

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. briefing paper	Political (5 pages)	10/04/1999	Personal Misfile
002. draft	Political (2 pages)	n.d.	Personal Misfile
003. paper	Political (2 pages)	n.d.	Personal Misfile
004. paper	Political (5 pages)	n.d.	Personal Misfile
005. paper	Political (2 pages)	n.d.	Personal Misfile
006. email	Political (7 pages)	10/27/1999	Personal Misfile
007a. talking points	Political (1 page)	10/05/1999	Personal Misfile
007b. paper	Political (3 pages)	n.d.	Personal Misfile
007c. talking points	Political (1 page)	10/05/1999	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bethany Little
OA/Box Number: 18398

FOLDER TITLE:

Miscellaneous [9]

2013-0371-S
ms629

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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MEMORANDUM TO THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jon Schnur

DATE: October 2, 1999

SUBJECT: Federal Funding for the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act

The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) has always been controversial because it imposes prescriptive and costly administrative requirements on states. Because of these statutory requirements, deemed by many to be the equivalent of a civil rights statute for children with disabilities, states want the federal government to pay a larger share of special education costs. While states are not required to accept IDEA funding and its related federal mandates, none have seriously threatened to withdraw from participation.

History and Overview

In 1975, Congress passed the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, which guaranteed a "free appropriate public education" for all students with disabilities in any state which accepts funds under the Act, and outlined the required procedures states and local school districts must follow in implementing their special education programs. The legislation also authorized funding for grants to states to help implement the law. These grants -- now known as the "IDEA Part B -- Grants to States" program (State Grants) -- are allocated based on the total number of students ages 3-21 reported by the states to have received special education and related services. Within a state, State Grant funds are primarily distributed to school districts based on the number of students eligible for special education services. This method allows funds to flow to areas with relatively higher rates of eligible students (and therefore greater need), and creates an incentive to locate and serve those students.

The last reauthorization of IDEA in 1997 was the result of extensive bipartisan negotiation with Congress. The reauthorization retained the civil rights component of the law that requires States to provide all children with disabilities (also referred to as special education students) with a free appropriate public education designed to meet their individual needs. This requirement applies without regard to the cost of the services or the size of the federal appropriation. The 1997 amendments also added a focus on improving teaching and learning, and established high academic expectations for children with disabilities. For instance, they required that an Individual Education Plan (IEP) be developed for each child with disabilities to enhance children's involvement and progress in the general curriculum. They also required States to develop educational achievement goals for children with disabilities, and to include children with disabilities on State and district-wide assessments. Finally, the reauthorization strengthened and clarified provisions dealing with discipline for disabled students. IDEA now allows schools to suspend a child for up to ten days for any violation of school rules as long as the removals do not constitute a pattern, and does not allow a child to be long-term suspended or expelled for behavior that is a manifestation of his or her disability. Educational services must be continued for children with disabilities who are suspended (after the first ten days in a school year) or expelled.

Current Funding

Over the past three decades, the number of students with disabilities and the cost of providing special education services have become an ever-increasing share of state and local education budgets. There are several reasons why this is the case. First, and probably the most significant reason, is that school enrollment has increased dramatically in recent years -- breaking all previous enrollment records -- thus the number of students identified as disabled and provided with special education services has increased accordingly. It is projected that 6.25 million children with disabilities will be served under IDEA in FY2000. Second, while the vast majority of students served through IDEA have mild to moderate disabilities (primarily learning disabilities and speech impairments), a greater number of students with significant disabilities are entering school as a result of medical advances. Third, because of the legal due process protections afforded only to students with disabilities, many school districts feel parental and legal pressures to provide services to students with disabilities that they do not feel for other populations. And fourth, the special education system at the federal, state, district and school-level, has become extremely bureaucratic, creating an expensive, paperwork intensive, fragmented delivery system.

Most Governors and some members of Congress argue that the federal government is failing to live up to its "commitment" to provide states with 40 percent of the average per pupil expenditure for each disabled student. In fact, however, IDEA makes no such commitment. The current IDEA authorization level for State Grants is "such sums as may be necessary", however the maximum grant a state is entitled to in any fiscal year is 40 percent of the U.S. average per-pupil expenditure (APPE) in public elementary and secondary schools, multiplied by the number of children with disabilities in the State receiving special education services.

