simple stuff, but it's monitored and it's managed and it's continually improved."

Both KIPP campuses are marked by militaristic discipline and rituals, children chanting ditties written by Mr. Levin's mentor, Harriett Ball, a Houston teacher. ("How do you make good grades? We bring our tools and follow the rules. It might sound square, but we're going somewhere.") After more than nine hours in class, students get two hours of homework each night, which parents must sign.

Students, teachers and parents all sign contracts pledging to do their best. In Houston, children who misbehave must wear their KIPP T-shirts inside out and create a list of

## Teaching the idea that knowledge is power.

dream," Mr. Dolan added. "It's been my late-night conversation for about three years now: If we ran the school, if we ran the school."

Soon, they will. But first, there are classes in instructional leadership, recruitment, accounting, negotiations, even media training.

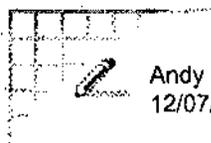
Seated around a classroom festooned with KIPP's signature aphorisms ("Work hard, be nice," "Quality, not quantity is our measure"), the fellows click away at their laptops, plotting budgets, then role-play performance appraisals. Mr. Feinberg is on hand to share anecdotes from his own experiences, like how often to expect federal reimbursement for subsidized lunches.

The other day, the fellows were creating "accountability plans," breaking each part of their future schools' missions into specific goals with assessment measures attached.

"Did you write all students, or just students?" asked Daniel Caesar, 27, a KIPP teacher who hopes to open a second campus in Houston.

"I just have 'students,'" offered

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Andy Rotherham  
12/07/99 12:39:11 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP@EOP  
cc:  
Subject: good news

The President should see this, it is the feature editorial in this week's Education Week.

December 8, 1999

Urban Education: A Radical Plan  
By Hugh B. Price

The saga of public education played out on both sides of the Hudson River this fall. At the IBM Conference Center in Palisades, N.Y., the nation's self-proclaimed education governors and corporate leaders convened to take stock of the education accountability movement and map plans for improving the caliber of public schools.

Directly across the river, the city of Yonkers, N.Y., was roiled by a rancorous school strike. At issue was an instructionally sound proposal by the new superintendent to devote more classroom time per day to fewer core subjects. The local teachers' union cried foul, the school board called their bluff, and the union walkout was on. So the grown-ups in charge of the school district made a sorry mess of a solid idea that principals and teachers probably could have sorted out rather easily in their respective schools.

These days, it seems that tough love is about the only remedy for low achievement that impatient politicians and anxious school administrators can come up with. End social promotion, they proclaim. Send the laggards to summer school and hold them back if they still cannot cut it academically.

These tough-love measures are too timid structurally and off target pedagogically. Ending social promotion alone won't educate all youngsters to their fullest potential. America's most vulnerable children—in low-income urban and rural communities—will bear the brunt of this educationally bankrupt policy because, as things stand now, they'll be left behind in droves.

Successful schools produce successful pupils. Not a smattering of superstars per building, mind you, but the bulk of the student body. After a generation of research and experimentation, examples abound of urban

and rural schools that serve low-income and minority pupils quite admirably, with some even outperforming their more affluent suburban counterparts.

Yet try as big-city school boards and administrators might, few if any urban districts can honestly claim that they educate the vast majority of youngsters remotely up to their potential. For the sake of public education and, above all, for the sake of the children, what's urgently needed is truly radical reform that structures public education so that its *raison d'être* is student success.

According to the longtime urban educator and leader Anthony J. Alvarado, the sole focus of the educational enterprise should be student learning. Everything else, he argues, is "details." "A typical educational system is so top-heavy with details," says Mr. Alvarado, "that learning can suffocate under the tonnage." I advocate a four-point plan for transforming all urban schools into high-performing schools:

(1) Assert no-nonsense state leadership—and responsibility.

Conventional wisdom holds that public education is a local responsibility. But the reality is that the quality of school graduates is a compelling societal concern that justifies aggressive leadership by states and by the federal government.

In the agricultural era, youngsters tended to live where they were reared. But contemporary children often grow up in one town, only to live and work elsewhere. Employers and society at large have the overriding stake in the caliber of education delivered by every school. America's very civility and competitiveness depend on it.

In recent years, states have stepped up to the plate to impose loftier standards and high-stakes tests. Having set the bar, states now bear the primary moral, financial, and legal responsibility for seeing to it that all children have a fair chance to clear it. No longer should poor and minority children be held hostage to communities with low tax bases, weak commitments to quality education, and skinflint taxpayers who oppose providing adequate support for local schools. No longer should children be crippled by school districts saddled with unqualified teachers, insufficient books, and antiquated schools. Having imposed high standards on all children, the states must step in and guarantee high-quality education for every child.

(2) "Charterize" all urban schools.

Urban schools should be liberated from the stifling district bureaucracy and given the latitude to operate the way independent secular schools do. Under the scenario I propose, each school would be overseen by a governing board comprising, for example, local business and community leaders, educators, and alumni who view student success as the school's paramount mission. The boards should be self-perpetuating, so that they are spared the potential turmoil and unpredictability of elections.

Each school would be run by a principal, or headmaster, hired by the

board. The principal would serve at the pleasure of the board, subject to due process. The principal in turn would assemble the faculty, whose members would serve at the pleasure of the principal and board, subject again to due process.

The district superintendent would grant each school a revocable contract—or charter—to operate for 10 to 15 years. The school would be accountable for seeing that, say, 75 percent of its students meet the state's real-world proficiency standards. If the school met this standard, it would retain its charter, which could be renewed. If the pass rate fell below this threshold, the school would be placed on a watch list and required to come up with an improvement plan.

If, after a reasonable period, the school failed to boost its performance, then the charter could be revoked without waiting for the term to expire. This means that the governing board and faculty responsible for operating the educational enterprise in that building could be dismissed and replaced with a new team. If need be, the facility itself could be shuttered temporarily or even permanently.

Given the public nature of the school, pupils should be chosen via a mix of self-selection and lottery. This would prevent the creation of what are perceived as "loser" schools that are filled with students who weren't chosen by some other school.

The state would allocate an annual amount to each school based on its enrollment. The allocation formula should be sufficiently generous to guarantee small classes, modern facilities and equipment, sufficient supplies, and abundant high-quality professional development.

The state education agency could negotiate purchase agreements with vendors of textbooks, food, and supplies, so that individual schools get an advantageous price. The states would also assume responsibility for ensuring that individual schools were properly sized and furnished, and for guaranteeing that there was no disparity—in resources, teacher quality, or physical plant—between urban, suburban, and rural communities.

Once each school's allocation was set, the actual utilization would be left entirely to the board and professional staff of each school. In other words, schools should be accountable for how many students they graduated, not for how many gallons of paint they purchased.

### (3) Professionalize the teaching profession.

Given the projected shortage of principals and teachers, plus the need to increase teacher quality in urban and rural schools serving low-income children, the compensation offered educators must be improved dramatically in order to create a strong demand for these jobs.

This can be done by increasing salaries to levels comparable with other professions and by offering attractive inducements like generous student-loan write-offs for graduates who enter the profession. Why not offer starting teachers with master's degrees the same initial salaries as

young M.B.A.s, attorneys, and engineers? Since most urban and rural districts are strapped financially, the federal and state governments should take the lead in financing the economic incentives needed to attract stronger educators to these districts.

These special incentives should only be available to educators with master's degrees who are certified by the state and who sign up to teach for at least five to 10 years in low-income communities. If they left the profession early, the loan relief would cease.

The critically important quid pro quo for paying educators like real professionals is that they in turn must relinquish those contract-based protections that other professionals do not enjoy. I speak of tenure, seniority, overtime, guaranteed class size, length of class periods, and other provisions that severely impede the ability of principals to run their schools in the best interests of children.

Unions should be allowed to bargain districtwide, indeed statewide, over salaries and fringe benefits. But, subject to appropriate oversight by their boards, principals should make all personnel decisions, such as whom to hire and for how long, as well as the standards for measuring staff performance and the consequences if staff members fall short.

It isn't realistic politically to expect districts to redefine the scope of union agreements this radically. So it's up to governors and state legislators who proudly claim to be the engines of education reform to muster the political courage to override existing agreements and grant individual school boards and principals the discretion they need to run their schools in the best interests of the children.

#### (4) The 21st-century superintendent—accreditation, not operation.

Local school boards and central administrators represent a major source of the "tonnage" that cripples the schools. Rare is the board—elected or appointed—that would be considered an asset to the educational process from the perspective of poor and minority children. Superintendents come and go so quickly that they seldom leave a lasting mark, much less a favorable one. Just below the surface, the central school bureaucracies rule—and stultify.

So what is the solution? The oversight of public schools needs to be professionalized and depoliticized. To cite Anthony Alvarado again, his experience indicates, he says, that urban youngsters can learn at high levels. But, as he cautions, "it takes time, continuity, concentration of focus."

Revolving-door superintendents, ongoing rhetorical battles between mayors and superintendents, mayoral use of fiscal support to hold school boards hostage—all contribute chaos and confusion, instead of continuity and concentration, to the educational enterprise. Children in low-performing schools are the primary victims.

The role of the local superintendent should be converted from operations to accreditation. In other words, the superintendent should be

responsible for awarding—and revoking—school charters and reporting to the public on whether the individual schools meet their targets.

If a school does, the superintendent can extend its charter. If it falls short, the superintendent can monitor the school's revitalization plan, revoke the charter if need be, and award it to a new educational team.

Given the state's dominant role in ensuring education quality, local superintendents should be appointed by and ultimately accountable to the state education agency. The superintendent in turn can be assisted by a local board of advisers, chosen by the superintendent and drawn from such sectors as parents, business, organized labor, the religious community, higher education, and community organizations.

This school reform agenda is premised on what we know can work—individual public schools that are given the wherewithal and the room to succeed. It parts company with the failed efforts to reform urban school systems.

When the clock strikes midnight this New Year's Eve, the policymakers, administrators, educators, and unions that share responsibility for public schools had better leave all those excuses—and all that bureaucratic tonnage—in the litter baskets along with the noisemakers.

It will be a new millennium for humankind. If urban public education is to survive in the 21st century, it had better be a new day for urban children.

Hugh B. Price is the president of the National Urban League in New York City.

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Andy Rotherham  
03/07/2000 05:56:03 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP@EOP  
cc:  
Subject: list and Javits

By the way, the memo I dropped off was pretty rough and certainly nothing earth shattering but just the view from here.

The Department told the Post that they intend to make good on all the scholarship offers so that is that (I hope). I agree with you that the issue is stupidity I just don't want to see it compounded with further stupidity and meanness to boot. I think that not giving kids scholarships after we sent the letters would be fodder for Letterman and all that.

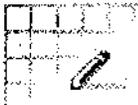
Re you Zell Miller question, here are a few ideas I have:

Things the next President can do for higher ed:

- Fix K-12 education. I really believe this is the number one issue for universities, we are increasing access to higher ed but still failing to educate a whole cohort of kids well enough to take advantage of it. Overall, kids from disadvantaged backgrounds fail to take the kind of rigorous curriculum they need to succeed in college. Or they get to college and are socially promoted there and graduate with meaningless degrees.
- Booster community colleges. Increasingly certifications and alternate degrees are going to be used in a number of fields. Let's face it, a knowledge of British history during the Tudor period is interesting and contributes to intellectual growth but it doesn't make you a more effective LAN network manager. Community colleges are going to play a greater role in helping people get the education and skills that they need beyond K-12 but don't necessarily need a 4-year degree for. Also, as lifelong learning becomes more and more the norm, community colleges are the natural outlet for that.
- Continue to increase access to higher education. Because lifelong learning is essential we are going to have to continue to advance efforts to ensure that no one is denied further education beyond K-12 because of economic need.
- Fix teaching colleges for REAL. There has been a lot of blather about increasing the quality of schools of education and so forth but very little action. The outlying ones aside, Curry at UVA, Harvard, Vanderbilt, UPenn, and UNC, most teaching colleges reside somewhere between worthless and pathetic. Colleges treat them as cash cows and the licensing structure we use for teachers reinforces this by giving them a virtual monopoly on the tuition of would be teachers. The next President and Secretary of Education are going to have to tackle this issue head on, it is related to every other issue in education. Starter steps are higher standards for admittance, on a par with other professional schools, abolishing undergraduate education degrees in favor of academic ones, and using the lever of federal dollars to drive meaningful alternative certification.
- Increase distance learning. A lot of colleges and universities are scared of distance learning because

it threatens a comfortable way of doing business. Community colleges are the exception to this. Distance learning has the potential to open a lot of doors in terms of content knowledge and also in terms of making higher education more available. This is a real part of the future of education.

- Stop inviting teams like FSU to the White House. It only encourages all the things we know are wrong with college athletics, a felon wide receiver, a 28 year-old quarterback, a graduation rate of around 50 percent....



Bruce N. Reed  
06/15/2000 06:34:46 PM

Record Type: Record

To: michael-prof.barber@dfee.gov.uk @ inet

cc:

Subject: My answers on PMI

Here's my list:

### ***Pluses of reform in your country***

- States that have targeted the lowest-performing schools for reform have seen significant achievement gains by disadvantaged students.
- Virtually every state has put standards in place over the last decade and begun measuring whether students are meeting those standards.
- A growing number of urban districts like Chicago are becoming laboratories of tough-minded reform.
- Some conservatives are finally conceding the need for greater investment in education, and most liberals acknowledge the need for greater accountability. The education debate is no longer over whether schools need more money and more reform, but over what role the national government should play in making that happen.

### ***Minuses of reform in your country***

- Despite two decades of national concern about whether our schools measure up, American students start out highly competitive in international comparisons but fall further behind the rest of the world the older they get and the longer they stay in our school system.
- We're beginning to see a backlash against testing, even before most of the country has rigorous tests in place.
- We already have an acute shortage of qualified teachers, especially in poor communities that need them most – and because of retirements and increasing enrollment, we face the enormous challenge of raising teacher standards and attracting 2 million new teachers at low salaries in a tight labor market.
- American parents still have no means of comparing their child's achievement with children in other cities, states, or countries.

### ***Interesting developments in reform in your country***

- Charter schools have increased nearly 2,000-fold in the past decade, and produced widespread parental satisfaction, even though the movement is too new to determine whether the schools are improving performance.
- Educational accountability is a top domestic priority for both the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates, but Congress is not even seriously debating the issue this year.

■ For all the debate about private school vouchers and charter schools, the fastest growing area of school choice is home schooling, which also has produced surprisingly strong results.

■ The United States has managed to build the greatest system of colleges in the world and the worst system of high schools of any industrialized nation.

## Good Teachers Deserve a Tax Break

By JOHN SILBER

Massachusetts experienced a sharp reality check in April, when we joined the ranks of states testing prospective teachers. On the first round, 59% of the candidates—who a year ago would have been licensed—failed.

The results of these tests—which were no harder than those given to 10th-graders—elicited outrage from a public previously in denial. They also substantially reduced the pool of potential teachers in Massachusetts, even though a ballooning student population will require more teachers. Clearly, it will also require more competent teachers, who not only meet minimum requirements but are knowledgeable in their subjects.

One reason for the high failure rate is that we pay teachers as if we think their services are unimportant, and thus fail to attract high-quality applicants. Compared with other professionals, teachers start out low on the pay scale and never climb very high. In Massachusetts, the average starting salary is \$25,000; the average maximum, \$50,000. By contrast, law school graduates frequently earn \$100,000 in their first year. New MBAs make nearly as much. Even toll collectors for the Massachusetts Turnpike, needing only a high school education, have a base salary of \$32,000.

The prospects for narrowing these gaps are next to nonexistent. Many cities, their tax bases devastated by middle-class flight, cannot afford more for schools. In the suburbs, parents paying private tuition

are unlikely to support higher taxes for the education of other parents' children.

The federal government is the only realistic hope for increasing teachers' salaries. Were the government to make the first \$30,000 of a teacher's salary tax-exempt, it would in effect be providing the equivalent of a \$9,000 raise. Such an exemption would have the added merit of not requiring a new bureaucracy or immense handling charges for routing taxpayer money through Washington.

This exemption should be available only to first-rate teachers: Those applying for the exemption should be required to pass a demanding test of their literacy and demonstrate mastery of their subject matter. This test should be designed by a panel of eminent teachers and scholars outside the public education establishment. It could be administered by the states, which might well decide to adopt it as their certification test.

Such a test is the only practical way to ensure that money is spent to attract and retain truly excellent teachers. In the unlikely case that all of the nation's teachers qualified for the exemption, the cost would be only 1.1% of the federal budget, or about \$20 billion a year. On the more likely assumption that half would qualify, the cost would be about \$10 billion.

If 0.55% of the federal budget is more than we're willing to pay to recruit and retain qualified teachers, the exemption could be restricted to elementary school teachers, who make up half the total num-

ber of teachers. Elementary education is the crucible of educational success and failure, and by improving its teachers we will also improve the performance of secondary school students. Approximately \$5 billion, or 0.28% of the budget, would provide exemptions for half the nation's elementary teachers.

Failed education is an extravagant waste of resources. A clever advertising slogan says it all: If you think education is expensive, try ignorance. Washington spends \$36,000 a year on each federal prisoner, and the states average \$21,000. Prisoners pay little or no taxes, and once released, if they do not return to crime, they are as likely to be on welfare as to be gainfully employed taxpayers. By the narrowest definition of the term *welfare*, we spend some \$250 billion a year on it. If by better teaching we alter a child's life path from that of a prisoner or welfare recipient to that of a self-reliant citizen, we pluck a brand from the burning and enrich the treasury. It is hard to imagine a more desirable turnaround.

Our school crisis has more causes than low pay for teachers. But if we wait until we can address all of these, we will never address any. The provision of teachers worthy of our children is a fundamental step in reversing the decline of the schools. The time to take this step is now.

*Mr. Silber is chancellor of Boston University and chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Education.*

# What if Linda Tripp Had Sent Her Tapes to China?

JOHN H. FUND  
scandal is about more than  
bout sex" vs. "it's about per-  
National security experts  
nother element: sexual be-  
commander-in-chief so reck-  
ct him to the risk of interna-  
ail. It's an open question if  
-who, unlike other officials,  
n-FBI background check-  
curity clearance in his own  
1.

ing to talk with the insecure  
sky on short notice to exten-  
hes, President Clinton did a  
keep her quiet, even though  
rand jury that he fully ex-  
hare secrets with others. She  
issing the matter with 11 peo-  
nose was Linda Tripp, who  
talks. But what if Ms. Tripp  
e tapes to Chinese or Iranian  
ead of Kenneth Starr?

Clinton realized the security  
ationship represented. The  
eals that Mr. Clinton told  
that "he suspected that a for-  
was tapping his telephones,  
ed cover stories" if they were  
ed about their relationship.  
it and Ms. Lewinsky had  
0-to 15 times, so Mr. Clinton  
isky that, if asked, she should  
w their calls were being mon-  
g, and the phone sex was just  
his laughable "explanation"  
e helped much if a hostile  
intercepted the explicit calls.

Clinton isn't likely to have  
e phone on his calls to Ms.  
cause she didn't have one.  
ular White House calls go  
lines, they can still be moni-  
sticated equipment. One for-  
use aide I spoke with was told

to avoid talking near windows on an open  
phone.

"I'm just horrified to think the comman-  
der-and-chief is conducting himself with  
such reckless disregard for his responsibil-  
ities, making himself part and parcel of  
every blackmail threat that one can imag-  
ine," retired Marine Lt. Gen. Charles  
Cooper told the Washington Times. Ken de-  
Graffenreid, President Reagan's special  
assistant for intelligence matters, says the  
security concerns Mr. Clinton expressed  
were understandable—it's easy to believe  
foreign governments knew what was hap-  
pening.

This White House has long had a cavalier  
attitude on security: 14 months into its  
first term more than  
100 staffers lacked  
security clearances.  
Last week, the Gen-  
eral Accounting Of-  
fice issued a highly  
critical report on the  
White House's cur-  
rent safeguarding of  
material. The White  
House responded by  
saying the GAO had  
"the false impres-  
sion that the secu-  
rity procedures" in place "are lax and in-  
consistent with established standards."

The Code of Federal Regulations (Title  
32, Chapter 1, Part 147) makes clear that  
sexual behavior is a security concern if it is  
"compulsive or addictive" and "self-de-  
structive or high-risk." The regulations  
warn a person may lose a security clear-  
ance for "personal conduct or concealment  
of information that may increase an in-  
dividual's vulnerability to coercion, exploita-  
tion, or duress, such as engaging in activi-  
ties which, if known, may affect the per-  
son's personal, professional, or commu-

nity standing or render the person suscep-  
tible to blackmail."

There is no higher position in terms of  
national security than the presidency. As  
commander-in-chief, the president has  
complete authority to deploy the armed  
forces and direct the officer corps. Indeed,  
in a 1996 filing with the Supreme Court,  
President Clinton even argued he was on  
"active duty" in the military and thus im-  
mune from Paula Jones's sexual harass-  
ment suit under the 1940 Soldiers and  
Sailors Act. (Under heavy criticism, he  
dropped the argument.)

Today, of course, Mr. Clinton would  
never argue he should be placed under the  
same Uniform Code of Military Justice as  
those he commands. Kelly Flinn, the Air  
Force bomber pilot, resigned rather than  
face trial for lying about adultery to superi-  
ors. In March, Sgt. Maj. Gene McKinney  
was tried for sexual misconduct similar to  
that alleged against the president by Kath-  
leen Willey. Mr. McKinney was acquitted  
of the misconduct charges, but convicted of  
obstruction of justice.

