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PRESIDENT CLINTON:
LEADING AMERICA INTO THE 21st CENTURY

"The spirit we bring to our work makes all the difference. We must be committed to the pursuit of opportunity for all Americans, responsibility from all Americans, in a community of all Americans. And we must be committed to a new kind of government -- not to solve all our problems for us, but to give our people -- all our people -- the tools they need to make the most of their own lives."

President Bill Clinton
1997 State of the Union Address

In the last five years President Clinton and Vice President Gore have led America in preparing for the 21st Century with a new vision of government -- a government that does not attempt to do everything, nor a government that withdraws to the sidelines.

ECONOMY: The Strongest Economy In A Generation. Under the President's leadership: unemployment has fallen to its lowest levels in 24 years; more than 14 million new jobs have been created; welfare rolls have dropped by a record 3.8 million people; typical family income is up $2,169; and the deficit has been cut by more than 90 percent. Seizing this unique moment of prosperity, President Clinton is proposing <u>the first balanced budget in a generation</u>, after inheriting a record $290 billion deficit in 1992.

EDUCATION: Largest Investment In Education In 30 Years. The President's policies are expanding access to and enhancing the quality of education for all Americans by: creating $1500 HOPE Scholarship credits -- making 13th and 14th grades as universal as high school; providing tuition tax credits, education IRAs and the largest increase in Pell Grants in 20 years to help make college and life time learning more affordable; supporting America Reads and National Education Standards -- to improve the quality of American education and help achieve the goal of enabling every child to read by 4th grade and meet math standards by 8th grade.

FAMILIES: Strengthening America's Working Families. The President is giving American families the tools they need to make the most of their opportunities: tax cuts for 15 million working families through the expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit; $500 per-child tax credits for 27 million families; increased minimum wage, helping 10 million Americans; Family Medical Leave, allowing workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for family members without fear of losing their jobs; Adoption and Safe Families Act, helping thousands of children waiting in foster care to move more quickly into safe and permanent homes; support for the v-chip, school uniforms, and appropriate religious expression in public schools to promote family values.

CRIME AND DRUGS: Longest Period of Decline in Violent Crime In 25 Years. The President's strategy for fighting crime and drugs is building a safer America for our children. Already, more than 70,000 new police officers have been funded in cities across America as part of the President's Crime Bill; 19 of the deadliest assault weapons and their copies have been banned; 300,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have been denied guns since the President signed the Brady Bill into law; and a comprehensive anti-drug strategy, including a $195 million anti-drug youth media campaign has been enacted that is helping drive drug use down.

HEALTH CARE: Increasing Access For Millions Of Americans. The President has worked to ensure affordable, accessible, quality health care for all Americans by: enacting the single largest investment in health care for children since 1965, providing health care for up to five million children; protecting Medicare and extending the Medicare trust fund for at least a decade while offering new options for patient choice and preventive care; signing the Kassebaum/Kennedy Health Care Bill, limiting exclusions for pre-existing conditions, making coverage portable and helping individuals who lose jobs maintain coverage.

AN ACTIVE AGENDA FOR THE YEAR AHEAD. In the weeks ahead , President Clinton will use his State of the Union address and the roll out of his balanced budget proposal to give us a concrete action plan for the year -- continuing his work to prepare America for the 21st century by providing opportunity for those who are willing to take responsibility, and marshaling the forces of all sectors of society to work together to meet our challenges.

PRESIDENT CLINTON:
AN AGENDA AND VISION FOR THE 21st CENTURY

February 12, 1998

"Together, we have shaped a new kind of government for a new era -- leaner, more flexible, a catalyst for new ideas. But most of all, a government that gives the American people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives. The smallest government in 35 years, but a more progressive one. A smaller government, but a stronger nation."

President Bill Clinton
February 12, 1998

Today, President Clinton meets with Congressional Democrats to outline legislative goals for strengthening American families. This agenda presents a legislative road map to maintaining the strong economy we currently enjoy and addressing the concerns families wrestle with every day: preparing for retirement, educating children and raising them in safe neighborhoods, and having access to quality health care.

The legislative agenda presented today addresses real problems affecting Americans. It commits to:

Balancing The budget And Saving Social Security First. By passing a balanced budget three years ahead of schedule, we will be able to eliminate the deficit and pay for every proposal in the President's budget while reserving the surplus until we strengthen Social Security.

Reducing Average Class Size And Modernizing Schools. The President's proposed budget reduces average class size to 18 students per classroom for the first through third grades by helping local communities hire 100,000 new teachers with certified skills to teach basic reading and math.

Establishing A patients' Bill Of Rights. The President is calling for legislation that assures patients high quality health care by guaranteeing important protections such as access to the specialists they need, coverage for emergency services, an internal and external appeals process, confidentiality, and patient participation in medical decisions.

Extending Medicare. The President will work to give one of America's most vulnerable and difficult to insure populations new options for obtaining adequate, affordable health care coverage. The President's targeted Medicare proposal extends new security to millions of people by enabling Americans ages 62 to 65 and displaced workers ages 55 to 65 to purchase Medicare health coverage and enabling retired workers ages 55 to 65 to buy coverage if their former employer drops their coverage.

Raising The Minimum Wage. Recognizing the value of work, the President is calling for an
increase in min wage to give millions of hardworking Americans a pay raise.

SUNTUM_M @ A1
03/10/98 01:40:00 PM

Record Type: Record

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

cc:
Subject: 1998-03/10 POTUS remarks in Bridgeport, Connecticut

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Westport, Connecticut)

For Immediate Release March 10, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE BRIDGEPORT COMMUNITY

Housatonic Community Technical College
Bridgeport, Connecticut

11:30 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. First of all, I think Pamela did a terrific job with her speech. And secondly, when Anthony stood up, I thought to myself, in a few years Congressman Shays will be retiring and I -- (laughter) -- may be looking at his successor right there. He was great. (Applause.) I love it. Senator Dodd, you might want to hire him as a consultant this year. (Laughter.)

