

SECOND TERM AGENDA Q&A

December 8, 1996

~~Agenda~~
Agenda -
Second Term

Q. Mr. President, what are your top legislative priorities for a second term?

A. On Tuesday, the American people affirmed the course we have followed for the past four years, to keep the economy growing and keep making progress on the deficit, crime, welfare, and other problems that once seemed intractable. My agenda for the next four years is to build on that progress. As I said throughout the campaign, I want to build a bridge to the 21st Century by:

- 1) finishing the job of **balancing the budget** while preserving our values
- 2) giving every American the **education** they need, so that every 8-year-old can read, every 12-year-old can log onto the Internet, every 15-year-old can say no to drugs and gangs, and every 18-year-old can graduate with a diploma that means something and go to college
- 3) making the permanent underclass a thing of the past by helping the private sector create 1 million jobs to move people from **welfare to work**
- 4) helping **families succeed at work and at home**, by expanding family leave, providing flex-time, cracking down on juvenile gangs and drugs, and giving families health care, pensions, and training they can take with them from job to job
- 5) passing **campaign finance reform**

Q. Don't you have a minimalist agenda for your second term compared to the sweeping agenda you promised in 1992?

A. It may look easier, because we've made a lot of progress in the last four years and some of the nation's problems -- like the deficit and the crime rate -- don't seem so large and intractable. But our agenda is very ambitious:

Balancing the budget is a challenge of historic magnitude: This country hasn't had a balanced budget in 30 years.

Ending the permanent underclass is an enormous challenge, after 30 years of a broken welfare system and nearly 20 years of rising out-of-wedlock births.

Reforming our public schools and expanding access to college will do more to affect our long-term economic vitality than anything else we could do.

These are all historic challenges, and we'll have to work every bit as hard in the next four years as we did in the last four.

November 27, 1996

TO: Don Baer
FROM: Dan Tarullo
SUBJECT: SECOND-TERM AGENDA -- INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP

The Goal and Its Significance

The economic well-being of the American people in the 21st century will be increasingly tied to the operation of the global economy -- market access for our goods and services, effective mechanisms to deal with common problems such as financial instability, and sustained growth in other parts of the world. In addition, our overall foreign policy goals often rely on our ability to influence deployment of international economic resources to buttress the economies of important countries subject to political instability. Hence the strong case for giving priority during the second term to American leadership in building the international economic institutions and arrangements of the 21st century.

Although I agree with those who have cautioned that choosing policy goals on the basis of what history will record is a potentially feckless exercise, it is worth noting that history *does* take note of U.S. action and inaction in the face of global economic challenges: FDR and Truman are credited with great foresight in laying the groundwork for the postwar international economic order (IMF, World Bank, GATT), while Harding and Hoover are berated for standing by while protectionism grew and financial instability increased in the interwar years. In this regard, it is important for us to note that the enormous energy and accomplishments of 1993-4 (NAFTA, GATT, APEC/Blake Island, Miami Summit) have not been sustained in the last two years. Moreover, our international economic leadership has been called into question not just for lack of follow-up, but for what much of the world perceives as U.S. threats to the system -- e.g., Helms-Burton and our large arrears to international organizations.

When the President hosts his G-7 counterparts at the Denver Summit in June, his international leadership will be a prime focus of attention. Denver presents a great opportunity to project his leadership and to move ahead an agenda for the 21st century global economy. It also poses a risk of highlighting ways in which we have failed to lead. Seizing the opportunity at Denver requires that we begin to take steps now: last minute fixes or initiatives will not be sufficient.

Parameters of The Agenda

A few words about the three factors you mentioned for assessing the viability of priority goals for the second term:

Minimum-Maximum Agenda: Because there is a range of problems and possibilities in the world economy, and because no one believes all can be solved or realized in the next four years, we have some flexibility in reasserting our international economic leadership. Thus the policy aims identified below need not all be accomplished for us to have a very successful run in the next four years.

Executive-Congressional Continuum: As usual in the international economic arena, there is a sequential interplay between Executive and Congressional action. We need authority to negotiate and appropriations from the Hill, but we basically determine the timing and scope of initiatives, negotiations, etc. A number of possible initiatives do not directly depend on Congressional action, although it is obvious that adverse Congressional reaction could threaten those initiatives.

There is also a continuing opportunity -- need, actually -- for the President to use his public pulpit to lead the American people to at least acquiesce in the policies we pursue. The anxieties of some Americans in the face of the global economy are very real, if sometimes a bit exaggerated when measured against the facts of our economy. The President should continue delivering the message he articulated in From Hope to History, and at several points during the campaign -- that our economic future depends on success in the global economy, that we should be confident in our ability to do so, but that we have to equip all our people to profit from it.

Political Costs: There is no doubt that obtaining fast-track negotiating authority will require expenditure of some political capital. So too, if we make enough progress with China to proposed permanent application of MFN treatment, costs will be entailed. However, we should remember that precisely because the President stood firm in the face of opposition to NAFTA and the GATT Uruguay Round, he derived substantial political benefits as well. While judicious selection of aims and timing of initiatives are important, we cannot shrink from everything that may be unpopular in some quarters -- important changes rarely command unanimity.

The Agenda

Pre-Denver Steps

- *Obtain Fast-Track Negotiating Authority:* This would be the surest way to signal the rest of the world that the President has the tools to be activist in the international economic arena in the next four years. Ideally we would have the authority in hand by Denver; at the least legislative prospects for granting that authority would seem good
- *Clear Arrears to International Financial Institutions:* The President has committed himself to this goal, specifically for the International Development Association of the World Bank (IDA). However, our request was slashed by the Congress last year. High-level attention to this item is important this year. We are subject to vocal criticism from virtually the entire world on failing to meet commitments we have assumed -- several G-7 sherpas have told me that their leaders held back on this issue during the President's reelection year, but will be outspoken if we do not solve the problem this year.
- *Manage Helms-Burton Disputes:* It is hard to see this issue being resolved in any final sense, but it is important that it not be an open wound at Denver.

Policy Objectives

Some of the following could be launched or highlighted prior to, or at, Denver. Others may await later attention. Note that even items which are not strictly relevant to the G-7 will enhance the President's international leadership and thus his stature at Denver.

- *Chile Into NAFTA:* Our failure to get fast-track negotiating authority to accomplish this seemingly modest goal has become the symbol of U.S. inaction in global economic matters.
- *FTAA Progress:* Our inability to move on Chile has also handicapped our ability to influence the direction and pace of progress towards a Free Trade Area of the Americas. The goal in the next four years should be tangible further progress, either through accession of more countries to NAFTA or negotiation of hemisphere-wide agreements in certain areas as stepping stones to a full FTAA.
- *Lead China into the WTO:* This is already a high priority. If successful in the next six months (an uncertain prospect), we may also be aiming for elimination of the

annual Congressional review of most-favored-nation-treatment for China.

- *Africa Initiative:* Precisely because immediate commercial benefits to the U.S. would be limited, our leadership on an international trade and economic initiative for Africa would do much to reestablish U.S. credibility with the developing world and the international institutions on a range of issues. Interestingly, the domestic politics of an Africa initiative are pretty good -- both Democrats (Rangel, McDermott) and Republicans (Gingrich) have expressed interest.
- *Sustained APEC Momentum:* After the visionary statements of Blake Island, Bogor, and Osaka, this year's summit started what will be the hard work of getting real progress in reducing trade and investment barriers in APEC. We will not have huge accomplishments in any given year, but if we sustain our efforts in each of the next four, it is likely that a decade from now APEC will be judged a success.
- *Promote Integration of Asian Countries into European-Dominated International Organizations:* In everything from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to the Bank for International Settlements, small European countries -- often abetted by their larger European Union partners -- try to keep Asian countries out in order to preserve their waning influence. It is in our interest to move some of these economically important countries into these limited membership international organizations, and will be regarded by Asia as a sign that we have a truly global perspective. [N.B. By and large, we can do this without Congressional approval.]
- *Rationalize International Environmental Activities:* While not strictly an economic issue, this does have enormous economic implications -- the measures under consideration to combat global warming are one good example. Yet the international organization of environmental issues is a hopeless tangle of activities. Denver provides both an opportunity to rationalize these and to exert some influence on the substantive directions of those activities.
- *Global Cooperation to Counter Shared Problems/Threats:* The President's global agenda (contra international crime, terrorism, nuclear safety and security concerns, etc.), is an accomplishment that, on its own, should be consolidated at Denver. However, the need for such cooperation reaches into the more narrowly economic sphere as well -- dealing with international threats to banking safety, with international cartels, etc. We are already pursuing cooperative initiatives in a number of these areas. Whether at Denver

or elsewhere, we should raise the profile of these efforts, because together they can constitute a sustained effort to equip the nations of the world to protect their peoples from both physical and economic harm in the new circumstances of the global economy.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

December 18, 1996

TO: Rahm Emanuel
Bruce Reed
Mike Cohen

FROM: Frank Holleman
Terry Peterson
Jennifer Davis

RE: Proposed Education Announcements/Events
January-June, 1997

Attached is an overview of upcoming events/announcements as well as numerous other proposals for Presidential involvement in education activities.

Once you identify Presidential priorities, we can build upon the information outlined here. We look forward to working with you.

SUMMARY OF EDUCATION EVENTS/ANNOUNCEMENTS JANUARY-JUNE 1997

January

- ▶ In January, a study of model programs that provide educational alternatives to school expulsion will be released by the Department. The study examines more than 50 programs, reviews state laws and policies, and provides detailed information on nine programs. An event with the President could be scheduled at one of the schools featured in the study.
- ▶ The Department has completed a "Community Schools" guide that highlights options for keeping schools open and providing safe and drug free after school learning opportunities for students, including reading tutors. The President could release this study and call for it to be distributed across the country.
- ▶ In January (February or March) the President could announce the formation of the America Reads Network, an emerging coalition of some 60 groups that have come together to help promote reading improvement--in school, after school, in the community, and at home. (This coalition began to work together over the summer, but is being expanded by the Department and the Corporation for National Service to help meet the America Reads Challenge.) The announcement could include a number of specific activities the coalition will undertake to help meet the President's challenge.

February

- ▶ In February, the first America Reads Challenge product will be released. It is an Early Childhood Kit for parents and care givers to encourage language development for children birth through five years old. The release of this kit could be announced by the President at a school or at a day care center with members of the America Reads Network.
- ▶ On February 5, a ceremony will be held in Washington, D.C. to announce the first National Awards Program for Model Professional Development. The winners are educators who are making a difference in improving teacher preparation and student learning in America's schools. Successful efforts in teacher training generally involve a partnership of schools, colleges and other key institutions. *The First Lady has been invited to participate.*
- ▶ On February 7 or 8, a survey of schools' access to advanced telecommunications will be released. This is the third annual survey and we expect that there has been progress towards reaching the President's goal of connecting schools and classrooms to the Information Superhighway by the turn of the century. This release will take place on National NetDay 2000 being organized by volunteers to be held in Washington, D.C. (February is also the anniversary of the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996.)

- ▶ From February through September, State Technology Literacy Challenge Fund Grants will be awarded. These announcements will occur after states submit technology plans and they are approved. The President could participate in events planned in the states around the awarding of the grants.
- ▶ In February, the "First in the World Consortium" will be releasing the results of the TIMSS taken in their districts. These northern Chicago school districts are working to meet the national education goal for being first in the world in math and science. This event will highlight the effort to reach for excellence in education. This group will be the first of what we hope will be many school districts that use the TIMSS to benchmark themselves to other nations. The President could help to highlight their efforts and encourage others to strive to be first in the world.
- ▶ On February 15, the Connecticut State Board of Education will award 12 charters to new schools. Administration charter school funds will support some of these schools.

March

- ▶ In March, the Department will release the new edition of the *America Reads Challenge: Read*Write*Now!*, a basic kit with activities that parents and other learning partners can do with children from birth through sixth grade. The President could release this kit with the members of the Family Involvement Partnership for Learning, which is made up of over 2,400 partner organizations.
- ▶ On March 12, the Department of Education is scheduled to release a report responding to a directive from the President stressing excellence and accountability in teaching. This report will highlight promising practices addressing key challenges in the President's directive: recruiting talented people into teaching, improving preparation and training of teachers, setting high standards in teaching, rewarding good teachers, and getting incompetent or burned out teachers out of the classroom.
- ▶ The North Carolina State Board of Education will announce approval of charter schools in March. Some of the charters will use funding from the Department to get up and running.
- ▶ In March (April, May) the Washington State Legislature will likely be considering a charter school bill. A Presidential address could provide the President an opportunity to work with a friendly governor and offer a centrist approach to education reform in a state emerging from a highly publicized battle over a controversial charter/voucher ballot initiatives last month. An address there could also highlight the importance of developing charter schools in context the of tough academic standards.
- ▶ In mid-March the next group of nationally certified teachers will graduate. One of the best ways the Administration can highlight national standards of excellence in teaching is by promoting the value and importance of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards certification process. Governor Jim Hunt has led this effort that is now ready

to take off. The President's involvement in an event could help highlight this effort. He could also visit a state or community using National Board teachers to upgrade their teaching corps.

April

- In April, a revised *Growing Up Drug-Free: A Parent's Guide to Prevention* will be released. More than 28 million copies of the original publication have been printed and the Partnership features it in public service announcements aimed at parents. Reader's Digest will carry the publication as a supplement in the April issue. The President could participate in the release or possibly be a part of the public service advertising effort to follow up on the publication.
- In April (May, June) the President could announce a set of principles around public school choice. These principles would be developed by educators and community leaders in cities and states where public school choice strategies (schools-within-schools, open enrollment, magnet schools, etc.) are in operation and are successful.

May

- On May 7, the FCC is likely to rule that schools and libraries will have universal access to the information superhighway and Internet at deep discounts which the President, Vice President and Secretary Riley have promoted. This ruling will provide an important opportunity for the President to talk about the importance of access to the internet.
- In May, the Department of Education will release a sequel to *Employers, Family, and Education*, a publication of best practices and family-friendly policies undertaken by American employers in an effort to help employers, to in turn help their employees best support their children's education.
- In May, the America Reads Network will kick off the Summer Reading Challenge to get 1.5 million children reading 30 minutes a day, an effort to avoid the "summer drop off" in reading. This event will be held at a library, school, or child care center with a proven track record for improving student learning.

June

- On June 10, the grade 4 release of the Third International Math and Science Study will take place simultaneously in Boston and Washington, D.C. By the end of March, we will have the results but we do not expect that they will be markedly different from the 8th grade results where U. S. Students were below average in math and slightly above average in science compared to 40 other countries. In early July (July 1 tentatively) the state data linking student progress state-by-state to other countries will be released. For this release, the Department plans events all over the country involving state and business leaders. The President could be the national convener with downlink sites in all states to help release the data and outline proposals to address the challenges in math and science achievement.

DETAILED OVERVIEW OF PROPOSED EDUCATION EVENTS/ANNOUNCEMENTS JANUARY-JUNE 1997

AMERICA'S READING CHALLENGE

White House Objectives: (1) to spearhead events that help to secure the volunteer pool needed and to develop support from key organizations and individuals that will help make the initiative a success; (2) to build public understanding and support for the initiative; and (3) to build momentum leading up to the Congressional introduction and throughout the Congressional debate on the reading initiative.

- ▶ In January (February or March) the President could announce the formation of the America Reads Network, an emerging coalition of some 60 groups that have come together to help promote reading improvement—in school, after school, in the community, and at home. (This coalition began to work together over the summer, but is being expanded by the Department and the Corporation for National Service to help meet the America Reads Challenge. The announcement could include a number of specific activities the coalition will undertake to help meet the President's challenge.
- ▶ In March, the Department will release the new edition of the *America Reads Challenge: Read*Write*Now!*, a basic kit with activities that parents and other learning partners can do with children from birth through sixth grade. The President could release this kit with the members of the Family Involvement Partnership for Learning, which is made up of over 2,400 partner organizations.
- ▶ The President could hold a National Reading Day where schools and libraries across the country are selected to participate in a satellite town meeting with the President. Celebrities who have highlighted the importance of literacy could participate (Barbara Bush, Oprah Winfrey, Bill Cosby, Neil Smith from the Kansas City Chiefs, etc.). Each site could have local officials and celebrities in order to get regional as well as national press. Working with Reading is Fundamental (RIF), the American Booksellers Association, and others, book donation sites could be publicized across the country. Volunteer tutors could also be recruited as a part of National Reading Day.
- ▶ To follow-up on National Reading Day, the President could meet across the country with organizations that "pledge" a certain number of tutors for America Reads. For example:
 - * College Presidents pledge a certain number of work study slots
 - * Union of American Hebrew Congregations pledges 100,000 tutors (already offered)
 - * AARP offers to organize members
 - * Girl Scouts make tutoring a priority for the year
 - * American Booksellers commit a number of local sites to sign-up volunteers
 - * The American Library Association that represents 16,000 libraries across the country also sign up volunteers, etc.
- ▶ In addition to a National Reading Day and pledges from different organizations, mayors and civic

leaders across the country would be interested in holding America Reads events with the President. The U.S. Conference of Mayors has made education a top priority for this year. In Houston, Texas, for example, private and public community organizers and America Reads Challenge supporters from Houston, Texas, have already expressed interest in becoming the first city to accept the America Reads Challenge in partnerships with Houston's City Reads. This event might highlight support from other organizations, including Houston READ Commission, Houston Public Libraries, Girls Scouts, and the County Commission on Children, to recruit a targeted number of volunteer tutors. Mayor Lanier is writing a letter to President Clinton inviting him to attend an America Reads Challenge kickoff ceremony in Houston. The event is tentatively planned for January 30, 1997.

- ▶ In February, the first America Reads Challenge product will be released. It is an Early Childhood Kit for parents and care givers of children birth through five years old. The release of this kit could be announced by the President at a school or at a day care center.
- ▶ Plans are underway to jointly sponsor three or four literacy forums with Miss America, Tara Dawn Holland. At least one forum will focus on family literacy and America's Reading Challenge. Forums may be co-hosted by Members of Congress. This could be another opportunity for the President's participation.
- ▶ In May, the America Reads Network will kick off the Summer Reading Challenge to get 1.5 million children reading 30 minutes a day, an effort to avoid the "summer drop off" in reading. This event will be held at a library, school, or child care center with a proven track record.
- ▶ The President could go with noted children's authors (R.L. Stein, the author of the Goosebumps series) and do readings in bookstores around the country. Bookstores should be seen as a new "location" to get our message out to suburban citizens.

TOUGHER ACADEMIC STANDARDS

White House Objective: (1) To provide national leadership to help speed the process for establishing challenging academic standards and accountability measures; (2) To help the American public better understand the need for tougher academic standards; (3) to reinforce the President's long standing support for raising standards.

- ▶ TIMSS study released November 20, 1996, finds that American students do not do as well internationally math because American standards in math are too low and teachers aren't prepared or supported to teach the rigorous content needed to be internationally competitive. To follow up on TIMSS study, the U.S. Department of Education, the National Science Foundation and others will sponsor forums across the country to boost math and science to world class levels. A special kick-off event for these forums could be held with the President at the White House or at a location outside Washington.
- ▶ February 7-8 the State of Oregon will sponsor a Math Summit to follow-up on the release of TIMSS. The Superintendent of Public Instruction, Norma Paulus (R) is the convener, and

Governor Kitzhaber (D) will be participating. Two CEOs are being considered for keynote addresses. This event could be an opportunity for the President to talk about education in the context of international competitiveness.

- ▶ February 25, 26, or 27 the National Assessment of Educational Progress math results will be released.
- ▶ On June 10, the grade 4 release of the Third International Math and Science Study will take place simultaneously in Boston and Washington, D.C. By the end of March, we will have the results but we do not expect that they will be markedly different from the 8th grade results where U. S. Students were below average in math and slightly above average in science compared to 40 other countries.
- ▶ In early July, the state data linking student progress state-by-state to the TIMSS data will be released. For this release the Department plans events all over the country involving state and business leaders. The President could be the national convener with downlink sites in all states to help release the data and outline proposals to address the challenges in math and science achievement.
- ▶ In February, the "First in the World Consortium" will be releasing the results of the TIMSS taken in their districts. These northern Chicago school districts are working to meet the national education goal for being first in the world in math and science. This event will highlight the effort to reach for excellence in education by local communities. This group will be the first of what we hope will be many school districts that use the TIMSS to benchmark themselves to other nations. The President could help to highlight their efforts and encourage others to strive to be first in the world.
- ▶ To follow up on the March 1996 CEO/Governors' Education Summit several Governors are planning events. Florida Governor Chiles and AT&T CEO, John Walker, are co-sponsoring a summit January 9-10 in Orlando. Standards and technology will be the theme. The President could use this forum to highlight his support for challenging academic standards.
- ▶ March 31, 1997 is the 3rd anniversary of the signing of The Goals 2000: Educate America Act. The Goals 2000 Act is helping communities in 49 states to set and implement challenging academic standards. Goals 2000, along with the Improving America's Schools Act, are the Administration's primary vehicles for promoting and supporting state and local efforts to set standards and raise student achievement. A bipartisan event could be planned with state officials, business leaders, and educators from across the country.
- ▶ At the conclusion of the National Governors' Association meeting on February 4, the bipartisan National Education Goals Panel will meet. The President helped to establish this entity in order to measure the nation's progress toward the National Education Goals. The Panel's recent focus is on promoting standards and assessments. Governor Roy Romer is the current chairman and we could work with him to craft an agenda helpful to the President.