President Clinton and his aides were  
well aware of the danger involved in his re-  
lationship with the immature Monica  
Lewinsky. Journalist Cliff Kincaid has  
noted she was moved to a Pentagon job  
where she received a top-secret security  
clearance. After he ended the relationship,  
she wrote him a "Dear Sir" letter threaten-  
ing to tell others about the relationship un-  
less she was relocated back to White  
House. The next day, Mr. Clinton hauled  
her in and yelled at her that "it's illegal to  
threaten the President." In her testimony,  
Ms. Lewinsky acknowledged the threat but  
said it wasn't a federal crime. "It was a  
threat to him as a man. . . . It was irrele-  
vant, the fact that he was President."

"Her immaturity propelled this into a  
kind of fatal-attraction scenario where she

starts threatening him that she's going to  
tell people," says clinical psychologist Ava  
Sigler. "She literally started to emotionally  
blackmail him. And then I'm sure that the  
president panicked." Indeed, after Ms.  
Lewinsky's threat the president personally  
asked Chief of Staff Erskine Bowles and  
other aides to find Ms. Lewinsky a job. It  
soon became clear it couldn't be just any  
job. Ms. Lewinsky told Linda Tripp that  
the president owed her something special:  
"I don't want to have to work for this posi-  
tion. I just want it to be given to me."

She ratcheted up the pressure even af-  
ter turning down a position offered her by  
United Nations Ambassador Bill Richard-  
son. She gave the president a wish list for a  
well-paying job in Manhattan and sug-  
gested his friend Vernon Jordan make the  
contacts. She told Linda Tripp that she was  
promised "a job anywhere I wanted to  
work."

Democrats are now attacking the  
hypocrisy of politicians who've had affairs  
of their own but point fingers at the presi-  
dent. Such hypocrisy may be offensive, but  
only one politician had the authority to is-  
sue Executive Order No. 12968 in August  
1995. It stated that individuals eligible for  
access to classified material must have a  
record of "strength of character, trustwor-  
thiness, honesty, reliability, discretion,  
and sound judgment, as well as freedom  
from conflicting allegiances and potential  
for coercion." It was signed by President  
Bill Clinton. Three months later he began a  
relationship with a 22-year-old White  
House intern named Monica Lewinsky.

*Mr. Fund is a member of the Journal edi-  
torial board.*

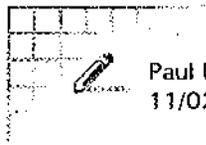


Linda Tripp

# Education Proposals for Children's Trust Fund

Edue -  
Ideas

Program	Goal	Annual Cost	10-year Cost
Pre-K	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide full-day universal pre-school for all four-year olds in poverty (100% of poverty).</li> </ul>	\$475 million.	\$4.8 billion
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide full-day universal pre-school for all low-income four-year olds (150% of poverty).</li> </ul>	\$2.2 billion	\$22 billion
After-school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide universal after-school for all latchkey children (children currently without adult supervision) at any income level, grades K-8 (assumes a 50% local match).</li> </ul>	\$1.3 billion	\$13 billion
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide universal after-school for high poverty children (100% of poverty), grades K-12 (assumes a 50% local match).</li> </ul>	\$3 billion	\$30 billion
Class Size	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hire 100,000 qualified teachers and reduce class sizes in the primary grades to an average of 18 (assumes an average local match of 20%).</li> </ul>	\$1.1 billion (on top of the \$1.75 billion requested)	\$30.78 billion (includes inflationary salary increase)
Title I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Implement proven, comprehensive reform programs in the highest poverty Title I schools (50+ % poverty level, i.e., those eligible to be schoolwide projects).</li> </ul>	\$1.3 billion annually for three years	\$3.9 billion
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Implement proven, comprehensive reform programs in all Title I schools.</li> </ul>	\$3 billion annually for three years	\$9 billion
Special Ed.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reach the goal of providing 40 percent of the average per pupil expenditure (APPE) for all students with disabilities.</li> </ul>	\$700 million in FY01, ramping up to \$16.6 billion in FY10 on top of the \$5.3 billion requested in FY01	\$83.7 billion
School Construction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support 50% of national construction and repair need after taking into account proposed programs (\$52.5 billion)</li> </ul>	Grants: \$500 million  Tax Credits: \$4.39 billion in reduced receipts over 5 years.	Grants: \$5 billion  Tax Credits: \$13.75 billion in reduced receipts
Pell Grants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide 50% of the average cost of attending a 4-year public institution of higher education</li> </ul>	\$3.8 billion	\$38 billion
Student Loans (Mandatory)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Eliminate origination fees on Stafford Loans</li> </ul>	\$1 billion in FY 01	\$13.4 billion



Paul D. Glastis  
11/02/98 02:29:57 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: policy idea: rating public schools

**Consumer ratings for public schools:** A perfect new Clintonian policy idea would have four attributes:

- 1-it would address a top-ranked voter concern, such as education.
- 2-it would conform to the voters' belief the federal government should not be creating big new programs but should be providing citizens with "tools," especially information, which they can use to improve their own lives.
- 3-it would likely cause open dissention among congressional Republicans--sparking lots of extremist anti-government rhetoric--but would also have a good chance of eventually winning sufficient if grudging Republican support.
- 4-it would actually work if we tried it.

Here's an idea with, I believe, all four attributes: Have the President announce during the SOTU that in order to help parents make more informed choices about which schools to send their children to, he is calling on the federal government to collect and disseminate information about the performance of every k-through-12 public school in the country. In other words, information that can be used to **rate public schools**.

When parents chose a public school for their children, they do so with little solid information. They go by reputation, SAT scores, teacher-to-pupil ratios, spending-per-student, and the race and socio-economic class of the student body. These are proxies for school quality. They measure inputs and norms, not actual performance. Though not wholly unreliable, these measures fail to capture the thing parents care most about (or should care about): how much improvement of learning goes on in this school compared to other schools? If my child begins the year with x level of learning, what are his or her chances of getting to y by the end of the year in this school compared to other schools? In other words, what is the "value add" of this school?

The President could make this rating system happen by requiring (with congressional approval) that the Department of Education collect, on a nationwide basis, the following three new sets of data :

1-student achievement tests broken down to the school level. The federal government already has a reliable measuring rod in the National Assessment of Educational Progress. Broader use of the NAEB would be expensive and controversial, but it would work.

2-graduation rates for every high school. Currently each state calculates graduation rates differently and the data they gather is incomplete. Federal standards would make the

information much more reliable and comparable

3-data tracking students' achievements 3-to5 years after graduation (job, income, further education, etc).

It's important to note that Washington would merely be providing data that would make rating systems possible. **The federal government would not be doing the actual rating of schools.** That job is better left to private organizations, such as newsmagazines and education reform groups. Each of these organizations would be free to weigh the data differently and to throw other criteria into the mix, such as SAT scores or extracurricular programs. The point is, without the federal government providing the above data, no rating system can work (which explains why no one has tried to put one together).

Choosing a school can be the most important choice a parent will ever make for a child. Such ratings would empower parents to make better, more informed choices. More than that, it would be a powerful engine for school reform. Numerous experts have noted that the vast majority of parents have the Lake Wobegon view that their kids' schools are above average. This system might help shake off that complacency. Experts have also noted that the mere act of grading institutions causes managers of those institutions to make improvements.

Republicans will probably object that this idea means more federal spending and federal intrusion into state and local education matters. In fact, measuring school performance is less intrusive than other policies, such as setting high academic standards (and the measurement system can probably be done on a voluntary basis). But just as the standards debate highlighted an internal contradiction in conservative ideology (you cannot be for local control and high standards), this debate will highlight another (you cannot be for parental "choice" in education but against giving parents the information they need to make those choices wisely).

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# The New York Times Magazine

OCTOBER 27, 1996 / SECTION 6

Secrets of  
The Secret  
Service

Nashville's  
Next  
Big Thing

Fashion  
Thriller

1. Which issue do voters care most about?

- a) crime
- b) taxes
- c) education

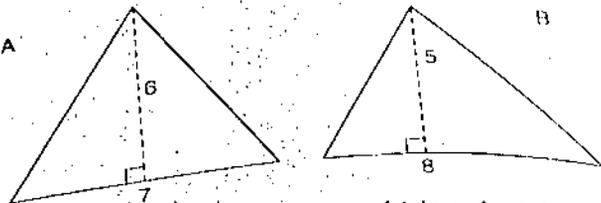
(a) (b) (c)

2. A scout troop hikes 5 miles due west and then 12 miles due north. How many miles is the troop from its starting point?

3. Promises and pie crusts are made to be \_\_\_\_\_

- a) eaten
- b) broken
- c) well baked

(a) (b) (c)



4. Determine if the area of triangle A is

- a) greater than triangle B's
- b) less than triangle B's
- c) equal to triangle B's

(a) (b) (c)

5. To veto a bill is to

- a) pass it
- b) withdraw it
- c) refuse to sign it

(a) (b) (c)

6. The purpose of the Underground Railroad was to

- a) give Harriet Tubman a job
- b) provide an escape route for slaves
- c) anger slaveholders

(a) (b) (c)

7. Match the educational reform with the candidate

- 1) Bill Clinton: A) opportunity scholarships
- 2) Bob Dole: B) charter schools

8. A certain grade in a school contains 96 pupils. If there are 40 boys, what is the ratio of boys to girls in this grade?

- a) a group formed to govern
- b) a military group
- c) a Spanish nobleman

(a) (b)

10. The sum of \$0.73, \$34.05 and \$

- a) \$40.67
- b) \$41.57
- c) neither of these

(a)

11. Which educational reform me

- a) school choice
- b) wired classrooms
- c) national standards

(a)

## What Really Matters in Education

By



Opportunity scholarships  
Give parents the right to  
choose.... Only the produce  
education have a voice....  
The dollars will follow the child  
to the school chosen by the parent  
Militant teachers unions..  
I like young people.... Say no  
to the education monopoly.... I

supported all the education programs.... Fa  
instead of bureaucrats.... BOB DOLE

I support school choice  
for education.... An army of reac  
Charter schools that have no rules....  
Free of bureaucracy.... Hooking up  
all of our classrooms to the Internet  
by the year 2000.... Let's make  
education our highest priority....  
Community leadership and partnership  
at the local level.... Strong force  
for reform.... BILL CLINTON





The Answer Is National

# Standards

Education is a campaign issue without a focus. The school reform that really matters is not vouchers or charter schools or breaking the unions or wiring the classrooms. It's a curriculum set in Washington, administered and monitored in every town and city through testing.

By Sara Mosle

pass tax cuts  
volunteers....



**A**MONG THE ISSUES THAT CONCERN MOST AMERICANS, EDUCATION HAS MOVED TO THE top of the list, ranking in some polls above the economy, the environment or even crime. Bill Clinton and Bob Dole have made it a major issue in the Presidential campaign, but the political oratory has become so similar and so insular as to cloud rather than clarify the differences. The education debate has been reduced to a single issue, "choice," which both candidates have claimed as their own, grabbing on either side of the term and pulling, like two teams with a beach towel in a game of tug of war. But neither candidate is addressing the problem in most classrooms. I learned about them firsthand in 1992 — from boats.

I was teaching third grade at a public school in a poor immigrant neighborhood in New York City. At the time, my school had some 1,600 children in a building designed for about half that many. It was an S.U.R. school, a school under review. The reading and math scores were so low that it was in danger of being taken over by the state.

My students had just come back from lunch one day, and in their absence I had set up for the afternoon's science experiment. Every third-grade teacher in the district taught three units of science, one of which was boats, or "why things float." Students were supposed to construct boats from clay, aluminum foil or paper to test whether they would float or carry cargo-like paper weights and then to draw conclusions about which designs were best and the nature of buoyancy. The philosophy behind this hands-on inquiry approach was sound enough: kids would act like

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*Sara Mosle, a contributing writer for the Magazine, last wrote about the Science Skills Center in Brooklyn.*

scientists, collect and interpret data, learn the laws of nature through observation and then write up reports about what they had discovered. But the theory, as is often the case, foundered on the hard rocks of practice.

I had laid out newspaper, a plastic tub of water and lumps of clay on several clusters of desks so that students could work together in groups of four. I'd seen this approach demonstrated beautifully in my ed.-school courses, but almost always in small "alternative" settings, with lots of supplies and assistance and managed by teachers who had developed and refined their methods over years. Grace in the classroom does not spring, Athena-like, full grown from the heads of even the best ed.-school programs.

With 32 kids in my class, I couldn't fit eight groups of four desks in the room. In such cramped quarters, kids frequently bumped into one other, resulting in spills. Wet clay, I quickly discovered, is extremely difficult to wash off, particularly when there are 64 muddy hands and one small sink. Despite trash-bag aprons, the clay got on everything: clothes, desks, books. One teacher poked her head in during a lesson and asked incredulously, "You're actually *doing* this with so many kids?" I nodded weakly, my clothes covered in clay, my hair frazzled, the classroom a mess.

Most teachers, I later learned, simply did demonstration experiments in front of their classes. (So much for hands-on learning.) And who could blame them? There were no background materials for teachers, no histories of science nor interesting tales about real scientists to inspire kids. Most of my students were recent immigrants from the Dominican Republic, with limited English, who desperately needed exposure to scientific vocabulary. We were supposed to be inculcating a love of reading in our kids, but they almost never got a chance to read nonfiction. Yes, yes, I could haul in books from the local library, create research projects from scratch, design a thematic unit around the "Titanic," but curriculum building of this sort takes exceptional amounts of time, energy and devotion.

I'd see my middle-class friends and painfully realize that their kids grasped entire subject areas about which my students knew nothing: the organs of the body, the solar system, photosynthesis, rockets, dinosaurs, creatures of the ocean. Their kids hadn't learned about such things solely from hands-on experiences with, say, bodily organs, but from reading or being read to at home; they had begun to explore their interests *through* reading and were building up a wealth of knowledge on a wide range of subjects. I despaired at the discrepancy between what they and my students knew, and doubted that "boats" was going to help bridge the gap. I began to yearn for the kind of textbooks that I had once loved as a kid: big, beautiful books that I liked just holding, smoothing down their shiny pages of colorful illustrations and photographs.

Certainly, science lessons should include experiments, but boats, at the time, constituted a third of the science curriculum in my district. Too often, lessons deteriorated into the children drawing an endless series of boats in their lab books. It's axiomatic among many educators that kids in poorer urban schools don't get the frills, like art, that more affluent students do. If anything, my students got too much of it.

**N**EVER, IN ALL OF AMERICAN HISTORY, HAVE ELEMENTARY AND secondary students taken more standardized tests. Yet there are no standards in American public education, no officially recognized, agreed-on expectations of what students should know at each level of schooling. Curricula vary widely, not only within cities and states but also within individual schools. Report after report has shown that American children study too many subjects, too superficially, and spend way too much time taking electives that don't give them the basic skills they need to get even a blue-collar job after high school. And particularly in poorer urban schools, kids are shuffled into tracks in which they take different courses, from driver's ed. to advanced calculus, that determine their career prospects, often before their teens.

In the global economy, Americans worry about our ability to compete, but we don't do for our children what other countries do for theirs. Nearly every other industrialized nation has a core curriculum that stipulates what students

must learn in subjects like math, science, literature and history. To graduate from one level of schooling to the next. The standards designed to measure such progress are limited in number and typically require analytic multiple-choice answers. Students know exactly what's expected; notions of achievement are associated with effort; not everyone receives help to meet the same goals. What's more, achievement is higher and more equitable (levels of achievement in science and math) than in the United States — even in countries which also contends with a large immigrant population. The standards not only boost the achievement of disadvantaged students but also raise academic levels systemwide.

In the United States, by contrast, expectations of achievement are almost insuring inequality of educational opportunity. Students are besieged with standardized tests, yet disconnected from what they study in school; consequently, they are encouraged to teach "test-taking skills" rather than the most important standardized test in America, for instance, is the S.A.T., which is an aptitude rather than an achievement exam, meaning that its emphasis is on general ability rather than knowledge of particular subjects.

Getting back to basics, of course, is a hardy perennial in educational reform. What distinguishes the current standards movement from past hortatory rhetoric is that it emphasizes equal opportunity as much as achievement, through a national curriculum — goals on which both liberals and conservatives should be able to agree. The present movement is led by three figures: Diane Ravitch, who worked in the Education Department under former President Bush; E. D. Hirsch Jr., an author who describes himself as a political liberal and an educational conservative; and the union boss and longtime head of the American Federation of Teachers, Randi Weir. The most unlikely of the three, Shanker is actually the longest and the hardest for standards.

Presidents Clinton and Bush have also supported standards. Clinton's Goals 2000 initiative, which is a direct descendent from Bush's America 2000, offers funds to states to develop standards on their own. Neither political party, however, campaigned vigorously for the issue. Instead, both have been seen as a panacea to what ails our public-school system. Other Republicans mean publicly funded vouchers to send their kids to private or parochial schools. Democratic unions both oppose vouchers, and the Dole attack on "teachers' unions" and on the President are best understood in this vouchers war.

At the Democratic convention, President Clinton's support for choice — by which *he* means public-school parents can send their kids to any one of a number of schools instead of being assigned by geography. Established charter laws that create public schools free of seniority rules and special education mandates, including New York, have what amount to charter school laws; in the last few years, some 50 new "alternative" schools opened in New York City as part of a growing choice movement, choice lags behind many other reforms: 85,000 public schools nationwide, there are only 475 private schools accept vouchers in two s



pointed out, starting a school from scratch is like starting a small business, and half of all new businesses fail. Public-school choice and charter schools would reform the current system; vouchers could potentially destroy it.

Choice, however, makes no sense without standards, for how can parents choose without a means to compare schools? Resistance to standards, though, comes from both liberal and conservative quarters. Progressive educators, who historically have concerned themselves with how learning occurs, worry that a national curriculum would lead to more rote exercises, unimaginative teaching and a greater reliance on standardized tests, which they see as biased against poor and minority-group children. And conservatives, who you might think would cozy up to standards, are deeply suspicious of any sort of outside meddling in their neighborhood schools. Several districts, for instance, have turned down Federal funds offered under Goals 2000 rather than cede any perceived control of their schools to the Federal Government.

Yet for all the cries of "more local control," the American education system remains one of the most decentralized in the industrialized world.

# Resistance to standards comes from both liberal and conservative quarters. Progressive educators worry that a national curriculum would lead to more rote learning and a greater reliance on standardized tests. Conservatives, who you might think would cozy up to standards, are deeply suspicious of any sort of outside meddling in their neighborhood schools.

*Mohagan, a public school in the South Bronx, a "core knowledge" curriculum has produced impressive results for students and teachers alike.*

There are some 15,000 local school districts in this country, and they are run and financed almost entirely at the state and local level. If our schools are failing, as some people claim, it probably argues against, rather than for, more local control, which is exactly the point that standards advocates make. Conservatives like to point to international comparisons to demonstrate how poorly American students are doing. What they fail to note is that most other industrialized nations do not rely on a voucher system to achieve their superior results. The Dutch, for instance, instituted a voucher system many years ago, and today the Netherlands exhibits the least consistent school quality in northern continental Europe. Some 16 percent of Dutch schools perform below par, Hirsch reports, compared with 1 to 5 percent of subpar schools in the nonchoice systems of Denmark, Japan and South Korea. What these nations do share is a national, standardized curriculum.

The American population is highly mobile — which means choice without standards will only make things worse. My first year teaching, some 10 students transferred in or out of my class — the norm in many poorer urban schools. But even the average child changes schools some five times between the 1st and 12th grades, and each time, his or her chances of graduating decreases 2.6 percent, regardless of family background or income. Schools must respond to this mobility by providing a more uniform system that will make dislocations less disruptive.

In order to earn a middle-class income, workers today must have "hard skills" in reading and math "at levels much higher than many high-school graduates now attain," Richard Murnane and Frank Levy write in their new book, "Teaching the New Basic Skills." These authors note that while "soft skills" like the ability to work in groups or make oral presentations will also

be vital, companies like Diamond-Star Motors and Honda typically job applicants to pass standardized tests in basic skills before they move on to the "soft" portion of the interview.

Standardized tests, in other words, are not some artificial r imposed by educators but are a real-world exercise that many em now use to weed out applicants, precisely because they have lost the meaning of a high-school diploma. And far from being discriminatory, standardized measures tend to be fairer. "Skills tests are less [against ghetto blacks] than the subjective assessments used typical interview," William Julius Wilson writes in his new stud *Disappearance of Work.*

The relationship between a 17-year-old's math scores and his hourly wage seven years later has grown stronger rather than over the last two decades. When Murnane and Levy talk about "math skills," they are not referring to calculus but to the simple fractions and decimals in one- or two-step problems. And by cor the cut-off points of employer tests to the student scores on

standardized exams, they discover that "close to half of all 17-year-olds cannot read or do math at the level needed to get a job in a automobile plant."

Even surfing the Internet requires an ability to spell a World Wide address flawlessly or to read often very dense material on the screen be hypertext, but it is still text. It is true that I have forgotten much I learned in high-school math or science, but that is partly because I became a doctor, an architect or engineer. Yet all these professions remained open to me into my 20's because I had the preparation in school to take premed or advanced math courses in college. My students, however, I began to see doors closing as early as third grade were not getting the elemental skills they needed to take more advanced courses in junior high and high school, which would in turn make into a wide variety of professions possible.

"Nations that establish national standards do so to insure equal education as well as higher achievement," Diane Ravitch writes in "National Standards in American Education: A Citizen's Guide," "they make explicit what they expect children to learn to insure that all children have access to the same educational opportunities."