Although appropriations for State Grants have increased annually, the federal government has never come close to providing 40 percent of the APPE for each disabled child. The highest percentage of funding the federal government has ever provided was 12.5 percent in FY 1979 (the total State Grant appropriation that year was \$804 million).

The FY 1999 State Grants appropriation covered about 11.7 percent of APPE, and the Administration's FY 2000 request would cover about 11.2 percent. If the federal government were to provide the 40 percent of APPE cited in the statute as the "maximum" in FY 2000, it would have to provide \$15.3 billion, \$11 billion more than the Administration's FY 2000 Budget requests. Moreover, both the number of children with disabilities and the APPE increase every year. If the federal government wanted to cover 40 percent of the APPE for each special education child in 10 years (i.e., in FY 2009), it would have to provide about \$24.3 billion in FY 2009.

Federal funding for IDEA State Grants has increased by \$2.2 billion (or 110 percent) during this Administration, from \$2.1 billion in FY 1993 to \$4.3 billion in FY 1999. However, these increases are much larger than the increases actually requested by the Administration. Because they are generally unhappy with prescriptive federal requirements for educating students with disabilities and feel that these requirements represent an unfunded federal mandate, Republicans in Congress have repeatedly tried to secure more federal funds to relieve states and districts of some of the burden of funding special education.

In FY 2000 the Administration requested virtually no increase for State Grants, but the House

Appropriations bill passed last week contains a \$500 million increase, and the Senate bill contains a \$700 million increase. Whatever the amount we propose for IDEA, the Republicans will offer more, because they are not committed to funding our other education and training priorities at the levels we seek. In response to Republican claims that we are underfunding IDEA, we have argued that many of our other high priority investments substantially aid children with disabilities. These children benefit, for example, from the smaller classes in our Class Size Reduction initiative, from modern school facilities in our School Modernization Bonds proposal, and from our early intervention initiatives such as America Reads and Head Start.

\$4.1 Billion Trigger and Maintenance of Effort (MOE) Provisions

The IDEA statute requires that states and districts do not reduce their financial support for special education and related services below the preceding fiscal year's financial support (known as a Maintenance of Effort (MOE) provision), except under certain circumstances (e.g., the number of students with disabilities in the district decreases). However, IDEA also includes a special "trigger" that took effect when the state Grants appropriation exceeded \$4.1 billion, which happened for the first time in FY 1999. As a result of this "trigger," districts are allowed to use up to 20 percent of their annual increase in federal funds to supplant, rather than supplement their own spending on special education. In other words, of every dollar the federal government spends on special education State Grants that exceeds \$4.1 billion, districts can use up to 20 cents for purposes other than special education. Therefore, federal IDEA increases do not increase spending on children with disabilities dollar for dollar.

Rising Costs of Complying with IDEA

States have expressed concern about the burden of educating disabled students since the first IDEA laws were passed in 1975. There is a perception on the part of some states that these costs have recently risen sharply, and are causing an education "budget crunch". It is true that more and more students' disabilities are being identified, and thus they are receiving the additional services they need to get a quality education. Also, like all costs, special education costs rise annually.

Concerns expressed by the states have been exacerbated by a March 3, 1999 Supreme Court ruling in Cedar Rapids Community School District vs. Garrett F. The Court decided (7-2) that the school district was required to provide, and pay for, an in-school nurse for a paralyzed student who needed continuous one-on-one nursing care in order to be educated in a regular classroom. The question in this case was whether the IDEA definition of "related services" for special education required a school district to provide nursing care to a ventilator-dependant student during school hours. In its decision, the Supreme Court concluded that although continuous services to a single student may be costly and require the school to hire additional personnel, these factors themselves do not make a set of services more "medical" than educational, and thus are covered by the statute. The Department of Education released a statement by the Assistant Secretary for Special Education and Rehabilitative Services saying in part "Obviously, we are pleased with the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)."

According to the National School Boards Association (NSBA), the precedent set by this ruling

would require schools to provide nursing care to approximately 17,000 "medically fragile" children (NSBA's term), which would cost about \$500 million a year. This is a figure that has been much bandied about in Congress and among interest groups, however the Department of Education and OMB are skeptical of the NSBA estimates, because it is unclear how they were calculated. According to the Department and OMB, the "cost" of this ruling would be relatively small for a couple reasons. First, there are few students with disabilities comparable to those of the child in the Supreme Court case. The Department estimates that there are less than 2,000 "ventilator dependent" children in the United States (this estimate was actually derived by the former Office of Technology Assessment), however, it is unclear how many of these children attend school and thus receive services under IDEA. Some of these children may be receiving care in hospitals, and others may be infants.