- ▶ While Governors provide education leadership in many states, in some cases reform efforts are spearheaded by some combination of legislative leaders and a growing number of state-level business-education partnerships. During the next six months, there will be a number of states considering major education reform initiatives in our areas of interest (e.g. reading, teacher quality, tougher standards and assessments, charter schools, etc.) In some cases these initiatives could be in trouble and could be significantly helped by the President's attention.
- ▶ Rudy Crew, Chancellor of the New York City school system, has announced that he will be implementing a tough set of academic standards in all city schools. The President could visit New York and praise this action and also highlight the fact that this kind of action—to really raise standards—is very difficult and will take time. The President could help stress the point that students have to take education more seriously and family members and the community are going to have to help student reach higher standards.
- ▶ (NOTE: on January 22 Education Week will be releasing a state-by-state analysis and critique of standards-based education reform efforts across the country.)

MAKING COLLEGE EDUCATION ACCESSIBLE TO ALL STUDENTS WHO WORK HARD AND MAKE THE GRADE

White House Objectives: (1) to build momentum leading up to the Congressional introduction and throughout the Congressional debate of the Hope Scholarship proposal; (2) to reinforce the President's commitment to making college accessible to all students who work hard and make the grade; (3) to provide support for the Administration's Higher Education reauthorization proposal; and (4) to ensure that the Direct Loan program continues to succeed and that the final 1998 budget reflects the President's proposed investments in higher education.

- ▶ As already proposed, the President could appear with Governor Zell Miller before the Georgia legislature to promote the Hope Scholarship. (In addition, evidently Governor Carnahan in Missouri has introduced a Hope Scholarship-type initiative which will be debated in the Missouri legislature this session.)
- ▶ The President could help to launch a nationwide effort to help low-income middle school students and their families understand what they need to do to prepare for college financially and academically. The Department is exploring various options such as PSAs, working with African American and Hispanic media outlets, etc. to help students and families know what they have to do to prepare. For example, research shows that the two most important factors as to whether a low income student attends college is: (1) that they had a mentor; and (2) they had a plan for getting the resources and taking the right courses by the end of 12th grade.
- ▶ The President could visit a middle school PTA and in a round table format and hear first hand the financial challenge involved in sending children to college. He could explain the package of financial assistance available (due to his efforts) and potential new support if his higher education initiatives are enacted by Congress.

- ▶ February 23-25 in Washington, D.C., the American Council on Education is holding its 79th annual meeting. The ACE's members include all types of colleges and universities and generally takes a prominent role in higher education policy. Approximately 1,300 college presidents and other higher education leaders are expected to attend the conference.
- ▶ February 23-25, the Coalition for Direct Lending is planning a conference to highlight the direct loan program and to enhance the optimistic publicity it needs to recover from FY '96 Congressional talk of cuts and caps.
- ▶ February 24, the Community College National Legislative Seminar at the Sheraton Washington Hotel This year's theme will highlight the importance of postsecondary education and the President's efforts for tax deduction for two year college tuition.
- ▶ The President could meet with college student leaders (and their families) to highlight the importance of their leadership to the future of America and what his financial aid package could do to help them and other families like them.

EXPANDING PUBLIC SCHOOL CHOICE AND SUPPORTING CHARTER SCHOOLS

White House Objective: (1) to continue to highlight the President's support for greater accountability and choice in public education; (2) to ensure that the President's proposal for supporting 3,000 new charter schools is endorsed by Congress; (3) to highlight other forms of public school choice (open enrollment, magnet schools, schools-within-schools, etc.); and (4) to highlight the key challenges that need to be addressed in order for charter schools to be successful such as start-up funding, quality management and planning, and a strong focus on accountability.

- ▶ On January 22, Mayor Daley's board of education will announce approval of about ten charter schools. Chicago is also making news for the innovative new management structure that has been put in place to reform the education system. This event would be an opportunity for the President to focus on dual themes of choice and excellence in education, possibly announcing a new package of charter schools under development by the Department of Education.
- ▶ In April (May, June) the President could announce a set of principles around public school choice. These principles would be developed by educators and community leaders in cities and states where public school choice strategies (schools-within-schools, open enrollment, magnet schools, etc.) are in operation and are successful. The President could make this announcement in a New York City school-within-a-school or a school or college in Minnesota where nearly 20% of K-12 students attend a public school (or college) that they choose.
- ▶ The President could release in June a parent's booklet on how to choose the best public school for their children. The booklet will include suggested questions for parents to ask educators about academic focus, extracurricular activities, teacher quality and school mission.
- ▶ The President could address a legislature in a state actively considering charter school legislation early in 1997. States likely to consider legislation early on include Ohio, Pennsylvania,

Washington State, New York, and Indiana. Washington State might be the best bet for a presidential address, providing the President with an opportunity to work with a friendly governor and offer a centrist approach to education reform in state emerging from a highly publicized battle over a controversial charter/voucher ballot initiatives last month. An address there could also highlight the importance of developing charter schools in context of tough academic standards, since Washington State is a leader in developing challenging standards and assessments.

- ▶ The President could participate in state and local announcements expected this spring of approvals of charter schools. For example, the Connecticut State Board of Education will award 12 charters to new schools on February 15th, and the North Carolina State Board of Education will announce approval of charters in March. An independent District of Columbia Charter School Board -- nominated by Secretary Riley and appointed by the Mayor -- will likely announce approval of charters this spring.
- ▶ Several charter school conferences will take place in the next several months. For example, the President could address a statewide conference for charter schools in California in March; this conference is designed for people in the more than 100 charter schools from around the state. The President could also address a conference being planned for summer, 1997 of existing and future charter schools receiving federal start-up grants.
- ▶ The President could participate in releases of several reports on charter schools and public school choice expected in the next several months. The first annual report of the most comprehensive study ever conducted on charter schools (funded by the U.S. Department of Education) will be ready for release in late January or early February. Other upcoming reports with support from the Department include a guidebook for school boards and other public agencies that have authority to charter schools, as well as handbook for policymakers on legislative policy on charter schools.
- ▶ The Department could develop a booklet of principles of effective charter schools, a guidebook for parents on how to choose their child's public school. A guidebook for people trying to develop a charter schools will also be developed and ready by summer or early fall.
- ▶ The Department of Education is about to approve a number of additional steps to support charter schools, probably including convening blue-ribbon advisors on charter schools (teachers, principals, businesses, and parents, who have created promising charter schools), local conferences and workshops for charter school developers, a world-wide web site for charter school developers, and university-based summer education and business institutes for charter schools. The President could either announce a package of these steps, or participate in any of them.
- ▶ The President could visit a New American School and challenge communities to look to the New American Schools for innovative and proven approaches to improving schools. The New American Schools Development Corporation (NASDC), for which the President helped secure the major donation from the Annenberg Foundation three years ago with an event at the White House, now has enough experience to offer seven different models of success. Each model offers a whole different approach to school choice.

IMPROVING TEACHER AND PRINCIPAL QUALITY

White House Objective: (1) to highlight the President's support for teachers—the men and women who are the most important link to improving learning in America—and his focus on teacher and principal quality as central elements in improving schools; (2) to marshal support for the President's package for teacher quality in the 1998 budget, including an increase for the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.

- On January 21 an international study on how to encourage new teachers to stay in the teaching field will be the focus of a report to be presented in Australia (the day the APAC nations are meeting). This study compares the United States with Pacific Rim (APEC) countries and reviews the strategies other countries use to retain teachers. More detailed case studies are included on Japan, New Zealand, and Australia.
- On February 5, a ceremony will be held in Washington, D.C. to announce the first National Awards Program for Model Professional Development. The winners are educators who are making a difference in improving teacher preparation and student learning in America's schools. Successful efforts in teacher training generally involve a partnership of schools, colleges and other key institutions. The National Awards Program for Model Professional Development ceremony is scheduled for early February 1997. *The First Lady has been invited to participate.*
- In mid-March the next group of nationally certified teachers will graduate. One of the best ways the Administration can highlight national standards of excellence in teaching is by promoting the value and importance of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards certification process. Governor Jim Hunt has led this effort. President's involvement in an event could help highlight this effort. He could visit a state or community using National Board teachers to upgrade their teaching corps.
- On March 12, the Department of Education is scheduled to release a report responding to a directive from the President stressing excellence and accountability in teaching. This report will highlight promising practices addressing key challenges in the President's directive: recruiting talented people into teaching, improving preparation and training of teachers, setting high standards in teaching, rewarding good teachers, and getting incompetent or burned out teachers out of the classroom.
- The National Association of Secondary Schools Principals conference will discuss high school reforms and New American High Schools. This could be a forum for the President to address thousands of principals from across the country. The NASSP conference is on March 7-9, 1997 in Orlando, Florida.
- In April, the National teacher of the year event will take place. As in prior years, the state teachers from all 50 states will be invited to participate in the ceremony. This is an opportunity for the President to talk about teacher excellence.

HELPING STUDENTS AND TEACHERS BECOME TECHNOLOGICALLY LITERATE

White House Objective: to continue to provide leadership in the effort to ensure that all students and teachers have opportunities to access technology resources and to build the skills needed to effectively use technology to increase student achievement and adult skills.

- ▶ From February through September, State Technology Literacy Challenge Fund Grants will be awarded. These announcements will occur after states submit technology plans and they are approved. The President could participate in events planned in the states around the awarding of the grants.
- ▶ On February 7 or 8 a survey of schools' access to advanced telecommunications will be released. This is the third annual survey and we expect that there has been progress towards reaching the President's goal of connecting schools and classrooms to the Information Superhighway by the turn of the century. This release will take place on National NetDay 2000 being organized by volunteers to be held in Washington, D.C. (February is also the anniversary of the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996.)
- ▶ On May 7, the FCC is likely to rule that schools and libraries will have universal access to the information superhighway and Internet at deep discounts which the President, Vice President and Secretary Riley have promoted.
- ▶ An e-rate related event could involve the President participating in the Florida Educational Technology Conference in Orlando, Florida, at the Orange County Convention Center, March 1, 1997.
- ▶ The first round of local Technology Challenge Grants are beginning to show results. The President could visit one of the sites and highlight the potential of technology and the need for all students to have access to the internet.
- ▶ President Clinton has been invited to attend the TELED Conference, an international event that will focus and discuss education and technology in schools in the US and Mexico. The conference will be held in Tampa, Fl., December 6, 1996.
- ▶ The United States Distance Learning Association's National Policy Forum will be held at the JW Marriott, DC., January 6 - 8, 1997.
- ▶ Representatives from telecommunication companies as well as government officials are invited to discuss education and technology at the Universal Service Conference. January 17, 1997. Place TBA. *Vice President Gore has been invited.*

SCHOOL TO WORK: PREPARING STUDENTS FOR CAREERS AND FURTHER EDUCATION

White House Objectives: (1) to reinforce the President's leadership in providing academic and work-based learning opportunities for all students; (2) to highlight the education and training programs that can help meet the challenges laid out by the new welfare legislation; (3) to support the continued funding for the School-to-Work program and the reauthorization of the Administration's vocational and adult literacy efforts.

- ▶ By March 1, six urban high schools will be identified to serve as cutting-edge examples of New American High Schools that are restructuring to provide urban students with high academic and career skills and preparing them for college and careers. The President could visit one of these high schools and announce the six winners.
- ▶ Two teleconferences are scheduled to highlight successful high schools--January 21, 1997 and March 18, 1997. Secretary Riley will use these events to focus on high schools that are restructuring to ensure that all students have the academic skills to succeed in college.
- ▶ A series of local and state School-to-Work continuation grants will be awarded over the next several months. The President could visit one of the local sites that has done exceptional work in providing students new opportunities and skills.
- ▶ May 4 is the third year anniversary of the passage of the School-to-Work Opportunity Act. An event could be organized at one of the local sites that has shown real promise.
- ▶ The Departments of Education and Health and Human Services are working on guidance on state options for interpreting education activities that meet the requirements of the welfare reform legislation. Releasing this guidance could provide the President an opportunity to highlight the federal programs available to help states and communities address the welfare challenge.

ENSURING THAT SCHOOLS ARE SAFE, DISCIPLINED AND DRUG FREE

White House Objective: (1) reinforce the President's commitment to reducing violence and drugs in schools; and (2) To highlight efforts funded by the Administration to address violence, discipline and drugs in schools.

- ▶ In January, a study of model programs that provide educational alternatives to expulsion will be released by the Department. The study examines more than 50 programs, reviews state laws and policies, and provides detailed information on nine programs. An event with the President could be scheduled at one of the schools featured in the study.
- ▶ In April, a revised *Growing Up Drug-Free: A Parent's Guide to Prevention* will be released. More than 28 million copies of the original publication have been printed and the partnership features it in public service announcements aimed at parents. Reader's Digest will carry the publication as a supplement in the April issue. The President could participate in the release or

possibly be a part of the public service advertising effort to follow up on the publication.

- ▶ In April, a satellite teleconference focusing on effective programs that have demonstrated success in reducing youth drug use and violent behavior is being planned in conjunction with a drug and violence prevention conference. The President could participate in the satellite teleconference.

BUILDING COMMON GROUND AND STRENGTHENING BASIC AMERICAN VALUES

- ▶ Secretary Riley has held two unique regional summits between religious leaders and public educators. We are tentatively planning three additional religion and education summits in Charlotte, NC, Chicago, IL and possibly a city in Texas. The President could participate in one or all of these meetings and use them as a platform to talk about values, drug prevention or engaging the religious community to support his reading challenge.
- ▶ March 20-22 a conference entitled *Developing Religious, Racial, and Ethnic Tolerance* will be held in Orlando, Florida. Senator Bill Bradley serves as the Honorary Co-Chair. This event will focus on reducing religious, racial, and ethnic intolerance among school-age youth. The President could serve as a keynote speaker (along with Kareem Abdul-Jagbar).
- ▶ The President/Vice President could participate in a roundtable discussion in a community that has come together to find common ground over religious differences and how those differences impact schools. The Freedom Forum has helped to bring people together in such situations and they could help facilitate such a forum. The Freedom Forum will be holding a "common ground" conference in April.

PROMOTING FAMILY INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION

- ▶ The Department has completed a "Community Schools" guide that highlights options for keeping schools open and providing safe and drug free after school learning opportunities for students, including reading tutors. The President could release this study and call for it to be distributed across the country.
- ▶ On January 16, at the National Press Club, the National PTA will release their National Standards for Parent/Family Involvement Programs in Education. This would be an excellent opportunity to highlight the critical role that schools play in helping families be involved in education at home and in the schools, especially in reading to their children.
- ▶ In early March, the Department will launch a website for the Partnership for Family Involvement in Education. All 2,400 partners will be listed and can network with one another. The general public will be able to access family involvement materials off the website.
- ▶ May 15-16 in Boston, major business leaders and educators will meet at a national conference sponsored by the Conference Board, the U.S. Department of Education, and the Employers for Learning Steering Group of the Partnership for Family Involvement in Education. The focus of the meeting will be to discuss public and private efforts to increase family involvement in

education. An employer survey of family-friendly policies will be unveiled at the conference and "Best in the Class" awards will be given to employers who support their employees involvement in education. The President could serve as the keynote speaker for this event and participate in a round table discussion on increasing family involvement in education.

- ▶ In May, the Department of education will release a sequel to *Employers, Family, and Education*, a publication of best practices and family-friendly policies undertaken by American employers in an effort to help employers, in turn, help their employees best support their children's education.
- ▶ The President could visit a school where, due to his encouragement, they implemented a uniform policy and the school's environment has improved because of it.

UPGRADING SCHOOL BUILDINGS THE PRESIDENT'S SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION INITIATIVE

- ▶ The President could tour a dilapidated school building to point out the need for his schools construction initiative.
- ▶ The President could visit a community college in Los Vegas, Nevada with Governor Miller to see how that state and community has addressed the overcrowding problems in K-12 schools. With the Governor's encouragement, the community college leadership and the K-12 superintendents have collaborated to build schools they share. The K-12 students use the facilities during the day and the college students use the facilities at night.

Attachments:

State PTA Conferences in 1997

Upcoming Meetings Related to America Reads Challenge

UPCOMING MEETINGS RELATING TO RWN/★AMERICA READS CHALLENGE★

The following meetings are excellent opportunities for White House/Department visibility for the *America Reads* initiative:

DATE	ASSOCIATION	SITE OF MEETING
Jan. 17-19, 1997	US Conference of Mayors	Washington, DC
Feb. 5 - 7, 1997	National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities	Washington, DC
Feb. 4 - 8, 1997	National Association for Bilingual Education	Albuquerque
Feb. 8 - 10, 1997	Childrens' Defense Fund	Washington, DC
Feb. 14- 17, 1997	American Association of School Administrators	Orlando
Feb. 15 - 19, 1997	Association of Teacher Educators	Washington, DC
Feb. 14 - 19, 1997	American Library Association	Washington, DC
Feb. 23 - 25, 1997	American Council on Education	Washington, DC
Feb. 26 - March 2, 1997	American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education	Phoenix
March 7 - 11, 1997	National Association of Secondary School Principals	Orlando

March 23 - 25, 1997	Association for Supervision & Curriculum Development	Baltimore
March 25 - 29, 1997	American Education Research Association	Chicago
April 1 - 4, 1997	National Catholic Education Association	Chicago
April 4 - 7, 1997	American School Counselors Association	Orlando
April 13 - 15, 1997	American Association of Community Colleges	Anaheim
April 13 - 16, 1997	National Association of Elementary School Principals	San Antonio
April 13 - 15, 1997	American Association of Universities	Washington, DC
April 20-22, 1997	National Center for Family Literacy	Louisville, KY
May 4 - 9, 1997	International Reading Association	Atlanta
June 21-24, 1997	Parents as Teachers National Meeting	St. Louis

NATIONAL PTA STATE Conventions		
December 3-5, 1996	New Jersey PTA	Atlantic City
April 4-5, 1997	Rhode Island PTA	Warwick
April 5-6, 1997	Vermont PTA	Brownsville
April 10-13, 1997	Nevada PTA	Las Vegas
April 10-13, 1997	Oregon PTA	Portland
April 17-19, 1997	Alaska PTA	Anchorage
April 17-19, 1997	West Virginia PTA	Morgantown
April 18-19, 1997	Alabama PTA	Montgomery
April 18-19, 1997	Arkansas PTA	Fort Smith
April 18-20, 1997	New Mexico PTA	Albuquerque
April 18-20, 1997	Washington PTA	Scarc
April 23-26, 1997 (Tentative)	Mississippi PTA	Jackson
April 24-26, 1997	Colorado PTA	Denver
April 24-26, 1997	Idaho PTA	McCall
April 24-26, 1997	Kentucky PTA	Frankfort
April 24-26, 1997	Minnesota PTA	Minneapolis

April 24-26, 1997	Tennessee PTA	Memphis
April 25-26, 1997	Delaware PTA	
April 25-26, 1997	Montana PTA	Missoula
April 25-27, 1997	South Carolina PTA	Columbia
April 26-29, 1997	Louisiana PTA	Alexandria
April 30-May 3, 1997	Illinois PTA	Itasca
May 1-3, 1997	Michigan PTA	Detroit
May 1-3, 1997	Wisconsin PTA	Lake Geneva
May 1-4, 1997	California PTSA	San Jose
May 2-4, 1997	Georgia PTA	Jekyll Island
May 2-3, 1997	Hawaii PTSA	Oahu
May 15-17, 1997	District of Columbia PTA	District of Columbia
May 15-18, 1997	Arizona PTA	Phoenix
May 16-17, 1997	Utah PTA	Provo
May 16-18, 1997	Indiana PTA	Indianapolis
May 16-18, 1997	North Carolina PTA	Raleigh
May 17, 1997	Connecticut PTA	Waterbury

11Dec96

MEMORANDUM

TO: The President

FROM: Guy L. Smith

SUBJ: Communications Strategy: Inauguration and Beyond

CC: Erskine Bowles, Don Baer

Dear Mr. President:

"..all (citizens) will unite in common efforts for the common good."

"But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principal."

Thomas Jefferson
First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801

These sentiments expressed by Thomas Jefferson in his first inaugural address are fairly common remarks made after election victories. And, of course, they follow the sentiments expressed the other day in your remarks to the Democratic Leadership Council about governing from the center. Unfortunately the roil of Washington too quickly overcomes such sentiments and they dissipate. The news media and chattering classes frequently even count the days of "civility," hoping that it will break down.

You have an opportunity as you begin your second term to truly make history.

- Probably better than any President, you know how to make government work.
- You also know how to make the politics of people work.

And it is the convergence of these two dynamics that can provide your second term with some extraordinary successes.

Here's how:

It is typically Bill Clinton to reach out to people, to involve people, to bring them together towards a common goal, a common solution. That is a very under-appreciated quality of your Presidency.

FINDING AREAS OF AGREEMENT

I suggest, as a strategy for launching with your Second Inaugural Address, a call to all Americans to sit together and decide the areas on which there is agreement and move ahead. The notion is to challenge Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, people at all points along the political spectrum, to sit together and find areas of agreement and act on those areas. Areas of disagreement will come later.

Too often there is only a focus on the areas of discord and rarely on the areas where there is agreement. And, because such energy is put into the areas of discord, the areas of agreement get shoved aside and out of sight.

This idea goes well beyond simply calling for common ground. This idea calls for people to actually go through a process to find areas of agreement and move on them: to set areas of disagreement temporarily aside and move quickly on, to act on, the common areas.

WALK SOFTLY...BUT WITH A BIG STICK

There are several ways this can be done, and done in a way that permits you, as Teddy Roosevelt said, "to walk softly and carry a big stick." And, during this entire process you, as President, act with the greatest civility. But, you never compromise your basic tenets, you never give in on areas that are key, and you continue to use the veto (as you did so effectively last year).

THE PLAN

Here are a series of steps that you can take to begin implementing such a plan.

- Prior to the inauguration hold a "secret" meeting with a small group of GOP and Democratic Congressional leaders at Camp David or somewhere else away from the White House (e.g. Hilton Head).
- A very small group, maybe two from the House and two from the Senate, of each party.
- No staff, there's or yours.
- Get them together and say to them...