Mr. Mayor, I'm delighted to be back in Bridgeport with you and Jennifer and

2-3
first of all, because of the extraordinary leadership for children and especially on the child care center issue -- child care issue, Senator Dodd, along with the members of your House delegation who are here, who have been terrific on this issue. And second, because what I see here today is what I believe every child in America needs, and it's important that we graphically

demonstrate to the country that with so many parents in the work force are going back to school, there is a crying unmet need which the Mayor graphically and numerically demonstrated in his remarks just here in Bridgeport, all over the country for the kind of high-quality child that you offer here.

Today we have to make a commitment to extend that option to every family in America that needs it. I want to talk about what we in the federal government can do on our own to improve child care at federal centers, but most importantly, I want to talk about what Congress should do in the next 70 days to help every working family give their children the kind of child care we see here.

As has been said already, these are good times for America. We have 15 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in 24 years, the lowest inflation rate in 30 years, the highest home ownership rate in history, the lowest welfare rolls

in 27 years, the lowest crime rate in 24 years. And I'm proud of it. (Applause.) These numbers

Message Sent To: ______________________________

SUNTUM_M @ A1
03/06/98 02:33:00 PM

Record Type: Record

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

cc:
Subject: EMBARGOED TRANSCRIPT of 3/7/98 President's radio address

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed For Release
Until 10:06 A.M.
Saturday, March 7, 1998

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Since I took office I've done everything in my power to protect our children from harm. We've worked to make their streets and their schools safer, to give them something positive to do after school and before their parents get home. We've worked to teach our children that drugs are dangerous, illegal and wrong. This week, we took a major step to protect our children, indeed, all Americans from the dangers of drunk driving by proposing bipartisan legislation to lower the legal limit to .08 in every state.

Today, I want to talk to you about the historic opportunity we now have to protect our nation's children from an even more deadly threat: smoking. Smoking kills mores people every day than AIDS, alcohol, car accidents, murders, suicides, drugs and fires combined. Nearly 90 percent of those smokers lit their first cigarette before they turned 18.

Today, the epidemic of teen smoking is raging throughout our nation as, one by one, our children are lured by multimillion dollar marketing schemes designed to do exactly that. Consider this: 3,000 children start to smoke every day illegally, and 1,000 of them will die sooner because of it.

This is a national tragedy that every American should be honor-bound to help prevent. For more than five years we've worked to stop our children from smoking before they start, launching a nationwide campaign with the FDA to educate them about the dangers of smoking, to reduce their access to tobacco products, and to severely restrict tobacco companies from advertising to young people.

But even this is not enough to fully protect our children. To put an end to the epidemic, Congress must act. Last fall, I called on Congress to put aside politics and pass comprehensive bipartisan legislation to reduce teen smoking by raising the price of cigarettes by up to $1.50 a pack over the next 10 years, imposing strong penalties if the tobacco industry keeps selling cigarettes to our children, affirming the FDA's full authority to regulate tobacco, to prevent children's access to tobacco products, and to restrict tobacco ads aimed at young people, so that our children can't fall prey to the deadly threat of tobacco.

Now, we learned last month that if we do this, we'll cut teen smoking by almost half over the next five years. That means if we act now, we have it in our power to stop 3 million children from smoking -- and to save a million lives as a result.

Today there are as few as 70 working days left before this Congress adjourns. On every one of those days, 1,000 adults will die from smoking. On every one of those days, 3,000 children will light their first cigarettes. On every one of those days, this Congress has the opportunity to stop it.

Will this Congress be remembered for putting politics aside and protecting our children from tobacco -- or for letting the public health opportunity of a lifetime pass us by? There will be no greater measure of your commitment to the health of our children or the future of our nation.

Thanks for listening.

END

Message Sent To: ____

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PROPOSAL:
CHILD CARE THAT STRENGTHENS AMERICAN FAMILIES

"I am proud to propose the single largest child care investment in the history of our nation. It is a comprehensive and fiscally-responsible plan to make child care more affordable and accessible, to raise the quality and assure the safety of care for millions of American families. This is an issue that touches nearly every family, one that should rise above politics and partisan interests."

President Bill Clinton
January 7, 1998

President Clinton announced an historic initiative to improve child care for America's working families. The initiative proposes $21.7 billion over five years for child care, to **help working families pay for child care, build a good supply of after-school programs, improve the safety and quality of care, and promote early learning.**

Ensuring affordable, accessible, safe child care. The President's child care initiative responds to the struggles our nation's working parents face in finding child care they can afford, trust and rely on. The new initiative:

- **Makes child care more affordable for working families.** To help working families struggling to meet the costs of child care, the initiative invests $7.5 billion over five years to double the number of children receiving child care subsidies to more than two million by the year 2003. The initiative also invests $5.2 billion over five years to increase tax credits for child care for three million families and provides a new tax credit for businesses that offer child care services to their employees.

- **Increases access to and promotes early learning and healthy child development.** To improve early learning, the initiative includes $3 billion over five years to establish an Early Learning Fund that helps local communities improve the quality and safety of child care for children ages zero to five. The initiative also increases investment in Head Start and doubles the number of children served by Early Head Start to 80,000.

- **Improves the safety and quality of child care.** To help ensure safe, quality child care, the initiative: steps up enforcement of state health and safety standards in child care settings, facilitates background checks on child care providers, increases scholarships and training for child care providers, and invests in child care research and evaluation.

- **Expands access to safe after-school care.** To help create safe, positive learning environments for American school-age children who lack adult supervision during a typical week, the initiative increases the 21st Century Learning Center Program by $800 million over five years to provide after-school care for up to half a million children a year. The initiative will also improve coordination of federal after-school initiatives to help communities.