Here, Catholic schools provide a powerful example. Most, even those that serve disadvantaged children, expect all students to have a core curriculum that will prepare them for college. While the achievement gap between disadvantaged and more privileged students widens in high school, it actually narrows dramatically in most Catholic institutions. Yet Anthony Bryk, Valerie Lee and Peter Holla compiled these statistics in "Catholic Schools and the Common Good." They do not conclude that America should adopt a *Continued on*

## EDUCATION

Continued from page 47

voucher system. Instead, they credit the Catholic schools' reliance on a core curriculum — on standards.

**I**N THE FIRST QUARTER of this century, there was not a great need for "standards" because most Americans did not make it to the eighth grade. Recent immigrants and the poor often climbed the economic ladder by attending vocational schools. Only the children of the middle and upper classes generally pursued higher education. Not until mid-century, after *Brown v. Board of Education* and the height of the civil rights movement, did the United States even begin to make good on its promise to educate its children equally. The testing industry initially sprouted, as Nicholas Lemann has written, as a means of assisting elite colleges to select scholarship students.

But as the public schools began opening their doors to a wider array of students in the 1960's, the need for students to reach higher levels of academic achievement also mounted as low-skill, high-paying jobs began to disappear. The standards movement is partly a reaction to this economic reality.

In the 1960's, as many minority-group parents and liberal academics became understandably discouraged by the slow pace of educational progress, they began to call for more reforms: community control, a racial diversity in faculty and curriculum and less reliance on tests that were regarded as culturally biased. In 1968, a battle erupted between an experimental community board in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and the teachers' union in New York City. The board, in a bid to gain complete control over its local schools, managed to dismiss and replace hundreds of teachers in the A.F.T.'s local, the United Federation of Teachers. The

union, Albert Shanker called a series of strikes and at one point some 55,000 members walked out for 36 days in what was then the longest teachers' strike in the nation's history. The bitter battle, which pitted the largely black school board against the union's predominantly white Jewish leadership, soured relations between Jews and blacks in the city and led to the "decentralization" of the city's school system into 32 semiautonomous community districts, which are still in place.

At the time, Shanker was widely regarded, as he later put it, as a "powerful madman," a reactionary who supported more discipline and higher academic standards in schools. In Woody Allen's 1973 film, "Sleeper," Allen's character wakes up after being frozen for 200 years to discover that civilization as he knew it had disappeared. When he asks what happened, he learns that "a man named Albert Shanker got a hold of a nuclear warhead." But history has largely vindicated Shanker's role in the strike. Most city officials now agree that decentralization has failed, and nowhere more so than in poorer school districts, which have been subject to exactly the kind of political patronage and corruption that Shanker warned against.

At 68, Shanker is now regarded as "education's elder statesman," as *Teacher* magazine recently put it. Perceptions of him have changed largely by his standing still. Far from unqualifiedly praising the nation's public schools, he is often their harshest critic and, in recent years, he has occasionally turned his newspaper column "Where We Stand" into a bully pulpit for creating a national curriculum. It has appeared as a weekly union advertisement for the last 28 years in, among other places, *The New York Times* each Sunday. So outspoken is he that the A.F.T.'s executive board once had to vote on

whether or not to try to muzzle him. "We decided to let Al be Al," says Sandra Feldman, the president of New York's United Federation of Teachers, the A.F.T. local that Shanker built up in the 1960's from 2,400 members to a 60,000-strong organization that would strike on his command.

Like Diane Ravitch, Shanker, who was active in the civil rights movement, sees standards as an equity issue — the only assurance that disadvantaged children will receive the knowledge they need to succeed. "The idea that we can't have national standards and curriculums because every state and, indeed, every locality wants to create its own is bunk," Shanker wrote in a typically blunt column. "We already have a national curriculum — but it is set by textbook publishers, and its standards are very low."

Feldman recalls the moment that Shanker first urged the union to reform itself. The year was 1983, on the eve of a union convention in New York, and Shanker, Feldman and the union's executive board had gathered in a hotel suite to read advance copies of the "Nation at Risk" report. Feldman recalls: "We all had this visceral reaction. You know, 'This is horrible! They're attacking teachers.' Everyone was watching Al to hear his response. When Al finished reading the report, he closed the book and looked up at all of us and said, 'The report is right, and not only that, we should say that before our members.' And that's what he did. It was a really courageous thing for him to do."

As a union leader, Shanker has always confounded easy stereotyping, especially by conservatives. He helped to orchestrate the first "national education summit" under President Bush in 1989 and then this past March under President Clinton. He was instrumental in helping to create both the America 2000 and Goals 2000 programs. And each of the last two years, the A.F.T. has issued a

"National Report Card" on the efforts of states to create rigorous, content-specific goals in English, math, social studies and science. (The A.F.T. estimates that adequate standards and means of assessment in all four areas exist in only 14 states.)

"Look, I agree with Al Shanker four days out of every five," concedes Chester E. Finn Jr., a former Assistant Secretary of Education in the Reagan Administration and a senior fellow at the conservative Hudson Institute. "But he is not representative of his union. He is way ahead of his membership." When I told Shanker of Finn's comments, he let out a rare low chuckle. "But that's not what Dole and other Republicans say," Shanker said, his dark eyes glinting behind thick, nerdy glasses and his usually impassive pudding-white face crackling into a wide mischievous grin. "They say it's the union leaders who are awful and the members who are wonderful." His laughter rumbled like a distant thunderstorm.

We were talking at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York, where he was undergoing radiation treatment. Shanker had bladder cancer two years ago and recovered, but he was diagnosed with lung cancer in April. Nevertheless, he remains active. Although he was in a period of chemotherapy, he attended the A.F.T.'s biennial convention in Cincinnati in August at which he delivered one of his trademark Castro-length speeches, presided over caucuses and was unanimously elected to another two-year term. Sitting upright recently in his hospital bed, his dour, basset-hound face was as immobile as ever. But underneath his thin, white hospital sheet, I spied two narrow, dark, nylon-socked feet robustly pumping as he talked, like pistons in a steam engine.

At the convention, the A.F.T. issued a report offering qualified support of charter schools, but Shanker, who wishes that the support had been stronger, still finds

the emphasis on standards as the the school reform "At the moment, 'public schools' is a voice he says, 'you'll kids of different nationalities a going off schools to n. separateness, we'd have a price to pay for up with creati Louis Farrakh

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## EDUCATION

Continued from page 56

Hirsch's "core knowledge" sequence through the sixth grade. His curriculum, which was compiled by educators across the country and introduced in 1990, is one working model of what a national curriculum might look like. It specifies lesson content in the basic subjects, with each year building on the last. Already some 350 schools have adopted Hirsch's curriculum, and initial qualitative reports are impressive.

Jeffrey Litt is the principal of the school and, at 48, has a dark salt-and-pepper beard and still lets off a faint whiff of 60's radicalism. He is an ardent disciple of both Hirsch and Shanker. "Shanker is one of my heroes," he says. "I've been in the system for more than 20 years and I've seen it all: open classrooms, the old math, the new math. I've seen every methodology, but core knowledge is the first thing that's made sense to me, because it makes content the priority. For children to be successful as adults, they need a shared body of knowledge so they'll be able to communicate, write an article, understand a story in the paper about the Supreme Court. Shanker is right on the money with regards to standards."

Litt and I were sitting in his office, a large room with high ceilings in a gothic, five-story 1925 building that serves 939 kids. The school is neither a choice nor a charter program. Mohegan's students, most of whom are black or Latino and qualify for the free-lunch program, come from the surrounding neighborhood. Although it has an association with the Manhattan Institute, which provides some funds and extensive institutional support, it looks very much like a traditional public school in New York, at least at first glance.

When Litt took over the school in 1988, it was decrepit. There had been five principals in the previous

two years. Fire had damaged the building, and there was graffiti on the walls, the smell of urine in the stairwells and an atmosphere of chaos and defeat throughout. The district was once known for its corruption. "There were no books, no pencils," he recalls. "The school had been cleaned out."

Litt describes how Hirsch's core knowledge curriculum has given his students and teachers badly needed direction, but he also touches on many of the problems faced by urban principals and teachers. Forty-four percent of all teachers in Mohegan's district are "permanent substitutes" and consequently have little or no training. Teacher turnover is high, and so his staff cannot afford to redesign the curriculum each year as more stable schools can.

"Teachers who disagree with Shanker are afraid of standards; they fear they won't be able to add their own flavor or creativity," Litt says. But in the classes that I visited, teachers were not promoting bloodless rote learning. Their methods were mostly a hybrid — part traditional, part progressive — avoiding easy caricature.

"Before core, there was no sequence," says Evelyn Hernandez, a fifth-grade teacher who has worked at the school since 1988. "Teachers taught whatever they wanted, but nothing was connected. They weren't building the knowledge or the background that children needed to be critical thinkers. But after we implemented core in 1991, the content was much more exciting than in their textbooks. I knew what I was supposed to be doing. The curriculum provided the topic, but I could teach it however I wanted. I have a lot more freedom and flexibility. In fifth grade, we learn about the Aztecs and the Incas and the Mayans, but every year I teach it differently, so I don't get bored. Some years, it might

be a drama; others, we might make headdresses — whatever the kids are geared to — but they learn the same information."

Nancy Sorokin used to teach in Riverdale, an affluent section of the Bronx, and says her mostly upper-income parents used to complain, "You're teaching the kids too much!" She laughs. This fall, by the third week of school, she already had her routines in place with her first-grade class. Desks were arranged in groups in a classroom as cramped as my own had been. Her approach was a mixture of phonics (in which kids learn to read by sounding out words) and whole language (in which they learn by reading words in context). First, she reviewed some of the letter sounds, and then students came together to read "Skip to My Lou," a rhyming big-book. Kids could read along, pick out complicated rhymes on their own and learn the names and habits of different farm animals. This was the core curriculum content for the start of the first grade. It was not unlike the many demonstration videos I had seen in my courses in ed school. The kids were engaged and already reading at a higher level than some third graders.

**S**TANDARDS ADVOCATES like Shanker have essentially offered a trade-off with more progressive-minded educators: standards for charter schools. It's a deal that those on both the left and right can accept. There are a thousand ways to teach American history. Standards dictate minimum content, not method, and while there are certain to be debates about exactly what will be taught, the discussion can begin by looking at the curriculums of other industrialized nations. These do not need to be massive guides, such as many school districts put out for each subject in every grade. The Japanese goals for elemen-

tary and secondary education are encapsulated in three slim volumes. Conciseness demands specificity.

Education, of course, in the American fashion, aims to enrich lives, not just to line pockets. But you cannot think critically if you do not have something to think about; content matters. It does not empower students to teach them about power without giving them the power to succeed.

Still, progressive educators are right to point out that too many American classrooms remain dull and lifeless. But standards advocates are not arguing for a return to rote learning. The sensitivity to children's needs and differences, the ability to inspire intellectual curiosity and excitement exist independent of method. Schools should be allowed to use whatever approach they would like and then be held accountable for the results on substantive, content-based exams that are geared to the curriculum.

In recent years, many educators have advocated replacing standardized tests with "portfolios" of students' work — essays, short stories, videos, plays — in

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## ANSWERS TO PUZZI

OF OCTOBER 20, 1996

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MEMO: Nov. 26, 1996  
TO: Michael Waldman/Don Baer/Bruce Reed  
FROM: Will Marshall, Bill Galston  
RE: Civic Renewal Initiatives

Here's a quick and dirty list of ideas for using the various powers of the presidency -- executive order, legislative, bully pulpit -- to promote civic enterprise. Many are culled from PPT's forthcoming book; others are notions that would obviously need considerably more thought and refinement:

1) Set a goal of creating one million mentoring relationships by 2000, along the lines of the Big Brothers/Big Sisters program, recently evaluated by Public/Private Ventures. The infrastructure and organization needed to create an effective program costs about \$1,000 per match. The goal of one million mentors would thus cost about \$1 billion annually when fully phased in. The well-being of our young people is a national (not just federal) and community (not just public) issue. Therefore, we should create a mentoring partnership: one-third of the costs to be borne by the federal government, one-third by states and localities, one-third by the voluntary sector. The incremental costs of this program could be reduced if the national service program, AmeriCorps, were to make a significant commitment to the mentoring goal.

2) Urge every state to establish a network of second-chance homes by the year 2000. These homes offer the three elements that teenage mothers need to change their lives: socialization, nurturing and support, structure and discipline. And they all offer a genuine social contract: The mothers who live in these homes must stay in school or job training. They must stay drug free and abide by curfews. They learn to cook and clean, to manage money, to get along with one another, and resolve conflicts. The mothers' welfare payments would go to pay room and board. In return, they get help with day care and health care and schoolwork. Most important, they learn how to nurture their children. The public lever is welfare and other public supports.

3) Call on every community to have a comprehensive plan for reducing teen pregnancy. The welfare reform bill offers significant financial inducements to states that reduce teen pregnancy rates; the point here is to encourage affected communities to devise their own strategies and the states to reward those that succeed.

4) Enlist America's churches in a nationwide civic campaign to find decent homes for children trapped in foster care. The story of One Church, One Child illustrates how barriers to adoption can be overcome when children's needs are put first. In 1980, officials of the Illinois Dept. of Children and Family Services approached the Rev. George Clements, leader of an African-American congregation on Chicago's South Side, to help them find parents for their long waiting list of black children ready to be adopted. Hundreds of potential adoptive and foster



reintegration of offenders into communities a central priority.

13) Expand federal research and technical assistance programs supporting community policing and community prosecution initiatives, and expand them into community-based models for probation, parole, juvenile justice, and child welfare. The Justice Dept. should offer large challenge grants to a few states to experiment with a comprehensive overhaul of criminal justice bureaucracies on a community-based model.

14) Push for "community leasing" of Western lands owned by the federal government. The Clinton administration should engage Western states' leaders in a historic shift of responsibility from Washington to communities for public lands now used mainly for grazing and timber. It should replace federal overlordship with a new concept of "community stewardship." A community stewardship group—like the many watershed councils already in existence—is a balanced consortium of local and regional interests committed to decision making by consensus. Under this approach, the BLM and the Forest Service would offer to lease selected lands to communities for up to fifty years. Community participation would be entirely voluntary. In return for flexibility to manage the lands in harmony with local needs (and the chance to earn some rent along the way), community stewards would commit themselves to meet or exceed national environmental standards.

We hope this preliminary list is useful. If there is high-level interest in any of these items, we will be happy to provide an assessment of the political costs and benefits.

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November 25, 1996

TO: Don Baer  
Bruce Reed  
Michael Waldman

FROM: Bill Galston

SUBJ: Education policy in the second term

Bill Clinton has the opportunity to set American education on the path to excellence; it is impossible to imagine a finer legacy. But as I indicated last week, this goal is unattainable unless he addresses the tough questions concerning elementary and secondary education, not just higher education. (The reasons and supporting data are neatly summarized in the attached Kondracke piece: in short, educational progress has stalled.)

At a minimum, the President should work toward two goals for his second term:

1. By the year 2000, every state should enact meaningful charter school legislation.

2. By the year 2000, every state should adopt specific, rigorous academic standards in core subjects and implement exams in these subjects that students must pass in order to graduate from high school.

The following are steps the President could take to promote these goals, in increasing order of difficulty.

1. Announce these goals in his 1997 State of the Union address.

Political cost: the President would be criticized by those (most Republicans, some Democrats, large numbers of state and local officials) who believe that the federal role in elementary and secondary education should be highly circumscribed, and by groups at the national level (including many of our staunch supporters) who are unenthusiastic about charter schools and tests with teeth.

2. Go on a national tour of state legislatures to promote these goals.

Political cost: the President would be exposed to a range of unpredictable and uncontrollable responses, particularly in the 30+ states with Republican governors.

3. Convene annual White House meetings to promote these goals and assess progress toward meeting them.

Political cost: These meetings might highlight the lack of progress, and they could be boycotted or sabotaged by the President's political adversaries.

4. Propose repealing the legislative language that prevents the use of Goals 2000 funds for developing and implementing high stakes tests.

Political cost: The urban-based legislators who led the charge against meaningful testing in 1993-94 would probably do so again, and Republicans who have never liked Goals 2000 might renew their efforts to kill it.

5. Amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to make significant federal seed money available to states whose enabling laws do not impose crippling restrictions on charter schools.

Political cost: Teachers' unions are the principal backers of restrictions on charter schools and would resist new incentives for states to avoid or eliminate such restrictions.

6. Amend Goals 2000 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to provide substantial bonuses for states that institute rigorous standards and graduation exams, and penalties for states that don't.

Political cost: Unless overall funding were substantially increased, this proposal would trigger a major formula fight that would be hard to win.

7. Amend the Higher Education Act to make passing rigorous graduation exams a precondition for receiving most federal post-secondary grants and loans.

Political cost: While this proposal would almost certainly have a dramatic positive effect on both state policy and student performance, urban-based legislators and the higher education establishment would wage total war to defeat it.

In sum: the "bully pulpit" options entail modest costs and (in all probability) modest payoffs. The legislative options would all be tough slogging. Options 4 and 5 might be doable with total presidential commitment; options 6 and 7 might not be feasible, even with such a commitment. The President must decide how much political capital he wants to invest in break-the-mold efforts to overcome the forces of education inertia and renew progress (now stalled) toward excellence

One thing is clear: the time for educational happy talk is over. Without decisive presidential leadership, we will not come close to meeting any of the national education goals by the end of Bill Clinton's second term.

November 24, 1996

TO: Don Baer  
Bruce Reed  
Michael Waldman

FROM: Bill Galston

SUBJ: Themes for the legacy project

The purpose of this memo is to restate (in a somewhat more orderly form) the hasty thematic suggestions I offered at last week's meeting.

The "challenges" that structured the 1996 State of the Union were perfectly serviceable, but they don't really convey a sense of historic mission around which a presidential legacy can be organized. I would propose something along the following lines for the second term:

1. During the three decades following World War Two, every advanced industrial society made promises to its people that it could not keep. The United States was no exception: In 1993 Bill Clinton inherited a government whose commitments far outran its resources. It is Bill Clinton's historic mission to restore a sustainable longterm balance between our commitments and our resources--without dismantling essential government activities. He moved toward that goal during his first term. By the end of his second term, through a balanced budget and structural entitlement reform, he must end three decades of fiscal crisis and bequeath to his successor a government able to take on the new challenges of the 21st century.

2. Throughout most of the 20th century, routinized mass production was the principal source of individual opportunity and national wealth. Government policy reflected that reality. Bill Clinton's election coincided with an accelerating shift from industrial society to the information age. It is Bill Clinton's historic mission to render our public policies consistent with the imperatives of the information age. By the end of his second term, he must enact fundamental structural reforms that serve this mission--in education, training, technology, research, and taxation.

3. During the past generation, the United States has become increasingly divided along lines of class, race, ethnicity, and gender. While many of these divisions reflected long-overdue progress toward justice and inclusion, they have made it more difficult for Americans of good will to work together. It is Bill Clinton's historic mission to renew America's common ground--not by denying diversity, but by bringing us together in shared purposes across our differences. By the end of his second term,

he must implement policies that offer work opportunity to the dependent poor, fairness to the working poor, new hope to urban America, full inclusion for new immigrants, and security and respect for women in the military and throughout our society. His legacy: a revitalized understanding of "e pluribus unum" for the 21st century.

Together, these three missions serve an even broader objective. During the past generation, there has been an alarming decline in trust--not just in government and other large institutions, but in one another, as fellow citizens. I would suggest that if Bill Clinton can balance commitments and resources, implement policies needed for the information age, and make us one nation, he will have taken a giant step toward the restoration of public trust. There can be no more significant legacy. For as President Ford rightly said, trust is the glue that holds us together.

December 20, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR BRUCE REED

FROM: PAUL DIMOND *PD*

SUBJECT: SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES FOR YOUR REVIEW

Bruce, I am sorry to be leaving when there is so much more to do in building a vital center around a simple principle: empower individuals, families and communities to take greater personal responsibility by expanding choice and competition so that the dynamics of market forces and enterprise will work for all Americans. I feel like someone who is leaving after reaching too far too long -- just at the moment when the ultimate prize now seems so tantalizingly within grasp. But, then again, who better to help the President seize this historic moment than you! If I can ever be of assistance, don't hesitate to call: 313-663-9576.

Thanks for being an ally on what for me too often seemed like an awfully lonely tack to nowhere over the last four years. Merry Christmas and Happy New Year -- in fact at least four more, if not another 8 more thereafter -- for you and your family.

This memo presents substantive issues on which I have worked that may overlap with your responsibilities with Gene. You already know most of this stuff; but this memo at least provides the common ground of my thinking, with the most recent updates, that I have also shared with Gene. So forgive what by now must seem awfully repetitive to you: after all, I have earned my reputation for being "Johnny One-Note," by repeating my message, over and over again. So, humor me by reading on just one more time.

The discussion of issues is organized by my ranking of immediate importance: (1) Inaugural Address, (2) State of the Union, and (3) other policy issues that may be described in the President's Budget.