"Look, we have a lot of areas where we disagree, and those will be there and we'll have to deal with those areas. But, there are things you want to get done. There are things I want to get done. Right now, immediately, let's try and find some real areas of agreement and do something about them. Let's try and meet each other half way and get something done for the American people. We have a window of opportunity right now. Next year will be election year, but not right now, not this year. The people voted for you. They voted for me. And they said, rather loudly, 'get something done.' So, let's get something done. It will serve your interests. It will serve my interests. Most importantly, it will serve the interest of the people. It will make history."

And actually make a list right then.

ON THE OFFENSIVE

Of course, news of such a "secret" meeting will quickly leak out, but that's fine because you will be on the offensive, but on the offensive as a leader, as in charge, as President.

SMALL MEETINGS

During early January hold a series of small meetings with leaders on key issues who are at different ends of their political spectrums (e.g. corporate America and labor, both sides of the welfare debate, both ends of the health care debate, and so on), but all with the assignment that they are searching for very specific areas of agreement.

Jawbone them into identifying areas of agreement and telling you what they are. I do not mean the large conferences (e.g. White House Conference on.....). Those will come later.

THE CABINET

Charge every member of the Cabinet to search for and identify specific areas where there is agreement on matters that will move the government ahead throughout each of their departments. Some will require legislation. Some can be done by regulation and executive order. Some can be done by getting rid of regulation. Some can be accomplished simply by people and organizations cooperating.

THE ADDRESS

Then in your inauguration address take Jefferson's sentiments to new and historic heights.

- Call on the leaders of the nation, of the states, of the cities and counties, to all, quickly, sit together and identify areas of agreement and act on those areas.
- Use the major areas that are key to your Administration to illustrate how they should come together: education, health care, crime, welfare reform, Social Security and Medicare reform.
- Call on all parts of our society to sit together and identify areas of agreement: educational institutions, religion and religious leaders, labor and business, liberal and conservative, Democrat and Republican, and so on.
- Call on every elected official at every level to move quickly towards finding areas of agreement on key issues in their spheres.

EVERYONE WILL HAVE TO PARTICIPATE

This will work because everybody will have to participate. Anyone refusing to participate at this particular moment will be viewed as overly partisan, overly negative. They will be seen as trying to be destructive and not constructive. And the polls will quickly tell them that is not what people want right now.

SPECIFIC ACTIONS

In your inaugural address announce a series of specific actions you will be taking to find areas of agreement, with the focus, of course, on areas that are of interest to your Administration. These actions should take the form of a series of formal task forces, commissions, blue ribbon panels, and the like to find not just common ground, but rather areas of agreement which can be acted on, adopted, put into force, or whatever. And they should all have short timelines for action.

Then embark around the country, every section, for a series of meetings and speeches as you lead this search for identification of areas of agreement (again, with the focus on areas that are important to your Administration).

If the Presidency and the entire government is focused on this effort to search out, identify, and act on areas of agreement the accomplishments in terms of making government work for the good of the people can be enormous, even historic.

Let me emphasize that none of the above should in any way be interpreted as compromising what you want to accomplish. This is merely how to get what you want.

- The walking softly part is the search for areas of agreement.
- The big stick part is that when it isn't right for the country (meaning it doesn't fit into your set of objectives) you don't allow it to happen, either simply by saying no or by vetoing it.

ABOVE THE FRAY

The difference here is that at all times you, as President, stay above the negative fray, above the highly partisan sniping, above the harsh language. You never stoop to that. It is left to others. At all times you continue the search for, and the rhetoric of, agreement.

This will put the opponents of the Administration on the defensive right from the inauguration and keep them there. Opposition and whining partisanship will appear destructive, while your efforts will appear constructive.

INCOMING

And, the reality is that as 1997 unfolds there is an awful lot of incoming that you will have to deal with (a litany of the negative is not necessary, but suffice it to say that there will be a lot of it).

One of the purposes of this overall effort is to inoculate you and the Administration from the highly negative, highly partisan attacks that will be coming.

Of course, for all the areas of agreement that are identified, there will also be areas of disagreement. But in many cases these are already well known. And, if the areas of agreement are dealt with first, and in good faith, it will in many cases bring about compromise much quicker.

And, at all times you must always be sure that the Congress, or whoever your opposition may be, knows and understands that you will use the veto and every other part of the power of the Presidency to prevent what you consider wrong and improper actions and laws.

Of course, not everyone will find your actions in this regard as worthy of positive commentary. Not the least of the naysayers will be parts of the news media, because what makes news is controversy and conflict. And in this case you are rising above both. But if we set it up properly with the inaugural address, and then follow through with a solid plan, and then sustain it, we will be able to not just overcome the natural negativity of the media, but actually bring some of them around to aiding in the search. It could actually happen!

CANNOT HAPPEN BY CHANCE

But it cannot happen by chance. To make this plan work requires an enormous outreach and grassroots program to sustain it.

Herewith some thoughts on how to do that.

THE CLINTON CORPS

Following up on the enormous and highly effective organization that executed the campaign around the country, I suggest that we put together a "**Clinton Corps**" of Clinton partisans around the country (at least 10 per county, about 30,000) and make them the foot soldiers to help bring about this program--and others as the second term goes forward.

This "Clinton Corps" is a different group of people than those normally worked through the Office of Public Liaison and related outreach offices. These are people--some in local public office, some in local politics, some just in the local PTA, but all Clinton supporters--who we can call on to write letters-to-the-editor, op-eds, letters to their Congressman, Senator, or City Council member, to start word-of-mouth efforts, to show up at events.

THE FIFTH COLUMN

After four years in office and after a very successful election effort, these people are numerous and easy to identify and just waiting to be asked. So, let's just ask them. They will be the foot soldiers, initially for the search for areas of agreement, and later for other efforts.

We know who these people are. We know where to find them. We know how to communicate with them. We know how to motivate them. They are an awesome resource. They can be our Fifth Column.

Mr. President, the foregoing is simply an outline of what is certainly a large undertaking.

Nevertheless, I believe that such a plan will help you embark into your second term in a manner that will be historic in nature, genuine in nature, and with a plan that will produce real and valuable results for the American people. Clearly each of the elements outlined here require much more detail. I will be happy to elaborate on any of them at your direction.

I look forward to seeing you at Renaissance if not before.

Sincerely,

Guy

An Agenda for a Second Term

Target practice

One thing everybody agrees on is that the severe, concentrated poverty that exists in many city neighborhoods constitutes a terrible problem that the national government ought to address. Even anti-government Republicans don't deny that there is a crisis or that there should be some national policy for solving it; go back and read Newt Gingrich's quasi-inaugural address in 1995, where he identifies healing urban ghettos as his chief concern.

Within the Democratic Party, there is a deep, long-standing division over how to address the problems of the ghettos. It isn't so much over what to do as over strategy and politics. The two sides in the dispute might be called the Universalists and the Targeters.

The Universalists, of whom the most prominent example is William Julius Wilson, believe that any government program whose announced purpose is to help poor black people has almost no chance of being enacted and, if it is enacted, almost no chance of long-term survival. Universalists want programs that help the poor to be contained (to some extent camouflaged) within programs to help the middle class, because then they'll be popular, like Social Security and Medicare. Targeters, on the other hand, want much smaller programs aimed directly at those in greatest need.

Social policy during the first Clinton term can best be understood as a triumph not of Old Democrats or big-government liberals, but of Universalists. Every major initiative was an attempt to give programs for the poor a chance of surviving by giving them the coloration of middle-class entitlements, or at least middle-class values. The health-care plan was a Universalist solution to the problem of getting medical services to the uninsured. Welfare reform, before Clinton lost control of it, was an increase in job training and other social services for the poor, concealed within a benefit cut-off that would win over the middle class. The one exception, and the administration's sole targeted anti-poverty program, Empowerment Zones, doesn't really count, because it was the brainchild of George Bush and Jack Kemp after the 1992 Los Angeles riots and was pushed by Clinton in 1993 only

because it could be hidden within a budget bill.

Universalism has two big drawbacks: it makes every policy intervention much bigger and more expensive than it would be if it were targeted, and it gives programs a disingenuous, Trojan-horse quality. For those reasons, Universalism hasn't been the savvy political masterstroke that its proponents imagined it would be. At a time of suspicion of government and concern about budget deficits, the big Universalist programs didn't pass, and the small ones that did pass, like Americorps, were subjected to the same kind of conservative attacks that the explicit anti-poverty programs of the 1960s and '70s used to draw.

What Clinton is doing in the 1996 campaign is, in effect, demonstrating that he has converted from Universalist to Targeter. He has rhetorically forsworn big government, but he is always proposing small new government initiatives with the mission of solving some highly specific problem. What he hasn't done is propose any targeted anti-poverty programs, and, as long as he is having daily meetings with pollsters, he won't. But at the outset of his second term, he should.

If done right, targeted anti-poverty programs are not only relatively inexpensive, they have some of the virtue of the "Powell Doctrine" in military affairs: if the missions are carefully selected with an eye to high probability of success, they can induce the public to begin to trust a whole area of government again. New programs that have tight quality control and concrete, low-concept purposes like providing day care and safe, decent housing can, if done right, produce tangible, inarguable and photographable results.

There is something deeply corrosive to the national spirit about everybody knowing something is our worst domestic problem, while politicians are unable to talk about it straightforwardly or propose common-sense solutions to it. And, the national spirit aside, nobody should have to live the way that people in ghettos do. Targeting is the best way for President Clinton to ameliorate a situation that must torment him. Right now, with Universalism out of the question, it's the most politically possible way, too.

NICHOLAS LEMANN is national correspondent for the *Atlantic Monthly*.

Telltale

Here's a proposal likely to gladden the president's heart: revisit gays in the military. I say this not out of some sick sense of humor, but merely because the persecution of loyal, patriotic Americans for no good reason is one of the most indefensible policies our government now pursues. As commander-in-chief, Clinton is directly responsible for this situation—and not simply because he actually promised to change it.

The trouble is, of course, he did change it—for the worse. "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" has proven to be even more vicious than its predecessor. Here's one statistic you haven't heard much about these last four years: under Clinton, the number of people being thrown out of the military for sexual orientation, as a proportion of all servicemembers, has risen some 20 percent. In the last year alone, the raw numbers jumped 21 percent. In the Air Force, the numbers have more than doubled under Clinton.

Virtually every part of the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy is openly violated. Witch-hunts are still common—twenty-eight last year, as recorded by the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network (SLDN), the only group that defends the people involved. In one case in Sardegna, Italy, sixty sailors were investigated. In another case, military snoops asked a young child if her civilian father was gay and involved with a servicemember; in another, a military doctor turned a soldier in after he sought confidential medical advice. Several cases have been recorded of servicewomen complaining about rape or sexual harassment only to become the target of investigation themselves—for lesbianism. Indeed, women now represent 21 percent of discharges, 8 percent more than their proportion in the military would suggest. The policy has gone from being simply a tool to persecute gays to one by which rogue commanders can vent their hostility to women in their ranks.

Whatever you think of the policy, it should at least be enforced properly. SLDN has recorded over 700 separate clear violations in the first two full years of implementation—and that's probably less than the total number. The president need not revisit the policy itself; he need only make it clear by a memorandum and a statement from

the Secretary of Defense that violations of it will be taken seriously. Commanders found guilty of skulking, purloining or harassing gay (and, often, straight) servicemembers should know they will be disciplined or fined; people who are thrown out under circumstances that violate "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" should be reinstated. To demonstrate its seriousness, the Justice Department should refuse to represent the military in courts until the policy is fairly enforced. This is more than simply a matter of civil rights. It's a matter of whether or not the military is obliged to enforce the rules the civilian branch sets out for them. A re-elected commander-in-chief should insist that they are.

ANDREW SULLIVAN

Good chemistry

Oddly enough, the importance of President Clinton's getting the Chemical Weapons Convention ratified has relatively little to do with chemical weapons. True, chemical weapons are bad—bad enough to kill a few thousand people in a single act of terrorism. But there are three other, bigger reasons why Clinton should work hard to push the CWC through the Senate.

The first reason is biological weapons. They are easier to make than nuclear weapons and roughly as devastating. A low-tech bio-toxin like anthrax could kill half a million people in a single attack. Preventing such a thing will take a treaty that is at least as tough as the Chemical Weapons Convention. Like the CWC, it would have to expose member states to inspection by an international authority on short notice and levy sanctions both against violators and against states that don't join in the first place.

The international movement toward a serious biological weapons regime has only a faint pulse, and death will likely ensue if the CWC goes down. If, on the other hand, the CWC passes American muster and becomes a truly global institution, it will provide not only crucial precedent, but an organizational infrastructure onto which a new biological weapons convention could be grafted.

The second reason to ratify the CWC needs no introduction: nuclear weapons. Most current means of forestalling nuclear disaster, such as arms agreements with Russia and research on missile defense, are almost com-

pletely ill-suited to the nuclear threat of the future: terrorists driving a Dodge Caravan. Nuclear terrorism, like biological and chemical terrorism, is best thwarted via an international regime that lets the United States (for example) demand inspections of suspected weapons factories abroad. A good nuclear weapons convention would be messier than the CWC, since it would have to acknowledge that some nations have—and some *should* have—nuclear weapons. Still, taking the CWC as a rough model would be a good starting point.

Of course the U.S. would be subject to inspections under the CWC, just like everyone else. That's how these things work. Which brings us to the final reason to make a big push for the CWC: to confront the paleo-nationalist sovereignty fanatics head on.

Membership in any meaningful multilateral institution carries costs. With NATO, one cost is our commitment to defend western Europe against attack. With the World Trade Organization, one cost is the decisions that go against us (though so far the WTO arbitration mechanism has mostly helped us). With the United Nations, one cost is anti-American rants in the General Assembly. An emerging great divide in American politics is between people who tend to see such costs as worth the benefits (Clinton, George Bush, Bob Dole before he started running for president) and people who don't (Ross Perot, Pat Buchanan, Fred Flintstone). Clinton and other internationalist politicians often duck the cost-benefit analysis in their public utterances. Rather than acknowledge the costs, they disingenuously minimize them or dismiss them entirely. It would be nice for Clinton to clarify the terms of debate—to honestly explain why, in the modern world, national self-interest often implies forms of international cooperation that, yes, bring real burdens and constraints. The eminently defensible Chemical Weapons Convention is a fine opportunity.

ROBERT WRIGHT

Welfare check

The president who signed the 1996 welfare legislation promises that after the election he will fix the bill that he allowed to become law. But fixing it will be much more difficult and will take much longer than its ambivalent supporters would have us believe.

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 is a terrible law. The president himself has singled out the immigration and Food Stamps provisions—which deny benefits to most legal immigrants and cut Food Stamps across the board—as especially egregious. These provisions could be fixed by restoring the cuts and exempting more categories of immigrants, but that would mean reversing most of the budget savings of the bill at a time when all parties are committed to balancing the budget.

The parts of the law dealing directly with welfare will be even harder to fix. The law abolishes the AFDC program, which guaranteed cash assistance at levels set by states to needy children and provided federal matching money. The old law was nothing to be proud of: it provided few incentives for work or parental responsibility, or for families to get off the rolls rather than get locked into dependency. But the new law goes much further than the necessary sensible reforms. It abdicates federal responsibility for needy children by abolishing any entitlement to benefits or services, while mandating tough work requirements and five-year lifetime limits.

Some states, perhaps many, will use their block grants for creative and innovative approaches to providing work opportunities for adults and services for children—at least in the short run. Some states will support parents in their jobs and make sure their children are safe and adequately supervised. But all the political and financial incentives are for states to cut assistance, to impose time limits shorter than five years, to meet the work requirements without spending any money, to shift responsibilities to local governments and private contractors, and to use the block grant funds for more politically popular programs. Since no state wants to be known for providing substantially more generous assistance than its neighbors, it would be extremely surprising if, over the long run, states did not become stingier. And, given the political momentum for abolishing the entitlement and for preserving states' flexibility, there is no reason to think Congress will intervene.

Is there anything to be done? The first obligation is to make sure the public understands exactly what the reform will lead to. The provisions in the law for public accountability, financial and otherwise, could be strengthened. If Congress fails to do so, private

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watchdog groups will have to fill the vacuum. A second need is to mobilize businesses and communities to develop jobs, as the president has pledged to do, and to provide training and support for low-income working parents. Perhaps the president can follow through on his pledge and beseech the private sector to support former welfare recipients in their search for jobs. Still, there are likely to be many parents who cannot or will not make it in the world of requirements and temporary assistance. I predict we will see considerable suffering, especially in high-unemployment areas of the cities, with children in unsafe living conditions, poorly cared for by overwrought or overwhelmed parents. I would like nothing better than to be proven wrong.

MARY JO BANE, former Assistant Secretary for Children and Families in the Health and Human Services Department, resigned on September 28.

Egyptology

Bill Clinton has likely divined the truth by now; he doesn't need much of a foreign policy. He is the first post-imperial president for a post-imperial society. We have little taste for burden abroad, we rush here and there, now and again, but without much conviction. In his boredom with foreign places, Clinton holds up a mirror for his time. He blew with the wind. He was forced into Haiti and Bosnia and out of Somalia; he hitched a ride on Yitzhak Rabin's coattails. He pretended to be containing Iran and Iraq but left the affairs of the Gulf alone for the most part. It was enough; that was all that the nation wanted.

In Clinton's next term, American diplomacy will have to redeem its stewardship of the peace between Israel and the Arabs. Egypt would be a good place to begin. We have a quarter-century of involvement and treasure there, but a terrible anti-Americanism has seized that land. It grips Islamists and secularists alike and is powerful enough that the state has picked it up and made it its own. It is rolled together, this anti-Americanism, with an unrelenting animus toward Israel, toward any kind of accommodation and cultural traffic with the Zionist enemy. Egyptians are bent on taking back the peace they made with Israel a generation ago, on emptying it of what little content and force and legitimacy it ever had. Unmonitored, Egypt can-

campaigns against *fatbi* (normalization) with Israel and rails against those in the Arab world who reject the rancor (Jordan, Oman, Qatar). In an otherwise heavily censored Egyptian press, the campaign against Benjamin Netanyahu now backs back, in its virulence, to darker times before the peace.

This Egyptian policy is driven by an injured pride, a recognition that the country is weaker than its claims to primacy in Arab affairs, that its quest for modernity and success has been thwarted yet again. It is a classic choice between repair of the land and the hunt for foreign demons, and the country has made the easier choice. She rides with the likes of Libya and Iraq, second-guesses American diplomacy at every turn. For our part we go back for more: we ask so little of Egypt, content are we that she has not gone under, that we can still point to the country as a showcase of our power in the East.

In years past we gave Egypt the benefit of every doubt. We averted our gaze from the authoritarianism of the regime, for it was, by the measure of such regimes, a benign one which left alone a land with a good deal of natural civility and grace. Besides, the state was waging a running war against the terrorist-theocratic fringe of radical Islamists. We cut slack for the regime's foreign policy in the hope that the regime would hold. In truth the state was never in danger of utter collapse; it was stronger than we thought, its mainstay, the army, was never really threatened. Now the state has prevailed, and we ought to be able to assess this pillar of American influence. We ought to ask our Egyptian allies why the peace which was good enough in the late 1970s has become anathema to them, why they take American help and ride with America's enemies. We ought to inquire as to the fate of the modernist consensus which anchored the peace a generation earlier and now lies cracked and hidden.

I was in Egypt last year when Al Gore came for a visit. The traffic of the place, dead on any day, came to a sudden, great halt, as a way was made, through silent streets, for the visitor from far away. We should know the place. We have a large presence there. We have information of every kind on that land. But the visitor appeared clueless. He blessed the good work of the regime and moved on. For the treasure invested in that land we should be able to hang around the place a little longer, to ask the custodians of the regime a question or two

about all sorts of things they have been up to of late.

FOUAD AJAMI

Here comes the sun

When Bill Clinton took office, a rather pleasant, forward-looking consensus about environmental policy was developing among researchers, economists, thinkers and some business and conservation groups. The rebound of the ecology, the consensus held, was progressing more favorably than anyone had expected, but environmental regulations had grown top-heavy with process costs. Clinton's early policies cut costs, and they advanced environmental recovery by adopting more flexible, streamlined programs—an ideal New Democrat stance.

Then the forces of darkness took over Congress. Hill Republicans proposed to eviscerate many successful and popular environmental programs, such as the Clean Water Act and the Endangered Species Act. This forced Clinton into a corner. Rather than amend environmental statutes, he had to defend them en masse. The whole process knocked environmental debate back twenty years to its previous shrill, accusatory pitch. Republicans denounced environmentalism in overblown terms. Then the White House discovered there was tremendous political capital in responding with gloom-and-doom predictions. By the time of Clinton's acceptance speech in Chicago, he was chanting the pseudo-statistic that "10 million children live within four miles of toxic waste." (By the calculation used to generate this number, 255 million Americans live within four feet of toxic waste, since many household items are now legally classified toxic at the point of disposal.) The line got thunderous applause.

The challenge for the second half of the Clinton administration will be to recover the spirit of environmental consensus that was hudding before Newt materialized. The EPA is one of the government's most successful efforts of the postwar era; it dramatically reduced pollution without any damage to the economy. But it is possible to be both successful and too cumbersome.

Air and water quality rules, toxic cleanups under Superfund, the Endangered Species Act and other programs are yielding noteworthy

results but should still be made less expensive, more user-friendly and more open to market forces.

To promote rational environmental reform, Clinton must dispense with the gloomy rhetoric, however effective it may be politically. He can depict ecological protection as an arena of American triumph, where activists, scientists, consumers and business managers have cooperated against near impossible odds.