Child Care Block Grant Increase	$7.5 billion over five years
Child and Dependent Tax Credit Reform	$5.2 billion over five years
Tax Credit for Businesses	$500 million over five years
After-School Program	$800 million over five years
Early Learning Fund	$3.0 billion over five years

Head Start Increase	$3.8 billion over five years
Standards Enforcement Fund	$500 million over five years
Child Care Provider Scholarship Fund	$250 million over five years
Research and Evaluation Fund	$150 million over five years

TOTAL: $21.7 billion over five years

EXPANDING THE FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT TO HELP FAMILIES BALANCE WORK AND FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

January 27, 1998

In the new economy, most parents work harder than ever. They face a constant struggle balance their obligations to be good workers -- and their even more important obligations t good parents. The Family and Medical Leave Act was the very first bill I was privileged to into law as President in 1993. Since then, about 15 million people have taken advantage and I've met a lot of them all across this country. I ask you to extend that law to cover 1 million more workers, and to give parents time off when they have to go see their children teachers or take them to the doctor.

--President Bill Clinton
State of the Union Address, 1/27/98

In his State of the Union Address, President Clinton called on Congress to extend the benefits of the Family and Medical Leave Act -- the first piece of legislation that the President signed into law -- to ten million more American workers.

BIPARTISAN REPORT SHOWS THE LAW IS WORKING. Since 1993, the Family and Medical Leave Act has enabled at least fifteen million American workers at businesses with 50 or more employees to take up to twelve weeks unpaid, job-protected leave to care for a newborn or adopted child, to attend to their own serious health needs, or to care for a seriously ill parent, child or spouse. The bipartisan Commission on Leave -- chaired by Senators Craig and Dodd -- reported that the law is working:

- **67 million Americans -- over half of all workers -- are now guaranteed they can take leave** from their job to care for a sick relative or a newborn child without fear of losing their job or health insurance.
- **At least fifteen million Americans have benefited from the law since its enactment.**
- **40% of all workers think they will need to take leave** for a covered reason at some time in the next five years.
- **Despite its opponents' claims, compliance is easy and costs are low for most employers now covered by the law:**
    - **Nine out of ten employers find the law "very" or "somewhat" easy to administer.**
    - **Compliance entails either little or no costs for 89%-99% of businesses.**
    - **Smaller covered worksites found it easier to comply than larger sites.**
- **Some businesses have reported reduced employee turnover, enhanced**

productivity and improved morale which they attribute to the Act.

NOW IS THE TIME TO EXPAND THE LAW TO COVER MORE WORKERS AND BETTER HELP WORKERS CARE FOR THEIR CHILDREN AND PARENTS. The President believes that it is time to expand the benefits of the law. He is urging the Congress to:

- **Enable workers at businesses with 25 or more workers to take unpaid, job-proctected leave** -- current law covers businesses of 50 or more employees. Lowering the employer coverage threshold from 50 to 25 workers will enable up to ten million more Americans to take up to twelve weeks unpaid, job-protected leave to care for a newborn or adopted child, to attend to their own serious health needs, or to care for a seriously ill parent, child or spouse.

- ***Allow workers to take up to 24 hours of additional leave each year to meet* specified family obligations**, including routine doctors appointments and parent-teacher conferences. Leave could be taken to: (1) participate in school activities, such as parent-teacher conferences; (2) accompany your child to routine dental or medical appointments; and (3) accompany an elderly relative to routine medical appointments or other professional services.

Nicole R. Rabner

01/29/98 05:35:38 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Christine N. Macy/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Fact Sheet: Reducing Class Size

A NATIONAL EFFORT TO REDUCE CLASS SIZE: SMALLER CLASSES WITH QUALIFIED TEACHERS

January 26, 1998

REDUCING CLASS SIZE IN GRADES 1-3 TO NATIONWIDE AVERAGE OF 18. In his State of the Union address, President Clinton will propose a $12 billion initiative over 7 years ($7.3 billion over 5 years) to help local schools provide small classes with qualified teachers in the early grades. This will help make sure that every child receives personal attention, gets a solid foundation for further learning, and learns to read independently by the end of third grade. The new initiative would reduce class size in grades 1-3 to a nationwide average of 18, by providing funds to help local school districts hire and pay the salaries of an additional 100,000 teachers. States would receive funds for teacher training, and new teachers would be required to pass state competency tests.

Small Classes Make a Difference. Studies confirm what parents and teachers know from experience--small classes promote effective teaching and learning. In a landmark four-year experimental study of class-size reduction in grades kindergarten through 3 in Tennessee, researchers found that students in smaller classes earned significantly higher scores on basic skills tests in all four years and in all types of schools. The effects of smaller classes were largest for students in inner-city classes. Follow-up studies have shown that these achievement gains continued after the students returned to regular-size classes after third grade. Teachers in the study reported that they preferred small classes in order to better identify student needs, provide more individual attention, and cover more material effectively.

A Competent Teacher in Every Classroom. To master the basics and learn to read well, students need teachers who are qualified to teach. President Clinton's class size reduction initiative would help provide qualified teachers in grades 1-3 by:

> **Requiring State Basic Skills Testing for New Teachers:** States would be required to implement basic skills testing for new teachers, to ensure parents that new teachers have basic reading and math skills. Each state would select the tests it determines are most

appropriate for this purpose. Most states have such tests. Participating states and school districts would also be required to ensure that individuals hired to fill these new positions be either fully certified or making satisfactory progress toward full certification. School districts could use funds to provide teachers with the additional training needed to meet certification requirements.

Providing Funds for Teacher Training and Testing: 10% of the funds in this initiative can be used to promote high quality teaching by (1) training teachers in proven practices for teaching reading and in effective practices in small classes; (2) providing mentors or other support for newly hired teachers; (3) providing incentives to recruit qualified teachers to high poverty schools; and (4) testing new teachers before they are hired and developing more rigorous tests for beginning teachers.