Second, the additional cost of the ruling would be relatively small because many, if not most, school districts are already providing nursing services to disabled students who need them. According to officials in Massachusetts and California, they did not expect this ruling to affect them because they already serve these students. Also, school districts can be reimbursed for providing nursing or other medical services through either Medicaid (for which half of disabled students are eligible) or a parent's private insurance (with parental consent). Schools, in other words, don't have to pick up the tab in most cases. According to the Department of Education, the district named in the Supreme Court case provided nursing services to a Medicaid-eligible student similar to the one in the case, however the district was unwilling to pay for nursing services for a student who was not Medicaid-eligible.

Nonetheless, the ruling has increased pressure on school districts to provide comprehensive services, and has also dramatically raised the profile of "high cost/low incidence" students – children whose disabilities are not common, but result in exorbitant education expenses.

It is absolutely essential to the disability community that these children (or any disabled child) not be singled out as burdensome, and all discussions of special education must be in the context of providing all children with an education that meets their needs.

ATTACKS ON THE CLINTON-GORE EDUCATION RECORD

GENERAL LINES OF ATTACK

- ✓ America's education system is simply not doing its job. Test scores are down, violence plagues many schools, and the Clinton-Gore solution is to pour more money into a system that replaced a curriculum of reading, writing and math with feel-good programs focusing on self-esteem.
- ✓ Americans want common sense education ideas from Washington – not more regulations, unfunded mandates, and duplicative programs. Bill Clinton and Al Gore have perpetuated and expanded a federal education bureaucracy that provides little money to our classrooms but is successful in tying up states and school districts with paperwork and regulations. Now they want to propose more federal mandates and one-size fits all solutions.
- ✓ Federal education programs don't work. Just 65 cents of every dollar spent by the federal government on education makes it to into classrooms. The rest is spent on government bureaucrats and wasteful liberal programs to keep special interests like the teachers unions happy.

Accountability

- ❑ **Funds failing schools:** The Clinton-Gore Administration has poured billions into failing schools instead of demanding that schools succeed.
- ❑ **Maintains failed government programs:** Clinton-Gore has spent billions on education programs without even knowing whether they improve student performance. The federal government seldom even measures whether its educational programs are effective. If the federal government can't prove that its program does a better job than states and localities, then it should be eliminated and the money should go to states without strings attached.

Achievement

- ❑ **American students perform worse than other countries:** Student test scores in the US are worse than in other countries. Students in 20 countries outperform US eighth graders in math and science. American 12th grade students performed better than just two countries. And The longer you stay in school in America, the dumber you get relative to kids in other nations.
- ❑ **Our kids are failing:** We have a situation where one-fifth of our kids can test at the proficient level in math, a quarter can test proficiently in writing, and a third in reading, we've got to do better than that.
- ❑ **Poor education is hurting our economy:** America maintains its technical superiority because of immigration. There is still a shortage of 350,000 people for high-tech jobs because we do not teach enough math and science in our lower grades.
- ❑ **Large gap in minority test scores:** There is a huge gap between performance of white students and minority students: A 17-year old black or Hispanic student scores the same as a 13-year old white student.

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Americorps

- ❑ **Expensive, wasteful failure:** Americorps has been another inefficient Clinton-Gore big government failure: It has cost more than they said it would and the money could be better spent on educational grants to students.

Budget

- ❑ **Education cuts:** The Clinton-Gore Administration has failed to support education. In the FY2000 budget, Clinton-Gore tried to zero out the local education block grant, cut special education funding and cut support for college loans.
- ❑ **Congress spent more:** Congress proposed spending over \$300 billion more than President Clinton wanted to on education in its FY2000 budget.