A sterling model for the second term is the pesticide reform bill passed last summer, which dropped the Delaney Clause of 1957. This anachronistic rule banned any trace of suspect synthetic compounds in food, at a time when equipment could only detect fairly large "traces" by today's standards. Because more sensitive tests can now pick up the most minute traces, the reform scrapped that rule in favor of a more efficient system of controlling agricultural chemicals.

Clinton received little commendation: green groups get too much mileage from depicting him as a guy who sells out nature. And Clinton himself has said little about the bill, since its merit detracts from the useful message that the sky is falling. But the fact that a forward-thinking environmental reform bill got to the president's desk even in a polarized election year is proof that, beneath the us-vs.-them façade, there is tremendous interest in environmental optimism.

GREGG EASTERBROOK's most recent book is *A Moment on the Earth: The Coming Age of Environmental Optimism* (Viking).

Do everything

It is time, I guess, to praise the president for the only thing in the world to which he brings the qualities of mind and heart that we associate with conviction: winning. He is a winner, no doubt about it. Historians will write the life of Bill Clinton and they will come to the necessary conclusion, to which all the evidence will point them: he won. He was a survivor. He came back. He was not denied. There was no getting in his way when he had to have it.

But there is really no point in offering instruction on policy for Bill Clinton's second term. Such instruction makes certain assumptions that are not warranted in Clinton's case: the

law of the excluded middle; for instance. Will he fix welfare reform? He will fix welfare reform. Then he will fix his fix. Or he will not fix welfare reform. Whatever he does, he will not be moved by anything other than what the very smartest people call "the politics of the issue." This president is the greatest follower who ever led. For this reason, the Twenty-second Amendment will not work its emboldening magic on Bill Clinton's second term. It will not free him to be himself, since he has no self for which to be free. He is a meteorological man.

The competence of Clinton's campaign makes the incompetence of Clinton's governance even more contemptible. In 1993, in 1994, in 1995, we heard again and again about his "learning curve," about the demands of his job (for which "nothing prepares you"), about the need for patience, about his "growing into" the presidency. Now it is 1996 and the candidate needs to "grow into" nothing; he arrives fully grown. In government, learning curves. In politics, no learning curves. Patience? There is no time. It took the Clinton operation three years to put a stop to genocide and three minutes to put a printed rebuttal in the hands of every reporter covering the presidential debate. All of a sudden there was skill.

The man who will win this trashy election has broken taxonomical ground in American politics. There are politicians who are cynics. They believe in nothing. And there are politicians who are liars. They believe in something, but they do not want you to know what it is. Clinton is neither a cynic nor a liar. He is a man who believes in everything. That is why he is popular. And that is also why nobody should be panicked by the prospect of his return to power. A complete opportunist gives no grounds for a complete despair. Don't worry, he'll get around to you, too. In this sense, we are all Clintonites. The only losers in this election are Americans who have no love to give.

When one reads of "Clintonites," one must remember that in this case the suffix cannot refer to a community of belief, as in "Shachmanites." A Clintonite is just a person on the winning side. Of course, the alternative to Bill Clinton is Bob Dole. I cannot vote for Bob Dole. But Bill Clinton is not, precisely speaking, the alternative to Bob Dole. He is, himself, the alternatives, all of them, now or later. And I cannot vote for everything.

So I will not vote. I understand that abstention is not a way of acquitting oneself of citizenship; but I am stuck. It would be a mistake to vote for Dole and it would be an indignity to vote for Clinton. A night of high fives, then, to the inconstant president of the inconstant country, and here we go again.

LEON WIESELTIER

The education presidency

Once re-elected, President Clinton's response to three overriding domestic challenges will define the course of his second term and determine the historical significance of his presidency. The first is turning a chancy welfare reform bill into a real bridge to work and opportunity. The second is forging a consensus around genuine structural solutions to the long-term Medicare problem. The third, on which I focus here, is transforming elementary and secondary education.

Thirteen years after the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, our schools, with some bright exceptions, have improved only modestly while many urban systems have sunk even deeper into crisis. In one notorious recent episode, NYNEX had to administer basic competency exams to 60,000 job applicants before finding 3,000 who could fill entry-level positions. More than 20 percent of all businesses provide remedial training for high-school graduates, at an annual cost of billions. Colleges and universities are forced to do so as well: almost half the students entering the California State University system need remedial instruction in either reading or mathematics.

The appropriate policy response is conceptually simple but politically difficult. Every state should adopt rigorous academic standards, with exams to match. The practice of social promotion should end; no student should receive a high-school diploma or enter college without passing an exit exam. (I'd settle for something along the lines of the proficiency levels set by the National Assessment of Educational Progress, or even the New York State Regents test.) The innovations can flourish outside existing public schools, as well. Charter schools—new publicly approved ventures that are freed from most bureaucratic rules—are already coming up with innovative ways to implement tough standards.

And we should encourage experiments with private management and vouchers for low-income students until we have a large enough sample to judge the real costs and benefits.

While education remains principally a state and local responsibility, there are some steps President Clinton could take to promote this agenda:

1. Emphasize a national goal of charter school legislation in every state by the year 2000 (about half the states now allow them in some form). Make significant federal seed money available to states whose laws do not impose crippling restrictions on charter schools.

2. Remove all federal restrictions on state use of federal funds to create rigorous exams at the fourth, eighth and twelfth grade; amend Goals 2000 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to provide substantial bonuses for states that institute such exams.

3. Encourage every state to make passing meaningful high-school graduation exams a requirement for attending state colleges and universities. Make passing such exams a precondition for receiving federal post-secondary student grants and loans while identifying reasonable options for students living in states that refuse to create exams.

4. Make it clear that the Clinton administration will not obstruct states and localities that seek to experiment with vouchers for low-income students. The president seemed to suggest this in his first debate with Bob Dole. He should follow through.

Proposing these measures would generate a political firestorm. Many conservatives would oppose the expanded federal role; many liberals would fear the impact on public school monopolies and racial minorities. Enacting these measures would mean forging new coalitions across partisan and ideological lines. But, once in place, they could transform our schools for generations. In education, as in other areas, the president faces a choice between a safe course that tinkers at the margin and a riskier course of enduring structural change. If the president chooses the path of bold innovation, he could go down in history as the man who set democratic education on the path to excellence.

WILLIAM GALSTON teaches at the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs and directs the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy.

Don't give us your poor

Two major problems that the second Clinton administration will have to come to terms with are the deepening crisis of the working poor and underclass, on the one hand, and the illegal and legal immigration of unskilled workers. The two problems are often treated separately, but a growing body of evidence strongly suggests that they are interrelated, and that solving the latter would go a long way toward solving the former.

The main problem for the working poor is that they simply do not earn enough to live on. Unable to find jobs that pay a living wage, more and more of them are discouraged from working altogether and drop into the underclass. The problem, we know now, is not a failure of job generation. The American economy now creates more new jobs than all other industrial countries, the majority of which pay wages above the median income. The trouble is that most of the working poor are unqualified for the new jobs being created—in high-tech fields, for example—and would starve on the wages for the jobs they are qualified to do.

The Clinton administration has championed job training as the solution. Unfortunately, there is now a wealth of evidence showing that most of these programs do not work, while the few that do offer only modest returns.

The problem, then, will have to be addressed by tightening the labor market and thus increasing the wages of the McJobs for which the unskilled are qualified, such as taxi driving, hamburger slinging, house cleaning, and the like. In other industrial countries, and in America before 1965, the unskilled worker lived with some dignity off the wages from just such jobs. This is where a consistent, tough-mindedly effective but humane immigration policy, undistorted by the hypocritical and contradictory pressures of the right and the left, enters the picture.

The liberal and mainstream economist doctrine that uncontrolled immigration has no adverse effect on the urban poor, or actually helps them by creating new jobs, has now been thoroughly demolished by recent studies coming from both right- and left-leaning labor economists. The flooding of the urban labor market with large numbers of illegal and legal unskilled migrants willing to abide sub-human conditions for any going

wage has devastated the income prospects for the working poor who are citizens of our cities. At the same time, by putting inordinate pressure on the low-income housing stock, the inflow also increases the cost of living for the urban poor.

Liberals and other advocates for the urban poor have been stunned into inertia by right-wing and nativist rhetoric on the subject. A second Clinton administration should take the lead in reclaiming this issue from the right. To do so it has to go well beyond the recent immigration bill. The following three initiatives would provide a good start:

- First, it must be recognized that border patrols will neither solve nor put significant dent in the number of illegal migrants. The more effective solution is the one every expert knows about but no politician is willing to advocate: cutting off the demand for illegal migrants by severely fining employers who repeatedly break the law by hiring them. It is precisely heretofore, of course, that powerful business interests are likely to weigh heavily on the Clinton administration. By bucking them, the president could show his courage and independence.

- Second, the interests of the business sector now depending on illegal immigrant labor, and a humane concern for these workers and the countries they come from, could all be addressed by expanding the present system of contract labor, which is concentrated in industries that don't attract the urban poor. America has decades of experience with such programs; they benefit local employers, the contract laborers and the home countries to which they send remittance. These models could be used as the basis for a greatly expanded contract labor program which, by meeting minimum wage and work environment laws and providing governmental control on the numbers coming into the country, will protect the wages of lower-class urban workers.

- Third, there should be a temporary reduction, perhaps even a complete halt, on the number of unskilled legal immigrants allowed into the country. With unemployment rates of over 40 percent among the young urban poor, it is ridiculous, even dangerous, for the nation to be adding more such workers to the labor market. Such a reduction would mean placing greater limits on the number of relatives immigrants can bring into the country, never a popular option but one which strong, principled leadership could help put in place.

America has no greater glory than its cherished tradition of immigration. This tradition should be preserved. I am not advocating an end to, or even a major long-term reduction in, immigration. Indeed, I favor increasing the number of skilled and professional immigrants. And, contrary to the crypto-racist alarmism of right-wingers who call for immigration reform, I think that the best feature of the recent wave of immigration is its wonderful non-white diversity.

Let us hope that the president will have the moral and political courage to resist the strange union of business interests, naïve libertarians and misguided left-wing urban advocates that has stymied all past attempts at meaningful immigration reform.

ORLANDO PATTERSON is John Cowles professor of sociology at Harvard and author of the forthcoming *The Ordeal of Integration*.

Size matters

If any of the president's staff flicked on the tube between stump speeches on the campaign trail, they would have noticed that education is in. Not since the days of "Room 222" and "Welcome Back, Kotter," have there been so many shows about school in prime time: "Mr. Rhodes," "Nick Freno: Licensed Teacher," "Dangerous Minds." There are lessons to be learned here—and not about licensing teachers.

The obvious one is that never, perhaps, in modern American life has education been a hotter issue. The less obvious one has to do with class size. Have you ever noticed, Mr. President, how on all these shows, the viewer gets to know only a few of the students? There's a reason for that. In a thirty-minute sitcom or an hour-long drama, a viewing audience can only get to know a handful of kids. Similarly, a typical teacher can only get to know so many students in a fifty-minute period. On "Welcome Back, Kotter," for instance, the sweathogs monopolized Mr. Kotter's time while the good kids languished in the background. And as it is for the TV audience, so it is for the typical high-school teacher. In fifty minutes she can only get to know so many kids.

In the next four years, Mr. President, you should make reducing class and school sizes, particularly in poorer, overcrowded schools, a top goal. As governor of Tennessee, Lamar Alexander financed a study of the effect of class size on learning in the state's

general, suburban and urban schools. It showed that smaller classes during the elementary school years produced dramatic boosts in student achievement—regardless of student background—and that these gains held even after students were returned to larger classes in later years. Everyone knows that smaller classes work; they're in large part what affluent parents are paying for when they send their kids to private schools.

The place to start is in the earliest grades, kindergarten through third, in order to give all children the solid educational foundation they need to succeed later. Nothing would do more to help all children to read by the third grade, as President Clinton has proposed, than to reduce all elementary school classes to 20 students or less during these years.

Most people assume that school districts would have to hire lots more teachers if they reduced class size, but they wouldn't. In too many districts across the country, teachers work outside the classroom, in administrative positions created partly to respond to the needs of teachers in overcrowded classes and schools. In New York City, for instance, the student-to-teacher ratio is approximately 16 to 1; classes remain large, however, partly because so many teachers aren't teaching and because of overcrowding.

Instead of giving money to states for special education or other "pull-out" programs, the federal government should give funds to schools exclusively to reduce class size; if every class, particularly in the earliest grades, had 20 students or less, then every child, in essence, would receive a "special" education. And just as every class should have no more than 20 students, every school should have no more than 20 teachers. Teachers get lost in big schools, just as kids do. Smaller schools and classes will create the kind of communities where teachers, parents and students can work together and know each other as individuals. If you can push for school uniforms, Mr. President, you can push for smaller classes. Call it your 20/20 vision for school reform.

SARA MOSLE is a contributing writer for *The New York Times Magazine*.

Don't ask, don't tell

Intellectuals love to imagine that the people who wield real power are just waiting to be told how to use it. This fantasy of access and influ-

ence is a kind of *deformation professionelle*, and one with a long, rich, ironic history: think of Seneca and Nero, Voltaire and Frederick the Great, Michael Lerner and the First Lady.

For a politician, President Clinton seems to be pretty well-informed. Even his enemies concede that he does his policy homework, and his political instincts are legendary. I would be amazed if, at this late date, a journalist, a pundit, or even a bona fide expert in a genuine field of study could suggest to him a significant course of action he or his handlers have not already considered, focus-grouped and triangulated from here to the moon and back.

But he's not a free man, either: he has constituencies to satisfy, contributors to reward, political debts to pay and, of course, his own career to advance. These considerations matter a lot more than bright ideas, or right ideas. Many eloquent opponents of the welfare bill had the president's ear, including some of the policy experts who'd helped him formulate his own plan. Whatever one thinks of the president's decision to sign the measure into law, I don't think there's much doubt that the only arguments that counted in the end were the ones about his own immediate political fortunes. Does anyone think the president really believes that uniforms and the Internet are the keys to educational progress? Or that what battered women need more than anything else is their own emergency number?

Journalists are supposed to speak truth to power. But I've always wondered what the point of it is. If power were interested in truth, we would be living in a very different world. Why not speak truth to the powerless, who at least have something to gain from listening?

If President Clinton wants to know what I think are the problems and possibilities of contemporary American society, he can always subscribe to *The Nation*, where I've been writing for years. Or he could just call—I work at home, I'm in the book. That he hasn't requested my views on any subject, and communicates with me only indirectly, through Democratic Party junk mail addressed to "Occupant," makes me suspect he's not that curious about my views. I don't blame him a bit. If I were president, I would feel the same way.

KATHA POLLITT is a columnist for *The Nation*.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

November 23, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR BRUCE REED
DON BAER

FROM: Nancy-Ann Min *NAM*
RE: Ideas for Second-Term Health Initiatives

As you requested, I'm forwarding some ideas for health initiatives the President might want to consider for the second term. Under the theme of "Building a Healthier America", I've grouped them into two categories: (1) first-term initiatives that should be refined, strengthened, and re-proposed; and (2) possible new initiatives. I hope the result is helpful.

I've been telegraphic in some instances and will be happy to offer more details if you need them.

First-Term Initiatives That Should Be Refined, Strengthened, and Re-Proposed

1. Preserving Medicare for the Future

- Extend Short-Term Solvency: The very first thing the Administration must do is extend the short-term solvency of the Medicare Hospital Insurance (HI) Trust Fund beyond its current projected insolvency date of January 2001. To do this, the budget the President will submit to the Congress on February 1 must contain substantial savings and reform proposals, similar to the proposals that Congress refused to enact from the President's FY 1996 and FY 1997 budgets. Because we have lost two years from our original Balanced Budget Plan, the FY 1998 budget may require deeper Medicare savings if we are to extend the solvency of the Trust Fund to 2006 (i.e., ten years from 1996, which is the standard the President set in June 1995).

While our earlier submissions contained no "new" beneficiary savings proposals, we should strongly consider income-relating the Part B premium and dedicating the savings to extend the solvency of the HI Trust Fund. Every Medicare plan on the Hill last year except the Administration's contained some version of this policy; it has gained wide acceptance among provider groups and the elite media, and even most of the seniors'

advocates. A policy similar to the one we advocated in the Health Security Act would charge beneficiaries with more than \$90,000 in income (\$115,000 for couples) a higher premium, affecting less than 3% of beneficiaries and saving an estimated \$10 billion over five years.

- Lead the Effort to Solve Medicare's Long-Term Financing Problem: In his State of the Union address, the President should also make clear that he intends to lead the fight to save Medicare for the future. While the Republicans' whining about a "Mediscare" campaign strategy is mostly sour grapes, the fact is that the public trusts this President to take care of Medicare. Tackling this problem is not only the right thing to do; it will bolster our political credibility as well. The President should announce that his next priority, after extending the short-term solvency of the HI Trust Fund, is to work with Congress to create a bipartisan commission to address Medicare's longer-term financing problems.

2. Strengthening Medicaid's Safety Net

- Improve Medicaid: We should also make clear our commitment to preserving Medicaid and reforming it to make it more flexible and more accountable. This time last year, many in Washington were predicting that Medicaid would not survive as an entitlement to health care coverage for poor, disabled, pregnant women, and elderly Americans. Our refusal to budge on the entitlement--coupled with our willingness to reform the program--anchored the debate in the middle and led to an important victory: a broad-based, bipartisan commitment to preserving the entitlement.

Although Medicaid spending appears to have slowed slightly, projected per capita growth rates remain higher than GDP, and analysts believe that spending could shoot up again as states attempt to fill the hole in their budgets left by welfare reform. This could bring a renewed assault on the program. Therefore, we should re-propose our plan to preserve the entitlement but reduce the rate of spending through (1) a cap linking growth in spending per beneficiary to growth in nominal GDP, and (2) more stringent constraints on spending for so-called disproportionate share hospitals.

It will be difficult to achieve the same level of Medicaid savings that we had in the FY 1997 budget because of reductions in baseline projections, but we can still get substantial savings from a sound policy that builds on last year's proposal. Ignoring Medicaid (viewed as a free program for low-income people) when we are proposing large cuts from Medicare (viewed, in contrast, as a program that middle class people earn the right to participate in) opens us to political attack.

- Allow States to Expand Medicaid: In our first term, we approved 15 statewide Medicaid waivers that were mostly designed to allow states to move Medicaid beneficiaries to managed care (prohibited by Medicaid law, which requires that beneficiaries have

"freedom of choice") and use the savings to cover more uninsured people, usually workers and their families. HHS estimates that more than 2 million Americans gained health coverage through these waivers.

We could build on this progress in a couple of ways: (1) review the waiver process to see if it could be streamlined beyond what we've already done; and/or (2) develop a template, drawing on our experience with the first 15 waiver states, that specifies some waiver designs that could be, in essence, "pre-approved" if they meet certain criteria. The second option would be very bold and I suspect that some in HHS (and probably my own staff at OMB) would object to it. But it offers a tremendous opportunity for the President to work with the states and show his leadership in an area he cares most about--providing health coverage to more Americans.

3. Helping Families Maintain Employer-Sponsored Coverage

- Challenge Congress to Enact Our Workers' Transition Initiative: Our FY 1996 and 1997 balanced budgets proposed a new capped entitlement providing states with funds to subsidize insurance for up to six months for workers and their families who are receiving unemployment compensation and who had employer-sponsored insurance while they were working. While insurance coverage is theoretically available to these people through COBRA, many of them cannot afford it. We estimate that this would cost around \$2 billion a year and would assist as many as 3 million Americans. And in an age of job insecurity, it has broad demographic appeal.

The President should call on Congress to enact this program this year, as the next logical step to the insurance reforms in the Kennedy-Kassebaum legislation.

4. Protect Consumers and Enhance Managed Care Quality

- Challenge Congress to Enact "Anti-Gag" Legislation: One of the most contested bills in the last Congress was the "Patient Right to Know Act," bipartisan legislation that responded to widespread concerns (manifested by cover stories in the newsweeklies) that health plans have been restricting physicians from advising patients about alternative treatments. It appeared that this legislation had a good chance of passing, but the managed care industry managed to slow it down at the last minute by getting the Catholic provider community agitated about possible abortion implications.

More than fifteen states--including California, Georgia, Indiana, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania--have enacted similar legislation. In the statement issued by the White House following passage of the FY 1997 appropriations bill, we expressed regret that the "anti-gag" legislation was not enacted. The President could challenge Congress in his State of the Union address to enact this legislation.

- Highlight Advisory Commission: Of course, the new Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the Health Care Industry, created by Executive Order, will also be working to develop additional options to address other concerns about quality in managed care. Once it becomes clear where this is headed, we should consider staging hearings around the country to put a spotlight on the Administration's efforts to address consumers' concerns about being protected from the excesses of managed care.

Possible New Initiatives

1. Reverse the Trends in Youth Substance Abuse

- The Problem: Teen Drug Use Is Increasing--According to the Household Survey on Drug Abuse (August 1996), the rate of marijuana use among youths aged 12-17 has more than doubled from 1992-1996, from 3.4% to 8.2% (3.4% was an all-time low). There is also a strong correlation between tobacco use and other substance abuse--youths age 12-17 who smoke are about 8 times as likely to use illicit drugs and 11 times as likely to drink heavily as nonsmoking youths.

Federal Role Is Unfocused--During the latter part of the campaign, charges that the Administration should be held responsible for the negative trend in youth substance abuse began to stick. While this is somewhat unfair (as General McCaffrey points out, the increase started before we arrived), it is true that things are getting worse on our watch. Further, while the Federal government is spending around \$1.6 billion on anti-substance abuse activities (prevention and treatment), we don't have a great deal to show for it, partly because we have failed to adequately measure what the states are doing with the money we're giving them for prevention and treatment, mostly through block grants.