### **I. Inaugural Address**

#### Historic Theme, Presidential Leadership and Substantive Proposals that Match the Vision.

As you know, the President posits that we stand on the threshold of an historic transition -- from anxiety over the waning of the industrial era and the Cold War to growing confidence in the rise of a new information age in an increasingly global economy. He also argues that this new era offers the prospect of greater prosperity at the dawn of the new century than the

transition from the farm to factory did at the turn of this century -- *if, but only if, ordinary Americans are equipped with the keys to opportunity they need to unlock the many doors to a successful crossing to the extraordinary rewards of this new age.* Four suggestions to make this historic theme sing across the country:

- **1. Name.** The era ahead is much more exciting than the name 'age of information' implies: it promises to be nothing less than a *new age of discovery and renewal.* For the reasons set forth below, families and firms in America have it within their hands to make the next 100 years truly *A New American Century.* [If you don't like this formulation, find another phrase that captures the excitement, challenge, and promise: 'information age' doesn't do it. Senator Dole in his concession speech on election night even conceded that the next 100 years would prove to be "A New American Century." There may be a way to use Senator Dole's concession to build a bi-partisan platform for the Inaugural Address; or you can choose to ignore the Senator's concession altogether, because nobody reported and fewer will remember what he said.]
- **2. The Keys to Opportunity.** The most important key to unlocking this new future is assuring that every family and individual has a real opportunity to learn. *A call for a federal guarantee of support so that every individual and family can invest in the post-secondary education and training they choose would give substance and meaning to this message for all Americans.* That is also why expanding choice and portability -- in pensions and savings, health care and medical insurance (including in Medicare and Medicaid) -- will also help individuals and families to seize the expanding opportunities for achieving greater prosperity in this new age of discovery. *Placing these keys to opportunity directly in the hands of individuals and families will empower all Americans to take personal responsibility for unlocking the doors to greater rewards in this new age.* [Michael Warren and I are getting the back-up information and data to demonstrate how the modal job of the American worker and firm has changed and become more rewarding over this century -- from manual labor on the farm in 1900 to machine-aided physical work in the mass-production factory in 1950 to a greater diversity of higher-skill and more rewarding work in all variety of new enterprise at the dawn of the new century. At each of these three turning points, America made a new and vital commitment to education that enables more and more Americans to thrive and to lead the world: first, universal high schooling at the beginning of the twentieth century; at the middle of the century, a G.I.Bill that stimulated the quadrupling of college-going rates within a single generation; and now, the President's call for a guarantee of lifelong learning to enable all Americans to make a successful crossing to the greater rewards in this new age. And the as-yet untold story here is that more and more American workers -- already 60% and rising daily -- have their own keys to the workplace and more rewarding work: when the manager of the typical firm locks the door to the workplace at night, his or her biggest risk is the firm's most valuable resources -- skilled workers -- will turn in the keys they already own the next morning and choose to take a better job

with a competitor or to join with others to start their own firm.]

- *3. America is leading the way in showing the world how to make a successful crossing from the old industrial, Cold War era to this new age of discovery and renewal. You know all the numbers, comparisons domestic and international, and hot buttons here: figure out how the President can convince Americans that we are showing the way for the entire world to a brighter future. This needs to be a frank but firm discussion with the American people: anxiety over stagnation in the last 20 years -- from 1973 to 1993 -- during the wane of the Cold War, Industrial Era was real and justified; but *we are now on the threshold an historic crossing to a new age, in which the sweep of history and the tide of progress are on our side.* It is time to stop whining further over a bygone past; now, it is time to meet the challenge of completing our crossing to a new age of discovery and renewal.*

The analogy here is to do what Reagan did in 1985: establish the new terms for defining future events: in Reagan's case, declaring that *America will lead the Free World to win the Cold War against the Soviet Empire*; here, declaring that *America will lead the entire world into a new age with greater freedom, peace and prosperity for all -- not by enforcing our will on others through the force of our arms, although we will be strong enough that no rogue foreign power or terrorist renegade will ever threaten our security -- but through the force of American virtues: democracy, free enterprise and free trade, innovation and ingenuity, charity and responsibility, strength through diversity and tolerance rather than destruction through faction and strife. This will enable ordinary Americans all across this country to show to all people around the world who are willing to work for it the many ways to make a successful crossing to a more rewarding, safer and cleaner world -- now and for future generations to come. That is why if we meet our responsibilities today, tomorrow will yield a New American Century.* [Only by setting the bar high will the President be able to point the way to his potential historic legacy. He's not running for election ever again, and the residual of historic legacy is pointing a new direction, staking a sound claim, embracing good policy that fits the new times -- and lots of good luck and even better timing!]

- *4. The President is committed to a smaller and more responsive government that will work better and cost less in this new age of discovery and renewal. The prime example of this more responsive government are the keys to opportunity, described above, that will be placed directly in the hands of individuals and families so that (a) they can make their own choices and (b) the dynamic forces of competition and markets will assure continuous responsiveness, innovation and improvement at the lowest cost. I propose two additional policies:*

*\* Announce a Balanced Budget on the President's Watch. This will do more to put the American people fully in support of the President in the Balanced Budget negotiations than any other single thing he can do. It will also stave off any*

Republican craziness, like proposing huge tax cuts or passing a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment out of the Congress to the States for ratification. It will render politically irrelevant -- if not laughable -- any claim that the proposal of a new entitlement for post-secondary education and training for all Americans threatens to explode the deficit or makes negotiating a balanced budget agreement more difficult. It will also lay a firm foundation for the President to make whatever calls he may choose to establish a process in the near term for achieving longer-term fiscal responsibility to preserve Medicare-Medicaid and/or Social Security well into the next century. The President should announce his intent to balance the budget on his own watch in historic and unmistakably bi-partisan terms: if the people will support the President and Congress in finishing the job of putting our federal fiscal in order, then the just legacy of bi-partisan commitment in the last half-century to prevailing in the Cold War will be preserved forever in history: Balancing the budget will assure that Ronald Reagan will be remembered as the last of a line of 8 Presidents -- 4 Democrat, 4 Republican -- who won the Cold War for the Free World without firing a shot, rather than as the profligate spender who quadrupled the federal debt and drove the United States to the brink of fiscal ruin and economic decline. [You'll come up with better phrasing, but I hope you get the political point. Actually achieving a balanced budget agreement this summer will, of course, also do more to give markets and the Fed room to keep inflation and interest rates low and private sector investment in economic growth high than anything else the President can do to achieve his own historic legacy on the economy.]

\* *A \$1 Billion Prize for Eradicating HIV-AIDS from the United States.* You know the drill here from my previous memo: unlike the historic "big government" projects of the industrial era -- FDR's Manhattan Project to race the Germans for an Atomic Bomb that ended World War II or JFK's NASA to race the Soviets for a spaceship that sent a single man to the moon -- this is the first *reward of this new age of discovery and renewal*: it will challenge enterprising scientists, researchers, immunologists and bio-techies, universities and medical research centers, and private investment, venture capital and firms to enter a noble competition to invent and produce a sufficient quantity of effective vaccine to end the HIV-AIDS epidemic in the U.S. The reinvented role of the federal government is also clear in this new venture: to assure the economic (the Prize) and regulatory (FDA review, indemnification procedures) conditions that make this competition possible, to support extending the frontiers of science in the process (NIH funding, catalyzing venture capital and firm investment, focussing attention), and to develop and implement the most efficient public health immunization program (CDC) to assure that HIV-AIDS will be eradicated once effective vaccines are discovered and produced. [If Gene's NSC/NEC international colleagues could pull it off, you could also add: (1) European countries in funding the President's AIDS Eradication Prize and (2) a consortium of Japan, China, Indonesia, Singapore, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and South Africa in funding a similar prize for the different strain of HIV-AIDS that is causing the much larger epidemic in Asia and Africa. How these international possibilities can be

explored without any leaks, I have no idea. Maybe, the President just challenge these other countries for the first time in the Inaugural Address and hope for the best. Maybe, Dan Tarullo and Gene can figure this out with you, in your spare time, right?]

Bruce, brevity is the soul of wit -- and of rhetorical power and historic legacy. You have this capacity (which this memo, again demonstrates, that I do not); and this is not the President's strong suit. Please do what you can to make the Inaugural Address a focussed, short, powerful -- and historic -- call. Remember, you've got a State of the Union Address that can be longer: so use symbols of real power and substance, and focus on a single theme that captures the day for all Americans and gives the President the lead in setting the terms of the debate on his still large agenda for the next four years. I believe that the guarantee of post-secondary education and training, balancing budget in the last year of the President's term, and the President's AIDS Eradication Prize provide the kind of substantive symbols that will enable you to work with the President to make just such a powerful call on America -- and the future -- in his Inaugural Address.

I do not demean the importance of welfare reform, cops on the beat and crime off the streets, or even K-12 school reform: but, in my opinion, none of these -- even if materially advanced during the President's watch -- is the stuff of an historic legacy for this President or of a Second Inaugural Address. Your new job brings with it a new responsibility: help the President elevate his game by your own thinking harder about what matters in which forums. In my opinion, the Inaugural Address is not the place for a reprise of the President's agenda: save that for the State of the Union! [Don't worry, I offer my suggestions for welfare reform, K-12, and crime in the State of The Union Section that follows.]

## II. State of the Union

A. Medicare and Medicaid Reform (and its possible relationship in a balanced budget negotiation to achieving a federal guarantee of resources to empower individuals and families to invest in the post-secondary education and training they choose). The President should tout the range of alternative choices developed by Chris Jennings for consumers in announcing his proposal for restructuring Medicaid and Medicare to achieve budget savings. *Refusing to include vouchers and Medical Savings Accounts in the range of choices at this stage preserves a valuable bargaining chip*: in the balanced budget negotiations with the R's, I believe that the President can get a great deal back -- i.e., a federal guarantee of Post-Secondary Education and Training among other things -- in exchange for agreeing to include vouchers and MSA's in the range of permissible consumer choices in Medicaid/Medicare.

*This bargained exchange will cost nothing on health care policy grounds: the risks of adverse selection between fee-for-service and all of the managed-care options is no less than the risk of adverse selection between fee-for-service and vouchers/ MSAs. Don't listen to the Health Care Policy Wonks who try to tell you, Gene or the President anything different!*

*You should be aware of an interesting pivot point for achieving this historic agreement for*

*the President here: Senator Jeffords (who is the Chair of the Senate Labor Committee and is the biggest R supporter of post-secondary education and training) is a new member of the Senate Finance Committee; and he is working on a reinsurance mechanism that would operate to establish market incentives to mitigate the risk of adverse selection for all of the managed care, voucher and MSA options when operated in tandem with fee-for-service. As Senator Jeffords is no longer on the Appropriations Committee, he may well be particularly receptive at a key moment to brokering a deal (1) guaranteeing post-secondary education and training (2) in exchange for achieving agreement on trying a greater range of choice/options for restructuring Medicare and Medicaid while seeking to mitigate the risks of adverse selection through a reinsurance mechanism. This would achieve an agreement of truly historic dimensions -- one that builds on the President's basic theme of reinventing a smaller and more responsive government in this new age of discovery and renewal that really does empower individuals and families with the resources to make their own informed choices and relies on the dynamic market forces of competition to provide constantly improving service and continuous innovation at the lowest possible cost -- in post-secondary education and training and in Medicare and Medicaid!*

Bruce, what's sauce for the post-secondary education and training gander is surely sauce for the Medicaid and Medicare goose here: *don't let any health care ideologues, policy wonks or lefties stand in the way of fully considering and achieving such an historic agreement! Choice, competition, and markets are your allies in both policy areas. Don't let the wonks and ideologues declare choice, competition and markets to be enemies of change and off-limits for any policy area. Isn't this the real message for this new age of discovery and renewal? Of course, no one will know for sure whether a reinsurance mechanism -- or choice and competition among a wide range of competing types of health care plans without any reinsurance mechanism -- will work: but at least moving in this direction does fit a vision for a vital center than can work to point a new and promising direction for the next century, with plenty of room for whatever mid-course directions experience hereafter may require. [An alternative bargaining chip for achieving the federal guarantee of post-secondary education and training is Capital Gains, which actually raises revenues during the 5-year budget window, although I don't think it will increase business investment or savings one iota. But, it also won't do any harm: so, there's nothing lost in gaining something big in exchange for giving the R's a reduction in the Capital Gains Tax!]*

**B. G.I. Bill for America's Workers.** The adult training and labor market exchange portions of the G.I. Bill for America's Workers will prove very problematic in Congress this year if pressed as a DoL reform. Unless the President elevates his key principle of Individual Skill Grants to a much higher level, any new authorizing legislation by Congress for DoL is likely to implement instead the bi-partisan demand of most governors and the partisan clamor of Republican members of Ways and Means and Finance to consolidate all of the DoL adult training funds into a single block grant to the states so that the governors can use these funds to help make welfare reform work. The only concerted opposition to this "welfare" devolution of federal training dollars will be organized labor's formidable support for preserving assistance to dislocated workers (and protecting the employment service).

Unless you and Gene can find a way for the President to elevate the issues here, I fear that the best we can hope for in this session of Congress is another stalemate -- which is a totally unacceptable outcome! *This is another reason why I so strongly urge you to ask the President to make the guarantee of federal support to individuals for post-secondary education and training a major focus of the Inaugural Address, the State of the Union and the Budget: it is the best, if not the only way that "individual empowerment" in post-secondary training has a chance of prevailing in Congress -- even if the balanced budget negotiations force us back to the discretionary side (and to build on Pell Grants through the higher ed reauthorization).*

If the President chooses not to propose a mandatory guarantee, then the only strategy that I can see that might work to achieve Individual Skill Grants is proposing amendments to Pell Grants in the Higher Ed Reauthorization as the means to provide individual grants for non-degree training and for dislocated workers. Secretary Reich and I have disagreed on many things as you know; but his instincts are right on one score: tie the political "tail" of federal funding for training to the political "dog" -- the real powerhouse here -- of education. At the worst, trumpeting this proposal provides a basis for the President standing firm against -- i.e., threatening to veto -- any R proposals just to devolve DoL dollars to the states. The bureaucrats at DoL and at DoEd may hate the idea of building on Pell Grants for quite different reasons; but it may be the best way on the discretionary side to push hard for Individual Skill Grants and build a principled ground for defending against the "block and cut" devolution juggernaut.

In the face of these realities, you may wish to present an additional option to the President: work out a deal with the governors in advance and jointly propose devolution of DoL training resources to the states as a part of helping make welfare reform work -- so long as mayors get a say in the process and dislocated workers who need training to find new jobs must be served by individual Skill Grants (albeit designed by the states). There might even be a way to convince governors (and mayors) that the key to making welfare reform work is not any government's program for training but building competitive, market intermediaries to screen, train, place and support welfare mothers in jobs with employers throughout the local labor market.

*All of these underlying strategic questions must be decided by mid-January so that they may be properly presented in the State of the Union and the Budget, if not also the Inaugural Address.*

*Finally, there is a very exciting story here about the power of digital networks to empower individual job-seekers, prospective employers and job placement intermediaries: the President can tout America's Job Bank, announce America's Talent Bank and Labor Market Information System going on-line, and call for an interactive Training Network -- all catalyzed by DoL. These advances are already nurturing the blooming of an electronic labor market exchange to which prospective employers, job-seekers, and job placement intermediaries are adding more and more value: "no wait in line on-line" for job search will mean (1) dislocated workers can get back to work sooner at new and better jobs and (2)*

*students, new workers, and incumbent workers will have greater access to finding more rewarding work at higher-paying jobs.* [This element of "portability" requires no new legislation. The President should tout it; and you should make sure that DoL funds it and works cooperatively with DoD and the private sector to build an interactive training network. Similarly, whatever, the merit of the "One-Stop" reforms of the employment service, they can go forward without any new authorizing legislation. *Be aware, however, that the Conservative Right attacked the electronic labor market information and exchange as the harbinger of "a big brother, big government" getting private information on individuals and families: you should get Tom Kalil's insights on how to build a real -- and a rhetorical -- defense against these charges.*]

C. Pre-school and K-12 schooling. The President is on the right track with his call for standards -- and, just as important, meaningful assessment and information on progress and results -- that American parents, students, teachers, and business can understand: every child able to read independently and communicate effectively by age 8; every child hooked up to the internet to understand, research, solve, and apply science and math concepts and problems by age 12; every student earning a high school diploma that enables the graduate to continue to learn in college, on the job, and for a life of more challenging and rewarding work. The President is also right to call for new tools to help all children achieve these essential learning goals:

- *1. Technology Literacy Challenge.* What is needed in the State of the Union is to focus everyone on meeting this new challenge -- so that students, teachers, parents, and the private sector understand the revolution in learning that will be generated by enabling students to learn interactively in classrooms and at home and by empowering teachers and parents to serve as guides on the side rather than sages on the stage. *To paraphrase Archimedes, this is the new lever of learning for this exciting new age that is long enough to enable every student to lift up all of the knowledge in the history of the world and to chart new paths for discovery never before known or imagined.*

Bruce, if -- but only if -- you can make a visual demonstration of the power of these interactive learning technologies at the Inaugural Address, I recommend that you consider elevating the Technology Literacy Challenge as a symbol of the new age of discovery and renewal. I recognize that this policy initiative has never been your particular favorite: but there is untold power and potential here just waiting to be properly presented. I'll take responsibility for the shortfall in communicating this message to date: and challenge you to put your better mind to the task of figuring out how to make this sing.

- *2. "National" Assessments.* A critical issue is how the President can best call upon all schools in America to assess the progress of each student and each school so that parents and teachers will know how their own children and students are progressing and as compared with students in other schools, in other districts, in other states, and

*in other nations.* This is a very delicate political issue given the apparent opposition to national tests. Fortunately, we already have the makings of the universal yardsticks that will provide the essential assessments -- e.g., the international TIMMS science and math tests. You need to figure out how to develop a workable strategy here that will enable: (1) non-federal firms or entities to develop and to deliver the meaningful assessments and (2) the President to make a credible call in the State of the Union that will advance -- rather than deter -- this crucial effort.

- **3. Choice and Competition.** You should initiate a thorough exploration of whether and how the President can do much more than propose charter schools and call for good assessments and public school choice to enable parents to choose the public school that will do the best for their children. The President has made the political room to maneuver here by his own actions and statements; and the increasing calls from folks as diverse as Larry Katz, Bill Galston, and inner-city African-American and Hispanic-American coalitions for greater choice and competition will only expand the room for a real discussion about "public school choice" and "vouchers." *What is needed is a fundamental redefinition of what is a public school in this new age of discovery and renewal. This is not and should not be a matter of federal budget dollars, but this may be a matter of fundamental Presidential leadership.*

Public schooling now -- and for most of the post-World War II era -- has been premised on a very undemocratic and inequitable system of choice and competition between geographic sets of public monopoly providers: the "tuition" price for admission to a "public" school is the cost of a private house or apartment; and the amount of "public" support per pupil depends on the private wealth and property value of neighboring houses and businesses. There is a healthy debate about whether this sorting (called the "Tiebout effect" after the author first making the "pro" case) by residential choice and the relative tax cost and quality of local public services in a metropolitan area promotes efficiency and opportunity. Increasingly, however, there is agreement that this curious set of publicly franchised monopolies doesn't promote competition and choice between schools on any effective market basis related to the quality, cost, innovation, and continuous improvement in schooling. What is also clear is that it is very problematic for the federal government to get involved directly in what is so clearly a state/local tax financing issue -- and the School Construction Initiative (which I still view as very problematic) will succeed only if it isn't seen as breaching this state/local financing prerogative. [You may recall that the "opportunity to learn" fiasco pressed by the liberals in the Title I reauthorization nearly sunk the entire bill -- precisely because it was viewed as a back-door attempt by the federal government to dictate state/local financing and spending.]

School choice and vouchers have always offered a different point of entry into these issues. In the early 1970's, in an earlier era of much discussion of vouchers, Mike Smith proposed a fundamental rethinking of what should be defined as a "public" school -- based on four or five basic principles (e.g., publicly financed, universal

access with a lottery to resolve oversubscribed enrollment at any school, no discrimination based on race or color, no "extra" tuition charges, and so on). Mike would no doubt argue today that his "principles" establish more of what he would label a universal system of "charter schools" rather than "vouchers." [I came to much the same conclusions while trying most of the major "Northern" school segregation cases of the 1970's: the best remedy for a caste system of racial ghettoization that substantially restricts the choice of minority families is not mandatory desegregation that restricts the choice all families but empowering every family with real choice about where to go to school, to live and to work.] The main point of Mike's prior work -- and that of folks like Galston and me -- is that you have access to thoughtful, savvy and practical minds to conduct a fundamental rethinking of these issues. [Whether parochial schools may be included or must be exempted, as the President noted in the Presidential Debates, should be a matter for each state and locality to decide, subject to federal and state constitutional requirements and prohibitions. The irony, of course, is that families may already use federal Pell Grants, Student Loans, Hope Scholarships and other student aid (and pre-school federal aid) as a "voucher" and cash it in at parochial schools, private schools, and public schools as they see choose.]