Bureaucracy

- ❑ **Hundreds of programs:** The Clinton-Gore Administration has perpetuated a maze of bureaucratic waste and duplication. At least 39 federal agencies oversee more than 760 education programs, at a cost of \$100 billion per year to taxpayers.
- ❑ **Hidden employees:** The Department of Education says that it is one of the smallest federal agencies but there are nearly three times as many federally funded employees of state education agencies administering federal funds.
- ❑ **It takes a village to complete the paperwork:** Complying with the regulations and paperwork required by the Clinton-Gore education bureaucracy takes the equivalent of 25,000 full time employees to do nothing but process forms. States must fill out more than 20,000 pages to receive federal education funds each year.
- ❑ **Federal funding imposes a huge burden on states:** The Clinton-Gore education bureaucracy stands in the way of state reform. Florida needs six times as many people to administer a federal dollar as it does to administer a state dollar. In Ohio, over 50 percent of its paperwork burden is related to federal education programs even though only 5 percent of its education revenues comes from federal sources. In Arizona, 45 percent of the staff in the state education department is responsible for working with or managing federal programs that account for only 6 percent of education spending.
- ❑ **Too many bureaucrats:** Clinton-Gore education policy is all about bureaucrats and not about teachers, schools or kids. An international study by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) found that the United States was the only developed nation in which a majority of people employed in education are not teachers. The U.S. government spends almost twice as much on administering education programs as other industrialized countries.
- ❑ **Too much spent on administration:** Of the more than \$15 billion allocated to its elementary and secondary education programs in 1996, over \$3 billion went for purposes--including administrative overhead and university, state, and national programs of unknown effectiveness--other than the needs of local school districts.
- ❑ **Not enough dollars to the classroom:** As little as 65 cents of every federal education dollar makes it to the classroom.
- ❑ **Funding bureaucracy instead of students:** If Clinton-Gore would first fund the federal special education mandate, school districts would be able to make their own decisions to do the things that the President wants the federal government to do, such as building new schools and hiring more teachers.

ATTACKS ON THE CLINTON-GORE EDUCATION RECORD

- ❑ **Education Department full of cronies:** Clinton-Gore has packed the Department of Education with political allies. Education has 167 political appointees--one to every 29 workers the average ratio for Cabinet departments is one to 807. These employees are often diverted for White House projects unrelated to improving schools. These include the president's commission on race and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's historic-preservation effort.

Charter Schools

- ❑ **Clinton-Gore have been too slow to embrace charter schools:** The number of charter schools has grown dramatically, but 7 of 10 schools still have waiting lists, and the administration has been slow to provide financial help to create more.

Class Size Reduction

- ❑ **Quality, not quantity, is problem:** The United States does not have a serious teacher quantity problem today; rather, the problem is one of quality (many teachers do not know their subjects well) and distribution (few of the best teach the neediest children).
- ❑ **Not enough teachers to hire:** California's efforts to reduce class size emphasized quantity over quality, pushing schools to hire less qualified teachers at the expense of students. Research shows us that teacher quality has a far greater impact on student achievement than does class size.
- ❑ **Large class size is not bad:** Large class size has not been proven to cause poor performance. Class size has declined from 1950-1994, with overall pupil-teacher ratios falling by 35 percent, while spending has increased 3.5 percent per year and academic achievement continues to decline. Korea and Japan have some of the largest class sizes, yet their students continue to outperform American students And national pupil/teacher ratio in Catholic elementary schools is 20.9 to 1, yet academic achievement in these schools is greater than in public schools--especially in urban areas.
- ❑ **Mandates prevent hiring teachers:** Freeing states and districts from the Clinton-Gore bureaucratic regulations would free up funds and personnel to allow them to pursue things like hiring and training teachers and reducing class size.
- ❑ **Grants prevent states from spending on other items:** Clinton-Gore grants to hire teachers prevent districts from spending that money on items schools really need like books, computers and special education.

Disabilities

- ❑ **Funding cuts:** Clinton-Gore tried to cut spending for students with disabilities from \$702 dollars per child in FY1999 to \$688 dollars per child in FY2000.
- ❑ **Failed to keep promise to disabled students:** When Congress passed IDEA in 1975, Democrat majorities in the House and Senate promised that the federal government would fund 40 percent of the IDEA mandate on local communities. Today we only fund about 12 percent of the mandate.

Discipline

- ❑ **Violence in American schools has reached epidemic proportions:** Nearly 40 percent of students nationwide think schools are unsafe. Nearly 2,000 students were physically attacked

ATTACKS ON THE CLINTON-GORE EDUCATION RECORD

each hour of the school day; one in five carried a weapon to school daily and nearly half avoid school restrooms out of fear.