- A Solution: Go After a Clear, Achievable Goal--Goal #1 of our National Drug Control Strategy is to "motivate America's youth to reject illegal drugs and substance abuse." No wonder we haven't gotten beyond this fuzzy rhetoric. The President should articulate a clear objective--e.g., "Reverse the Trend toward Increasing Teen Substance Abuse" (i.e., by 2000, returning to the all-time low of a 3.4% rate of use among youths age 12-17, which would require us to achieve about a 1% reduction each year) and direct the Drug Council, led by General McCaffrey, to implement a strategy to achieve it.

It will take a comprehensive strategy to make use of HHS' and other Federal resources to achieve this goal. It will require changing the national dialogue about illegal drugs and substance abuse, investing in more basic biomedical research on substance abuse, and targeted prevention and treatment initiatives throughout the agencies of the Public Health Service.

Some of these efforts have already begun, and just need to be more effectively coordinated and highlighted, including:

- FDA Tobacco Regulation Implementation--History will undoubtedly show that this is the most important thing we did to improve the health of Americans;
- SAMHSA "Synar Rule" Implementation--This rule became final in early 1996, and it requires that states prove that they have reduced the percentage of children who buy cigarettes by about 10% per year or lose SAMHSA funds;
- CDC Tobacco Control Activities--Our FY 1998 budget recommendation will include a substantial increase in these funds, go to states to promote nonsmoking among youth;
- SAMHSA Prevention and Treatment Activities--Our FY 1998 budget recommendation will include funding for SAMHSA to identify and replicate successful community-developed prevention programs and to coordinate a large-scale effectiveness study.

In addition, the initiative would include important new components:

- Aggressive Media Campaign to Change the National Dialogue--The best thing we have going for us is the President's ability to use the bully pulpit. We should stage an aggressive media campaign, led by the President, the Vice President, General McCaffrey, and prominent athletes and celebrities. Among other things, the President could promote corporate responsibility by calling on the major networks to provide more, and more desirable, air time for anti-drug abuse messages. Studies indicate that the frequency of anti-drug messages on television has fallen sharply since the mid-1980's, and also that having these messages appear during prime time is extremely important to their effectiveness.
- Challenge States to Crack Down on Substance Abuse--By the State of the Union, the plan the President requested from General McCaffrey and Secretary Pena to encourage states to make obtaining a driver's license subject to passing a drug test should be completed. The President should also renew his challenge to every state to pass "zero tolerance" laws for teen drinking and driving. Only thirteen states have laws prohibiting anyone under 21 from driving with alcohol in their blood.

We should also consider whether the President should call on states to lower the legal limit for blood alcohol for drivers to 0.08 from the more common 0.10. There is evidence that in all but one of the states that have undertaken this measure, it has reduced deaths from drunk driving.

We should also consider whether the President should kick off the initiative by inviting the nation's Governors to a "drug summit" to highlight our partnership with them in combating youth substance abuse and get their "buy-in" on the goal

and our strategy.

- Invest in Research to Develop New Approaches to Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment--This year, NIH will spend approximately \$700 million on research on causes of and treatments for drug abuse. As a result of recent scientific breakthroughs, we have moved closer to a quantum improvement in our ability to understand, prevent, and treat drug abuse. Although there is no guarantee that more research funding will produce specific results, increasing the Federal investment in substance abuse research has the potential to build on recent scientific discoveries and yield promising new ones. Therefore, we should consider devoting an additional \$100 million or so to substance abuse prevention and treatment research.
- Consider Increasing the Tobacco Tax to Fund Anti-Substance Abuse Activities--I've suggested that our effort to stop underage smoking is our single most important health care accomplishment. It might be time to reconsider increasing the tobacco tax to fund additional anti-substance abuse activities. In addition to generating needed revenues, such a policy would also deter smoking--indeed, research indicates that a marginal increase in the cost of cigarettes has its greatest impact on teens. Some of the funding from the tobacco tax could be devoted to a subsidy/training program to help tobacco farmers shift to other ways of earning a living.

Recall that we proposed a slight increase in the tobacco tax (around \$.50/pack) in the Health Security Act, producing revenues of around \$67 billion over 6 years.

2. Targeted Disease Prevention Initiatives

- Prevention Saves Lives and Saves Money: This is a classic "common ground" initiative that everyone believes and no member of Congress could vote against. Speaker Gingrich has been using this as one of the main themes of his recent speeches.

I'd recommend that we pick one or two diseases--e.g., breast cancer, prostate cancer, diabetes--and launch a big public awareness campaign to make sure that all Americans are getting appropriate screening for early detection and treatment. There are a number of steps we can take to ensure that beneficiaries of our public health programs--Medicare, Medicaid, Indian Health Service, etc--are taking advantage of these benefits. In addition, we could use the bully pulpit to shame employers and health plans into covering these preventive tests.

Increased Funding for Screening: We could combine the public awareness campaign with additional funding for states to provide free or low-cost screening to people who aren't covered by Medicare, Medicaid or private insurance. For example, CDC provides funds

to states for breast and cervical cancer screening for low-income or uninsured women. That program has been increased substantially during our Administration and now is available in every state, but it is a formula grant and it does not meet all the need. We're spending around \$175 million annually now and another \$100 million would go a long way.

3. Require Immunizations as Condition of Federal Program Participation

- Build on Success of Comprehensive Immunizations Initiative: After a rough start, the Administration's immunizations initiative has been a major public health success, producing the highest immunizations levels of two year olds in history. But there are still pockets of children, including children receiving public assistance of some form, who are less likely to receive their immunizations. We've shown that immunizations are a public health priority by devoting more Federal funds to vaccine purchase and infrastructure, but we have not used our most significant leverage by requiring that all children who receive AFDC (now TANF), Food Stamps, WIC, Federal housing assistance, etc. be immunized.

This idea has bipartisan support and was discussed early in our first term. Although Carol Rasco, Belle Sawhill, and I thought it was a good idea, HHS did not support it at that time. I have had conversations with the Secretary since then that lead me to think she might support the idea now, though she might be inclined to a "carrot" or incentive approach rather than requiring immunizations as a condition of receiving other benefits (i.e., giving mothers who get their kids immunized additional WIC vouchers rather than requiring them to show evidence of immunizations in order to continue participation in the program).

A number of demonstrations of this concept have been conducted (notably in South Carolina and New York), and have shown that it increases immunization levels. It would also highlight the President's commitment to personal responsibility, consistent with our approach in welfare reform. We should require all states to adopt one of these strategies now. It is not, as some have argued, unfairly coercive: to believe that, you would have to believe that requiring children to be immunized to enter public schools, as all states do, is coercive.

4. Set a Goal of Developing an AIDS Vaccine by the Year 2000

- Vaccine is Possible: For some time now, AIDS researchers have been discouraging talk of an AIDS vaccine as something that could be achieved anytime in the near future. Recent informal discussions with NIH AIDS researchers suggest, however, that there is new optimism about the chances for an AIDS vaccine in the near term (say the next 5 years).

We're spending approximately \$1.5 billion annually on AIDS research at NIH. If there is real hope of developing and testing an AIDS vaccine on the horizon, we should consider a

substantial infusion of new resources devoted to that research, with the President setting forth a national goal of making an AIDS vaccine available to all Americans by the end of the century (or by a date certain that the scientists are willing to embrace as a goal).

All the polling information I've seen suggests that the American people strongly support Federal funding for biomedical research, and that they believe that finding a cure for AIDS should be a top priority..

5. Set a Goal of Providing Health Coverage for All Children

- Reduce Number of Uninsured Children: Of the estimated 40 million Americans who are uninsured, some 10 million are children. Reducing the number of kids who lack health coverage is a goal no one could disagree with; the question is how we get there. The following are some of the ideas on the table; they could be pursued independently or in combination.

- Provide Subsidies for Kids' Coverage--Congressional Democrats are considering an initiative to provide health insurance subsidies for children up to age 12 whose family income is under 240% of poverty. Our latest estimate is that such an approach would cost around \$20 billion over five years; it would cover about 3 million children who are currently uninsured.

There are some problems with this policy, not least of which is that it may have the perverse effect of encouraging employers to drop dependent coverage. Creating a new entitlement at the same time we are saying that balancing the budget is our top priority is also problematic. If we decide to pursue this proposal, we should consider financing it with an increase in the tobacco tax.

- Increase Medicaid Coverage: HHS estimates there are about three million children who are eligible for Medicaid coverage but who are not enrolled in the program, and Secretary Shalala has in mind an outreach program to reach and enroll these kids. This is a good idea but will have to be pursued carefully, given that bringing these beneficiaries onto the Medicaid rolls will increase both Federal and state spending.

States could also be encouraged to speed up the pace at which they are complying with the mandate to cover adolescents below 100% of poverty (under current law, coverage of 18 year olds does not become mandatory until 2002). In order to do this, we would probably need to offer states some financial incentive such as a higher matching rate (FMAP) for the new population.

States also want--and they should have--the flexibility to provide less

comprehensive benefits packages to children. Some governors have stated that they would gladly expand coverage to more children, but they want the option to design less expensive benefits packages rather than being mandated to offer the full array of current-law Medicaid benefits (organ transplants are often cited as an example of a mandated benefit that deters governors from extending coverage to optional children).

- Increase Funding for Community Health Centers and School-Based Clinics: We spend about \$800 million annually on community and migrant health centers, which are supposed to serve primarily uninsured and low-income people. Presumably, a substantial percentage of the 10 million uninsured children live within a reasonable radius of a community health center. We should consider providing incentive grants to community health centers that serve the highest number of these children and/or develop the most innovative strategies to reach them.

Community health centers have a great deal of support in Congress, and usually receive an additional \$50 million or so every year. Tying next year's increase to a measurable increase in the number of uninsured children served would be relatively simple.

We should also consider making a bigger investment in elementary school-based clinics (to avoid family planning issues) to provide uninsured children with basic primary care and prevention services. Funding could be provided through one of the education grant programs, with the design of the clinics to be decided on the local level.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

December 10, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR DON BAER

FROM:

GREG SIMON 

SUBJECT:

SECOND TERM LEGACY PROJECTS

SUMMARY

This memorandum addresses the possible Clinton legacy in three areas:

Biomedical Research: Establish "Discovery Investments" and "Discovery Partnerships" to pursue breakthroughs in cancer and AIDS research and treatment.

Space Exploration: Establish a permanent American presence for research in space and develop a sustainable program of observation, exploration and discovery in our solar system.

Information Technology: Disseminate the tools and benefits of the information age to every American community to improve education, health care, job training and political participation. Define and enlarge the public interest obligations of television broadcasters in the coming digital age.

DISCUSSION

BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH

CLINTON LEGACY: Establish "Discovery Investments" and "Discovery Partnerships" to pursue breakthroughs in cancer and AIDS research and treatment.

Shortly after WWII, the United States government entered a "covenant" with the science community to support basic research in a variety of fields. The result is not only world leadership in most scientific areas, but an infrastructure that has been able to attack problems like the AIDS virus in record time.

It is ironic that at the same time that current achievements make it possible to make important progress on AIDS and cancer research, the severe restraints of the current budget climate make growth in basic research budgets at even the rate of inflation problematic and threaten to undermine the covenant that has been the pillar of our nation's quest for knowledge.

How can we achieve the promise of major breakthroughs in fighting cancer and AIDS in the current budgetary environment?

We need a program of "Discovery Investments" that combine Federal and private research funds to reach targeted goals. This would entail a commitment of federal funds for certain *extraordinary* investment opportunities and a commitment to work with the private sector to remove the barriers to investment in new therapies and prevention strategies for cancer and AIDS.

As recently proposed by the National Cancer Institute, "extraordinary investments" are those that

- respond to an opportunity opened by a recent change or development, such as the identification of new cancer genes;
- go beyond the scope and scale of current research activities but that can be capitalized with specific, defined investments;
- can be articulated in goals with achievable milestones, such as identifying within five years every major human gene predisposing to cancer; and
- provide clear benefits compared to waiting or not investing.

In cancer and AIDS research these "Discovery Investments" could cost between \$1-2 billion over five years.

"Discovery Partnerships" can result from targeted federal investments and reforms that promote greater efforts at discovery by the private sector. Government-industry collaborations like the one recently implemented at the Vice President's initiative with regard to clinical trials of new AIDS drugs can become a model of targeted cooperation. Reforms could include areas such as targeted research tax credits, liability waivers in high risk endeavors, FDA reform, and reinvented government procedures for clinical and laboratory research.

SPACE EXPLORATION

CLINTON LEGACY: Establish a permanent American presence for research in space and develop a sustainable program of observation, exploration and discovery in our solar system.

In the first term, the Clinton/Gore Administration rescued the Space Station from mismanagement and enormous cost overruns and, for the first time, created a firm base of Congressional support for the program. In the second term, President Clinton can inaugurate a new era in the American space program – a permanent research presence in space and an affordable and sustainable program of observation, exploration and discovery in our solar system.

Construction in space of the International Space Station begins in November 1997. Human occupation of the Station would begin before the end of the second term. The Station will provide extraordinary research opportunities, especially in the field of biomedicine.

The President should highlight our commitment to the Station by accenting our long term budgetary commitment (currently set at \$2.1 billion per year), re-affirming the importance of our alliance with Russia in the Space Station program, re-naming the International Space Station (currently called Space Station Alpha) "**Space Station Hope**" and convening a national forum to discuss scientific opportunities presented by the Station.

Next July 4th, our Mars Pathfinder will land on Mars and deploy a roving vehicle to collect samples of rocks and soil for analysis. This should provide the occasion for a national event highlighting our commitment to a sustainable program of observation, exploration and discovery on our solar system.

The Mars explorations and the Mission to Planet Earth program provide a bright example of using American technological prowess to look both out at our neighbors and back at our own planet to understand our place in the universe.

By inaugurating a sustained program of exploration and discovery President Clinton will

be continuing the American tradition of discovery symbolized by President Thomas Jefferson's launch of Lewis and Clark to find the Northwest Passage.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

CLINTON LEGACY: Disseminate the tools and benefits of the information age to every American community to improve education, health care, job training and political participation. Define and enlarge the public interest obligations of television broadcasters in the coming digital age.

The Clinton Administration's commitment to connect every classroom, library and hospital to the Information Superhighway by the end of the century will be the greatest dissemination of educational resources since Andrew Carnegie seeded libraries throughout the American landscape. Completion of this commitment will be a legacy in and of itself.

The first phase -- connecting schools in the empowerment zones by the end of this year - is nearly complete. The creation of the corporate group headed by Sumner Redstone and the "e rate" proposal by the FCC will greatly benefit the effort to connect the nation.

The President should take a much more active role in promoting the visibility of these connection efforts. We should find opportunities to highlight the benefits to communities when these resources become available in their schools and libraries.

Having launched the connecting of schools and libraries, President Clinton should now address hospitals. **Our first priority should be to connect children's hospitals beginning with those found in nearly every state capitol.** These computer connections can allow children to stay in school from the hospital, to communicate with families and friends at will and to share experiences with children in other hospitals.

Connecting America's classrooms, libraries and hospitals will provide revolutionary opportunities in health care, education and job training. The concomitant development in the area of political involvement and discourse will result from the advent of **digital television**, which will put six channels in place of every one today.

We benefit today from the decision by President Hoover that broadcasters ought to be required to serve the public interest in return for free use of the public's airwaves. That decision led to the public interest standard in the 1934 Communications Act. Defining that standard has been a constant and varied exercise up to the present day.

The agreement with the broadcasters to air three hours per week of children's educational programming arose from the Children's Television Act, which, in turn, derived from the public interest obligations initiated by Hoover.

The advent of the digital television age gives President Clinton the chance to invigorate and expand the concept of serving the public interest through use of the public airwaves. While we have supported the award of digital licenses without an auction, we have always said that the award must be accompanied by heightened service of the public's interest.

That heightened service should include greater opportunities for political debate and discourse and the provision of free television time to aid campaign finance reform. But no new public service opportunities will emerge without clear leadership from the President on the principle of public ownership of the airwaves and the need for broadcasters to serve the public interest. Such leadership can create for the next century the public benefits Hoover's decision created for this one.

CONCLUSION

These three areas provide President Clinton an opportunity to leave a legacy of creating and spreading knowledge through support for breakthrough research and wise use of the Information Superhighway. There is no greater legacy than to provide to the next generation a greater knowledge of the world and the opportunity to benefit from and enlarge that knowledge.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 27, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA AND ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: PLANNING GROUP STAFF

SUBJECT: PRELIMINARY REPORT ON SECOND-TERM PLANNING AND STRATEGY

This memorandum presents the first results of preliminary work by the planning group and others to consider long-term objectives aimed at a second-term strategy. It is important to remember that this is the beginning of an effort to gather raw material that will soon lead to a more comprehensive and seriously focussed step-by-step strategy to implement the President's agenda and leave a lasting legacy.

This first report does not make recommendations on particular directions. It is intended principally to keep in play important ideas.

We have now had two meetings of the entire planning group. In these meetings, we have tried to step back from the day-to-day rush of events to consider the country's broader challenges and also to develop concrete approaches to meeting those challenges. In addition, some of us have held separate interviews with Secretary Rubin and Deputy Secretary Summers, Secretary Rile and his staff, OMB Director Raines, and Assistant Attorney-General Patrick. We are following up on conversations with Secretary Cisneros, Secretary Reich and Secretary Shalala. We are also working closely with Al From, Bill Galston and Will Marshall.

As you know, we have also made a number of assignments to planning group members on specific issue areas. This memo provides reports on the major areas marked with asterisks below. The rest of these reports will be ready soon after the Thanksgiving holiday.

- * Education (K-12 school reform, college opportunity, training) -- Bruce Reed/
Gene Sperling/Bill Galston
- * Underclass (welfare-to-work, teen pregnancy) -- Bruce Reed
- * Crime and Drugs -- Rahm Emanuel
- ④ Balancing the Budget -- Frank Raines/Michael Waldman
- Entitlements -- Gene Sperling (consulting with Secretary Rubin and others)
- Community (moral fabric) -- Bruce Reed/Michael Waldman/Bill Galston/Will Marshall

- Family -- Ron Klain/Elaine Kamarck
- Health Care -- Bruce Reed/Chris Jennings/Nancy-Ann Min
- * Political Reform -- Michael Waldman
- Tax Reform -- Bob Rubin/Gene Sperling
- * Technology -- Greg Simon
- Environment -- Katie McGinty
- Racism/Sexism -- Deval Patrick/Ann Lewis
- Reinventing Government -- Ron Klain/Elaine Kamarck
- Legislative Efforts Overall -- John Hilley
- Foreign Policy/Global Economy -- Sandy Berger/Dan Tarullo

In going over the papers presented here, it becomes clear again how the important challenge in shaping a legacy is not just which issues the President focusses on, but also how he chooses to exercise his power. As these reports make clear, successful Presidential leadership on the major issues of our time must reflect a combination of federal legislation if possible; executive actions regardless of Congress's cooperation, and perhaps most important, strong, persistent, creative and new uses of the bully pulpit directed at galvanizing and mobilizing all sectors of American society toward common goals. In that regard, this President's greatest legacy may include the sense of renewed confidence he helps the American people gain in themselves and the new model and style of Presidential leadership he leaves behind.

Talking Points -- Second Term Agenda

I. We're Not Done with the First Term Yet

There will be plenty of time for politics this fall. We're still working hard to get as much done for the American people as we can this year before the campaign gets going. Several important initiatives are within reach and have the bipartisan support to become law, if election-year politics doesn't get in the way:

- . **Kassebaum-Kennedy:** in conference
- . **G.I. Bill:** in conference
- . **Minimum Wage:** passed House with bipartisan support
- . **Welfare Reform:** bipartisan bills in both houses (Castle-Tanner; Breaux-Chafee); could pass immediately if Republicans abandon Medicaid block grant
- . **McCain-Feingold:** vote promised in the Senate
- . **Balanced Budget:** more than enough in agreed-upon savings

We don't have to put off this unfinished business until after November. We can get it done now -- and move onto the other challenges we face.

II. Second Term Will Be Remarkably Consistent with the First

Same Themes: If I'm re-elected, I will base another term on the same fundamental themes as my first -- the themes I ran on in 1992 and governed on in Arkansas for more than a decade before that: Opportunity. Responsibility. Community. I believe our central challenge today is the same one I laid out in my announcement speech in October 1991: To restore the basic bargain that has made America a great country -- by expanding opportunity for every citizen, and challenging every American to take responsibility and make the most of it.

Already Outlined in Major Speeches: I've already spelled out my priorities in a series of speeches this year, going back to the State of the Union:

In the State of the Union, I laid out seven basic challenges: strengthening families; improving education; achieving economic security and economic growth; fighting crime; protecting the environment; keeping America strong in the world; and reforming our government and our political system. Throughout this year, my Administration has worked to make progress in all those areas -- through executive action if necessary. (e.g., one-strike and you're out; making minor mothers stay in school; V-chip and voluntary TV ratings; etc.)

In a major speech to the NGA Education Summit and in a series of commencement addresses, I have proposed more ideas for the long term: school reform (NGA); community service and civic action (Penn State); tuition tax credit (Princeton).

III. Priorities for a Second Term

In a second term, I will do everything my power to expand opportunity, demand responsibility, and strengthen community and family so that America can rise to the challenge of a new century. These aren't just my priorities; they are the most urgent challenges we must face together as a country in the last four years of the 20th century:

Economic Growth and Opportunity: Our first priority must be to keep the economy growing and expand opportunity for every American. We've created nearly 10 million new jobs, most of them very good jobs. But we've got more work to do to give individuals who are willing to take responsibility the chance to make the most of their lives. That is why these HOPE Scholarships are so important. No tax cut will do more to raise incomes and expand our economy over the long haul than one designed to promote education.