*For the State of the Union, however, the President need only make clear that he supports public school choice, information on results that will enable parents to make reasoned judgements in choosing the school that will do best for their child, and real competition against meaningful standards so that all schools and teachers are challenged to prepare all students to lead rewarding lives in this new age of discovery and renewal. This kind of statement will enable the President to provide leadership on the issue of public school choice and competition as the policy process and politics described above inform his judgment about how to proceed in the months and years ahead. You should not underestimate the political symbolism nor the public policy importance of this issue: many families in inner-cities are fed up with lousy schools over which they have no choice, and they will be joined by policy-makers who -- in my opinion, rightly -- believe that reform and continuous improvement in K-12 education generally will occur only if the dynamic market forces of informed choice and competition are brought to bear within a fundamentally fair, public structure of financing. At the very least, the "voucher" debate will gain heat -- if not light -- in the public arena as the R's push it in Congress: *the full range of options for responses by the President (or by the Secretary) must be fully explored and evaluated. Remember, this is another area where a reinvented government in this new age of discovery and renewal is freer to embrace greater choice and competition as a friend of change and expanding opportunity as you empower all families to engage the dynamics of market forces, rather than defending existing government arrangements that offer real choice and competition only to the few in the name of "public goods."**

D. Community Empowerment. This should be discussed in the State of the Union as another example of discovery and renewal for a new age: the President's goal is catalyze the private

sector to put the lifeblood of private investment back to work all across America so that enterprise will flourish in cleaning up and renewing inner-cities and poor rural communities long since abandoned and polluted by the old industrial economy. You can cite the statistics: \$96 billion in new commitments from banks and thrifts since we focussed CRA on actual investments rather than paperwork; a 25% increase in home mortgage loans in low- and moderate-income communities and \_\_\_% rises in home mortgage loans to African-American and \_\_\_% to Hispanic-American families since we focussed home mortgage lenders on these untapped markets; [story about a CD Bank needed]; and, in one of many success stories from our Empowerment Zones, almost \$2 billion committed by private investors throughout the Detroit region in expanding dozens of business, creating thousands of jobs, and financing many hundreds of new home-owners in one of the most distressed inner-city communities in America. And this isn't a zero-sum game: you ask any businessman, banker, or family in suburban Detroit what this means to them and they'll answer: when we're competing on international markets abroad, or working with suppliers in the inner-city, or going to medical centers, the university, the theater district, the opera, the symphony, the Detroit Museum of Art, the office, or restaurants Downtown, we're proud to say we're from Detroit again: We're all growing and prospering together. [You could also do a great story on Harlem here, too.] And this isn't a matter of charity: the financial institutions and other private investors are providing loans and capital to make a profit; and businesses, families and neighborhoods are repaying this trust with hard-earned dollars and renewed enterprise and hope that more than justify even greater private investments in the future.

That's why we are asking the Congress to: support a second round of EZs and ECs so that another 100 communities in inner-city and rural America can demonstrate how the private sector will go to work renewing enterprise; enable private firms to expense the entire cost of cleaning up Brownfields in low- and moderate income neighborhoods and abandoned industrial sites all across America; provide for greater federal co-investment that will spur an even greater private match to build a self-sustaining network of community development banks to better serve the investment needs of new and expanding businesses and new home-owners in inner-cities and rural America; and offer a 25% tax credit for individuals and firms that invest venture capital into new and expanding enterprise, whether spinning-off high-tech firms from major research universities or hospital centers, or new supplier, service and retail businesses to tap new markets in communities with poverty rates of 20% or greater. In this new age, America's private sector is finding that there are new business and investment opportunities in America's inner-cities and poor rural communities; in the process, they are empowering these communities to renew themselves through their own enterprise and hard work.

[N.B. More on CRA. You may wish to consider adding: And that's why I continue to applaud the federal regulators when they extend the application of CRA to banks as they expand into other financial services, and why I will not stand for any attempt under any guise from any quarter to undercut our reforms of CRA: it's working to expand opportunities for communities and for banks! The problem here is three-cornered: legislation to extend bank powers and to modernize bank regulation will brew again in Congress, stirred even more by Treasury's

proposal to submit a bill that will extend bank powers and CRA; CRA advocates in the House (led by Joe Kennedy) are going to try to extend CRA, first to credit unions and then mortgage lenders; and there are still R's who want to try to gut CRA, even though they know that Secretary Rubin and the President have said they won't accept any back-tracking on CRA. Meanwhile, Gene Ludwig at OCC is implementing a new regulation that enables the banks he regulates to apply for insurance, securities or other financial service powers through subsidiaries, with CRA applying to all of the assets of the bank and its subsidiaries (and with CRA credit given for the non-banking activities of the subs); in contrast, the Fed has a proposed rule that undercuts CRA by encouraging the bank holding companies it regulates to send bank assets and non-bank financial business into affiliates, whose assets and activities the Fed apparently argues would not be covered by CRA at all. The community groups are marshalling their forces to get the best application of a good rule out of Ludwig and then to try to pressure the Fed into incorporating the substance of Gene's rule into the Fed's final reg. All of this presents both opportunities and risks: you need to rely on Gene Ludwig's advice here, who apparently does not have exactly the same close working relationship with Jerry Hawke that he had with Frank Newman. Ludwig knows how best to navigate these turbulent waters when the going gets tough.]

[D.C.: There is an "empowerment planning" process underway here, under the direction of Frank Raines. I have recommended that many of the incentives from our EZ/EC II experience be offered -- but only on the condition (a) that a broad-based private sector and community group forms to develop a strategic economic plan for the census tracts with 20% or more poverty and (b) that (i) private investors throughout the region and the nation commit to investing at least \$2 billion (the amount Mayor Archer levered in Detroit) and (ii) employers throughout the local labor market and job placement intermediaries commit to new jobs for [X,000] inner-city residents who want to work. Without such a bar, no community empowerment program for D.C. will have a chance of working, and none will generate the private sector investment which is an essential pre-condition. N.B.: I am also troubled by the notion that the federal government should take over the "financial responsibilities of a state" vis-a-vis the District. That may alleviate some short-term financial crises for the District, but it sets us on the wrong budget and policy course for the federal government, the District, the local region, and Maryland. You need to discuss this with Gene, Michael Deich, and Andrew Cuomo.]

E. Crime. I only have one suggestion here: use the rhetorical analogy to the 1866 Civil Right Act. In this, the nation's first Civil Rights Act, the Congress recognized the most fundamental of all civil liberties -- the right to safety and security of person and property. [There is a little artifice to this rhetoric: what the 1866 Civil Rights Act specifically guaranteed was the right of the newly freedmen to the same safety and security of person and property as offered to white men. But I think it is safe -- and sound -- to talk about the affirmative right, rather than be stuck with the sexist limit and non-discriminatory quality of the 1866 Civil Rights Act.] Every time I use this line in a public speech -- whatever the race or composition of the audience -- it strikes an immediate chord that resonates. I think it would work even more powerfully for the President!

F. The Campaign to Make Welfare Reform Work. You have my memo on an alternative structure for the WTW Jobs Challenge. I think the two most important tests for structuring any proposal are: (1) whether ever enacted or not, does the proposal provide a solid platform for the President to call for and to lead a campaign with the private sector across the country to make all of welfare reform work by employing individuals making the transition from welfare to work? (2) if enacted, does the proposal really stimulate (a) innovative work in local regional labor markets between governors, mayors, employers and job placement intermediaries to connect welfare mothers to jobs and (b) the development of labor market networks in inner cities that can also help connect women and men who aren't on welfare to jobs? The more I look at these questions, the less I see how targeting the WTW Challenge on persons who have been on welfare a longer period of time meets either test. Thoughts?

In addition, no one has even begun to focus on what I believe is an equally critical issue: how to get out the new message that both parents -- not the government -- bear responsibility for the support and nurture of their own children. If the rate of unwed parenting is not reduced substantially over the next four years, you run the risk that you'll replace every one of the mothers you move from welfare to work with a whole new cohort: and the numbers work against us here because the "baby boom echo" is working its way through the schools and is ripe for child-bearing. A major part of welfare reform must be that it is wrong to beget or bear a baby until you have graduated from school, have a job, are married and with your spouse will take responsibility for the support and nurture of your own child: it's got to be a very tough message, delivered on the streets and in the local community by credible peers. Certainly, the new welfare law can put real economic teeth behind the message. I don't think we need a feel-good "program" here, not even something special "to say yes to:" beware of any grandiose HHS's plans on this score. The National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy has already formed in response to the President call; and folks like Galston and Sawhill are going to make sure that this private entity tries to get the message across in local communities and through young peers. In addition, whatever the "human" failings of the President in other areas, he does set an example -- with the First Lady -- of taking personal responsibility for the support and nurture of their child: the President has the credibility to speak with authority on this issue, as he did at Kramer School. I think this should be a State of the Union message, one that thanks the National Campaign and boosts such a private catalyst for getting the message out in schools and communities all across the country.

[Attacking the cycle of poverty? Bruce, I don't know how serious the President is about taking a rhetorical or policy whack at ending the cycle of poverty and isolation. There is good material for a State of the Union section on this issue: e.g., the private investment of the community empowerment agenda, welfare reform, and the dramatically altered terms [BITC, new minimum wage, continuation of Food Stamps] that make all work pay a living wage; the encouraging statistics on the decline in poverty.

Another primary element should be connecting people from the inner city who want to work with employers through the local regional labor markets who are looking for new workers, which is really the focus of the alternative WTW Jobs Challenge discussed above. One

dramatic symbol of the potential of this approach would be to cite Manpower, Inc.'s plan to invest in starting up [50 to 100] placement offices in the inner cities. [This also could be used as an element of the lead-in to the WTW challenge, discussed above.] We could supplement this with touting the new application of CRA by the federal regulators to credit banks that join with foundations (McKnight, Family Service of America, etc.) in investing in loan pools that provide affordable car loans and van pools so that low-income inner-city persons can access jobs throughout the local labor markets. This approach to the labor market exchange in local regions is another example of the President's understanding the "win-win" nature of the new economy and sound macro-economic policy: "we don't have a person to waste!" The proof of this is now clear in our growing economy: placement agents like Manpower can't fill all of their orders from firms for new workers from the supply of job-seekers in the suburbs -- because the unemployment rate in the non-central city portion of local labor markets is down to 4.3%-4-7%. In contrast, the unemployment rate in central cities it is down to about 6.5-7.0%. [Over the past five years, Manpower has already put offices in rural and small town America, where the unemployment rate is also down below 5%] In addition to making these connections from the inner-cities to jobs throughout local labor markets, increasing choice over school (above) and housing (below) are the other key elements to ending the cycle of poverty that is inherent in the system of ghettoization that still divides too many metropolitan areas into haves and have-nots. I don't see rhetorically, however, how to fit all of this meaningfully into the State of the Union. Maybe it's better left unsaid. In any event, it's for you to figure out!]

### III. Budget

A. School-to-Work, Vocational Education, and Out-of-School Youth. Last year, in the G.I. Bill battle, we fought off the attempt by the Republican authorizers to repeal the transitional School-to-Work Opportunities Act when the Right Wing -- wrongly -- argued that STW was a federal plot to track kids into dead-end programs. That charge, however, is a proper criticism of many if not most vocational education programs. In addition, as Larry Katz' research demonstrates, none of the federally funded state, local, or non-profit out-of-school youth programs make any difference at all. The reauthorization of the Perkins Vocational Education Act, therefore, provides an opportunity: (1) to build principles of accountability, choice, excellence, and competition to support work-based learning to keep students in school until they graduate with a diploma that means something and qualifies them for a job and learning in college and (2) to establish a federal incentive/reward for states and localities that want to put up the bulk of the funds through a match for competing providers that successfully (a) recruit young persons age 16-24 who are out of school back into a work-based learning experience and (b) where the student actually earns a high school degree, learns job skills, and then gets a job. As you know, JAG has a very interesting proposal that several influential governors may support on the second point. *You will need to work with Gene on how to position policy in this difficult legislative terrain to permit the R's to propose reforms for vocational education and for out-of-school youth that the President can embrace -- without running the risk of repealing STW altogether or engaging in a losing battle to defend an unacceptable status quo for vocational education or for federal out-of-school*

youth programs.

**B. Student Loans.** We have a perceived problem here: The competition from Direct Lending has already achieved remarkable savings and convenience in the operation of FFEL guaranteed student loans. In fact, this is a major success: *we should take credit for this success.*

We may have 2 real problems. First, some of the institutions using Direct Lending are experiencing higher default rates among their direct loan students than they experienced with GSL students. These institutions claim this is because the Direct Lending servicers are simply not doing as good a job with information and collection. Second, due to the unanticipated halt in the expected rise of Direct Lending, DoEd is reported to have contracts with servicers that cost money but apparently are not needed. I do not know any of the details here, and these are only second-hand impressions. Nevertheless, the House R hatcheteers will be out to dump on Direct Lending and wound the Department of Education in any way they can.

I believe that you and Gene need to create a small task force to examine how we can turn these issues to the President's advantage, rather than fighting a battle to defend Direct Lending per se. *After you get the full facts, I recommend that you consider at least two complementary actions: (1) enable the FFEL/GSLs proponents to do what they claim they have always wanted, to offer Pay-As-You-Earn, income contingent student loans; and (2) come to an agreement on major student loan issues in the Budget Reconciliation Agreement (rather than running the gauntlet of facing these issues naked in the Higher Ed Reauthorization). You may even wish to call whatever student loans you end up with in such a Budget Reconciliation Agreement "Hope Loans."*

Find a way to declare victory here so that you can make real improvements in individual purchasing power, convenience, and responsible servicing: the key is expanding the convenience, affordability and availability of income-contingent repayment options. Once again, let competition become the ally of a truly reinvented government rather than making competition the enemy of a particular government program, here Direct Lending: put the dynamic power of competition and market forces to work empowering families to invest in the education and training they choose to get ahead.

*Indeed, if you do also succeed in moving Pell and Dislocated Worker Grants to the mandatory side in a Balanced Budget Agreement, you can end up with an historic legacy for the President for the next century that literally bears his signature: Hope Scholarships, Hope Grants, and Hope Loans.*

**D. Housing.** First, keep implementing and expanding the Home Ownership campaign -- through all of the allied partners, GSE goals, HMDA data and CRA, sharing of risk between FHA and other mortgage makers and holders, better repayment counseling by lenders of prospective but inexperienced borrowers, etc. You may want to encourage Andrew Cuomo and Nick Retsinas to work closely with Raines and Deich to develop ever more creative

catalysts here. If the home-ownership rate rises to something approaching 68-70% over the next four years, that will do more to restrain or lower rental prices than anything we could ever do in increasing the supply of rental housing.

Second, affordable housing is not a matter of supply in the U.S. We have the most housing stock per capita in the world; and, in the 1980's, we built enough multi-family housing that multi-family vacancy rates today remain above 7%. Instead, as Bob Greenstein notes, the problem of affordable housing in the U.S. over the past generation is primarily a matter of insufficient income from earnings as the incomes of the lowest quintile of households has declined. HUD affordable housing programs serve only about 1/3 of eligible households, providing virtually a lifetime subsidy for those "lucky" or "unfortunate" enough to win the admission "lottery."

Finally, HUD affordable housing programs are split roughly evenly between portable vouchers, PHA-run public housing units and Section 8 project-based subsidies (where HUD basically guarantees the entire rental stream to the owner). There are five major problems.

- Almost all of the PHAs and Section 8 projects operate on a virtually dual basis, with those located in the inner cities isolating all-black tenant populations in all-black, concentrated, high-poverty neighborhoods. Many of these public housing and section 8 projects are very dilapidated and contribute further to neighborhood decline. Although too many portable voucher programs are run by PHAs that provide no outreach to enable choice among rental units through the local region, there is much less isolation in poverty when low-income families are given even this limited choice of where to live. [See attached graph.]
- Although HUD is moving to demolish the most dilapidated units, this salutary activity is slowed by two factors: first, local opposition to losing any housing stock, no matter how far gone and costly to repair; and local opposition to replacing the demolished stock with portable vouchers and local support for replacement by very costly (e.g., \$100,000 per unit) new public housing stock.
- Many Section-8 project subsidies are well above fair market rents in the local housing market. HUD's Mark-to-Market proposal seeks to limit rental subsidies to fair market rents in the area, which requires the owners to sign up for much smaller mortgages (i.e., default on current mortgages) based on lower fair market rent subsidies. In instances where the mortgages are insured by FHA, this adds to the inventory of properties that FHA must sell off in a mini-RTC set of auctions. Mark-to-Market, however, is essential to breaking the long-term rise in HUD subsidies for Section 8 projects; and it presents an opportunity -- if exercised -- to end the project subsidy forever replace the housing subsidy with portable vouchers.
- Finally, some portion of the Section 8 projects are in such bad shape and in such isolating locations that they too should be demolished and replaced with portable

vouchers as much as the worst of the public housing.

In 1995, HUD proposed a fundamental restructuring to break the link between federal subsidies and particular projects by providing portable tenant vouchers and requiring both PHAs and Section 8 owners to compete for tenants. This reinvention was opposed by Congress, tenant groups, PHAs and section 8 project owners. Congress passed no authorizing legislation; but the appropriators raised the % of income that could go for rents, gave HUD some limited demo authority on Mark-to-Market, repealed the "one-for-one" replacement rules for demolitions, extended Section 8 project subsidies for one-year only, and provided no increase in portable vouchers. Secretary Cisneros in his FY98 budget is proposing a narrow set of policies in response to this congressional opposition that might marginally increase portable vouchers as scheduled demolitions proceed. But, in the main, his proposal doesn't do much if anything about breaking the link between HUD subsidies and particular projects.

This is a difficult political issue, but I believe the right policy is clear: expanding choice and competition is the best means to control the cost of housing subsidies over time and to empower assisted families to choose where to live, work, and go to school so that they can take greater personal responsibility for building a better life for themselves. How welfare reform (and its focus on time limits) fit into all of this may be a more difficult policy issue, if not also an even hotter political issue. In the midst of this political cauldron, Andrew Cuomo and Michael Deich can and should be encouraged to work cooperatively with you and Gene to figure out something that works as a matter of policy and makes political sense here. The good news is that Congress has not yet imposed its own solution on this mess; the bad news is that it's not clear how HUD develops a politically and administratively practicable approach that is even decent policy. Maybe, in all of your inspiration, you can figure out how to lift the thinking and action on these issues above the quagmire in which it has been stuck for three generations now. With Andrew, you at least have someone who is tough, smart, and savvy enough to make a real difference!

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1998  
The Washington Times

EUGENE HICKOK

# Improve schools by teaching the teachers

Nothing matters more to student success than good teachers, but incompetence in the education profession is all too common. Recently, hundreds of New York state teachers could not pass a standard test of English, math and reasoning skills. And this year in Massachusetts, 59 percent of the applicants for teaching jobs in public schools flunked a basic licensing exam.

Can anything be done? In Pennsylvania, where I serve as secretary of education, Gov. Tom Ridge is confronting teacher incompetence head on with a new program called the Teachers for the 21st Century Initiative. With our new standards for the state's colleges of education, Pennsylvania's teachers could soon be among the most qualified in the nation.

Before the state enacted these changes, it was astonishing how little was expected of prospective teachers. For example, few teacher-education programs had meaningful admission standards. Most undergraduate programs required prospective majors to have no more than a 2.5 grade point average before majoring in education. In other words, the doors were open for C-plus students (or worse) to become teachers. And students preparing to be high-school teachers in subjects such as history and science were not required to take

*Our education colleges enrolled students and our state certified teachers with unacceptably low expectations of their performance.*

rigorous courses in these subjects. In Pennsylvania, we discovered that some candidates certified to teach foreign languages were unable to engage in basic conversations in those languages. Although the questions on national teacher-certification tests are hardly difficult, Pennsylvania, like most other states, certified teaching candidates who scored in the bottom 10 percent on some of these tests.

In short, our education colleges enrolled students and our state certified teachers with unacceptably low expectations of their performance.

Mr. Ridge's initiative, approved by the Pennsylvania state board of education last March, insists that teachers show real academic accomplishment. To receive accreditation by the state, a college

of education will have to abide by the following standards:

**Admissions.** Pennsylvania will require that candidates for teacher-training programs complete the equivalent of at least three full semesters of college-level liberal arts courses with a B average before enrolling in a teacher-training program.

**Curricular requirements.** Prospective high-school teachers must fulfill the same course requirements as their classmates seeking a bachelor's degree in a particular academic discipline. This requires would-be teachers to develop a serious scholarly commitment to and expertise in the subjects they will teach. Finally, prospective teachers must maintain at least a B average in the subject area they intend to teach.

**Qualifying test scores.** We have begun gradually lifting the minimum qualifying scores on teacher licensing exams to approach the national average. No longer will the state certify teachers who miss half or more of the questions.

**Alternative certification.** One size does not fit all in the preparation of teachers. We are creating guidelines to allow all college graduates who have completed their degree with distinction and have passed the appropriate licensing exams to enter teaching-apprenticeship programs at eligible public

schools. Programs that certify non-traditionally trained teachers can be windows of opportunity for those with special expertise and a commitment to improve schools.

Although per-pupil expenditures in the United States rank among the highest in the world, most reform efforts still assume only more money will help our children. Rather than spend money on more teachers, education officials should consider the growing body of research that validates what common sense tells us: Teachers with better academic preparation and skills are more effective, and their pupils perform better.

Some skeptics may object that states already facing teacher shortages cannot afford to raise the qualifying standards for the profession. But we will never be able to place a qualified teacher in every classroom by pretending that quality does not matter. Rather than recruit

ing the mediocre by lowering standards, states need to make teaching in the public schools a prestigious career open only to the best qualified.

In Pennsylvania, we've started to do that, and other states should, too.

*Eugene W. Hickok is Pennsylvania's secretary of education. This is adapted from the current issue of Policy Review: The Journal of American Citizenship, the magazine of the Heritage Foundation.*



Bruce/Mike  
In case you  
didn't see.  
Eugene

cc Mike/EK  
+ return  
- Can we look  
into Penn's plan  
on teachers?  
Goodling + Specter  
might help us get  
it passed.  
-BR

Educ -  
Ideas

## A Plan to Educate America's Children

Senator John F. Kerry (D-MA) and Senator Gordon Smith (R-OR)

### Title I -- Voluntary State Reform Incentive Grants

If education reform is to succeed in America's public schools, we must demand nothing less than a comprehensive reform effort. The best public school districts are simultaneously embracing a host of approaches to educating our children: high standards and accountability, sufficient resources, small class sizes, quality teachers, motivated students, effective principals, and engaged parents and community leaders. We must not be half-hearted in our efforts to make reform feasible for every school in this country. We cannot address only one challenge in education and ignore the rest. We must make available the tools for real comprehensive reform so that every aspect of public education functions better and every element of our system is stronger.