Encouraging States to Adopt Rigorous Professional Tests and Upgrade Teacher Certification Requirements. Teachers should be able to demonstrate that they know the subject to be taught and have the necessary knowledge and skills to help their students reach challenging state academic standards. States would be encouraged to use a portion of their funds to toughen teacher certification requirements and to require new teachers to demonstrate competence. For example, states could use these funds to develop rigorous tests of subject matter expertise and professional knowledge that prospective teachers would be required to pass before they start teaching.

Holding Schools Accountable for Results. School districts receiving these funds would be required to show that each school is making measurable progress in improving reading achievement within three years, or take necessary corrective actions -- such as providing additional teacher training, revising the curriculum, or implementing proven practices for teaching reading. School districts could lose funding if there were no subsequent improvement in reading achievement in those schools. School districts would also be required to publish an annual school report card, providing parents and taxpayers with clear information on student achievement, class size, and teacher qualifications.

Targeting Funding. Funds for the President's class size reduction initiative would be distributed to states on the basis of the Title 1 formula. Within the state, each high-poverty school district would receive the same share of these funds as it received under Title 1, and the remaining funds would be distributed within the state based on class size. Matching funds would be required from participating school districts, on a sliding scale ranging from 10-50%, with high-poverty districts contributing the least. Once a state has reached an average class size of 18 in grades 1-3, it could use these funds to further reduce class size in the early grades, or it could extend its efforts to other grades.

Providing Facilities for Additional Classrooms. In order to help school systems meet the need for additional classroom space, the President is (1) proposing a $10 billion school modernization initiative over 10 years, that would provide incentives for communities to invest in local school facilities by leveraging $22 billion in bonds during 1999-2000; (2) ensuring that changes to facilities in order to accommodate class size reductions are an allowable use of school modernization funds; (3) allowing for phased-in implementation of class size initiative to enhance state/local planning.

Building on Successful Reforms in Arkansas. As part of his comprehensive education reforms while Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton reduced class size in Arkansas to 20 in kindergarten and 23 in grades 1 through 3. His 1983 education reform plan also included a statewide intensive training program for elementary teachers and principals to improve teaching of reading, as well as basic skills testing for new teachers and basic skills and subject matter testing for experienced teachers.

Message Sent To: ____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY

TO Laura Schiller

FROM Neera

FAX # 6244

PHONE #

OF PAGES (including cover) 2

COMMENTS Mrs. Clinton's comments

The Clinton Administration has a Record of Support for Stay-at-Home Parents

Call Laura Schiller

President Clinton has a record of providing real choices and opportunities for parents, both who stay at home and work.

- A $500 per child tax credit for families with children (Christian Coalition supported this tax credit precisely because it helps stay-at-home parents);
- The Earned Income Tax Credit that gives 15 million working families tax relief;
- Increases in the minimum wage; and
- The Family and Medical Leave Act.

Use this in HRC remarks Per HRC

President Clinton is committed to helping parents make the choices that are right for their families, whether that means working or staying home to care for their children.

As part of his child care initiative, the President will announce tomorrow two initiatives that will help stay-at-home parents:

- An Early Learning Fund, which provides challenge grants to communities to support local initiatives to improve early learning and the quality and safety of child care for children ages zero to five. The Early Learning Fund will help both stay-at-home parents and working parents because it pays for home visitation and other parent education programs.
- Demonstration projects in states and communities to test policies to help new parents who choose to stay home to care for their newborns or newly adopted children.

PRESIDENT CLINTON ANNOUNCES CHILD CARE INITIATIVE
January 7, 1998

President Clinton today announced an historic initiative to improve child care for America's working families. The President's FY 1999 budget will include **approximately $20 billion over five years for child care, the largest single investment in child care in the nation's history.** President Clinton's initiative responds to the struggles our nation's working parents face in finding child care that they can afford, trust, and rely on. The President's proposal will help working families pay for child care, build the supply of good after-school programs, improve the safety and quality of care, and promote early learning.

- **Doubles the number of children receiving child care subsidies** to more than two million by the year 2003 by increasing funding for the Child Care and Development Block Grant by $7.5 billion over 5 years.

- **Increases tax credits for three million working families to help them pay for child care** by investing $5.2 billion over 5 years in the Child and Dependent Tax Credit. The President's proposal also provides a new tax credit for businesses that offer child care services for their employees.

- **Provides after-school care for up to half a million children per year** by expanding the 21st Century Community Learning Center program by $800 million over 5 years to provide funds to school-community partnerships to establish or expand programs for school-age children.

- **Improves child care safety and quality and enhances early childhood development** by establishing a new Early Learning Fund as well as supporting enforcement of state child care health and safety standards, providing scholarships to up to 50,000 child care providers per year, and investing in research and consumer education.

Child Care Block Grant Increase	$7.5 billion over five years
Child and Dependent Tax Credit Reform	$5.2 billion over five years
Tax Credit for Businesses	$500 million over five years
After-School Program	$800 million over five years
Early Learning Fund	$3 billion over five years
Head Start Increase	$3.8 billion over five years
Standards Enforcement Fund	$500 million over five years

Child Care Provider Scholarship Fund $250 million over five years
Research and Evaluation Fund $150 million over five years

TOTAL: $21.7 billion over five years

Makes Child Care More Affordable for Working Families

Doubles the Number of Children Receiving Child Care Subsidies to More than Two Million. The President proposes to expand the Child Care and Development Block Grant to help working families struggling to meet the costs of child care. This block grant is the primary federal subsidy program to pay for child care, enabling low-income parents to work. Funds are distributed by formula to the states to operate direct child care subsidy programs, as well as to improve the quality and availability of care. The President's initiative will more than double the number of children served from the one million served in FY 95 (the latest year for which data are available). The President's budget will increase funding for the block grant by $7.5 billion (with a match) over five years, which will enable states to provide subsidies for more than two million children by 2003.