Saving the Public Schools: I will travel to every state in this country so that in the next century we can give our children the best schools and the highest standards on earth. We need high standards for schools, teachers, and students. I want every state to pass a charter school law so schools are accountable for results. We need to reward good teachers, and make it easier to fire bad ones. And we must put an end to social promotions in this country: if a high school diploma is going to mean something, our schools have to recognize that every child can learn, and challenge them at every step of the way to make sure they do. I worked tirelessly on this issue in Arkansas; I know it can be done; and I will barnstorm the country to make it happen.

The Era of Smaller Government: I still want a balanced budget agreement this year. But if that's not possible, I will come back to Congress and insist on one next year -- and we will make progress every year until the deficit is gone in 2002. But the end of big government is not the end of our responsibilities. I am determined to keep working with Vice President Gore to change the way government does business, to make it work better and cost less and put more choices in the hands of individuals. We will need bold reinvention to get rid of the deficit and still get things done. At the same time, we have to inspire a new era of personal responsibility -- Americans in all walks of life working together to solve problems with help from government, business, and one another. Expanding national service is one step. Challenging a million citizens to stand shoulder to shoulder with our 100,000 new police is another.

Strengthening Families and Restoring Values: Finally, we need to strengthen America's families and give them a government that reflects their values. The Family and Medical Leave Act is one of our proudest achievements. We must build on that success with policies that help working parents succeed at work and at home. We need to make it easier for the thousands of couples who want children to adopt the thousands of children looking for loving homes. And we need to put values back at the center of everything we do. That's why I will keep working to get communities around the country to enforce voluntary curfews and truancy laws, consider school uniforms, and find constitutional ways to put religion and values back in our schools.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: Bruce Reed

SUBJECT: Action Plan for a Second Term Agenda

As we discussed, we need to launch a concerted effort to develop big ideas for 1996 and beyond. This memorandum outlines for your approval an action plan for long-term policy development.

I. What I Need to Get This Done

I recommend a small, in-house think tank that works with policy and political advisers, academics, and outside experts to develop a broad range of options for where we go from here. This team would propose new ideas for White House review, and recommend speeches, executive actions, and public documents to keep the President out front. It would work closely with key players throughout the Administration, and report directly to you.

This think tank can be staffed primarily with existing resources:

1. Outside Experts: The President wants to reach out more to thinkers outside the Administration, as he has done on affirmative action, violence, and this year's State of the Union. He is particularly interested in Benjamin Barber at Rutgers, who could fill Galston's old role of coordinating our outreach to academics and outside experts. If Barber is willing, we should hire him. If not, I will try to get him to volunteer. We have a long list of other experts we can bring into the fold on a volunteer basis as well.

2. Inside Experts: Some of the most creative people we could find are already on the payroll. I will meet individually with White House department heads and Cabinet members to see what ideas they have, what planning efforts they already have underway, and what staff resources they can share. This should not require additional personnel slots or detailees -- we'll be better off with a small, efficient operation.

3. **Think Tanks:** As the campaign approaches, all the policy shops in town will be peddling their new agendas. For example, the DLC's "third way project" is finishing a book with new proposals on tax reform, corporate welfare, and other issues. I will reach out to think tanks from across the spectrum and around the country. I will also work with Don Baer to make use of thinkers who contribute to *The New Republic*, *The American Prospect*, and other leading opinion journals and would be flattered to share their ideas with us as well.

4. **My Role:** As Assistant to the President for Policy Development, I will work closely with the policy councils and the agencies, but report directly to you. I will bend over backwards to work through proper channels and avoid turf battles along the way, but I need the autonomy and authority to tap key people from the White House and the agencies as necessary. As we discussed, it needs to be clear from the beginning that this project is a real priority, with direct authority from you and the President to get the job done.

I will remain in my current office (216 OEOB), and continue to share my staff assistant, Cathy Mays, with the DPC. I will work on welfare reform through the conference, and make sure the other issues I oversee for the DPC are covered as well.

II. Timetable

The deadline for the first phase of this project is the State of the Union. If we see an opening to say something new before then, we should take it. (We might also include some new ideas in the FY97 budget.) But more than likely, the President's first real opportunity to unveil his agenda will be the State of the Union. He could use that occasion (or his announcement speech) to release a 20-page plan for America like the one we did during the 1992 primaries.

Over the spring, the President could give a series of major policy addresses like the Georgetown speeches in the fall of 1991. These addresses could lay some of the groundwork for the book he has in mind on what we've done and where we're headed.

In order to come up with some new ideas by the end of the year, we should try to agree upfront on what kind of answers we're looking for. I suggest that we focus on three basic questions:

- 1) What can we do to raise incomes and living standards?
- 2) What can we do to reform government and restore public confidence?
- 3) What can we do to strengthen the pillars of American society -- families, schools, communities, values -- whose erosion threatens our very way of life?

In each instance, our goal will be to spell out what we have already accomplished, explain why it represents real reform, and suggest what we should do next to continue the mission.

I recommend a brief meeting with the President in the next few weeks to get a clear sense of which specific issues he wants to explore (tax reform, wages, school reform, etc.), and which thinkers to tap from outside the Administration. If he wants, we could arrange a series of dinners this fall with a broad range of experts in those areas.

I hope and assume that the President's political and policy advisers will be eager to take part in this effort. Once we get started, I will provide you with regular progress reports on who's involved and what we've come up with. When an idea looks promising, I will work with the appropriate policy shop -- NEC, DPC, NPR, or OMB -- to make sure a formal policy decision-making process is underway.

This isn't going to be easy. As you said, we are trying to answer the most difficult challenges of our day -- how to raise incomes, restore civil society, and keep families together -- at a time when government is out of money and out of favor. But the Republicans aren't much better off, as they find themselves running out of new ideas and getting little credit. The mantle of change we lost in 1994 will be up for grabs again in 1996. We will prevail if we can show that we have made good on our reform agenda, and that the change we have brought about so far is only the beginning.

IDEAS

CRIME

1. Gun Detectors -- Provide police gun detectors that can spot concealed weapons. (Tested)
(D. Burke)
2. Frisk and Search -- Give police broader authority to stop and frisk suspicious characters. (Tested)
(D. Burke)
3. Cop In Every School (Tested)
(D. Burke)
4. Ban Bullet Proof Vest Sales To People With Criminal Records
(Tested)
(D. Burke)

ECONOMY

1. Partial Privatization of Social Security/Mandated Private Savings/Social Security Savings Account -- The Trust Fund will match up to 1% of any individual's payroll tax contribution if it is placed in a trust account (thrift savings plan) from which no funds can be withdrawn until an individual qualifies for Social Security.
(Mazur/Seidman/Weinstein -- With Shapiro)
2. Tax Reform
(NEC/Treasury)
3. Reduce the Executive Pay Deduction From \$1 million to \$250,000
(Tested)
(Weinstein/Seidman)
4. Disclosure For Mergers -- Require companies planning to merge to estimate and disclose job loss to its workers and increases in pay, bonuses, and stock options for its executives to its shareholders.
(Weinstein/Seidman)
5. Challenge Business To Pledge To Put Percentage Of Productivity Growth Into Wages, Benefits, Or Employee-Owned Stock
6. Pension Portability -- Allowing workers to transfer their pensions from one company to another.
(Seidman)

EDUCATION

1. Worker Retraining Fund -- Create a fund in which companies would contribute per worker. If worker is laid off and then finds new job, he or she would get a training voucher. (Tested)

(Dimond/Schmidt)

2. Reform Teacher Tenures (Tested)
(Gaynor)

3. Every School Should Compete For Its Students/Every Student
Should Have The Right To Choose
(Dimond/Gaynor)

4. Parent-School Contracts --
(Gaynor/Kamarck)

5. All Student Aid For Service
(Galston/DLC)

6. School Bus Safety -- Not by Federal Mandate. (Tested)
(Schmidt)

ENVIRONMENT

1. Brownfields Expensing -- Combining environmental cleanup with economic development. Creating a marketplace for the recycling polluted areas.
(Mazur/Weinstein/B. Burke)

GOVERNMENT/POLITICAL REFORM

1. Bureaucracy Closing Commission
(Weinstein/Kamarck)

2. Citizen Frank (Tested)
(Weinstein)

3. National Referendum
(Option -- limit to political/electoral/campaign finance reform.)
(Weinstein/Galston)

4. Ban On Foreign Lobbying By Former Officials
(Waldman/Weinstein)

5. Recall -- Give Authority to Senate and House Ethics Committees to recommend recall elections to State governments for Members who they decide have committed fraud.
(Weinstein)

6 Reform Government Lottery Advertising -- Congressman Jim McCrery has proposed that lotteries now exempt from Federal Trade Commission turth-in-advertising standards -- should be covered. Why should the New York lottery be able to adverstise: "We won't stop until everyone's a millionaire."
(Elana)

HEALTH

1. Speed-Up Approval Of New Cancer Drugs
(Kamarck/Jennings)

LEGAL REFORM

1. Take T.V.s out of the Courtroom
(Elena/Weinstein)

2. Tort Reform -- Have judges make civil damages awards instead of juries and promote private arbitration.

WORKER SAFETY

1. Adding Repetitive Motion Disorders To OSHA
(Schmidt)

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12-14 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12-16

SUBJECT: Strategic Plan for Women's Office

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McCURRY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
PANETTA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McGINTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McLARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NASH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ICKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUINN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LIEBERMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RASCO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
RAINES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	REED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SOSNIK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CURRY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STEPHANOPOULOS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
EMANUEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STIGLITZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GIBBONS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STREETT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HALE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TYSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HERMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HAWLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HIGGINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WILLIAMS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HILLEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BOULES</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KLAIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>RADD</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LAKE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>VERVEER</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LINDSEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>TORIL Nelson</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: There are policy or staffing proposals embedded in this memo. Do you have any comment before I forwards to POTUS?

216

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 12, 1996

'96 DEC 13 PM3:39

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BETSY MYERS *Betsy*
RE: WOMEN'S OFFICE STRATEGIC PLAN
CC: VICE PRESIDENT
ERSKINE BOWLES

As we discussed, please find attached our strategic plan for the second term.

This plan reflects input from women advocates, appointees, and Hill staff, including insights from several one-on-one meetings and a strategic planning session with 110 women leaders and the Vice President on November 25, 1996.

We have developed this strategy based on our experiences and lessons learned over the past 19 months. Our goal: To support your vision and legacy while giving women a voice.

I look forward to discussing this plan with you in the near future.

**The White House
Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach**

STRATEGIC PLAN

December 12, 1996

The White House
Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach .

Strategic Plan

CONTENTS

Strategic Plan

Appendices

- First Term Outreach on Women's Issues
- First Term Special Events
- President Clinton's Accomplishments for
Women and Families Packet

Strategic Plan

**The White House
Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach**

**Strategic Plan
December 12, 1996**

I. Introduction

To support the President's mission and legacy, the White House Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach (Office) will serve as a point of contact and a coordinator for the women's community, Federal agencies, and the White House staff. The Office will integrate the views of women, who are 52 percent of the population and cut across the constituencies, on relevant issues and programs.

The Office currently operates under the auspices of the White House Office of Public Liaison. It is staffed by a director (Deputy Assistant to the President) and a deputy director and utilizes collateral help from Federal program offices, interns, and volunteers.

II. First Term: Phase I

A. Mission

The White House Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach was organized in June 1995, in order to serve three primary functions:

- (1) Deliver the President's message to women throughout the country;
- (2) Mobilize women political appointees on behalf of the President; and
- (3) Provide background, input, and policy ideas to the President and the Administration which reflect the perspective of women.

B. Accomplishments

During the past 19 months, the Office has met each of these challenges:

Issues Management and Development: Initiated and drafted briefing papers and Presidential proclamations, mobilized grassroots support for the President's agenda, and represented the women's community on such issues as: choice (H.R. 1833), domestic violence, working women, women business owners, welfare reform, women's health, minimum wage, and affirmative action.

Event Planning and Implementation: Planned and held 76 special events amplifying the President's message and accomplishments for a combined audience of 13,000 attendees as well as millions of additional constituents through organizational newsletters, magazines and member updates.

Communications/Media: (1) Developed and distributed: first-ever comprehensive women's accomplishments piece (25,000), "pink card" of Administration accomplishments (6,000), *At the Table* kits (1,000), resource guides for Cabinet secretaries and speech writers, homepage (up to 200 hits daily), monthly Women's Office newsletter, issue updates. (2) Placed more than 200 newspaper articles and more than 100 radio interviews on: President's agenda on women and families, *At the Table*, and the Women's Office. (3) Trained and mobilized more than 200 women political appointees for radio interviews and public speaking. (4) Provided talking points, speeches, and other briefing material to the staffs of the four Principals.

At the Table: Conceived, implemented, monitored, and publicized *At the Table*, an innovative outreach initiative using women political appointees. The initiative has reached more than 17,000 women nationwide through 1,400 sessions including 94 national online sessions reaching 1,300 participants. Initiated President's *At the Table* covered exclusively by Family Circle magazine which reaches 26 million readers.

Appointee Outreach: Mobilized women political appointees (approximately 2,000) to educate public about President's accomplishments through monthly briefings with White House senior staff, monthly evening forums, regular distribution of White House talking points and Office newsletter, meetings at each agency and the creation of a network of agency women's liaisons.

III. Second Term: Phase II

A. Mission

The Office will continue its outreach mission from Clinton/Gore I but will have an expanded issues role in bringing the women's perspective and support to the President's key priorities: achieving educational excellence, finishing welfare reform, helping families succeed at home and at work, fighting crime, balancing the budget, passing campaign finance reform and modernizing government operations.

B. Strategy

The Office will accomplish this mission by accelerating its efforts within the Federal government, the women's community and the public at large, to identify:

- (1) Opportunities to create or support innovations that serve the President's agenda.
- (2) Obstacles that prevent or hinder the President's ability to implement his agenda.

The Office's tools for creating the President's legacy will include identifying policy directives, legislative initiatives, and executive orders, as well as events and announcements that will enhance and fulfill the President's policy priorities and reflect the perspectives of women. The following are two examples of issues the Office has identified:

Health Care: Many major health care providers cover mastectomies only on an out-patient basis. There is a movement in the women's community and in the United States Congress to pass legislation on this issue, similar to legislation signed by the President in October preventing drive-through deliveries. The new legislation would mandate insurance coverage of at least 48 hours for a mastectomy and 24 hours for a lymph node dissection. This is a major opportunity for the President to take another step in addressing egregious problems for women in the current health care system. The Office plans to propose that the President support this legislation with a letter to Congress, a radio address, an event, and in the State of the Union Address, the Inaugural Address and other public speeches.

Welfare Reform and Literacy: Statistics show that the women who are on welfare for five or more years are likely to have substantial literacy problems. Literacy programs reach only a fraction of women in need of these services because of inadequate funding. For instance, tens of thousands of women, including teenage mothers, are on waiting lists all over the country to participate in adult education programs. Many young mothers decide to enter a literacy or Graduate Equivalency Diploma (GED) program when they recognize that literacy is the key to economic self-sufficiency through either employment or entrepreneurship. In order to ensure that literacy programs, like other welfare support systems, can be effectively used by recipients, the Office will work with the National Institute for Literacy to identify solutions to problems such as transportation and child care. The Office could support a Health and Human Services initiative to urge states to include literacy in their statutory definitions of "vocational educational training" through briefings, an event, and an interagency public education effort.

C. Structure and Implementation

The organization for the White House Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach will be structured around the three issue areas most critical to women and families.

- (1) Economic equity and empowerment
- (2) Health security
- (3) Personal and public safety

These three issue areas provide a context through which the Office can both effectively address the President's second term priorities and serve women constituents in a consistent, bipartisan, and effective manner.

Staffing: The Administration will be served best by the following Office structure (see accompanying chart):

- Director, White House Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach
- Deputy Director
- Constituency Outreach and Issues Coordinators for:
 - (1) Economic Equity and Empowerment,
 - (2) Health Security,
 - (3) Personal and Public Safety. (Duties of coordinators would include serving as liaisons to the relevant agencies, constituency development and outreach, issue development, and program implementation and monitoring).
- Base Operations includes staff persons for:
 - (1) Communications/Media
 - (2) Events
 - (3) At the Table
 - (4) Office Manager
- Executive Assistant/Scheduler to the Director

White House Collaboration: The Office will establish a council within the Executive Office of the President to facilitate communication among the White House staff regarding the perspective and priorities of women.

Public-Private Partnerships: The Office will gather input from women leaders and citizens through task forces and *At the Tables* which will address each of the three critical issue areas above.

Resources needed:

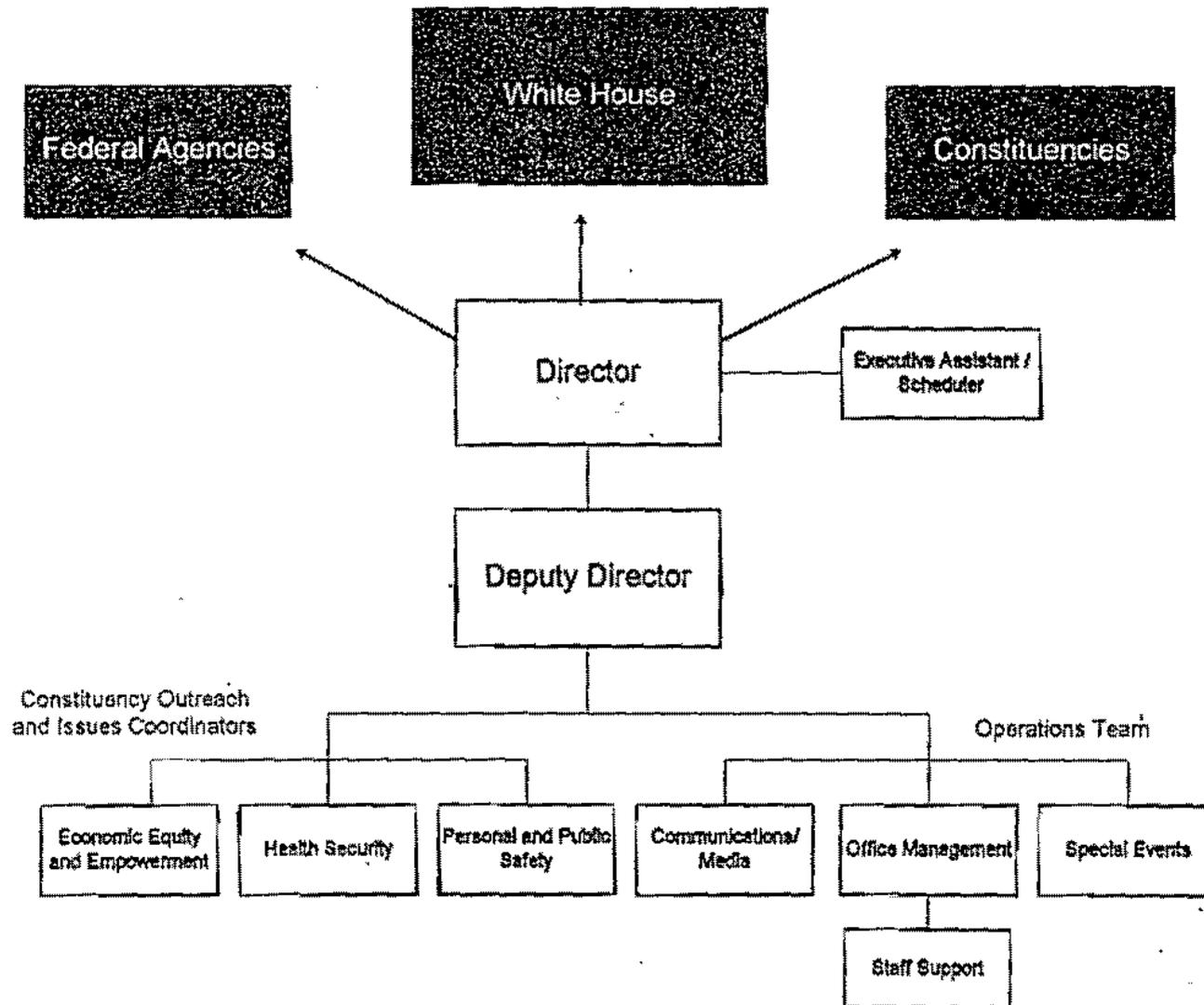
- o Five additional White House positions
- o Three interagency representatives
- o Sufficient technology resources

IV. Conclusion

The next 50 months will shape the next 50 years and beyond. As President Clinton's first term demonstrated, when women thrive, families and communities thrive, and the entire nation benefits. As our contribution to the President's second term and legacy, we hope this strategic plan will take our democracy one step farther. This is a historic opportunity to give women a stronger voice and greater representation in their government as our nation enters the 21st Century.

The White House Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach

Second Term Structural Proposal



First Term Outreach on Women's Issues

FIRST TERM OUTREACH ON WOMEN'S ISSUES

The Women's Office has played a central role in promoting, expanding, and strengthening the President's agenda on women and families.