- ❑ **Drug use by high school seniors is up.** The percentage of seniors who reported having used cocaine in the previous year increased from 3 percent in 1992 to 5 percent in 1996. The percentage of seniors who reported having used marijuana rose from 22 percent in 1992 to 36 percent in 1996.
- ❑ **Wrong solutions:** Clinton-Gore have proposed the same old solutions to school violence like gun control and TV ads. Violence is a cultural and values problem that runs much deeper.
- ❑ **Not serious about punishing students with guns at school:** Clinton-Gore prosecuted just 13 of 3,900 gun violations in public schools during 1997-98.

Ed-flex

- ❑ **Poor implementation:** Clinton-Gore enacted some education flexibility, but have not done a good job implementing it: 75 percent of districts surveyed in 1997 had neither requested a waiver nor planned to do so; nearly 12 percent reported they had never heard of the waiver provision; and only 6 percent reported requesting a waiver.

Federal Role

- ❑ **Heavy handed bureaucrats:** Clinton-Gore have supported a system where Washington bureaucrats call the shots on most educational issues confronting states and local school districts. In exchange, the federal government will send them 8 percent of their funds.

Head Start

- ❑ **Does not prepare kids for school:** Head Start's performance standards are vague and lack substance. Federal officials should clearly establish school readiness as a major goal for Head Start.
- ❑ **Pay and educational qualifications for Head Start teachers are low.** Head Start virtually guarantees that the children with the greatest educational needs will have the least qualified instructors. Fewer than 30 percent have a bachelor's degree.
- ❑ **Expansion would waste money, cheat children:** The Clinton-Gore administration has proposed expanding Head Start before fixing basic problems in the program.

HOPE Scholarships

- ❑ **Inflates tuition:** HOPE scholarships inflate tuition costs for all students. They make students and parents indifferent to additional tuition increases of up to \$1,500. Knowing this, colleges and universities face no incentive to keep costs low.
- ❑ **Burdensome for parents:** HOPE scholarships added one more layer of complexity to the unfair tax code. They force American families to deal with more paperwork, more tax forms, and more wasted time to take advantage of the credit.

Pell Grants

- ❑ **Underfunded:** Clinton-Gore want to create new bureaucratic programs rather than funding existing ones, especially Pell Grants. In real dollars, the appropriated maximum individual grant, adjusted for inflation, has decreased 4.7 percent between 1980 and 1998.

ATTACKS ON THE CLINTON-GORE EDUCATION RECORD

- ❑ **Waste and fraud:** The Department of Education's inspector general recently found that approximately \$109 million in Pell grants had been overawarded because students failed to report or underreported their income.

Religious expression

- ❑ **Anti-values:** Clinton-Gore have been an enemy of religious expression in classrooms. Actions such as posting the 10 commandments and silent prayer in schools would help instill values in children.

Safe & Drug-Free Schools

- ❑ **Just mails checks:** According to Drug Czar Barry McCaffrey, SDFS "simply mails out checks"
- ❑ **Drug-prevention programs like SDFS don't work:** A recent analysis of studies measuring the effectiveness of school-based drug prevention programs found that, based on eight rigorous studies, substance abuse prevention programs . . . have a very small effect on behavior.
- ❑ **SDFS funds are spent on silly wasteful items:** The state of Michigan spent \$81,000 for giant plastic teeth and toothbrushes, \$124,000 was awarded to the New Haven Police Department to organize a "holiday awareness project" designed to "encourage awareness of and participation in holidays and events significant to racial, religious, ethnic, or sexual orientation groups." The Fairfax County School District spent \$181,397 to send teachers to a Maryland resort for 'training.' Richmond, VA published a drug-free party guide costing \$16,000 and recommending activities such as Jell-O wrestling and pageants "where guys dress up in women's wear."

School Construction

- ❑ **Penalizes some states:** Many states, like California, already have passed new construction initiatives. A new federal program will interfere, and possibly punish, states and communities that support their schools and reward those that do not
- ❑ **Too limited to help:** Clinton-Gore's school construction proposal is not permanent would focus on the 100 largest school districts according to the number of low-income students. Republicans plan is permanent and applicable to all school districts.

School-to-Work

- ❑ **Not helping academic standards:** National evaluation of STW said that the program is not important to state plans to raise academic standards
- ❑ **Failed in Germany:** German experiments that were the model for American STW have failed: unemployment rate for German youth was 10 percent, which is not much better than the 11.3 percent rate for the same group in the United States
- ❑ **Hurts students long-term:** STW trains students for entry-level jobs in the local economy forcing them to give up the longer-term benefits associated with a stock of intellectual capital that will improve and enrich their lives.
- ❑ **Back to basics:** If Clinton-Gore educational reform had worked, then students wouldn't need a special program to help them transition from high school to work.