Increases Tax Credits for Child Care for Three Million Working Families. The Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit provides tax relief to taxpayers who pay for the care of a child under 13 or a disabled dependent or spouse in order to work. The credit is equal to a percentage of the taxpayer's employment-related expenditures for child or dependent care, with the amount of the credit depending on the taxpayer's income. The President's proposal increases the credit for families earning under $60,000, providing an additional average tax cut of $358 for these families and eliminating income tax liability for almost all families with incomes below 200% of poverty ($35,000 for a family of four) that take the maximum allowable child care expenses under the law. The President's budget will include $5.2 billion over five years to expand the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit for three million working families.

Provides New Business Tax Credits. The child care initiative includes a tax credit to businesses that provide child care services for their employees, by building or expanding child care facilities, operating existing facilities, training child care workers, or providing child care resources and referral services to employees. The credit covers 25% of qualified costs, but may not exceed $150,000 per year. The President's budget will include approximately $500 million over five years for these tax credits.

Promotes Early Learning and Healthy Child Development

Promotes Early Learning. Research shows that children's experiences in the earliest years are critical to their development and future success. The President's proposed Early Learning Fund provides challenge grants to communities (distributed by states) to support programs to improve early learning and the quality and safety of child care for children ages zero to five. Funds may be used for the following activities: providing basic training to child care providers (including first aid and CPR); connecting individual child care providers to centers for education and support; assisting child care providers to meet accreditation and licensing requirements; linking child care providers with health professionals; reducing group sizes and child-to-staff ratios; and providing home visits, parent education, and consumer education about child care. The President's Early Learning Fund builds on state initiatives such as North Carolina's Smart Start, which helps North Carolina's children enter school healthy and ready to succeed. Smart Start funds a broad variety of local efforts, including improving staff-to-child ratios, health linkages that have raised immunization rates, and parent education and mentoring programs to give new parents support. The President's budget will include $3 billion over five years for this fund.

Increases Investment in Head Start and Doubles the Number of Children Served by Early Head Start. Head Start provides early, continuous and comprehensive child development and family support services, preparing children for a lifetime of learning and development. The President is committed to reauthorize Head Start and reach one million children by 2002. The President's budget will invest $3.8 billion over five years to keep on track his commitment to serving one million children by 2002, and to double the number of infants and toddlers in Early Head Start to 80,000.

Improves the Quality of Child Care

Steps Up Enforcement of State Health and Safety Standards. Building on the military's model child care program, this proposed initiative will fund state efforts to improve licensing systems and enforce child care health and safety standards, including by increasing unannounced inspections of child care settings. The President's budget will include $500 million over five years for this program.

Facilitates Background Checks on Child Care Providers. On the day of the White House Conference on Child Care, the President transmitted to Congress the National Crime Prevention and Privacy Compact, which will facilitate effective background checks on child care providers by eliminating state law barriers to sharing criminal history information for non-criminal purposes. Although the vast majority of child care providers are dedicated to the teaching and nurturing of children, one tragedy in child care is too many. Background checks are an important way to ensure that the people watching our children are fit for this responsibility.

Increases Scholarships and Training for Child Care Providers. At the White House Conference on Child Care, the President proposed establishing a Child Care Provider Scholarship Fund to enable states to provide scholarship funds to students working toward a child care credential. Eligible child care workers must commit to remaining in the field for at least one year for each year of assistance received and will earn increased compensation or bonuses when they complete their course work. The President proposed a federal investment of $250 million over five years, which will support 50,000 scholarships per year. The President is also proposing to expand the Department of Labor's Child Care Apprenticeship Program to fund the training of child care providers.

Invests in Research. *Because too little is known about our child care system,* the President's budget will increase support for data, research, and evaluation. This research fund will also support a National Center on Child Care Statistics and a child care hotline that parents can call to get information about how to find child care in their communities and how to identify appropriate, quality care for their children. In addition, the research fund will support demonstration projects to test approaches to help new parents who choose to stay home to care for their newborns or newly adopted children. The President's budget will include $150 million over five years for this fund.

Expands and Streamlines After-School Care

An estimated five million school-age children spend time as "latchkey kids" without adult supervision during a typical week. Research indicates that during these unsupervised hours children are more likely to engage in at-risk behavior, such as crime, drugs, and alcohol use. To meet this pressing demand, the President is proposing a dramatic expansion of after-school care.

Provides After-School Care for up to Half a Million Children a Year. The President proposes a dramatic expansion of the 21st Century Community Learning Center Program to provide start-up funds (with a local match) to school-community partnerships to establish or expand before- and after-school programs for school-age children. The program increases the supply of after-school care in a cost-effective manner primarily by funding programs that use public schools and their existing resources, such as computers, gymnasiums, and sports equipment. The program also includes a set aside to fund programs run by community organizations. The President's budget will request $800 million of entirely new money for this program, for a total of $1 billion over five years.

Improves Coordination of Federal After-School Initiatives to Help Communities

Make Best Use of Existing Resources. The President will put in place a collaborative effort involving numerous federal agencies to eliminate duplication and better coordinate federal funding for after-school programs in three to five pilot cities, including the District of Columbia.

Robert J. Samuelson

'Investing' in Our Children

President Clinton repeatedly says that, as a society, we need to "invest" in the future and especially in our children. This is understandably popular. As a people, Americans rightly feel ashamed that a nation so rich still has so many poor children. And most parents constantly worry about their children's futures.

The president's rhetoric reaches these anxieties, which may be one reason why his latest personal scandal hasn't yet dented his approval ratings. He seems to care about things that matter. The trouble is that the rhetoric, though appealing, isn't believable.

It is not that government can do no good for children. It has improved their material well-being. Poor children almost certainly live better today in terms of housing, health care, diets and schooling than ever before. This may seem hard to believe, given the high official poverty rate for children: 21 percent in 1996. But this familiar statistic is misleading, because it counts only people's cash income and ignores food stamps, Medicaid and other noncash government support. These reduce poverty by a third, to 14 percent.