- o **Choice**
 - Organized strategy for President's veto signing on late term abortion (HR 1833)
 - Gathered hundreds of letters of support and positive op-eds for the President's veto
 - Garnered support for the President's position on omnibus budget items that negatively impacted reproductive choice (e.g., Foreign Ops - Mexico City)

- o **Domestic Violence**
 - Announced National Domestic Violence Hotline with Presidential event (2/96)
 - Spearheaded President's directive on Domestic Violence & Welfare (see welfare reform) (9/96)
 - Identified issue and collaborated with White House on Brady Bill extension on domestic violence (8/96)
 - Organized President's 1995 Domestic Violence Awareness Month event (10/95)
 - Organized President's signing of anti-stalking bill (9/96)
 - Tracked legislation and increased awareness on Carjacking (to redefine rape as a serious crime) on Rohypnol (the date rape drug) and on battered immigrant women

- o **Welfare Reform**
 - Mitigated women's community's objections to the entire bill and worked closely with Secretary Shalala to address conference version of Wellstone domestic violence amendment by drafting Presidential directive on domestic violence
 - Created opportunities for women leaders to express their concerns on reform to Vice President and Chief of Staff
 - Communicated President's position to women leaders

- o **Women Business Owners**
 - Released comprehensive report on women business owners with Oval Office event (1/96) and luncheon address by the First Lady
 - Collaborated with National Women's Business Council and SBA to hold first-ever national women's economic summit and coordinated White House participation (5/96)
 - Initiated and contributed to major women's business rally in Ypsilanti, Michigan, featuring two access to capital announcements that the Office had identified and advocated for (10/96)

o **Working Women**

- Proposed and wrote the first-ever Presidential Proclamation on pay equity and organized the first White House celebration of pay equity with Vice President for women, labor union and civil rights leaders (4/96)
- Worked on Education Department's sexual harassment guidelines for university employees
- Organized a series of press opportunities/roundtable discussions with working women for the First Lady and Mrs. Gore

o **Women's Health**

- Tracked legislation impacting women and families
- Gathered support from women leaders for announcements on Kennedy-Kassebaum, 48-hour hospital stay for new mothers, health advisory commission, FMLA expansion
- Represented women's concerns in pushing forward RU486, the abortion drug in the President's policy and FDA process
- Spearheaded and organized Rose Garden event announcing increased funding for breast cancer and other cancer initiatives

o **Minimum Wage**

- Coordinated grassroots support among women's groups for President's proposal
- Assisted in bill signing event

o **Affirmative Action**

- Represented women's concerns with political and policy staff
- Garnered support among women leaders for President's announcement (9/95)

First Term Special Events

**First Term Special Events
Sponsored by
The Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach**

TOTAL EVENTS: 76
TOTAL NUMBER OF ATTENDEES: 12,964
FROM JUNE, 1995 TO DECEMBER, 1996

Revised: 12/12/96 (SS)

EVENT DATE	EVENT DESCRIPTION/ATTENDEES	# ATTENDED
6-9/95	First Lady's series of 4 roundtables with working women (open press).	48 (12 each)
8/1/95	FMLA Anniversary roundtables with working women and Janet Reno and Maria Echaveste (open press):	12
9/6/95	Policy meeting with women leaders and Carol Rasco and Alexis Herman (open press).	15
9/20/95	Vice President's roundtable with women leaders in Albuquerque, NM.	50
9/21/95	Vice President's roundtable with women leaders in San Francisco, CA.	50
10/2/95	President's Domestic Violence event (open press), and follow-up discussion with battered women in the Oval Office.	150
10/5/95	Budget Briefing for senior women appointees with Laura Tyson.	25
10/13/95	Mrs. Gore's roundtable with women national labor union leaders.	50
10/23/95	Roundtable with working women and Cong. Barney Frank (open press).	20
10/24/95	Briefing for women leaders on the Republican budget cuts.	50

12/13/95	Communications Briefing for women appointees with Don Baer, Evelyn S. Lieberman and Tony Lake.	150
12/13/95	President's meeting with women leaders.	17
12/15/95	Women's Office Open House and Holiday Party for women leaders and appointees.	200
1/7/95	Briefing on Post-Beijing for women leaders with Secretary Donna Shalala, Madeleine Kunin and Geraldine Ferraro.	
1/22/96	The President's State of the Union "Watch Party" at the Dept. of the Treasury for women appointees and advocates.	250
1/29/96	Release of Women's Business Owner's Report with the President in the Oval Office (open press); Women Business owners.	20
1/29/96	Women Business Owners Luncheon with the First Lady; Women Business Owners nationwide, SBA and Administration officials, and other invited guests.	90
2/96	Meeting with Marion Wright Edelman and women leaders and appointees on welfare reform.	150
2/9/96	Celebration of African American History Month Luncheon with Secretary Ron Brown and Alexis Herman; African American women civil and political leaders and senior women in the Administration.	90
3/8/96	Meeting with women leaders and the Vice President in Los Angeles.	40
3/13/96	Leadership America breakfast, At the Tables and panel discussion for women leaders and senior appointees.	120

3/18/96	Signing of the Women's History Month Proclamation with the President, the Vice President, Supreme Court Justices O'Connor and Ginsburg, and other distinguished guests.	50
3/15/96	Gloria Steinem Event at the Dept. of Commerce; Political appointees, representatives from women's groups, and other guests.	900
3/26/96	Women Making History Luncheon; Senior Women Appointees and invited guests.	84
4/10/96	The President's signing of the HR.1833 veto in the Oval Office.	30
4/17/96	Mrs. Gore's roundtable discussion with working women (open press).	20
4/18/96	Pay Equity Day Celebration -- first-ever Proclamation -- with the Vice President; Representatives from appropriate outside groups and the private sector interested in this issue.	90
4/25/96	Take Our Daughters to Work Day "At the Tables" with Doris Matsui and Carolyn Curiel (and a surprise visit from "Socks" the First Cat); Daughters of White House employees.	50
5/2/96	Deborah Tannen Event at the Dept. of Commerce; Political appointees, representatives from women's groups and the private sector, and other guests.	400
5/6/96	Mrs. Gore's roundtable discussion with working women (open press).	15
5/7/96	National Breast Cancer Coalition's Board member's Photo Op with the President, and Panel Discussion with the First Lady and Susan Blumenthal, Robert Black, Clara Caldwell, Bettye Green and Fran Visco; NBCC Board members, Political appointees, representatives from women's groups, industry, the private sector, and other guests.	180

5/20/96	9 to 5, National Working Women Association, Briefing and Panel Presentation with the Vice President, Maria Echaveste and Ida Castro; Association members and invited guests.	150
5/21/96	At the Table Briefing for African American Women Appointees with Mayor Bill Campbell, Alexis Herman and Cheryl Mills.	252
5/22/96	Women in Science and Technology event at the Dept. of Energy with Dr. Mae Jemison and Secretary Hazel O'Leary; Political appointees, representatives from women's groups and the private sector, and other guests.	280
5/22/96	Briefing for Edward Jones with Ellen Seidman and John D. Hawke, Jr.; Associates from Edward Jones (investment and brokerage services).	24
5/28/96	National Summit of Women Business Owners in Chicago (the first-ever) sponsored by the National Women's Business Council, Inc, with Laura Tyson, Carol Rasco and Alexis Herman; Women entrepreneurs nationwide.	250
5/31/96	Celebrating the Empowerment of Women Luncheon with Alexis Herman and Secretary Donna Shalala; Ethnic women from European and Mediterranean heritage, and senior women appointees.	80
6/3/96	Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of USDA's School Lunch program with children with Mrs. Gore, and a White House tour; Children and parent representatives from the program.	30
6/4/96	Reception honoring SBA's Women Small Business Week Winners and Advocates with Evelyn S. Lieberman; Women business owners nationwide, senior women appointees (especially representing SBA), and other invited guests.	70

6/12/96	NAFE Briefing; Board members of the National Association of Female Executives nationwide.	12
6/18/96	Celebrating Women in Health Luncheon with Susan Blumenthal and CBS' Paula Zahn; Women's health professionals inside and outside the Federal government, senior women appointees, and other invited guests.	96
6/19/96	Women Political Appointees Briefing with Alexis Herman, Carol Rasco and Nancy Ann Min.	202
6/19/96	Welfare Reform Meeting with women leaders and Leon Panetta, Carol Rasco, and Alexis Herman; Representatives from appropriate outside groups and inside the government affected by this issue.	17
6/20/96	EMILY'S List Briefing with the President, Doug Sosnick and Evelyn S. Lieberman; Board members and major donors nationwide.	11
6/24/96	New Majority Briefing; Leadership of the New Majority.	6
6/25/96	Breakfast Briefing for the American Association of University Women with the Vice President, AAUW's Anne Bryant and Secretary Donna Shalala; AAUW's leadership and Board members, senior women in the Administration, and other invited guests.	103
6/27/96	Women in Government Briefing with Susan Blumenthal and Chris Jennings, and White House Tour; Women legislators nationwide and other invited guests.	62

6/28/96	Panel Presentation for the National Women's Political Caucus with Evelyn S. Lieberman, Lucia Wyman, Madeleine Kunin Carol Rasco, Elaine Kamarck, Lauri Fitz-Pegado and Frankee Greenberg; NWPC leadership, Board members, political appointees, and other invited guests.	209
7/18/96	Women's Transportation Seminar Reception with Jolene Molitoris, Liucija Garliauskas, Klaus Helmut Schreiter, Elaine Kamarck and Janet Murguia; Representatives from the WTS, senior women appointees (especially from the Dept. of Transportation), and other invited guests.	94
7/19/96	Hispanic Women Appointees Briefing with Cheryl Mills, Suzanna Valdez, Carmen Lomellin, Janet Murguia, Marqarita Roque, Ida Castro and Girls Incorporated's Regina Montoya.	75
7/21/96	At The Table with the President in Denver, CO; Local civic and political women leaders (open press).	16
7/29/96	Eddie Bernice Johnson and Texas Women Leaders Reception with the Vice President, Cong. Eddie Bernice Johnson, Alexis Herman, Janet Murguia and Alice Rivlin, and White House tour; Congresswoman Johnson's key women leaders from Texas and senior women in the White House.	37
7/30/96	National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Club Briefing with Ben Johnson, Isabelle Pinzler, Rene Redwood and Jacqueline Woods; Leadership of the club.	31
8/7/96	Disabled People International Briefing with Lynn Hogan, Diana Fortuna and Nancy Dunham; Leadership of international organization.	8

8/14/96	USIA's International Visitor's Briefing; Representatives from South Africa and White House women appointees.	30
8/19/96	Welfare Reform discussion with women leaders and Alexis Herman.	25
8/27/96	Welfare Reform Meeting with women leaders and Secretary Donna Shalala in Chicago.	10
9/5/96	General Federation of Women's Clubs Panel Presentation with GFWC's Faye Dissinger, Susan Blumenthal, Ginger Lew, Ann Stock, Carolyn Staley, Jacqueline Woods and Janet Murguia; Leadership and members of the GFWC, senior women in the Administration, representatives from outside women's groups, and other invited groups.	220
9/10/96	Women's Business Network Reception with WBN's Edie Fraser, Evelyn S. Lieberman and Cheri Carter; Top 12 women's organizations selected from the top 200 nationwide, senior women in the Administration (especially SBA and White House), other invited guests.	125
9/17/96	Women's College Coalition Breakfast and At the Tables with Evelyn S. Lieberman, Carolyn Curiel, Ann Stock, Elaine Kamarck and Maggie Williams; Women's college presidents, student leaders, and senior women in the Administration.	100
9/20/96	Agency Liaisons and Kitchen Cabinet Briefing.	57
9/23/96	Signing of the Anti-Stalking Bill by the President in the Oval Office (open press).	5
9/26/96	Women Political Appointees Briefing with Alexis Herman, Linda Tarr-Whalen, Gene Sperling, Evelyn S. Lieberman and Secretary Donna Shalala.	85

10/3/96	Release of Executive Order and Proclamation on Domestic Violence and Welfare Reform.	15
10/3/96	Announcement of the Gun Ban on Domestic Violence Offenders by the President in the Rose Garden (open press); Variety of constituents affected by domestic violence.	200
10/8/96	Forum of Executive Women Reception with the Forum's Emma Chappell, Alexis Herman, Joan Parrott-Fonseca, and Secretary's Hazel O'Leary and Donna Shalala, and White House Tour; Philadelphia's leading women in business, senior women in the Administration, other invited guests.	98
10/9/96	Lancaster, PA Bar Association Women Lawyer's Section White House Tour.	35
10/23/96	American Physical Therapy Association's Luncheon Celebrating Women and Young Girls in Physical Fitness and Sports with APTA's Marilyn Moffat, Dr. Audrey Manley, Tom McMillen and Joyce Luncher; APTA's leadership and members, representatives from health organizations in the private sector, senior women in the Administration (especially the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports), and other guests.	80
10/27/96	Breast Cancer and Cancer Survivorship Event with the President, Susan Blumenthal, Richard Klausner and Stephan Joseph (open press); Key women leaders from the private sector and inside government, and other special guests.	100

10/30/96	Women's Business Owners event with the President in Ypsilanti, MI (open press); Women entrepreneurs and supporters of the President, along with Sen. Carl Levin and Cong. Lynn Rivers.	6,000
11/11/96	Women Leaders Meeting with the Vice President.	8
11/25/96	Strategic Planning Session with Women Leaders and Senior Women Appointees with the Vice President and Bob Nash; Key women leaders representing women's organizations and senior women in the Administration.	120
12/5/96	Event Celebrating Women World Leaders with Ambassador Swanee Hunt, Laura Liswood and Theresa Loar; Political appointees, representatives from women's groups, and other guests interested in international issues.	120

President Clinton's Accomplishments
for Women and Families Packet



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 1996

It is time for us to recognize a simple but profound truth: by improving the lives of American women, we are making a vital investment in America's future. By investing in women, we enable them to reach their fullest potential as individuals and as members of our society. When women thrive, their families thrive. When families thrive, communities flourish, and our nation reaps the benefits.

We must value the contributions women make in every aspect of life: in the home, on the job, in their communities, as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, learners, caregivers, workers, citizens, and leaders. Today, 58 million American women are in the work force, comprising half of all workers. Almost every woman will work for pay sometime during her life. It isn't easy. Women still make only 72 percent of what men make in comparable jobs. Each day, women working outside the home must balance job responsibilities with family responsibilities. They struggle to arrange and pay for quality child care. They must be effective on the job and still find time to help their children with homework, to attend parent-teacher meetings, to take their children to doctors' appointments and school events. We must pursue policies that help women to be successful in the workplace and in the home.

My Administration is committed to helping women achieve that success, and the proof of our commitment is found on the following pages. We have initiated strong, practical measures to improve women's economic and educational opportunities, to provide quality health and child care, to prevent violence on the streets and at home, and to make sure that women's voices are heard at every level of our government. The unprecedented number of women I have appointed to my Cabinet and to positions of leadership throughout the federal government reflects my belief that women should be full partners in decisionmaking.

But we must do more. We have a historic opportunity -- and a solemn responsibility -- to lead the world in our efforts to better the lives of women. At the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, the First Lady joined tens of thousands of women from around the globe in addressing issues vital to American women and families -- personal and economic security, access to education, health care, jobs, and credit, and the chance for every boy and girl to live up to his or her potential. My Administration is working hard to address these concerns.

I ask you to join me in our work to improve the lives of women and families in our nation and around the world. The challenges are great, but the rewards are even greater for us all.

Rita Clinton

Helpful Clinton Administration Resource Numbers for Women and Families

Business		Health	
(202) 205-6673	President's Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise (Call for information and assistance on women entrepreneurial issues).	1-800-799-SAFE	National Domestic Violence Hotline (Call for information on domestic violence, emergency shelters, legal advocacy, assistance programs, social services, and batterers' programs).
1-800-827-5335	Department of Labor Women's Bureau Clearinghouse (Call for information on women's legal rights in the workplace).	(202) 690-7650	Public Health Service, Office on Women's Health (Call for general information on resources, services and education on women's health programs in the federal government).
(202) 219-6611	Department of Labor Women's Bureau, general office (Call for information concerning economic and international issues).	(301) 594-4000	Public Health Service, Office of Population Affairs (Call for referral to regional federally funded family planning clinics).
(202) 205-6673	U.S. Small Business Administration Office of Women's Business Ownership (specifically created to help women entrepreneurs).	(301) 402-1770	Office of Research on Women's Health, National Institutes of Health (Call for information about women's health research at the National Institutes of Health).
1-800-8-ASK-SBA	U. S. Small Business Administration (Call for information on managing and financing a woman-owned small business).	(301) 827-0350	Office of Women's Health, Food and Drug Administration (Call for FDA policies and regulations concerning women's inclusion in clinical trials and research).
1-800-532-1169	Department of Transportation Short-Term Lending Program (Call for an application for a short-term loan, favorable to women in small businesses).	1-800-677-1116	Eldercare Locator, Funded by the Department of Health and Human Services Administration on Aging (Call for assistance for elder persons and caregivers).
(202) 512-1800	Working Women Count! A Report to the Nation, Government Printing Office, Publication #029-802-0082 (Call for a copy of the survey results).	1-800-729-6686	National Clearinghouse on Alcohol and Drug Information, Department of Health and Human Services, Center on Substance Abuse Prevention (Call for information on drug and alcohol abuse).
1-800-669-4000	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Call to report sexual discrimination or harassment).	1-800-421-4211	National Institute of Mental Health Depression (Call for information on depression).
(202) 219-9475	Office of Federal Contract Compliance (Call to report sexual discrimination in any company which contracts with the federal government).	1-800-54-WOMEN	Women's Health Initiative, National Institutes of Health (Call to sign up for a study on preventing heart and lung disease in women ages 50-79).
1-800-616-2242	Department of Health and Human Services, National Child Care Information Center (Call for information concerning child care and other work and family issues).	1-800-4-CANCER	Cancer Information Service, National Cancer Institute (Call for information about cancer and for referral to an FDA approved mammography center in your area).
(202) 616-8894	Violence Against Women Office in the Justice Department (Call for help and information concerning domestic violence).	1-800-458-5231	AIDS Clearinghouse, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (Call for information about AIDS and referral to research and medical services).
Education		Children and Youth	
1-800-4-FED-AID (1-800-433-3243)	Department of Education, Federal Student Loan Aid Information Center (Call regarding information about and Applications for student loans).	(202) 219-8412	Department of Labor, Wage and Hour Division, Family and Medical Leave Team (Call to find out your rights under the Family and Medical Leave Act).
1-800-251-7236	National School to Work Program, Learning and Information Center (Call for information about implementing a School-to-Work program in your area). Help students make the connection between schoolwork and career.	(202) 690-6782	Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Child Care Bureau (Call for referrals to local, federally funded child care centers, along with information about national child care policy).
(202) 606-5000	Corporation for National Service, AmeriCorps Program (Call for information about AmeriCorps, a program which loans money to students in return for community service).	(202) 205-8821	Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Family and Youth Services Bureau (Call for information about federally funded youth programs).
(202) 260-1856	Department of Education, Office for Safe and Drug-Free Schools (Call for information regarding federal programs addressing violence and drugs in public schools).	(202) 606-5000	Corporation for National Service, Learn and Serve America (Call to apply for grants given to community and school-based programs which enable children K-12 to help alleviate local social problems).
1-800-USA-LEARN	(1-800-872-5327), Department of Education, Information Resource Center (Call for information about and referral to any Department of Education Program, including Goals 2000: Educate America Program).	(301) 496-3454	Department of Health and Human Services, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (Call for biomedical information on children's disorders and health, as well as preventative medicine).
(202) 205-5463	Department of Education Bilingual Education and Minority Affairs (Call for information about bilingual education programs).	(701) 385-7565	National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect (Call for information about child abuse and neglect).
(202) 205-8572	Department of Health and Human Services, Head Start (Call for information about Head Start, a pre-school program for underprivileged children).	(202) 647-2688	Department of State, Office of Children's Issues (Call for information about international child adoption).
(202) 260-2670	Department of Education, Women's Educational Equity Act Program (Call for funding for agencies and organizations which implement programs to promote educational equality for women and girls).	(202) 401-9373	Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Office of Child Support Enforcement (Call for information on child support enforcement).
(202) 514-4092	Department of Justice, Educational Opportunity Section (Call for information about federal statutes concerning discrimination in schools).		

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE FOR WOMEN'S INITIATIVES AND OUTREACH, 708 JACKSON PLACE, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

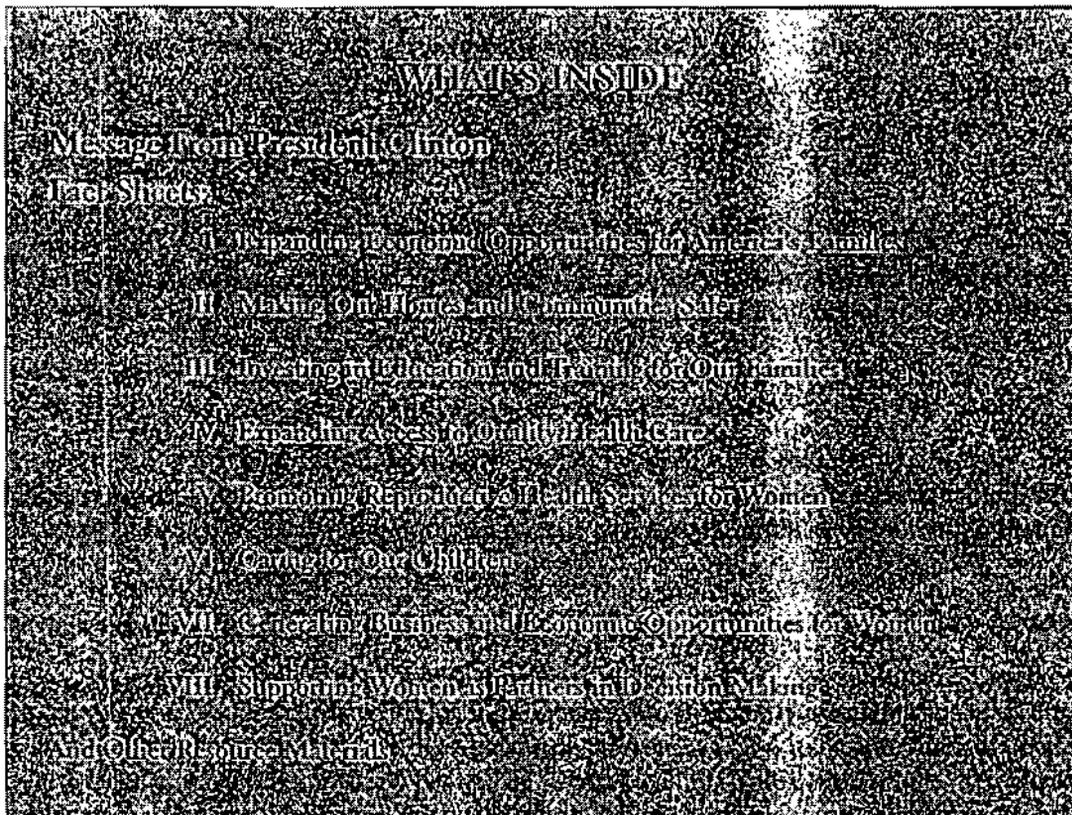
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JANUARY 1996

Supporting Women and Families President Clinton's Accomplishments and Agenda

"...Until all women have an equal opportunity to develop their full potential and to make contributions that are accepted and welcomed by our society, our freedom as a nation will be incomplete."