ATTACKS ON THE CLINTON-GORE EDUCATION RECORD

Student Loans

- ❑ **Cut funding:** Clinton-Gore have tried to cut student loans. Congress had to step in and save the program from collapse.
- ❑ **Student loan bureaucracy increases costs for all students:** Paperwork associated with loans cause schools to raise tuition in order to cover government mandates.
- ❑ **Direct lending is a failure.** 78% of eligible schools do not participate. The program also makes the federal government bear 100% of the risk of defaults.
- ❑ **Waste and fraud:** There are few incentives to keep administrative costs and default rates low. As a result the DSL program is a dumping ground for high-risk loans and fly-by-night trade schools.
- ❑ **High default rate:** The student loan default rate is still too high. In 1995 it was over 10%.
- ❑ **Funds to unprepared students:** More and more federal student aid dollars have been provided to students who are not prepared to do college-level work.
- ❑ **Tax code prevents students and parents from saving:** The IRS code continues to stand in the way of educational opportunities for our children. The surest way for a family to avoid skyrocketing tuition costs, the headache of federal student aid programs, and mountains of student debt is to start saving for college early. This is not easy, especially given that the federal tax code taxes savings twice.

Teacher Certification

- ❑ **Local role:** National certification is another Clinton-Gore takeover of local education. The federal government should not be involved in training or licensing teachers.

Title I

- ❑ **Failing program:** Since 1965, Title I has spent over \$100 billion with no evidence of tangible results. We should spend public funds on things that work.
- ❑ **Does not help poor classrooms:** Most Title I funds are used to hire clerical workers and classroom aides who lack the expertise to teach poor students.
- ❑ **Title I does not improve poor students' scores:** The initial gap in test scores between the more disadvantaged students participating in Chapter 1 and non-participants did not narrow as a result of the more disadvantaged students participating in the special program.
- ❑ **Poorly targeted:** Funding formulas keep poor schools from receiving Title I funds. In 1993, 19 percent of the highest-poverty schools (with at least 75 percent of the students qualifying as poor) did not receive any Title I funds.

Title IX

- ❑ **Liberal social agenda:** Clinton-Gore liberals have imposed a social agenda that has resulted in the loss of educational opportunities for young men.

Teachers Unions

- ❑ **Clinton-Gore could not reform education because they are in the pocket of the teachers' unions:** Clinton-Gore education policies are dictated by teachers unions, not by the best interest of kids.

ATTACKS ON THE CLINTON-GORE EDUCATION RECORD

Vouchers

- ❑ **Opposed common-sense choice for poor families:** The United States is the only developed country that denies its children vouchers to attend non-public and denominational schools. Private schools are the only way for urban schools to escape poor results.

Miscellaneous

- ❑ **Ignored role of families:** The Administration has seriously undermined the relationship of students and their families to the education process.
- ❑ **Closed captioning waste:** The Clinton-Gore Administration has provided money to fund closed-captioning for "educational" programs like Baywatch and Jerry Springer, which could be provided by the television industry.
- ❑ **Women's' equity programs a waste:** According to the GAO, the Women's Education Equity program has done little to eliminate sex bias in education. This might be because it wastes money. In 1996 its grantees included a project called "Gender Based Teasing and Bullying in Grades K-5" which examines teasing and bullying as antecedents to adolescent sexual harassment.
- ❑ **Opposed social promotion:** Clinton-Gore have stood in the way of ending social promotion because the education department's Office of Civil Rights has opposed testing students skills.

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Miscellaneous [9]

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Improving the Quality of Life for America's Working Families
Clinton/Gore Administration Accomplishments:

Progress By The Numbers

Jobs & The Economy:

<i>Jobs</i>	More than 19 million new jobs created since 1993. [National Economic Council, 9/3/99]
<i>Unemployment</i>	4.2 percent unemployment -- the lowest peacetime rate since 1957. The unemployment rate has stayed below 5 percent for 26 months in a row. [Bureau of Labor Statistics, 9/3/99]
<i>Income</i>	Typical family income is up \$5,046 since 1993. Median family income has increased from \$41,051 in 1993 to \$46,737 in 1998. [<u>Money Income in the United States: 1998</u> , Bureau of the Census, 9/99]
<i>Wages</i>	Under President Clinton and Vice President Gore, real wages have risen 6.6 percent compared to <i>declining</i> 4.3 percent during the Reagan and Bush years. After adjusting for inflation, wages have increased almost 2.7 percent in 1998 -- the fastest real wage growth in more than two decades. Wages have increased three years in a row -- the longest sustained growth since the early 1970s. [Bureau of Labor Statistics, 7/2/99]
<i>Tax Cuts</i>	15 million working families receive additional tax relief through the President's expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit. In 1997, the EITC lifted 4.3 million out of poverty -- that is more than double the number who were removed from poverty in 1993. Over half of the people removed from poverty by the EITC (2.2 million) were children under the age of 18. [<u>Good News for Low Income Families: Expansions in the EITC and Minimum Wage</u> , CEA, 12/98]
<i>\$500 per-child tax credit</i>	27 million families with 45 million children will receive the \$500 per-child tax credit. [Treasury Department]
<i>Minimum Wage</i>	10 million Americans received an increase in wages thanks to the President's leadership in raising the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 per hour. [<u>Good News for Low Income Families: Expansions in the EITC and Minimum Wage</u> , CEA, 12/98]
<i>New Businesses</i>	More than 4.1 million new businesses have been created since 1993. [New Employer Firms Business Formation, Small Business Admin. 12/98, 1997 data]
<i>National Debt</i>	There is \$25,000 less debt for each family of four because the national debt will be \$1.7 trillion lower in fiscal year 1999 than was projected in 1993. [internal calculations based on: FY 2000 Budget Mid-Session Review (Table 1); OMB

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(1993 internal projection); Bureau of the Census]

Home Ownership

There are 7.8 million new homeowners since 1993 -- the home ownership rate is at the highest level ever. [Bureau of the Census, 4/21/99]

Expanding Educational Opportunity: Elementary and Secondary Schools

Teachers

30,000 new, well-prepared teachers are being hired for fall 1999, the first down payment on the President's seven-year plan to reduce class size by hiring 100,000 teachers. [Education Department, 6/99]

After School Programs

Approximately 400,000 school-age children in rural and urban communities have safe and educational after-school opportunities this year because of the expanded 21st Century Community Learning Centers program. In his FY 2000 budget, the President proposed to increase funding to serve approximately 1.1 million students. [Education Department]

Goals 2000

47 states plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico have set higher academic standards for public schools by adopting comprehensive Goals 2000 plans for education reform. [Goals 2000: Reforming Education to Improve Student Achievement, Education Department, 4/20/98]

Education Technology

30 million children and up to 47,000 schools and libraries are being connected to the Internet through the education rate, or E-rate, created by the 1996 Telecommunications Act. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 67]

Title I

11 million low-income students now benefit from higher expectations and a challenging curriculum geared to higher standards. [Statement of the Secretary of Education before the U.S. Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, 2/9/99]

Mentoring

Approximately 175,000 middle school students will be prepared for college this year through expanded mentoring efforts as part of GEAR-UP. [Education Department]

Charter Schools

Increased the number of charter schools from one in 1993 to more than 1,700 in 1999. Charter schools help expand choice and accountability in public schools. [Education Department release, 8/28/99]

Expanding Educational Opportunity: Postsecondary Education and Training

HOPE Scholarships

5.9 million students are expected to benefit from the \$1,500 HOPE Scholarship tuition tax credit. [Education Department, 4/2/99]

Pell Grants

3.8 million low-income students will receive a Pell Grant award to help them attend college. In the FY99 budget, the President increased the

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maximum Pell Grant award from \$3,000 to \$3,125 -- that is the largest maximum award ever. [Department of Education FY 2000 Budget Summary, 2/99]

Direct Loan Program

More than 3.9 million student and parent borrowers have received direct loans since the program began. [Federal Direct Loan Program, Federal Office of Student Financial Assistance, Education Department, 1/31/99]

AmeriCorps

More than 100,000 volunteers have earned money for college by serving their communities and their country in the AmeriCorps program since the inception of the program. [National Service News (issue no. 66), 11/2/98]

Lifetime Learning Tax Credit

7.2 million will benefit from the lifetime learning tax credit, which offers a 20 percent tax credit for the first \$5,000 of tuition and fees paid by a student. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 69]