So let us now turn to a bold answer: Let's make every public school in this country essentially a charter school within the public school system. Let's give every school the chance to quickly and easily put in place the best of what works in any other school -- private, parochial or public -- with decentralized control, site-based management, parental engagement, and real accountability.

Several schools across the country have devised ways to accomplish this by raising standards to improve student achievement, lowering class size, improving on-going education for teachers, and reducing unnecessary middle-level bureaucracy. Numerous high-performance school designs have also been created such as the Modern Red Schoolhouse program, the Success for All program, and the New American Schools program. The results of extensive evaluations of these programs have shown that these designs are successful in raising student achievement. We should raise spending to the state or the national median, whichever is higher, thereby allowing every school district to finance and implement comprehensive reform based on proven high-performance models and teach students to the highest standards (58 percent of school districts are below either the national or their state median). Although money alone will not solve the problems in poor school districts, it is impossible to solve without adequate resources. Rather than piecemeal, fragmented approaches to reform, this comprehensive reform program will foster coherent schoolwide improvements that cover virtually all aspects of a school's operations.

To ensure that the vast majority of school districts could engage in comprehensive school reform, Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) should also be fully funded. Title I is the primary federal help for local districts to provide assistance to poor students in basic math and reading skills. Title I currently provides help to local school districts for additional staff and resources for reading and math, curriculum improvements, smaller classes, and training poor students' parents to help their children learn to read and do math. However, Title I only reaches two-thirds of poor students because of inadequate funding. *Since 90 percent*

*of school districts receive at least some Title I funds, fully funding Title I and allowing school districts to use these additional funds for comprehensive reforms would give schools the ability to implement comprehensive reforms so that all students reach the highest academic standards.*

Most poor school districts lack the resources to meet the vital educational needs of all of their students. A well-crafted program with the federal and state governments working in close cooperation with one another could make major strides in closing these gaps and improving student performance.

- Comprehensive school reform will help raise student achievement by assisting public schools across the country to implement effective, comprehensive school reforms that are based on proven, research-based models. **No new federal bureaucracy would be established -- the program would be implemented at the state level. Furthermore, no funds could be used to increase the school bureaucracy.** School districts would implement a comprehensive school reform program and evaluate and measure results achieved. Schools would also provide high-quality and continuous teacher and staff professional development and training, have measurable goals for student performance and benchmarks for meeting those goals, provide for meaningful involvement of parents and the local community in planning and implementing school improvement, and identify how other available federal, state, local, or private resources will be utilized to coordinate services to support and sustain the school reform effort.
- The funding for the program would move towards the goal of providing every school district in the country enough funds to implement a high quality, performance-based model of comprehensive school reform. This would mean providing enough funds to bring every district up to the state or the national median, whichever is higher (it is estimated that \$30 billion annually would be needed to bring the per-pupil expenditure of every school district up to the national or state average). To move towards this goal, the federal government would provide funds and states would match this money (states would provide 10 to 20 percent with poorer states providing a smaller match). To receive these funds, states would have to provide a minimum spending effort based on state and local school spending relative to the state's per capita income. Funding would be \$250 million in FY99, \$500 million in FY2000, \$750 million in FY2001, \$1 billion in FY2002, and \$4 billion in FY2002.
- Fully fund Title I so almost all school districts would receive some funds to implement comprehensive school reform (90 percent of all local school districts receive Title I funds). Funding would be \$200 million in FY99, \$400 million in FY2000, \$600 million in FY2001, \$1 billion in FY2002, and \$4 billion in FY2002.

## **Title II -- Ensure That Children Begin School Ready To Learn**

Recent scientific evidence conclusively demonstrates that enhancing children's physical,

social, emotional, and intellectual development will result in tremendous benefits. Many local communities across the country have developed successful early childhood efforts and with additional resources could expand and enhance opportunities for young children. We must enhance private, local, and state early successful support programs for young children by providing resources to expand and/or initiate successful efforts for at-risk children from birth to age six.

- Provide funds to States to make grants to local early childhood development collaboratives. States would fund parent education and home visiting classes and have great flexibility to decide whether to also support quality child care, helping schools stay open later for early childhood development activities, or health services for young children. Communities would be required to document their unmet needs and how they would use the funds to improve outcomes for young children so they begin school ready to learn. Funding would be \$100 million in FY99, \$200 million in FY2000, \$300 million in FY2001, \$400 million in FY2002, and \$1 billion in FY2002.

### **Title III – Excellent Principals Challenge Grant**

Principals face long hours, high stress, and too little pay. To overcome these obstacles, principals in successful schools must have effective leadership skills. However, too few principals get the training they need in management skills to ensure their school provides an excellent education for every child. Attracting, training, and retaining excellent principals is essential to help every local school district become world class.

- Establish a grant program to states to provide funds to local school districts to attract and to provide professional development for elementary and secondary school principals. Activities would include developing management and business skills, knowledge of effective instructional skills and practices, and learning about educational technology. Funding would be \$20 million per year. States and local school districts would contribute 25 percent of the total although poor school districts would be exempt from the match.

### **Title IV -- Establish "Second Chance" Schools For Troubled Students**

Parents, students, and educators know that serious school reform cannot succeed without an orderly and safe learning environment. The few students who are unwilling or unable to comply with discipline codes make learning impossible for the other students; these students need behavior management programs and high quality alternative placements. Suspending or expelling chronically disruptive or violent students is not effective in the long run since these students will fall behind in school and may cause additional trouble since they are frequently completely unsupervised; these students need alternative placements that provide supervision, remediation of behavior and maintenance of academic progress. Although some may resist this program for fear that it will be used to isolate disabled students, the purpose is to provide additional interventions for troubled students, not to change disciplinary actions against disabled students.

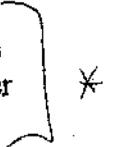
- Add a new title to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) to establish a competitive state grant program for school districts to establish "Second Chance" programs. To receive the funds, school districts must enact district-wide discipline codes which use clear language with specific examples of behaviors that will result in disciplinary action and have every student and parent sign the code. Additionally, schools may use the funds to promote effective classroom management; provide training for school staff and administrators in enforcement of the code; implement programs to modify student behavior including hiring school counselors; and establish high quality alternative placements for chronically disruptive and violent students that include a continuum of alternatives from meeting with behavior management specialists, to short-term in-school crisis centers, to medium duration in-school suspension rooms, to off-campus alternatives. Funding would be \$100 million per year and distributed to states through the Title I formula.



**Title V – Teacher Recruitment and On-going Education Incentive Grant**

Approximately 61,000 first-time teachers begin in our nation's public schools each year. Since the average starting salary for teachers is a little more than \$21,000 per year, we need to raise their compensation to attract a larger group of qualified people into the teaching profession. Since the average student loan debt of students graduating college who borrowed money for college is \$9,068, another effective way to provide federal assistance to raise teachers' salaries is to provide loan forgiveness. In addition, scholarships ought to be available to the most talented high school students in every state in return for a commitment to teach in our public schools (North Carolina has successfully recruited future teachers from within public high schools with the lure of college scholarships).

- States would be given funds to provide poor school districts the ability to raise teacher salaries to attract and retain the best teachers. Funding would be provided through the Title I "targeted grant" formula (the minimum threshold would be 20% poor children or 20,000 poor children). Funding would be \$500 million for FY 99, \$500 million in FY2000, \$1 billion in FY 2001, \$1 billion in FY 2002, and \$2 billion in FY2003. Additionally, full-time state certified public school teachers who teach in low-income areas or who teach in areas with teacher shortages such as math, science, and special needs would have 20 percent of their student loans forgiven after two years of teaching, an additional 20 percent after three years, an additional 30 percent after four years, and the remaining 30 percent after five years. The program would be funded at \$50 million each year. Finally, an additional \$10 million would be provided as grants to states that wish to provide signing bonuses for first-time teachers who teach in low-income areas or areas with teacher shortages.
- Provide \$10 million in grants for states to establish a program to provide college scholarships to the top 20 percent of SAT achievers or grade point average in each state's high school graduating class in return for a commitment to become a state certified teacher



for five years. States would contribute 20 percent of the funds for the scholarships. Five percent of the total funds could be used by local school districts to hire staff to recruit at the top liberal arts, education, and technical colleges (districts would be encouraged to establish a central regional recruiting office to pool their resources). One percent of the total funds would be used by the Secretary of Education to create a national hotline for potential teachers to receive information on a career in teaching.

#### **Title VI – Teacher Quality Enhancement Grants**

We need to provide on-going education in teaching skills and academic content knowledge, establish or expand alternative routes to state certification, and establish or expand mentoring programs for prospective teachers by veteran teachers (according to the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, beginning teachers who have had the continuous support of a skilled mentor are more likely to stay in the profession).

- Establish Teacher Quality Enhancement Grants, a competitive grant awarded to states to improve teaching. The grants would have a matching requirement and must be used to institute state-level reforms to ensure that current and future teachers possess the necessary teaching skills and academic content knowledge in the subject areas they are assigned to teach. In addition, establish Teacher Training Partnership Grants, designed to encourage reform at the local level to improve teacher training. One of the uses of these funds would be for states to establish, expand, or improve alternative routes to state certification for highly qualified individuals from other occupations such as business executives and recent college graduates with records of academic distinction. Another use would be to mentor prospective teachers by veteran teachers. Provide \$100 million per year for these new teacher training programs so that states can improve teacher quality, establish or expand alternative routes to state certification for new teachers, and mentor new teachers by veteran teachers.

#### **Title VII – Invest in Community-based Schools and Community Service**

As many as five million children are home alone after school each week. Most juvenile involvement in crime – either committing crime or becoming victims themselves – occurs between 3 p.m. and 8 p.m. Children who attend quality after-school programs, however, tend to do better in school, get along better with their peers, and are less likely to engage in delinquent behavior. Expansion of both school-based and community-based after-school programs will provide safe, developmentally appropriate environments for children and help communities reduce the incidents of juvenile delinquency and crime. In addition, many states and localities such as Maryland and the Chicago public school system require high school students to perform community service to receive a high school diploma. The real world experience helps prepare students for work and instills a sense of civic duty.

- Expand the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Learning Centers Act by providing \$400 million each fiscal year

to help communities provide after-school care. Grantees will be required to offer expanded learning opportunities for children and youth in the community. Funds could be used by school districts to provide: literacy programs; integrated education, health, social service, recreational or cultural programs; summer and weekend school programs; nutrition and health programs; expanded library services, telecommunications and technology education programs; services for individuals with disabilities; job skills assistance; mentoring; academic assistance; and drug, alcohol, and gang prevention activities.

- Provide \$10 million in grants to states that have established or chose to establish a state-wide or a district-wide program that requires high school students to perform community service to receive a high school diploma. States would determine what constitutes community service, the number of hours required, and whether to exempt some low-income students who hold full-time jobs while attending school full-time. The grants would be matched dollar for dollar with half of the match coming from the state and local education agencies and half coming from the private sector.

#### **Title VIII -- Expand the National Board Certification Program For Teachers**

The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, which is headed by Gov. Jim Hunt, established rigorous standards and assessments for certifying accomplished teaching. To pass the exam and be certified, teachers must demonstrate their knowledge and skills through a series of performance-based assessments which include teaching portfolios, student work samples, videotapes and rigorous analyses of their classroom teaching and student learning. Additionally, teachers must take written tests of their subject-matter knowledge and their understanding of how to teach those subjects to their students. The National Board certification is offered to teachers on a voluntary basis and complements but does not replace state licensing. The National Commission on Teaching for America's Future called for a goal of 105,000 board certified teachers by the year 2006 (since the exam began recently, only about 2,000 teachers are currently board certified). Since the exam costs \$2,000, many teachers are currently unable to afford it.

- Provide \$189 million over five years so that states have enough money to provide a 90% subsidy for the National Board certification of 105,000 teachers across the country.

#### **Title IX -- Encourage Public School Choice**

Many public schools have implemented public school choice programs where students may enroll at any public school in the public school system. In contrast to vouchers for private schools, public school choice increases options for students but does not use public funds to finance private schools which remain entirely unaccountable to taxpayers.

- Provide \$20 million annually in grants to states that choose to implement public school choice programs. School districts could spend the funds on transportation and other

services to implement a successful public school choice program. Up to 10 percent of the funds may be spent by a school district to improve low performing school districts that lose students due to the public school choice program.

I'm honored to be here at the Center for National Policy which over the years has done so much to move a progressive agenda forward. You began in difficult days when our party had lost so many elections at the national level. You fostered new ideas; you sparked a new debate. Helping to sort out the divisions and disagreements in the Democratic Party was Madeleine Albright's ideal preparation for navigating the chaos of the United Nations and now for running U.S. foreign policy in a world where the primary constant seems to be ferment and change. Her predecessor here, of course, Kirk O'Donnell, was one of those rare individuals whose values and visions make every endeavor not only better, but more worthwhile. I miss Kirk as a friend -- and I know all of you do -- and in the truest sense of the word, as a colleague.

I believe the work the Center does now, under the leadership of Mo Steinbruner, is as important as any since your founding. I believe we are at another point where many of our approaches on the big issues need to be re-examined and recast. Yesterday's new Democrat can too easily become today's defender of conventional wisdom -- or merely a conservator of present power. We need to challenge ourselves anew -- and nowhere is that more true than on the issue of education.

We meet this morning at the end of the back to school season in America's public schools. For many students, it's a fresh start, a next step, a journey toward a lifetime of achievement. But for millions of others, this time of year isn't what it ought to be and it isn't what it would have been even twenty-five years ago in the United States.

All of us know that public education is in trouble -- so much trouble that some argue it could implode from the weight and pressure of bloated bureaucracy, stagnant administration and inadequate classroom resources.

Is that an exaggeration? I don't think so and the statistics tell us it's not:

children who come to school in first grade testing high only to go down in test scores of aptitude for the years they spend trapped in inadequacy, mediocrity or outright failure;

millions of children who return to school from summer vacation when everyone knows they should have been returning from summer school;

a system locked into a school day that ends at two or three p.m. and dumps five million children into empty apartments or homes or violent streets despite the fact that we know those post-school hours are when teen pregnancies occur, drug use begins, and juvenile crime flourishes;

reading scores that show that of 2.6 million graduating high school students, one-third are below basic reading level, one-third are at basic, only one-third are proficient and only 100,000 are at a world class reading level;

high school students who edge out only South Africa and Cyprus on international tests in science

and math, with 29 percent of all college freshmen requiring remedial classes in basic skills.

Yet despite these facts, and despite the fact that they are widely acknowledged, we seem to be stuck both nationally and locally -- unable or unwilling to answer the challenge, often trapped in a debate that is little more than an echo of old and irrelevant positions with promising solutions stymied by ideology and interest groups -- both on the right and on the left.

So where are we?

Well, none of us in America wants the federal government trespassing on a cherished local prerogative. But the federal government can and should leverage resources to schools everywhere; it can take up the work that teachers, parents, administrators, and community leaders agree is so badly needed. To say that there is no federal role in education is not only a relic of 19th century conservatism; it is a call, at the edge of the 21st century, for the federal government to abandon 50 million children, and I reject that notion.

So I come here today to propose that we need to think differently about the problem of education in America. We need to strip away the politics, strip away the old alliances, strip away our prejudices, strip away ideology -- and we need to think both inside and outside the box simultaneously. We need to ask one question: "What provides our children with the best education?" And whether the answer is conservative, liberal or simply practical, we need to commit ourselves to that course.

So far, we have been stuck in a place where Democrats and Republicans seem to talk past each other. Democrats are perceived to be always ready to throw money at the problem but never for demanding sufficient accountability or creativity; Republicans are perceived as always ready to give a voucher to go somewhere else but rarely supportive of making the public schools work.

And whichever side wins, on whichever bill, in whichever debate, our children continue to be the losers. All of us need to change that outcome and I respectfully suggest there is a different road we can meet on to make it happen.

The political charade is all the more shameful because there is evidence all around us of how to build public schools that work. Call them what you will -- Horace Mann charter schools, magnet schools, pilot schools, blue ribbon schools, and some just plain, old, hard-working and very successful public schools -- but the evidence is there are public schools working brilliantly in this country, offering every child some of the best education in America.

And it ought to be that way in every school in every community in our country. And that is precisely what I propose today: legislation which aims to make every public school in this country essentially a charter school within the public school system. Every school needs to have the chance to quickly and easily put in place the best of what works in any other school -- private, parochial or public -- with decentralized control, site-based management, parental engagement,

and high levels of volunteerism -- while at the same time meeting high standards of student achievement and public accountability.

And public schools need to have the chance to make these changes not tomorrow, not five years from now, not after another study -- but now -- today.

Every school district should be able to implement comprehensive reforms to raise student achievement. I propose Voluntary State Reform Incentive Grants so school districts that choose to finance and implement comprehensive reform based on proven high-performance models can bring forth change. And I won't hold reform hostage to our differences at the voting booth -- schools can embrace conservative approaches like the Modern Red Schoolhouse program or liberal approaches like Success for All. We'll target investments at school districts below the national or state median and leverage local dollars through matching grants.

And I believe we must acknowledge that accountability in education -- as everywhere else in our society and economy -- ought to depend on two factors: choice and competition.

It just makes sense that parents ought to have the freedom as consumers to choose the public schools that fit their children's needs. It makes sense that schools ought to compete for the chance to educate our children. We are not a country that believes in monopolies. We are a country that believes diversity raises quality. We wouldn't accept one source, one company, one choice in food, or clothing or one entertainment outlet. So why would we accept -- or insist on -- a gray dull lack of choice in public education, so that some have all the best opportunities and others are condemned without recourse to the least and the worst? This is not only bad policy; it is morally unacceptable in a society that claims to believe in the inalienable rights of each person.

That is why I propose we create an incentive for schools all across the nation to adopt public school choice to the extent-logistically feasible. It is time we end a system that restricts each child to an administrator's choice and not a parent's choice where possible. It is time we adopt a competitive system of public school choice with grants awarded to schools that meet parents' test of quality and emergency assistance to schools that must catch up rapidly. We must commit ourselves to helping our schools reform, helping them gain a more equal footing, so that full choice and competition -- implemented in a meaningful way without chaos -- can be realistic goals for this society. But let me say unequivocally to the opponents of choice, to those who oppose it in principle, competition in the quality of education will never undermine a school that is worth-saving. No school that truly delivers excellence in education will fear that parents may choose an alternative. So if schools will embrace this new framework -- every school a charter school in the public school system, choice and competition -- what then are the key ingredients of their excellence?

First, we need to strip away the bureaucracy that stifles creativity and remember that what counts in any public school is how our students fare academically. You don't identify a good school by the number of administrators you hire. In fact, we impose so many rules and regulations on our

schools "from above" that we forget teaching happens "on the ground" -- in a school building, in a classroom. But, in too many schools, you won't find accountability because it's been fractured and scattered in hundreds of different offices and titles. The chaos in our current approach to governance has crippled our principals. It has stripped away their ability to be leaders, to manage the team in their school and work together to achieve progress. We need to stop. We need to restore leadership and accountability and put more faith in our principals -- holding them accountable for the way their teachers teach and the way, ultimately, their students learn.

That means we need to do better in guaranteeing that every one of our nation's 80,000 principals has the capacity to lead -- the talents and the know-how to do the job; effective leadership skills; the vision to create an effective team -- to recruit, hire, and transfer teachers and engage parents. Without those abilities, the title of principal and the freedom to lead means little. I propose the Excellent Principals Challenge Grant which would provide funds to local school districts to train principals in sound management skills and effective classroom practices.

But we must also address the great unheralded crisis in our public schools, the challenge of recruiting great principals. Part of the answer is to increase the financial incentives to help us attract those leaders for our schools -- but our success will also hinge on our ability to recruit leaders from all walks of life to serve as principals. America needs to make being a principal of a school the great calling of our time.

Leaders from the business world with their skills in management and finance; leaders from the military with their emphasis on team work and courage; leaders from government with their dedication to public service; leaders from our communities who want to come back to their old neighborhoods and help a new generation succeed -- all these sources must be tapped if we are to build a corps of great leaders to lead and lift our public schools into the next century.

But as we set our sights on recruiting a new generation of effective principals, we must acknowledge what today's best principals know: principals can only produce results as good as the teachers with whom they must work in partnership. To get the best results, we need the best teachers.

The truth is that elementary and secondary school teachers today have one of the most difficult jobs in America. And we pay them neither the money nor the respect due for their labor. Given all the shortcomings of the system, we are fortunate to have as many extraordinary and dedicated teachers as we do.

It is vital offer our teachers competitive salaries and student loan forgiveness. But we also need new processes for evaluation and upgrading. That starts with mentoring programs. Too many new teachers are lost -- as many as 30 - 40 percent within the first four years. We're losing some of our best and we can't afford to. We have to give teachers the chance to hone their skills. So I propose a new plan, the Teacher Recruitment Incentive Grant, to raise teachers' salaries and attract a larger group of qualified people into the teaching profession. States would be provided

funds to provide poor school districts the ability to raise teacher salaries. I also propose the On-going Education Grant to provide excellent professional development for our nation's teachers.

The truth is -- and the best teachers themselves acknowledge it -- that we need to raise teaching standards.

The last thing we need in this country is more teacher bashing. Many of the limitations on teachers are ones that we impose on them. But in candor, we must say plainly that our standards for teachers are not high enough - and at the same time, they are too rigid in setting out irrelevant requirements that don't make teaching better; they make it harder for some to choose to teach.