*President Clinton
Women's Equality Day, 1995, Proclamation*



"The United States is now a leader in the battle for the rights of women and we intend to see, in this Administration, that in that battle, there is no going back. We intend to win that battle."

*Vice President Gore
June 22, 1995*

"We are here to find common ground so that we may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world and in so doing, bring new strength and stability to families as well."

*First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
United Nations Fourth World
Conference on Women
Beijing, September 5, 1995*

Fact Sheet I

Expanding Economic Opportunities for America's Families

"...We need a united front for treating women all over the world with dignity and respect and giving them opportunities in the family and education and in the workplace."

President Clinton

Jackson, Wyoming, August 26, 1995



Delivered the Family and Medical Leave Act

The first bill President Clinton signed after taking office, the Family and Medical Leave Act, allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for an infant, spouse, or ailing loved one without losing their jobs. Women and men are no longer forced to choose between their families and jobs.

Expanded Earned Income Tax Credit Making Work Pay

The President has expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit as a first step toward ensuring that no child of full-time working parents will have to live in poverty. The expansion gives a tax cut to more than 15 million working families.

Committed to Increasing the Minimum Wage

The President has proposed increasing the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 over two years, through two 45-cent increases. For a full-time, year-round worker at minimum wage, a 90-cent increase would raise yearly income by \$1,800 as much as the average family spends on groceries over seven months. Two-thirds of minimum wage workers are women.

Improved Access to Child Care

The Clinton Administration has launched initiatives to make child care more affordable and accessible and has encouraged employers to address this need. The Administration has increased investments in child care and established a Child Care Bureau to streamline federal child care programs. (The Child Care Information Center: 1-800-616-2242.) The Clinton Administration has also initiated a Healthy Child Care Campaign to increase access to preventative health services for children in child care and to ensure safe child care environments. In addition, the Administration has increased child care availability for military families by providing additional funds for before and after school programs and to expand family child care.

Strengthened Equal Opportunity for All

After an extensive review of laws and regulations, the President reaffirmed his Administration's support for affirmative action as a tool to expand economic and educational opportunity. He believes that affirmative action must be designed to sustain and support our ideals of personal responsibility and merit.

Strengthened Enforcement of Child Support

Many families—particularly those headed by women—are forced into economic crisis and poverty when a non-custodial parent fails to pay child support. From 1992 to 1994, there has been an increase in child support collec-

tions of more than 20 percent—from \$8 billion to a record of nearly \$10 billion. The President's child support plan, a part of his welfare reform legislation, would double child support collections by the year 2000. By executive order, federal agencies have been directed to cooperate with state efforts to identify and locate absent parents.

Promoting Work for Low-Income Families

The Clinton Administration has approved 49 welfare reform demonstrations in 35 states, more than the two previous administrations combined. The Clinton Administration waivers are based on the President's vision for welfare reform: work responsibility and a steadfast commitment to the well-being of children and families.

Fact Sheet II

Making Our Homes and Communities Safer

"If children aren't safe in their homes, if college women aren't safe in their dorms, if mothers can't raise their children in safety, then the American Dream will never be real for them..."

President Clinton
March 21, 1995

In a typical year, more than 15 million American women 12 years of age and older are victims of a threatened or attempted violent crime.

Initiated Programs to Combat Violence Against Women

The Violence Against Women Act, part of the President's crime bill, takes a comprehensive approach to combatting violence against women. The law will help improve the responses by the police and the courts to domestic violence crimes, enhance lighting in public places, force sex offenders to pay restitution, increase funding to battered women's shelters and ensure that a "stay away" order obtained against an abuser will no longer stop at the state line. In addition, the Administration has: created the Violence Against Women Office in the Department of Justice to lead a national effort to combine tough new federal laws with help for states and localities; created a national domestic violence hotline to help ensure that battered women and their families have access to help at all times; and funded projects linking organizations working to combat domestic violence with aging agencies, an effort aimed specifically at protecting older women against domestic violence.

Signed the Brady Bill and Assault Weapons Ban

The Brady law works to keep handguns out of the reach of criminals including individuals under restraining orders for domestic threats. The law: A five-day waiting period and background check. The assault weapons ban outlaws the 19 deadliest assault weapons and their copies.

Signed Three-Strikes-and-Out Law

This law puts criminals behind bars for good if they commit three violent crimes.

Supported Notifying Communities about Release of Sex Offenders

This new law requires appropriate community notification when serious sex offenders have been released.

Introduced Operation Safe Home to Fight Crime in Public Housing

To combat crime in public and assisted housing, the Administration launched an aggressive interagency effort for a more effective Operation Safe Home Program. In one year, more than 3,000 criminals were arrested and \$1.5 million in drugs were seized.

Supported the Family Preservation and Support Act

The Clinton Administration won bipartisan support for this act—the first federal investment in child welfare protection in more than a decade. With federal help and support, states have been able to use these resources flexibly and creatively to strengthen families and reduce child abuse.

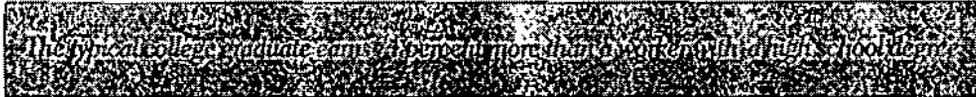
Fact Sheet III

Investing in Education and Training for Our Families

"Let's give our children a future. Let us take away their guns and give them books."

President Clinton

January 24, 1995



Expanded Student Loans

The Student Loan Reform Act, which includes the President's Direct Lending Program, lowers interest rates for students and allows for flexible income contingent repayment plans. The act also saves taxpayers billions of dollars.

Promoted National Service and Educational Opportunity

President Clinton created AmeriCorps so young people can serve their communities—teaching, caring for the sick, making the streets safer—while earning money toward their education. Already, 20,000 American women and men serve in AmeriCorps.

Enhanced School-to-Work Opportunities

With bipartisan support, President Clinton signed into law the School-to-Work Opportunities Act, the most important national program ever to provide apprenticeships for students who don't go on to college. School-to-Work helps all young people—including the 70 percent who don't get four-year degrees—to get the education they need to obtain good jobs.

Advanced Improved Standards for Education

This legislation sets world class education standards in areas of math and science and provides voluntary assistance to states and communities to implement education reform. In addition, the President supported the Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which helps to improve basic and advanced skills for low-income students.

Expanded Head Start

President Clinton has expanded Head Start services while improving the program's quality and making it more responsive to the needs of local communities. The President's increase in funding for Head Start will allow 50,000 more children to take advantage of the program by the year 2002. The Administration has also launched an innovative program to give infants and toddlers an Early Head Start.

Safe and Drug-Free Schools

This President-supported program expands security and violence prevention in schools across the nation by teaching students the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse and teaching them alternatives to violence.

Expanding Lifelong Learning

The President has proposed a "G.I. Bill of Rights for Workers" to reform job training programs and put resources and information directly into workers' hands. Lifelong Learning is critical for our workers to compete successfully in the new global marketplace.

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE FOR WOMEN'S INITIATIVES AND OUTREACH, 708 JACKSON PLACE, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

202-456-7300, FAX 202-456-7311

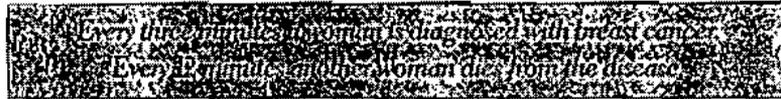
JANUARY 1996

Fact Sheet IV

Expanding Access to Quality Health Care

Our families will never be secure, our businesses will never be strong, and our government will never again be fully solvent until we tackle the health care crisis."

President Clinton
February 17, 1995



Leading the Fight for Health Care Security for All Americans

President Clinton believes that every American should have access to quality health care and is committed to achieving this important goal.

Strengthening Medicare and Medicaid

President Clinton believes that health care for women, children and older citizens must not be diminished. He is fighting massive congressional cuts of Medicare and Medicaid, which serve approximately 20 million women. For older women, Medicaid is the largest insurer of long-term care, covering more than two-thirds of nursing home residents, the vast majority of them women. President Clinton is also a strong supporter of Medicaid nursing home quality standards, helping to assure nursing home residents a safe and healthy environment.

Redressing Inadequacies in Clinical Research

Historically, clinical research has concentrated primarily on men. Under President Clinton, this inequity has been corrected. The largest clinical study ever conducted—a study of diseases affecting older women is now underway. The President signed legislation requiring that women and minorities be included in all clinical research supported by the National Institutes of Health, and the Food and Drug Administration has issued guidelines to encourage the participation of women in all phases of clinical drug development.

Focusing on Breast Cancer Research

The lifetime risk of developing breast cancer has risen from 1 in 20 to 1 in 8 in just 20 years. Funding for breast cancer research and programs has increased from approximately \$90 million in 1990 to \$600 million today. The funds span Health and Human Services and other federal agencies, including the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency. A project has begun to explore how our national investment in defense, space and other imaging-related fields may provide new technological approaches to improve the early detection of breast cancer. In 1993, the Clinton Administration convened a conference to formulate a comprehensive and coherent action plan to improve detection and treatment of breast cancer. By implementing the Mammography Quality Standards Act, the Administration has put into place comprehensive standards that ensure the quality of mammograms and the more than 10,000 mammography facilities in the U.S.

Offering Free or Low-Cost Mammography Screening to Those in Need

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's National Breast and Cervical Cancer Early Detection Program offers free or low-cost mammography screening to uninsured, low-income, elderly, minority and Native American women in 35 individual states and nine tribal organizations. More than 700,000 have been screened through May, 1995.

Researching Environmental Factors and Breast Cancer

The National Cancer Institute has funded several grants to investigate the effect of environmental and other risks contributing to the high incidence of breast cancer. The Public Health Service's Office on Women's Health has established a federal Interagency Coordinating Committee on the Environment and Women's Health that is focusing on how home, work and atmospheric pollutants, exogenous hormones and other environmental factors may contribute to the risk of breast cancer and other disorders.

Substantially Increasing Our Commitment to AIDS Funding

AIDS cases are increasing at a faster rate among women than men, and the Clinton Administration has increased resources to reach women affected by HIV/AIDS. The National Institutes of Health, which created a Women's Interagency HIV Study to identify the nature and rate of HIV disease progression in women, is requiring that women and members of minority groups be included in all National Institutes of Health-supported biomedical and behavioral research involving human subjects and has initiated a major research effort to develop female-controlled barrier methods, including vaginal compounds, to prevent HIV transmission.

Caring for Women Veterans

A series of Veterans Administration health-care initiatives has been implemented under President Clinton. The Veterans Administration has established four comprehensive health centers, four stress-disorder treatment teams, and hired many counselors to treat the after-effects of sexual harassment and assault.

Established Key New Positions and Offices for Women's Health

In addition to establishing the office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Women's Health in the Department of Health and Human Services, the President has signed legislation to mandate the establishment of the Office of Research on Women's Health at the National Institutes of Health, the Office for Women's Services at the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, and has established other offices of women's health throughout Health and Human Services, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the Food and Drug Administration.

Researching Health of Older Women

Under President Clinton, the National Institutes of Health is implementing the Women's Health Initiative, a 15-year prevention study of the health of post menopausal women. With three study components that will involve 160,000 women, the Women's Health Initiative is the largest clinical study ever undertaken in the U.S. The initiative is examining the major causes of death, disability and impaired quality of life: heart disease, cancer—especially breast and colorectal cancer—and osteoporosis. Within the next 10 years, the initiative will provide guidance on the role of diet, the risks and benefits of hormone replacement therapy, Vitamin D and calcium replacements, and changing unhealthy habits to prevent these diseases.

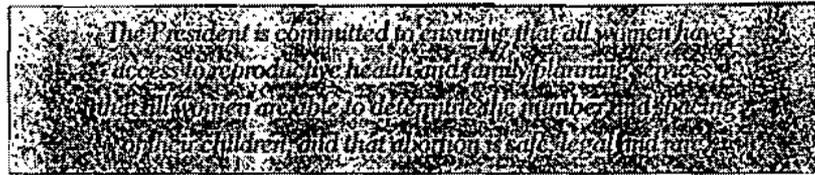
Responding to the Needs of Older Women

President Clinton established an initiative at the Department of Health and Human Services, spearheaded by the Assistant Secretary for Aging, to bring focus to issues affecting older women and their families at the grassroots level through education, technical assistance and advocacy. The major areas of focus for this effort include income security, health, care giving, housing and prevention of crime violence. The centerpiece of the initiative is the National Policy and Resource Center on Women and Aging, designed to serve as a focal point for coordinating efforts to facilitate the initiative's goals.

Fact Sheet V

Promoting Reproductive Health Services for Women

"Certain choices are too personal for politics." President Clinton and Vice President Gore



Reversed the Gag Rule

During his first week in office, President Clinton reversed the previous administration's attempts to prevent federally funded family planning clinics from providing full information on options for resolving unintended pregnancies.

Supports Reproductive Health and Family Planning

Under President Clinton, the annual budget for the Title X Family Planning Program has increased from \$173.4 million to \$193.3 million. This program is the primary federal mechanism for direct provision of reproductive health and family planning services to low-income women. It is estimated that subsidized family planning services, such as those provided through Title X, prevent more than 1 million unintended pregnancies and 500,000 abortions each year. In 1994, at the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, the United States agreed with more than 150 nations to promote reproductive health for all women and to address the threat to women's health from unsafe abortions.

Establishing Clinic Safety

President Clinton signed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act to fight the escalating violence against women and doctors at women's health clinics.

Moved Forward with Reproductive Research

President Clinton ordered that the ban on mifepristone, a drug that terminates pregnancy without surgery, be revisited. Currently, the drug is undergoing clinical trials in the U.S.

Establishing Services for Victims of Rape and Incest

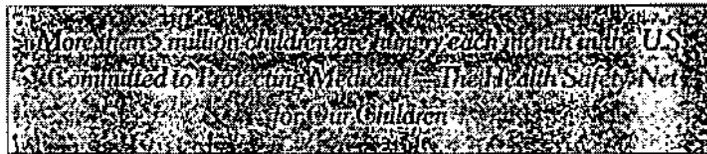
Under President Clinton, the Department of Health and Human Services implemented a congressionally ordered change to Medicaid to include abortion services for women whose pregnancies result from rape or incest, in addition to saving the life of the woman.

Fact Sheet VI

Caring for our Children

"There are certain fundamental national needs that should be addressed in every state, north and south, east and west—school lunches in all our schools, nutrition for pregnant women and infants—All these things are in the national interest."

President Clinton
1995 State of the Union



Committed to Protecting Medicaid—The Health Safety Net for Our Children

President Clinton is fighting to maintain the health care protection that Medicaid provides. Medicaid is the social safety net that makes health care possible for millions of our nation's children, children who are disabled or who suffer from chronic illness. Some in Congress are proposing to cut \$165 billion in Medicaid benefits to millions of low-income mothers and children and elderly and disabled Americans. The President is working to ensure that Medicaid is there to provide vital health care for those who cannot afford it.

Developed the Childhood Immunization Plan

President Clinton signed the Comprehensive Childhood Immunization Initiative so that children will be vaccinated against disease. The initiative makes vaccines affordable for families and improves immunization outreach. The goal is simple: 90 percent of all two year olds should be fully vaccinated by the year 2000.

Expanded Nutrition Services for Women, Infants and Children

The Clinton Administration has increased funding for the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) each year since fiscal year 1993 by a total of 18 percent. The Administration has also aggressively pursued cost containment initiatives such as infant formula rebates that have provided additional funds to handle more eligible participants. WIC works. Every \$1 invested in WIC saves up to \$4.25 in health care costs.

Launched Strategies to Reduce Teen Pregnancy

Under President Clinton's leadership, the Administration is developing new strategies to address the high rate of teen pregnancy in this country. The efforts are designed to encourage communities to build partnerships and to discover what strategies work. The Administration has supported innovative demonstration programs and expanded existing programs in communities all across the U.S.

Implementing the School Meals Initiative for Healthy Children

The Clinton Administration's School Meals Initiative for Healthy Children, an integrated comprehensive plan, improves the nutrition standards for school meals by requiring that they meet the Dietary Guidelines for Americans. This initiative also provides administrative streamlining and offers schools the implementation flexibility that best suits their program.

Protecting Women's Health by Preventing Teen Smoking

Smoking rates are alarmingly high for teenage girls. Tobacco raises a woman's risk of having cancer, heart disease, low birth weight babies, lung disease, and osteoporosis. Almost all smoking begins during the teen years, and preventing addiction during this period almost guarantees women will not smoke as adults. The Administration has launched a major, multi-pronged campaign to prevent teenagers from smoking and then becoming addicted to nicotine.

Fact Sheet VII

Generating Business and Economic Opportunities for Women

"Women entrepreneurs are a dynamic force in our nation's current economic expansion. My Administration will continue to aggressively pursue forward-looking initiatives that will foster the success of these women-owned businesses, which contribute well over \$1 trillion in receipts to our nation's economy."

President Clinton
January 29, 1996

Women-owned businesses contribute more than \$1 trillion in sales to the U.S. economy annually.

Supporting the Family-Friendly Workplace

Under President Clinton's leadership, the Department of Labor's Women's Bureau launched a nationwide initiative to improve the lives of working Americans by encouraging employers to improve working conditions for working women and families. Under the Honor Roll program, the bureau is encouraging commitments from employers to improve pay and benefits, create a family-friendly workplace and value women's work through training and advancement.

Making Working Women Count

The Department of Labor's Women's Bureau surveyed over 250,000 working women to learn more about their workplace experiences. The bureau is working to address the concerns expressed by survey participants: better pay and benefits, balancing work and family, and workplace recognition.

Increased Small Business Administration Lending to Women by 86 Percent

A significant number of women business owners must use credit cards and personal resources to maintain or finance their businesses. The Small Business Administration under President Clinton has increased the volume of loans to women by 86 percent from 1993 to 1994 alone.

Increasing Federal Procurement Contracts for Women

Supported by President Clinton, in 1994 the Federal Acquisition Streamlining Act for the first time explicitly opened up federal procurement contracts and subcontracts to women-owned businesses.

Expanding Small Business Administration's Women's Demonstration Program

Under President Clinton, the Small Business Administration added 19 centers nationwide to its Women's Demonstration Program. The women's business sites offer financial management, marketing, procurement, technical and other assistance to women to launch a business or to run one more successfully. Each site is tailored to meet the needs of the community.

Created a Forum to Address Women's Economic Issues

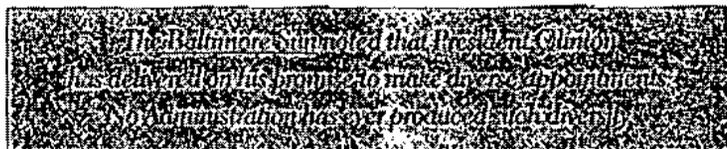
The President's Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise comprises senior officials from 10 federal agencies, ensuring that women's economic issues are addressed at the highest policy-making levels. The committee released a report showing clearly the dramatic economic impact women-owned businesses have on our nation's economy and highlighted the Clinton Administration's many pro-woman entrepreneur initiatives.

Fact Sheet VIII

Supporting Women as Partners in Decision Making

"Women are beginning to participate more fully throughout this country in the life of America. As far as I know, the sky is not falling anywhere."

President Clinton
August 26, 1995



Appointing Women throughout the Administration

More than 40 percent of the President's appointees are women, by far the highest percentage of any Administration.

- Six women hold Cabinet-level posts, the highest ever.
- The President has appointed the first woman to serve as deputy chief of staff.
- The President has appointed women for the first time to such positions as: Attorney General, Chair of the Council of Economic Advisors, Secretary of Energy and Office of Management and Budget Director.
- The President has appointed women to positions held traditionally by men: Chief Scientist at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; and Deputy Director at the National Science Foundation.
- Nearly 60 percent of the President's judicial nominees are women and minorities, the highest proportion ever.
- The President nominated a woman to the Supreme Court, only the second president to have done so.
- Two out of the three policy-making councils in the White House are headed by women.

Providing Expanded Opportunities for Women in the Military

The Clinton Administration has opened nearly 260,000 positions previously not open to women who wish to serve in the military.

Convened White House Conference on Aging

President Clinton convened a White House Conference on Aging which provided specific recommendations for improving the lives of older women. These recommendations will be incorporated into the final report of the Conference which will be presented to the President and Congress for legislative and administrative action.

Created Interagency Council on Women

The President established an intragovernmental body to bring home the agreements reached at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women to benefit American women and their families. Housed at the White House, the President's Interagency Council is charged with coordinating the implementation of the Conference Platform for Action and reaching out to America's non-governmental organizations to work for successful implementation.

Making Sure Women Are Heard

The White House Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach was created by the President to ensure that his Administration better serves and listens to women. It serves as the primary liaison between the White House and women's organizations, listening to women's concerns and proposals and bringing these ideas to the President and others in the Administration. The office's main initiative, *At the Table*, is bringing hundreds of women to discussion tables, enabling them to get their thoughts and opinions heard by the President and others in the Administration.