The President's Council of Economic Advisers recently reviewed studies of children's well-being and found steady gains. Less than 2 percent of children go hungry in a year because their families can't afford food. Children from families below the poverty line are visiting doctors more often; for those in "fair or poor health," the average number of visits rose from 11 a year in the late 1980s to 14 in the mid-1990s. Housing has improved. In 1978, about 9 percent of children lived in crowded housing (more than one person per room); by the 1990s, this was 6 percent.

But these material gains have not prevented social breakdown: neighborhoods with too much crime, an explosion of single-parent families, the glorification of instant gratification. Government hasn't generally done what Clinton thinks it ought to do. It has not been able to "invest," in the sense

Government programs can't undo most of the ill effects of family breakdown.

that what's spent today will make poor recipients more productive, self-reliant and responsible people tomorrow. The latest evidence of this comes from the Comprehensive Child Development Program (CCDP).

Created by Congress in 1988, the CCDP was modeled after a Chicago program called the Beethoven project. The idea was to provide intensive social services to poor mothers for the first five years of their children's lives. They would get everything from parenting classes to job training to drug counseling. This would make them more competent parents; their children would benefit. The federal program was intended as a demonstration to see whether this approach could work nationally. By taking programs shown to work on a small scale—so it was said—and making them widely available, the plan responded to complaints by children's advocates that government had never seriously attacked child poverty.

Under the CCDP, young mothers received home visits every two weeks from "case managers," who taught parenting skills, advised on personal problems and identified useful government services. About 4,400 families were enrolled in the study. Half received the extra counseling; half (the "control" group) didn't. All were below the government's poverty line; 58 percent were single mothers; 51 percent had not finished high school; 35 percent had had their first child before 18. Annual spending was high: $15,768 per family. This amount (equal to or greater than their cash income) covered only the extra counseling. It excluded other government payments—for welfare, food stamps, Medicaid—that families also received.

And the result? Here's what Abt Associates, a research firm, concluded: "CCDP did not produce any important positive effects on participating families." Many mothers did make progress. Some went to school. Some got jobs. Probably many became better parents. But the same progress—or lack of it—occurred among the control group that didn't get extra counseling.

The similarities are stunning. After five years, 40 percent of the mothers in the program had jobs; so did 41 percent of the mothers in the control group. Their weekly wages ($245 and $239) were almost identical. Similarly, 68 percent of families in both groups received food stamps. The results for children were also the same. At the age of 5, the children in the program scored 81.1 on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test; children not in the program scored 81.0. Children in both groups visited doctors at the same rate; there were no differences in behavioral problems.

To use Clinton's language: the return on this investment for society was zero. It was a waste of money. This does not mean that the experiment was a mistake. Demonstration projects aim to show what works and what doesn't. The theory behind the program seemed humane and workable. The experiment cost $326 million over nine years. It is now being discontinued. Perhaps we have saved ourselves billions. But the broad results also suggest two obvious lessons about the rhetoric of "investing."

The first is that what people do for themselves matters more than what government tries to do for them. Government should provide social services and income support for the desperately poor. But these are more expressions of collective decency than "investments." And there is a dilemma. A society that is too free with its decency will promote dependency. It will induce those who could do for themselves to let someone else do for them.

The second lesson is that the "investments" that truly count for children come from parents: love and security, discipline and instruction, a sense of worth. Being rich is no guarantee that parents will provide these; being poor is no indicator that they won't. But large federal programs, whatever their benefits, can't undo parental failure. Nor can they offset the ill effects of family breakdown. To think otherwise sanctions the behaviors that put children at risk.

If society can "invest" its way out of social problems, then individuals are relieved of responsibility. Marriage loses its social value. Young men can father and abandon children. Mothers and fathers can easily leave troubled marriages. Americans once embraced a moral code that had strong taboos against these behaviors. Though often violated, the taboos imposed useful restraints. Perhaps we need old morality more than new investment.

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Wednesday, February 18, 1998

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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1998

Michael Kelly

Would You Believe He's a Victim?

Much in the discussion of whatever transpired between Monica Lewinsky and Bill Clinton has been repulsive, but the performance of the president's defenders on "Meet the Press" last Sunday was a benchmark.

The height of the performance came when Tim Russert asked Arkansas columnist and Clinton apologist Gene Lyons this question: "Do you believe that the amount of circumstantial evidence that has been produced thus far—37 visits from Monica Lewinsky to the White House after she left, gifts being sent in, recordings on her home answering machine from the president, job offers at the United Nations, a job at the Pentagon, Revlon company, at American Express—does that create, in your mind, some concern that there may have been an inappropriate relationship between the president and Monica Lewinsky?"

Lyons admitted that no one would believe him if he claimed the evidence did not raise such a concern. With that wisp of a demurral out of the way, he went on to posit an alternative reading of the evidence: "a totally innocent relationship in which the president was, in a sense, the victim of someone rather like the woman who followed David Letterman around."

He added: "There's no evidence that I've seen so far that would indicate anything else. If you take someone like the president, who a lot of women would find attractive if he came to fix their garbage disposal, and you make him the president of the United States, the Alpha male of the United States of America, and you sexualize his image with a lot of smears and false accusations so that people think he's Tom Jones or Rod Stewart, then a certain irreducible number of women are going to act batty around him. And I'm not talking about her personally; I'm saying that's a prediction. And so there's every possibility, with what we've seen, that this could be an entirely innocent affair."

So, there you have the latest variation of what the president's spin 'n' smear artists like to call an "alternative narrative" in the Lewinsky matter. The president is a victim of Monica the Stalker (not that Lyons was talking about Lewinsky "personally"; no, no, as the clever man was careful to say, we're just musing out loud here about "predictions"). Well, of course it makes perfect sense. She's a woman, isn't she? And Clinton is a man, isn't he? And he's not any man, but the sort of man "a lot of women would find attractive if he came to fix their garbage disposal." And we know what women do with hunky garbage-disposal repairmen, don't we, boys? Of course, we do; Penthouse tells us. What's more, Clinton is not, in fact, a lowly repairman of household appliances. Why, he's "the Alpha male of the United States of America," in the presence of whom "a certain irreducible number of women are going to act batty" and fall deluded to long-running, highly detailed fantasies in which they are obliged to perform hurried, loveless acts of sexual service upon His Alphaship, and are then cast aside. Again, as every Penthouse reader knows, the stuff of every schoolgirl's dreams.