*easier to get rid of people who can't*

We need to face the truth of how to fix that system as we face the challenge of hiring 2 million new teachers in the next ten years, 60 percent of them in the next five years.

We need to streamline teacher certification rules in this country to recruit the best college graduates to teach in the United States. Today we hire almost exclusively education majors to teach, and liberal arts graduates are only welcomed in our country's top private schools.

So let's rewrite the rules so every principal in this country has the same right as headmasters at private schools -- to hire liberal arts graduates as teachers and measure their competency.

And let's change more than the rules of certification. Let's change the way we recruit teachers. Every state needs to have a teacher recruitment team to find top candidates the same way corporate America does. And we ought to provide college scholarships for our highest achieving high school graduates if they agree to come back and teach in our public schools. I propose a new college scholarship fund for the top students in each state who agree to become a teacher for five years.

We should also seek, welcome, and make room for teachers loaned from the corporate world to come into our classrooms. American business, which has a great stake in American education, has been asked, challenged, and permitted to do too little. Let's create a create a twenty-first century teaching corps of mid career professionals loaned and paid for by a corporate sector which recognizes, in real terms, with real dollars, that increasingly the business of America is education.

And as we debate what constitutes the right kind of certification at the state level, let's make it possible for hundreds of thousands more teachers to achieve a more broad based meaningful certification -- the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards certification with its rigorous test of subject matter knowledge and teaching ability. I want to set a goal of 100,000 teachers become board certified.

Finally, with these tools in place, we must encourage our schools to end teacher tenure as we know it. I believe every teacher should have due process and protection from arbitrary, capricious political firing but no teacher should have a lock on any job and it should not take tens

of thousands of dollars and years in the court to let go a teacher who will not or can not help our kids succeed.

We have an obligation to build a system where every principal and every teacher in every school can be held accountable. Every parent wants that; every child deserves it. And we should all be held accountable if we are unwilling to make those changes.

But real reform recognizes that you can't hold someone accountable if they don't have the tools to succeed. We should hold schools accountable for the richness of their curriculums and the quality of their extra-curricular activities, but not for caved-in ceilings, antique classrooms, and unsafe playgrounds.

That's government's job -- one of its most basic jobs -- and it's time to set priorities and invest in the right places.

We need to fix our crumbling schools. When you have 14 million children who go to school each day in buildings with code violations, we don't have a problem; we have a crisis. My legislation includes a federal tax credit so that 5,000 school districts can rebuild and modernize their buildings.

We must also do more to eliminate the crime that turns too many hallways and classrooms into arenas of violence. Last year there were 4,000 cases of rape and sexual battery reported in our public schools. If we do not find it in our guts to have a zero tolerance policy for violence, I guarantee more parents will easily exhibit a zero tolerance policy for public schools. We need to give our teachers the power to instill discipline again. Every school needs to write a discipline code, every parent and child needs to sign it -- and it needs to be enforced. When students are a threat to others, or they disrupt learning, they can't stay in school. Period. I propose that we create high quality schools for violent and disruptive students -- "Second Chance" schools with tough rules and intensive services for at-risk students. School districts would be provided incentives to establish a range of alternatives for chronically disruptive and violent students from short-term in-school crisis centers, to medium duration in-school suspension rooms, to high quality off-campus alternatives.

We have to realize we put thousands of students at risk every year by handing them a diploma that is little more than a piece of paper. Each year, principals hand degrees to students who can't read, can't write, and can't function in college or out in the workplace. One-third of all our college freshmen need remedial studies in math and English. The first two years of college shouldn't be the thirteenth and fourteenth grades of high school. We need to end social promotion in America's public schools. We need to make mandatory summer school the rule -- not the exception -- across this country.

We must also ensure that every child comes to school ready to learn. By moving towards fully funding Early Head Start and Head Start, as well as the basic nutrition and child care programs

for infants and toddlers in working families, we make a start towards developing a school system where children receive the care and attention early on that is a vital indicator of how they will perform in school and through their lives. We know that our schools have been forced to assume responsibilities that go far beyond a good and decent education. But no teacher should have to explain to any parent that a child is delayed or can not learn effectively because we as a society were not committed to the early child development and early education intervention programs to meet the demands of modern life. I propose grants to states to fund local, successful early childhood development efforts.

And we should end the crisis of overcrowded classrooms that turns teachers into little more than room monitors. In the early grades, students in smaller classes make more progress -- so we should make the classes smaller. It's that simple -- and that important.

Most importantly, we must renew the concept in American life that schools must be the hubs of our communities, that every stakeholder must be engaged to work as a family. You can't do that when schools aren't open after school, or on the weekends, or when they're closed to the community. Every school ought to be instilling values in our young people by instituting community service programs as requirements for graduation; every school ought to offer a safe and drug free environment while parents are at work in the afternoons; and every school ought to be open to business leaders who can offer their expertise at night in the areas of finance and management, community leaders who can teach adult literacy classes, and college students who can mentor and tutor our youngest students.

The afternoon hours should be spent in school learning about responsible behavior, not spent on the streets getting pregnant or experimenting with drugs. The afternoon hours should be spent in school learning about history and literature, not watching television unsupervised at home. We can't afford a country where 95 percent of our children knows which actor plays the "Fresh Prince of Bel Air" and only 2 percent can name the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. I propose dramatically expanding the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Learning Centers so that a million students will be provided community-based help.

And to really turn schools into hubs of our communities, we need to reach out to our friends in the business community. We must challenge them not just to do more, but to do it differently. In the last months we have seen entrepreneurs like Ted Forstmann and John Walton turn private school scholarships into a new philanthropy. I laud their concern and hope it may serve as a kick in the rear end for the public school reform movement. But don't lose sight of the reality: ninety percent of our nation's children remain in our public schools. There aren't enough private schools in this country to save a generation. We've got to create public schools that are truly public, a common civic obligation, calling on leaders from all walks of life to make a contribution to the public good.

That is why I am introducing legislation to help every school make a new start on their own, an

invitation to all parties in the name of saving public education in America. My bill is built on challenge grants for schools to pursue comprehensive reform and adopt the proven best practices of any other school; funds to help every school become a charter school within the public school system; the incentives to make choice and competition a hallmark of our school systems; and the resources to help schools fix their crumbling infrastructure, get serious about crime, end social promotion, restore sense of community to our schools, and send children to school ready to learn.

I am not just asking Democrats and Republicans to meet where our schools are and where our children are educated. I am offering legislation that helps us do it, that forces not just a debate, but a vote -- yes or no, up or down, change or more of the same. Now is the time to embrace new rights and responsibilities on both sides of the ideological divide.

The answer to the crisis of public education is not found in one concept alone -- in private school vouchers or bricks and mortar alone. Nor is it in words alone. It will be found by breaking with the past in every respect -- breaking with the instinct for the symbolic, and especially the notion that a speech here and there will make education better in this country. It can't and it won't.

Horace Mann, the first Superintendent of Public Schools in the United States, told the simple truth one hundred and fifty years ago when he said: "public education, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men -- the balance wheel of the social machinery." Horace Mann was right in 1848.

His prescription is still right in 1998. It's public schools that hold the balance in favor of our children instead of ignorance; it's leaders who will do what it takes to repair social machinery when it fails us and hold the balance against bureaucrats who resist change; and it's children who rely on us to find the balance so they may rise to the level of their talents and the full capacity of their dreams.

And that is the new cause to which each and every one of us must dedicate ourselves today. And I ask your help in that effort.

Thank you.



**FAX**

**U.S. SENATOR JOHN KERRY**

**TO:**

*Bruce Reed*

*456-2878*

**DATE:**

**FROM:**

*David Kass*

*Here's a summary of the Kerry-Smith education plan. I've also attached the speech he gave at the Center for National Policy (the same speech he gave today at the OLC). Just let me know if you need anything else.*

*David*

PAGES SENT (INCLUDING COVER SHEET):

*16*

PLEASE CONTACT OUR OFFICE IF YOU ARE MISSING PART OF THIS TRANSMISSION.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

One -  
Ideas

June 2, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR BRUCE REED

From: Andrew Rotherham

Re: Teacher Tax Proposal

You asked for a brief analysis of a proposal to exempt some or all of teacher salaries from federal income taxes.

There are two models for a proposal of this nature. First, Representative George Miller (CA) has introduced a bill in the House (HR 2611) that would exempt qualified teachers in high poverty communities earning up to \$120,000 annually from federal income tax. The Miller bill has not been officially scored, but unofficial estimates put the cost at approximately \$4 billion annually.

Second, in California, Governor Gray Davis recently proposed to exempt teachers from state income tax there. This will save a teacher there earning \$30,000 annually approximately \$500 and a teacher earning \$50,000 approximately \$1,350. Not all the details of the Davis proposal have been developed yet. His proposal has met with mixed reaction within the state including some criticism from teachers and groups representing teachers.

To consider a proposal of this nature at the national level, several threshold questions must be answered:

*Do all teachers or only teachers in high poverty areas receive a tax-benefit?*

The Miller bill would extend the federal tax benefit only to teachers in high poverty school districts (defined as 50 percent or more students receiving free and reduced price lunch). The Davis proposal extends the benefit to all teachers in the state.

By limiting the exemption to high poverty districts the proposal gains the advantage of being a recruitment initiative targeted to high need areas. This deflects criticism that it is just a political gimmick in an election year and that it is simply a way to dodge the thornier issue of directly raising teacher salaries.

*Do all teachers or only certified teachers receive the benefit?*

The Miller proposal requires that teachers be certified to be eligible and that middle and high school teachers have demonstrated expertise or an academic major in the subject that they teach. These provisions dovetail with the President's teacher quality proposals.

The Davis proposal would also require that teachers be certified although it is silent on the issue of out-of-field teaching.

Because it would be difficult from a compliance point of view to make the initiative performance-based in a meaningful way, requiring certification and in-field qualifications is the best proxy for quality that can be incorporated. Not including provisions of this nature would put the initiative at odds with the President's teacher quality agenda.

*Exempt the entire salary or just a portion of it?*

Both the Davis proposal and the Miller bill would exempt salary up to a capped amount (adjusted gross of \$120K for Miller).

There are pros and cons, fiscal and otherwise, as to whether a total or partial exemption is more advantageous. I believe that a partial exemption has more political appeal because it is again easier to sell as a recruitment piece.

*Are administrators, principals, and other officials eligible or only teachers?*

While there are legitimate shortages in administrator and principal positions it becomes difficult to broaden the initiative beyond teachers without encountering political issues. For example, if administrators and other non-teaching personnel including security and/or health related personnel are included it becomes even harder to argue why the initiative should not be expanded to include nurses and police officers.

#### Other Issues

There are legitimate implementation issues associated with this proposal. Local circumstances dictate a variety of hiring practices with regard to teachers and so broad based policies can create confusion. For example, in school districts without a teacher shortage, fully qualified teachers are often used as substitute teachers until fulltime positions become available. Under this proposal would these teachers be eligible?

The Miller bill does not appear to answer this question because it is more focused on teacher qualification than teacher status. Because of variances in the operations of schools and school districts from state to state, the issues need to be examined in any legislative proposal.

#### Recommendations:

If you decide to pursue a proposal of this nature, I recommend that the proposal provide an exemption from federal income tax up to the national average for starting teachers (\$25,735). Under this model the exemption would entirely cover the starting salary of many new teachers and give a sizeable tax-break to existing teachers. The exemption should be contingent upon both certification and subject area expertise (at the middle and high school levels) and should apply only to high poverty communities. Hence, rather

than a broad-based tax-break this initiative would be a targeted federal effort to help high poverty school districts attract high quality teachers.

Short of an exemption proposal a smaller—and hence less politically potent—option would be to exempt teacher recruitment bonuses and performance bonuses from federal taxes. Although this option is smaller scale, by incorporating performance bonuses the proposal would gain an additional quality component.

#### Pros and Cons:

Two prominent issues quickly emerged in California after Davis proposed his initiative. First, why should an initiative of this nature help only teachers as opposed to fire fighters, police officers, nurses, etc? Second, if your goal is to raise teacher salaries, then why not just raise teacher salaries directly rather than through indirect subsidies?

Davis addressed the first issue head-on by arguing that while there are many worthwhile professions that because teaching is such an imperative one and because the teacher shortage is so acute it requires immediate and special action. Davis cited the 1958 National Defense Act as an example of how a pressing educational need requires immediate leadership and action. This argument has the same relevance nationally. Davis also pointed out that California does give special inducements to some other fields including peace officers.

The argument about teacher salaries is easier to refute on a national basis. Despite the President's class size initiative and the Higher Standards-Higher Pay initiative in the FY2001 budget we can argue that directly raising salaries for teachers is not primarily a federal issue and that initiatives like this are a better way to address this issue from the national level.

A third point that was raised in California and would probably arise in connection with this proposal is, why not private schools? Davis argues that the government's responsibility is the public schools and that government attention should be focused there.

The overriding "pro" for this proposal is that it is a direct way to help teachers, is easy to understand, and is politically attractive. Although some education groups in California have criticized the Davis proposal some of this criticism seems to be based more on some simmering tensions related to other issues than this particular proposal. As preliminary polling seems to indicate, this is popular proposal.

#### Important Facts:

Number of teachers nationwide:	Approximately 2.7 million <sup>1</sup>
Average annual salary for teachers <sup>2</sup> :	\$39,347

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<sup>1</sup> National Center for Education Information

Highest state, Connecticut:	\$51,727 (131.5% of national average)
Lowest state, South Dakota:	\$27,839 (70.8 % of national average)
Annual starting salary <sup>3</sup> :	\$25,735
Highest state, Alaska:	\$33,162 (128.8 % of national average)
Lowest state, North Dakota:	\$19,146 (74.3 % of national average)

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<sup>2</sup> American Federation of Teachers: 1998 Salary Survey

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

IPPR Seminar, 20<sup>th</sup> July 1999

## THE GOVERNMENT'S EDUCATION REFORM PROGRAMME: THE VIEW FROM ABROAD

by Michael Barber

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Earlier this year, I spent two weeks in Hong Kong and Australia, meeting policymakers at all levels and presenting to a range of audiences on our strategy for creating a world class education service. Over the last twelve months I have also discussed this government's programme with leading policymakers in America and Europe and thought it would be interesting to draw together the varying perceptions of how our programme is perceived abroad.

### 2. POSITIVE PERCEPTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S EDUCATION PROGRAMME

#### Overall

Discussions abroad rapidly reveal the unique opportunity we have. The combination of a government which gives top priority to education, the promise of three years real growth in expenditure and widespread support from business and the public for an education reform programme is rare. It would be a tragedy not to make the most of it.

The most striking reaction from policymakers abroad to our approach is admiration at its sheer ambition, scope and pace. They are struck in particular by our bold, published targets, our extraordinary openness about the performance of both schools and the system as a whole, our firm stance on dealing with failure and, perhaps above all, by the coherence of what we are attempting. Their responses reveal a mixture of envy, on the one hand, and on the other hand, caution as they watch to see whether we succeed.

#### Priorities

Our goal of creating a world class education service is widely shared though few have made it explicit in the way we have. Similar educational priorities to ours are found in most other developed countries. They include:

- a strong emphasis on literacy and numeracy
- higher standards for all
- social inclusion.

Our growing emphasis on extending opportunities for the gifted and talented is not so widely shared but may become so.

#### The Architecture of Reform

At the leading edge of educational thinking in this country, Australia and the USA, there is a growing belief that the "architecture" of successful education reform is becoming clear.

The key features are:

### Pressures

- i) setting clear national standards (what we call a National Curriculum)
- ii) ensuring regular testing against those standards
- iii) devolving responsibility and budgets to the frontline
- iv) holding schools to account
- v) taking action where schools are underperforming

### Supports

- vi) actively promoting equity
- vii) investing in professional development for all teachers
- viii) extending learning opportunities for students outside, as well as during, the school day in order to - as the jargon puts it - increase "time on task"
- ix) involving parents, the community and business in raising standards
- x) making effective use of technology and non-teaching staff in order to allow teachers to concentrate on teaching well
- xi) paying attention to the "human face" of reform.

In the USA this package is known as standards-based reform. There are some American cities and states which have most or all of these pieces in place, but England is, I think, the only national education system to have the full set. The good news is that in those states (e.g. North Carolina, Kentucky and Texas) where they have been in place for some time standards are rising demonstrably and markedly.

Certainly, none of the Australian states has this package fully in place. Victoria leads the way and has much to teach us about the use of ICT but also has a relatively weak inspection system, is unclear which schools are underperforming and does not take vigorous action even when underperformance does become clear. It does not publish performance data. Attempts by the Federal Government in Australia to publish even state-by-state data on literacy are advancing slowly in the teeth of opposition from some states and, predictably, the teacher unions.

### A conceptual breakthrough

One policy which puts this country conceptually ahead of others is our consistent application of the principle of "intervention in inverse proportion to success". This is not apparent elsewhere although they come close in Kentucky by talking about "Rewards, Assistance, Consequences". I am sure other systems will rapidly begin to apply this principle because it has two great benefits.

Firstly, it is an advance on pure market thinking because it makes clear that, where necessary, the state will intervene in order to secure a good education for pupils. It makes clear, in other words, that pupils come before dogma.

Secondly, it shows where our reforms are headed in the medium and long term. If our policies work, standards will rise. As a consequence, an increasing number of schools will earn greater autonomy. We should end up with a "high performance, high autonomy" system, in which performance has been demonstrated and autonomy earned. The role of government then

becomes one of setting strategic direction, providing the necessary funding and holding the system to account.

There are a number of specific strands of our reform which particularly interest other countries. These include:

- i) the literacy and numeracy strategies
- ii) independent inspection of all schools
- iii) the publication of performance data
- iv) the provision of comparative data to schools
- v) intervention in failing schools
- vi) partnership between the public and private sectors
- vii) the National Year of Reading.

I think we can claim to be world leaders on each of these.

Our proposals for the reform of the teaching profession have also excited a great deal of interest and, if successfully implemented, will put us at the cutting edge. Linking teachers' pay to performance is, incidentally, an emerging worldwide trend apparent in places as diverse as Holland, Saxony, Texas, Kentucky and Victoria, Australia.

### 3. THE DOUBTS

Having all the elements of successful reform in place does not necessarily guarantee that performance will improve. We still need to make sure that we have in place a smoothly functioning machine which can implement the changes consistently and that we work all the time to shift the culture. Talking to policymakers elsewhere rapidly reveals the risks we are taking.

The most significant anxieties raised by policymakers elsewhere, and my response, are as follows.

- i) **"The combination of published performance data and parental choice will lead to a widening gap between schools with advantaged intakes and those with disadvantaged intakes."**  
Whether this occurs depends on the nature of the data we publish and on the systems we put in place to improve all schools. That is why we publish data on improvement as well as absolute performance, why we provide extra help to those schools which need it most and why, through our Excellence in Cities programme, we are seeking to provide diversity as well as excellence in major conurbations. Our line is "poverty is no excuse for underperformance but it is a reason for targeted support." Incidentally, recent research from Cardiff University suggests that, far from there being a growth in social segregation over the last decade, in fact the trend has been in the opposite direction (Gorard and Fitz, 1999).
- ii) **"The high profile of your targets and the public nature of data about the performance of the system leaves the government very exposed."**  
Yes, our targets are high profile, extensive data about the system is public, the government is exposed. The purpose of this openness is to focus the entire system on performance improvement. The government, by setting public targets, is proving its commitment to improving education and demonstrating its willingness to accept responsibility for pupil achievement. Everyone involved in the provision of education is accountable, government included. We have to move from a culture of blaming everyone

else to one where everyone accepts responsibility for pupil performance. If this is risky, so be it.

iii) **“The capacity of the system to implement change will be broken by the sheer extent and pace of the programme.”**

We are in a hurry because we want a better deal for children. The sense of urgency contributes to a climate of change and the creation of a belief that things can be better. Each aspect of policy is following a carefully prepared implementation plan and we are investing very substantially in the process of change to enable modernisation to occur. The capacity of the system would certainly be threatened by haphazard, unfocused change or constant shifts of priority. That is why we have clearly stated goals, which we intend to pursue single-mindedly.

iv) **“Changing the culture of the education establishment and the teaching profession will prove more difficult than you imagine. You will not be able to bring teachers with you.”**

This is the most difficult of the challenges facing us. The media reports failure much more than success. There is a tension between communicating with the general public, which demands higher standards, and communicating with teachers who are sensitive to criticism. There is a long way to go but we are clear it must be done by public recognition of success and honesty about failure. Plain-speaking is, in the long run, more effective than pretending problems do not exist.

We know that changing the attitude of teachers is the central issue for anyone embarking on radical education reform. The evidence worldwide suggests that many promising programmes have foundered on precisely this issue. We do not underestimate the challenge. We believe we can change the culture by a consistently applied combination of pressure and support: pressure from published data, public opinion, regular inspection and zero tolerance of failure; support from recognition of success, effective consultation, investment in teacher's professional development and growth in education expenditure as a whole. Above all, we believe that through the creation of a coherent policy framework and through sustaining policy until it is embedded, we will - over time - convince teachers that change for the better is possible. The challenge for the next 12 - 18 months is effective, consistent implementation while giving a high profile to proven success whenever it occurs. The recent evidence from the literacy and numeracy strategies suggests this success can be achieved.