> **"What's a president to do with a stalker but give her gifts, find her a lawyer and advance her career?"**

The poor man. The poor *victim*. My God, how he must have suffered. Stalked through the halls of his own home, and nowhere to turn for protection. Nothing standing between him and a 21-year-old stalker armed with—well never mind what she was armed with. Nothing except for his wife, his chief of staff, his deputy chief of staff, his secretary, his personal assistant, his special assistants, his National Security Council, his Marine guard, three dozen or so Secret Service agents and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. What's a president to do with a stalker but give her gifts, find her a lawyer and advance her career?

The president has offered, sequentially, three reasons why he cannot himself say what happened: that he had to gather the facts; that he could not speak because of the rules of the courts; and that he dare not speak for fear that Ken Starr would twist his words against him. None of these arguments makes sense if Clinton's relationship with Lewinsky was, as Gene Lyons put it, "a totally innocent affair." They all make sense, though, if Clinton needs time to see what all the evidence against him is before he presents the official alternative narrative.

Leon Panetta, Clinton's former White House chief of staff, said this weekend that the president "at some point . . . has got to tell the American people the truth of what was behind this relationship." Some point is now. By allowing his apparatchiks to continue to float "predictions" and lies and smears on his behalf, Clinton not only debases himself, he debases the presidency. If there is a true alternative narrative, the president must present it, before more damage is done.

Michael Kelly is a senior writer for National Journal.

Party Rallies Around the President

Hill Democrats Supportive as Clinton Proposes Minimum Wage Hike

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton called on Congress yesterday to raise the federal minimum wage by $1 an hour over the next two years as Democrats rallied behind their beleaguered leader during a rousing pep rally on Capitol Hill.

With scarcely a hint of the sex and coverup allegations that have bedeviled Clinton since before Congress convened late last month, Clinton won successive rounds of hearty applause from Democratic lawmakers as he outlined an ambitious election-year legislative agenda that dovetailed many of their own priorities.

Democrats, anxious to look beyond Clinton's personal problems to their increasing unity with the White House on policy matters, were relieved and elated.

"It was the best Democratic event I've had in 16 years of public office," said Rep. Peter Deutsch (D-Fla.). "It's the first time in my 35 years in the Senate there's been such a meeting between the White House and Democratic lawmakers," said Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.).

Republicans were less impressed. House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) took a dim view of Clinton's minimum wage proposal, saying it reflected "bad social policy." It would "simply increase the number of unemployed black and Hispanic teenagers," Gingrich told a Chamber of Commerce luncheon.

In his remarks, Clinton acknowledged that the GOP-led Congress will not pass all of his program before it adjourns for the November elections and reminded Democrats that they can exploit any failures in their campaigns. "Resist the temptation" to overreach, he said. "Believe me, we have enough honest disagreements with our friends in the Republican Party that some of this agenda is going to be left for us to take to the American people in November."

Even though the session was scheduled before Clinton was faced with allegations that he had sexual relations with a White House intern and lied about it, Vice President Gore, warming up the crowd with all the fervor of a backwoods preacher, turned it quickly into an affirmation of support for Clinton.

"Join with me in support and standing beside Bill Clinton, the president of the United States," Gore shouted, and the crowd—including several hundred congressional staff members and other supporters—responded in kind with cheers and applause.

In a warm-up routine that contrasts sharply with his reputation for wooden wonkiness, Gore roared, growled and waved his arms, to the crowd's delight, as he suggested the Republicans are in such disarray that "the right hand doesn't know what the far-right hand is doing."

As he has done before in response to performances like this by Gore, Clinton said he was going to issue an executive order "mandating the widest possible dissemination, for free, of whatever it is the vice president had for breakfast."

The late-morning rally in the Dirksen Office Building auditorium was Clinton's second appearance this week before congressional Democrats, who remain buoyed by the president's high poll ratings in the wake of the continuing scandal. A similarly upbeat session with House Democrats occurred Tuesday during their winter retreat in Wintergreen, Va.

Clinton had called for increasing the minimum wage during his State of the Union address last month but did not specify an amount. His proposal yesterday, which drew strong applause, would increase the current $5.15 hourly minimum in two 50-cent annual increments to $6.15.

This represented a compromise between Kennedy and other liberals, who wanted a three-step increase to $6.65 and automatic increases thereafter to account for inflation, and administration officials who argued for a more modest increase. "It's enough for two years," Kennedy said after the rally. "Then we'll have a chance to do it again."

Over initial Republican resistance, Congress approved the most recent minimum wage increase in 1996, when it was increased by 90 cents over two years, with the latest increase occurring last September. As Gingrich's remarks indicated, Republicans are likely to fight the new proposal, although it is not yet clear how hard.

Clinton contended that the purchasing power of the minimum wage remains less than it was 20 years ago and challenged Republican arguments that increases cost jobs, noting that more jobs were created than lost during the period of the most recent increases.

"We say we favor work over welfare," he said. "We set up a system to promote that. Now if people are going to show up for work, they ought to be able to raise their children in dignity."

The White House said the hike would affect 12 million workers, raising their annual pay about $2,000 to $12,792.

Clinton reiterated many of the proposals he outlined in his State of the Union speech, giving particular prominence to reaffirming the need for fiscal discipline, preserving Social Security, enacting a "patients' bill of rights" for managed health care systems, expanding Medicare coverage and hiring more teachers, computerizing classrooms and repairing run-down schools.

"First of all, we've got to stay the path of fiscal discipline. ... The reason this economy is booming is that it's clear that we are serious about running a disciplined shop here. ... We can't back off of that," he said.

But with his minimum wage proposal and talk about the party's "traditional values," he offered something for more liberal Democrats. "It may be the smallest government in 35 years," he said, "but, in many ways, it is more progressive because of all the things we are trying to do."

Meanwhile, White House press secretary Michael McCurry said that winning congressional approval of new funding for the International Monetary Fund will take precedence over a renewed effort to pass legislation giving the president "fast track" authority to negotiate trade agreements that cannot be amended by Congress. Both proposals stalled in the waning days of the 1997 congressional session.

"As a practical matter we have to look at the new borrowing authority for the IMF as a first order of priority given the importance of the work the IMF is doing" to help struggling Southeast Asian economies, he said. The White House is seeking $18 billion for the IMF, including $3.5 billion that got caught up last year in a dispute over abortion and another $14.5 billion to replenish funds drained by the Asian bailouts.

McCurry said Clinton will resubmit the fast-track proposal sometime this year but did not say when.

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE
Meets at 10 a.m. (pro forma session)
Committees: none

HOUSE
Not in session.
Committees: none

— LEGI-SLATE Inc.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1998

Students say teachers make glaring distinctions between the magnet and nonmagnet pupils. For example, students are required to carry a pass if they are in the hallway during class, said Shawn Parker, a magnet student and the school's probable valedictorian. But Parker, a promising saxophonist who is considering Harvard and Indiana University, said: "I never get asked for a hall pass. Maybe when I was a freshman. But I see how teachers ask kids who aren't in the magnet for a pass all the time."

In his overwhelmingly black algebra class for nonmagnet students, Shawn Avant faces a very different situation. When his popular teacher, Brad Braxton, leaves the class alone for a few moments, students take notice; this is because it almost never happens in the nonmagnet classes, where students are perceived to be difficult and disruptive.

"Most teachers would never do that," said Avant, who would like to attend college but worries that he cannot afford it. "They think if they leave us alone for even a second, all hell will break loose. They think we'd be in here rioting. It's a big difference: They treat the magnets like they're the upper class and like they're better. Most teachers look at us like we can't learn and we don't care."

The school's administration all but wiped out Broad Ripple's vocational technology program last year when the district mandated budget cuts for all schools. School officials chose to eliminate four teaching positions as part of their cost-cutting plan: one from the magnet, three from the industrial arts program.

"We used to serve 450 students, but we're down to about 125 now," said Frank Casey, Broad Ripple's lone remaining industrial arts teacher, as he surveyed his second-period manufacturing class of about 25 youths, most of them black, a few of them sleeping.

"We used to be able to reach those kids who weren't sure what they wanted to do with their lives," said Casey, who began his teaching career four decades ago. "But now, they know these students are at risk, so they just dump them in here. I

See SCHOOLS, A13, Col. 1

SCHOOLS, From A12

came in here on the first day of class and counted 33 kids. I went back to the administration and said, 'No, no, no. This school is hard on young black males.'"

Broad Ripple's suspension rate for the 1995-96 school year, the last for which statistics are available, was among the highest in the city; its dropout rate is the highest in the state.

Wilson's introductory arts class is the reverse of Casey's manufacturing class in virtually every way. Of the 21 pupils in class on a January morning, 12 are white and nine are black. While Casey's class was lethargic, Wilson's is buzzing. A steady succession of students bring their crayon drawings to Wilson for approval.

"Fill in those open spaces," she instructs one teenager. "Mrs. Wilson," he says pleadingly, "do you see how many people got white space in theirs?" "I know, honey," she coos, "but I'm looking at yours right now."

Wilson, a teacher for 39 years, says she changes her lesson plan every year so that she doesn't become stale. "And I do not allow children to sleep in this class. I can't come in here and put my head down when I feel bad, and neither can they."

She concedes, though, that her students—the sons and daughters of solidly middle-class, well-educated parents—are easy to engage. "Most of the kids in my class want to be here," she says. Asked about Casey's manufacturing class, she responds, "It's a dumping ground for African American boys and bad white boys."

Magnet programs usually assign the best and most motivated teachers to classes, Orfield said. "Usually, you've got a teacher who really wants to teach that particular subject, and you've got students who really want to be there and whose parents really want them to be there," he said.

But in complying with a court order to integrate, schools are in a difficult position, he added. The magnet curriculum is often all that keeps white and middle-class schoolchildren in the school, and to keep it viable, school administrations are often forced to cater to those families at the top rung of the income ladder. In addition, those parents tend to be more involved in their children's education and exercise a disproportionate amount of political clout in educational policies and decision-making.

When Bedwell was demoted as director of the magnet program last year, the popular administrator was quickly reinstated, at least partly because of the vocal protests of the magnet parents. Currently, three of the four board members on the school's version of a PTA are parents of children in the magnet program.

"I really feel that all of our kids at Broad Ripple are good kids," said Lou DeBruicker, the president of Broad Ripple's Association of Parents and Teachers and the mother of a 16-year-old junior in the magnet program. "As a parent, I cannot say that [my son] James has ever had a bad teacher."

Wayne Wellington was named as the school's principal last year. The superintendent of Indianapolis Public Schools at the time, Esperanza Zendejas, had become increasingly alarmed by Broad Ripple's high dropout, expulsion and suspension rates; the reduction of courses typically taken by non-college-bound students; and complaints from parents of students enrolled in the nonmagnet portion of the school.

Zendejas picked Wellington because he had been the principal of the city's alternative high school for dropouts.

"What was happening at Broad Ripple was that a lot of energies were being placed into the magnet program," said Zendejas, who resigned her post as superintendent in November. "That isolated other students, mostly African American males. When you have a magnet program, you want to give your magnet students your full support. But you don't want to let the bottom fall out while you're doing it."

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