## CONCLUSION

It is very striking that, privately at least, I find an increasing number of education reformers in other countries who believe that, as we enter the new century, we are collectively engaged in the final attempt to bring about the successful reform of public education systems. If this attempt fails, the view is that, as societies get richer, aspiring parents would opt for the private sector and the tax base for a quality state system would be undermined. In other words, the privatisers would win by default. I heard arguments along these lines in Hong Kong, Australia and the United States. The logical conclusion from this analysis is surely that governments should make bold, coherent attempts at reform (as we are doing) but not all are brave enough, yet, to do so. Some - right-wing Republicans in the USA for example - have already given up on public systems and are moving in the direction of privatisation. Others are tinkering at the edges as the inevitable unfolds. Others still are watching us to see how we get on. In other words, our success (or failure) will have implications far beyond these shores.

And how will we know if we have succeeded? An American colleague Vicki Phillips summed it up beautifully: "When the results of our students match the passion of our pronouncements then we shall know that we have kept our promise".

**Michael Barber**  
**20 July 1999**

## SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE NAHT CONFERENCE

June 1999

I am delighted to be with you this morning.

I'm told that I am the first Prime Minister ever to address a teachers' union conference. This is one measure of our commitment to working in partnership. I hope I'm not the last.

I am here because the government's programme for education, and the nation's search for a world class education system, stands or falls on the quality of our teachers and headteachers.

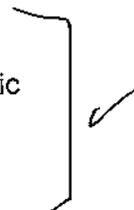
Teachers are the change-makers of modern society. In partnership with parents, you are the people who shape the skills, prospects and character of our young people. No other profession wields that power. In your hands lies the task of achieving the transformation in educational standards which is our single most urgent challenge as a nation.

To succeed, there must be strong unity of purpose between government and the profession. As a government it is our job to set priorities, based on the commitments the country elected us to deliver. But it is vital that these are priorities you share; and that we take full account of the practical issues you confront in raising standards school by school.

I want therefore to take stock of the challenge we face. I want to explain why education is so central to our purpose as a government; and to explain our strategy, in terms both of investment and reform, for creating a truly world-class education system.

My starting point is simple. It is the conviction that the fundamental failure of British government in the 20<sup>th</sup> century has been a failure to attach sufficient importance to public education for the broad majority of the people.

Governments have under-invested, under-expected, and under-achieved.



We have been good at educating an elite at the top. But throughout the century the imperative to raise standards and aspirations for the many in line with the best has been neglected.

Average standards have been far too low. Variation between the best and worst has been far too great. And a long tail of poor achievers, a large proportion not even reaching basic competence in literacy and numeracy after eleven years of compulsory schooling, has consistently marked us out from our leading economic competitors.

The recent Moser report spelt out the consequences. One in five adults functionally illiterate – meaning, in real life, seven million adults unable to find the page reference for plumbers in the Yellow Pages. An even higher proportion, four in ten, unable to manage basic arithmetic.

Why has this happened? Largely, I believe, because of deep complacency on the part of successive governments. Even on the Left, the language of equal opportunities too often went hand in hand with an acceptance of poor standards for the majority, on the unspoken assumption that most school-leavers would go naturally into unskilled jobs – or as women, be outside the workforce – and in either case need only basic qualifications, if any.

This was always a misplaced view. In 1999, it is the flawed analysis of a world which has vanished forever.

It's not just that manual jobs have declined. The rise of the global economy, with fewer and fewer barriers to mobility, has changed the whole basis on which nations secure their prosperity. Sector by sector, countries compete on the quality and flexibility of their skill base. By flexibility, I mean the capacity of people to acquire new skills, fast, throughout their careers, building on a high level of general education acquired at school.

When I say that there is no greater social injustice than to give a child a poor education, I mean it absolutely literally. A world class education system is the indispensable condition for creating a fair and prosperous society for the next century.

I also believe that now is a unique opportunity to act.

Never before have we possessed, at the same time, a national quest for change; a government committed to state education, ready to invest significantly extra money year on year; and a programme of educational reform with huge support, not just in schools, but from parents, employers, the wider public and the media.

If we fail to seize this opportunity to create a world-class system, we betray our generation and those that follow.

That means schools with standards that match or exceed the best internationally. It means eliminating the tail of non-achievers, so that all young people leave the education system with the skills to find a good job and a capacity for lifelong learning. It means schools which develop in young people not just academic success, but care, compassion and confidence.

I know this is a vision you share. I know too that our best schools achieve all these things. The challenge is to ensure that all schools are improving, excellent or both, in a world where demands are increasing year by year.

Our strategy is one of sustained investment driving modernisation and higher standards.

Let me be frank about the position on funding. Just as standards can't be transformed overnight, nor can decades of under-investment.

The extra £19bn we are investing over the next three years is a step-change in funding. But we are only at the beginning of year one of this three-year programme. And much of the money is rightly earmarked for specific priorities – smaller class sizes for five to seven year-olds, the New Deal for Schools, support for the literacy and numeracy strategies, the National Grid for Learning, and so on.

Our commitment is to ensure, at every stage, that policies to promote higher standards go forward with the investment needed to support them.

So let me spell out our five key priorities, and where we stand in regard to them.

- First, a step-change in investment in school infrastructure.
- Second, a dramatic increase in the proportion of children leaving primary school with the skills to succeed in life, particularly literacy and numeracy. Hence the literacy and numeracy strategies, our two most critical education policies of this Parliament; and the significant extension of under-five provision, to ensure that all children are ready to learn when they start school.
- Third, modernisation of comprehensive schools so that they provide better for children of different abilities, particularly in the inner-cities and other areas where standards are too often too low;
- Fourth, wholesale devolution of power and budgets to schools. Intervention by LEAs should take place only when schools are not succeeding on their own account, and everyone – LEAs as much as schools – must be accountable for their standards.
- And fifth, more effective leadership in our schools, and raise the status of teaching to the forefront of Britain's professions.

So how do we stand?

On infrastructure, more than 7,000 schools have won much-needed funding from the new deal for schools. We are rapidly achieving our class size pledge for five, six and seven-year-olds, and will have implemented it on time and in full by 2001. Our investment in school books has enabled schools to buy an extra 23 million books.

New technology is a critical priority, and more than £1bn is being invested in ICT over the next three years. There are already a million hits a week on the National Grid for Learning, but we have only just got started. By 2002 every school will be connected to the Grid, and new technology will be as central to learning as the textbook and the blackboard. The Grid will give teachers a huge new resource for training, information, guidance and curriculum.

Infrastructure is no use if children are not ready to learn.

For under-fives, the new Surestart programme is putting in place health and education support for the parents of 0-3 year olds. Nursery places have been extended to all four-year-olds whose parents want them, and from this September will be offered to a further 50,000 three-year-olds.

But most important of all are the national literacy and numeracy strategies, whose objective is nothing less than the abolition of poor reading, writing and maths skills among the generation of tomorrow.

I am well aware of the demands these strategies have made of you. And I would like to thank you and your staff wholeheartedly for the skill and energy you have devoted to implementing the literacy strategy and preparing for the numeracy strategy.

The literacy and numeracy strategies are partnership at its best: government investing in best practice and spreading it nationwide, tied to demanding but achievable targets; the profession responding with commitment and enthusiasm to make it a success.

Part of the achievement has been the involvement of parents. A recent poll showed that 94 per cent of parents support the literacy hour, and two-thirds now read to their children every day. The message on literacy and numeracy is getting into every home and every community.

But we have more to do. The Government is providing further support for literacy training and recruiting extra classroom assistants to enhance teaching skills, particularly in grammar, spelling and the all-important phonics. We will provide intensive support, which I know has been successful this year, to a further 2,000 schools, taking the total to 5,000 – one in four of all primaries.

We are looking to you to introduce the daily maths lesson nationwide from this September, backed by a £55 million investment in training and support for all teachers. And through Maths Year 2000, which I launched in April with David Blunkett and Carol Vorderman, we will promote numeracy as we have literacy.

At secondary level, our objective is to tackle a culture of low aspirations and standards that pervades too much of the system. This is particularly true in the largest cities, where the challenges are greatest but so too is the need. City by city there are schools which achieve spectacularly. But too many do not.

It is important to provide effective support for weak and failing schools. We are also taking forward Excellence in Cities, a radical programme for the six largest cities, giving schools the tools to provide better for pupils of all abilities, from those with learning difficulties to the very able and talented who become no less excluded if given inadequate support and opportunity.

I know that these strategies put pressure on you. They put pressure on all of us – not least David Blunkett and me, with our commitment to ambitious national targets. And rightly so, for a key modernising principle of this government is that we are all accountable.

LEAs too are being made more accountable. That's why for the first time they are being inspected and subject to penalties for under-performance. Why higher standards are the be-all and end-all of their role. And why we will not hesitate to act decisively in cases of LEA failure, and apply the same rigorous standards to private contractors as we expect of public providers.

Our cardinal principle is that LEAs should intervene in inverse proportion to success. The prime responsibility for improving schools lies with schools themselves – which is why LEAs should get as much money as possible out of central bureaucracy and into your schools.

We aren't, frankly, satisfied that enough LEAs are doing this. David Blunkett is about to publish league tables of LEA central spending. Next year he will not hesitate to use his new powers to cap bureaucracy in LEAs which are unjustifiably holding back resources from schools.

We are putting behind us a situation where everyone blamed someone else for poor performance but no-one took responsibility themselves; and replacing it with one where we all accept our role in making things better.



I hardly need tell this conference that leadership is critical to effective schools.

I have never yet visited a good school with a weak head. Effective heads give heart and direction to their school. They inspire their pupils; generate trust and ambition in the staff room; command the respect of parents; set the parameters for colleagues to achieve success in the classroom and beyond.

Bc

This is as true of the small primary school with half a dozen staff as of the large comprehensives in trouble. The challenges vary, but the importance of the head in the life of the school is the same.

You are leading a quiet revolution. Until a few years ago if you asked the question, 'who runs the education system?', the typical answer was 'local education authority officials'. Now the answer is 'headteachers, school by school'.

But we under no illusion as to the scale of the task that you as headteachers face in leading and managing your schools. Central to the Green Paper is greater investment in training, support and rewards for heads and those aspiring to headship.

Managing a school is at least as great a challenge as running a company. Yet for too long we accepted that chief executives had their MBAs and intensive management and leadership programmes, while headteachers arrived on the first of September with just the keys to the office and a few tips from their predecessor, if they were lucky.

We are investing to provide a national system of management and leadership training for school leaders, something I know you strongly support.

The DfEE has already started to put a proper training regime in place. Good progress has been made, but we are keen to see improvements, particularly to ensure that training makes better use of successful serving heads.

In the Green Paper we proposed to establish a National College for School Leadership. This proposal has attracted wide enthusiasm, as an opportunity to create a single focus for the training and development of headteachers.

We are today publishing the prospectus for the new college – a £10m centre, with residential facilities and state-of-the-art ICT to spread its work nationally and internationally. The college will open next year, and we will begin immediately to seek a founding director and partners to take the college forward.

New technology will be critical. The sheer scale of the college's audience, with 24,000 serving heads, probably twice that number aspiring to headship and many more in management positions, means that a major part of its operations must be available as a virtual college on the Internet.

The college will develop leadership and management skills, taking on responsibility for the full range of school leadership courses. We also intend it to develop a strong international dimension, through placements and ICT, enabling school leaders in this country to build overseas links and set their work in a far wider context.

I know that some other aspects of the teaching Green Paper have been controversial.

I will come to some of the issues in a moment. But let me start with the big picture, which is so important to understanding the challenge we face together.

The government's objective is simple but highly ambitious. It is to restore teaching to its rightful place as one of Britain's foremost professions – an ambition I believe we all share.

Just as the education system has been neglected by governments for decades, so too the teaching profession has been undervalued, under-resourced, and has suffered accordingly in reputation and self-esteem. While this has happened, the demand *for* teachers, and the demands *on* teachers, have risen sharply, making it harder and harder to reverse the decline.

We have very many excellent teachers and headteachers. I meet them week after week in my visits to schools. But we need more of them – far more. And this means recognising, frankly, the need for a step change in the reputation, rewards and image of teaching, raising it to the status of other professions such as medicine and law, which are natural choices for our most able and ambitious graduates. Teaching has this status in many other countries. There is no good reason why it shouldn't have it here too.

It is not a simplistic case of teachers catching up with the rest. All professions are under pressure, in the face of growing public demands for greater accountability and better performance.

But it would be a fatal error to under-estimate the scale of the challenge. Take London University's Imperial College, one of our foremost science and technology universities. 1,450 students graduated from Imperial last year. Fewer than 20, 1.5% of the total, went on to teacher training.

I am delighted to hear that teacher training applications for science and maths have risen sharply this year - 27% up in the case of maths graduates – through the new £5,000 bursary scheme. This is excellent news, and demonstrates what can be achieved.

But it is only a first step. And of course, it is not just the recruitment of new teachers that concerns us. It is also providing better rewards, and proper incentives, to encourage excellence across the whole profession – both for successful school leaders and for successful classroom teachers who don't want to go up the management ladder to get higher pay and recognition.

The Green Paper is intended to meet these objectives. We remain open to ideas for improvements, and I welcome the fact that ministers are engaged in constructive discussions with your association and others on the practical issues which are critical to successful reform.

But let us be clear about what is on offer. This is something for something. In return for proper assessment, we are proposing a significant pay increase for a large proportion of the

profession. Everyone will get the annual pay award, but significant extra money will be available for those who excel. This is not a case of new obligations being imposed for no extra reward.

On the contrary, teachers who pass the new threshold stand to gain £2,000 - £2,000 which would not be available through the annual pay increase. We are providing this investment because we are convinced that it is right to make it possible for good teachers to gain higher rewards in recognition of their performance. This already happens to a large extent through promotions and responsibility points. We all know that teachers of equivalent years' service aren't all paid the same, or anything like it.

Our intention is simply that there should be a proper, formal assessment of the achievements of teachers who reach the top of the normal pay scale and wish to go higher. And that annual appraisal, as applies in virtually every other profession, should become part of the system, including an assessment of the progress made by pupils. After all, there is nothing that matters more to schools than the quality of teaching and the achievement of pupils.

In return we stand ready to make a massive new investment in the teaching profession – £1 billion over two years, covering not just pay but staff development, training, and the whole infrastructure of the profession.

Many of you are managers of school budgets. You know only too well the competing pressure for resources and the absolute requirement to be able to justify proposed expenditure against competing demands.

We are proposing money for modernisation – serious investment in return for necessary reform. And I am speaking absolutely honestly in saying that the government, supported by the wider public, cannot and will not proceed without that fair exchange. ✓

Over the next three years education will get the biggest spending increase in history.

It took a host of hard decisions to make this investment available. I am determined that as a government we will continue to make the hard choices necessary to give education the priority it deserves. But the new investment must, at every stage, be for modernisation and higher standards.

I began by declaring my – our – aspiration for Britain to build a world-class education system for the next century. People ask me, 'how will you know when you have succeeded'? My reply is simple. 'We will have succeeded when the achievements of our children match the passion of our pronouncements.'

There is never any point in willing the ends without a commitment to the means to achieve them. I earnestly hope we share that same commitment, and can move forward in partnership to build the education system Britain deserves.

EDUCATION - IDEAS

→ A-S GRANTS  
IN MAY

→ CALL ANDREW  
re Teacher  
NEXT DOOR

→ TEACHER IRA?  
EMK Early Educ. bill

→ TEACHER REWARDS?  
- TEACH-FLEX

"Traps to Toddlers"

\$1.2B

→ APT re Teacher  
Liability

## Title II DRAFT BILL LANGUAGE LIST OF MAJOR POLICY ISSUES

### PART A - TEACHING TO HIGH STANDARDS

Creates a new grant program, Teaching to High Standards, to make meeting challenging State standards a tangible goal in all classrooms. The program will succeed Goals 2000, Title II, and Title VI and focus on giving teachers the tools they need to teach all students to high standards through high-quality professional development.

- states come out even  
- districts 70% whole

- Formula grant to States - 50% poverty, 50% population (II-A-8)
- States send 50% down to high-need districts by formula and 50% competitive

### WITHIN-STATE TARGETED GRANTS - FORMULA AND COMPETITIVE

- Promotes educational equity by distributing approximately 50 percent of State awards funding through a formula targeted toward high poverty school districts
- Encourages innovation by distributing approximately 50 percent of State awards through grant competitions that prioritize school districts with the highest quality proposals and the greatest need (II-A-13)

Combo of Title I + per capita

### STATE-LEVEL ACTIVITIES

- Advances efforts to make high standards a reality in every classroom by supporting State and local efforts to align instruction, curriculum, and assessments to challenging academic standards (II-A-14)

### FOCUS ON HIGH-QUALITY PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

- Focuses federal resources to support research-based professional development activities, with an emphasis on the intensive, sustained, and collaborative professional development that teachers say improves their teaching the most (II-A-23)

### MATH/SCIENCE PRIORITY

- Increases required federal funding for professional development in mathematics and science from \$250 million (under Eisenhower) to \$300 million (II-A-8)

set-aside

### INDUCTION/SUPPORT FOR NEW TEACHERS IN THE FIRST THREE-YEARS

- Addresses the urgent need to reduce teacher attrition by prioritizing professional development proposals that support new teachers during their first three years in the classroom (priority in higher-ed subgrants)

## **NATIONAL AUTHORITY**

- Authorizes support for several national initiatives for improving teaching and learning in America's schools
- Enhances teacher quality by supporting innovative ways to license, hire, evaluate and reward teachers;

## **ACCOUNTABILITY**

- States must report annually to the Secretary on performance under this grant (II-A-13)
- LEAs must report annually to SEAs (II-A-28)

## ***PART B – QUALITY TEACHERS FOR TOMORROW***

### ***Subpart I – Transition to Teaching***

- Support and enhance Troops to Teachers
- Award grants to organizations to build on Troops model by recruiting, preparing, and supporting mid-career professionals to teach high-need subjects (e.g. math, science, bilingual) in high-need areas

### ***Subpart II – Recruiting & Retaining Quality Teachers & Principals***

- Support projects aimed at recruiting and retaining quality teachers in high-need areas. Projects include:
  - Teacher recruitment clearinghouse and job-bank
  - Principal leadership grant to recruit, prepare, and support strong principal leadership
  - Study and disseminate effective strategies for increasing pension and credential portability
  - Support of recruitment and retention efforts to attract high-quality individuals into teaching through alternative routes

III - Early child. Prof. Dev.  
IV - Tech. Assistance

File:  
Educ Ideas

4/24/97

## THE VICE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE

MAIER: Our youth live in separate worlds  
Make schools small enough to get to know each other  
In 1940 147 kids → 1000/school now  
1/10 as many Amer on school bds than 1940  
~~without~~ <sup>tracy</sup> the pop.

YOUNG  
CUNY: Peloyan (Mrs. C visited, 1 1/2 mi from King beating)  
3<sup>rd</sup> world educ. "24 yrs old, has 41 yrs to go"

She'll do  
- next. \*  
test

Teachers - "people, not teachers"

I even hired a person from Buzy King.

b/c no one wants to teach in inner city

One of (3<sup>rd</sup> Calif. charter schools.

Little Engine that could

1. Clean up the place - safety. <sup>Parents</sup> Put up wall for drive by shootings
2. Character educ. - stopping stealing on computers.  
Stds - they don't say no, they say how hi.

We want to handout to do parent teacher conf.

School-linked health services

Bought crack house & built more classrooms.

All wired. 200 schooldays & 40 Saturdays

Built library, got McLean Hill

Uniform outfit for AFDC, computer repair for gays,  
even start a Starbucks coffee

McEneaney: Order. Schools not run freely



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Families + schools both dysh



### THE VICE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE

Stressed out ~~at~~ teachers + stressed at parents  
Debbach - parents <sup>running away from home</sup> going to work to get away from kids  
Joune - teachers counting ~~the days~~ toward retire to get away from kids

How do you care at time for one another, let alone interest or desire?

VP + Mrs G. pushed for family friendly policies as govt  
- E.O. / Julia

Paradox Parents care so much (Ted) - line up ~~for days~~ when is choice

How do we create public landmarks?

- Email. Voice mail

- ~~Get parents to read.~~

~~Or is that not the case~~

- Attitudes: what time parents off?

How make cultural shift?

How long then a?

Parents care about what kids wear, who they hang out with, what kind of future they'll have.

Striv: public school choice.

Parent mgmt, schools see kids' real work  
choice + districts prove parents care.

Omura: 7 yrs toward where schools becoming pub hosp.

PTA: Not stde for parental involvement

Ambach: Spec. ed shows fid impact on educ.

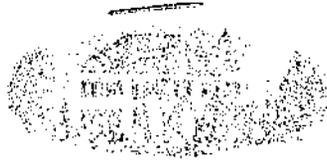
Reauthoriz. of Improving Schools Act 98 - Goals, etc.

VP: Imperatibility of school finance

: Conc - adult conspiracy to keep kids from doing wrong

Parsons: <sup>change</sup> attitudes, not schools ~~is~~ we've spit billions of it in

this community (NY) <sup>Printed on Recycled Paper</sup> in '80 yrs, + worse off for it.  
Row for our damn boats



## THE VICE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE

Caroline Kennedy: Teachers been fighting the battle alone  
Parents spend too much time  
Need businesses to give employees time off  
to mentor kids

Sara M. Hoyt: After school hrs. - time to create bridge, comm.  
Do more than sports.

Deborah: Schools remarkably badly designed to  
promote comm.

Any US teacher sees 170 kids/day.

Said to kid: It's not safe here. Kid said  
"It's safer on the street?" We pushed kids at  
b/c if shot on st, it's not our fault.

Not rebelling; don't care. Culture that sells to kids  
is more important than one in schools

Kids don't care about stds. They need people  
who have stds. <sup>need to</sup> want their respect.

\* Stds have always been at heart of how  
parents deal with kids

People take respons. b/c they feel they  
have power/authority.



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