School-To-Work

470,000 high school students, 36,000 schools (K-12), and 136,000 employers, participated in school-to-work programs in 1997. [Progress Measures Survey 1997, National School-to-Work Office, Education Department]

Work Study

Nearly one million students will be able to work their way through college this year because of the President's expansion of the Work Study Program. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 69]

Dislocated Workers

An estimated 689,000 American workers will benefit this year from the dislocated worker program. In his FY2000 budget, President Clinton proposed to increase funding to serve 859,000 workers. [Department of Labor Budget Overview FY 2000, 2/99]

Crime and Public Safety

Declining Crime Rates

There has been a 27 percent drop in violent crime victimizations rate since 1993 -- to the lowest level since 1973 (the year of the survey's inception). The murder rate is down more than 25 percent since 1993, its lowest point since the Johnson Administration. In 1998 alone the homicide rate dropped 7 percent -- almost entirely due to a decrease in killings committed with guns. [1998 National Crime Victimization Survey, Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), 7/99; FBI's Uniform Crime Reports for the United States 1998, Justice Department]

Juvenile Arrests Down

In 1998, the nation saw an 8 percent drop in the juvenile violent crime arrests. [FBI's Uniform Crime Reports for the United States 1998, Justice Department]

Community Policing

The President's goal of funding 100,000 more community police officers for our streets was reached in May 1999 -- meeting the pledge ahead of schedule and under budget. [COPS program, 6/12/99]

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Brady Bill

More than 400,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have been stopped from buying guns. ["Presale Handgun Checks, 1997" Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, 6/15/99]

*"Zero-Tolerance" for
Guns In Schools*

6,093 students were expelled from public schools for bringing a firearm to school in one year under zero tolerance policies. [Final Report on State Implementation of the Gun-Free Schools Act, School Year 1996-97, Department of Education, 5/98]

Domestic Violence Hotline

More than 300,000 calls -- averaging a little more than 8,000 a month -- have been received by the nationwide, 24-hour domestic violence hotline President Clinton established. [Violence Against Women Office, DOJ, 6/99]

Families

Patients' Bill of Rights

85 million people covered by Federal health plans received patient protections -- protections included in the President's Patients' Bill of Rights -- by executive action taken by President Clinton. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 85]

Health Insurance Reform

As many as 25 million people will benefit from the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 83]

Welfare to Work

6.8 million fewer people are receiving welfare benefits today than in 1993, a 48 percent decrease and the largest decline in the welfare rolls in history. The welfare rolls are the smallest in 30 years. [HHS Administration for Children and Families, 8/99]

Family & Medical Leave

About 91 million workers are covered by the Family and Medical Leave Act -- about 70 percent of the American labor force. Millions of Americans have taken job-protected leave. [Five Years of Success: Report on FMLA, Department of Labor, 8/98 (updated number provided 7/99)]

Children's Health Care

As many as 5 million more children will receive health insurance under President Clinton's Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP). Already 2.5 million uninsured children have enrolled in CHIP. [FY 2000 Budget, p. 85; FY 1999 Budget, p. 69]

Head Start

More than 200,000 additional children are enrolled in Head Start today than in 1992. Head Start now reaches a total of 830,000, and will serve one million children and their families by the year 2002. [Head Start Fact Sheet; Administration of Children and Families, HHS; 1/99]

WIC

1.7 million more woman, infants, and children are now served by WIC than in 1993 -- currently reaching 7.4 million participants. [Food and Nutrition Service, USDA, 4/99]

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Child Care

Child care funding has increased by 70 percent under the Clinton Administration, helping pay for the care of an additional 1 million children. An average of 1.25 million children were served by states under the child care block grant in FY 1997 -- a 25 percent increase from the estimated 1 million children served in FY 1996. The 1996 welfare law increased child care funding by \$4 billion over six years. [Administration for Children and Families Fact Sheet, HHS, 11/12/98]

Immunization

90 percent or more of America's toddlers received the most critical doses of each of the routinely recommended vaccines in 1996, 1997, and again in 1998 -- surpassing the President's childhood vaccination goal. Childhood immunization coverage rates in 1998 were the highest ever recorded. [HHS Fact Sheet, 9/23/99]

Child Poverty

Under President Clinton the child poverty rate has dropped from 22.7 percent in 1993 to 18.9 percent in 1998 -- the biggest five-year drop in the child poverty rate in nearly 30 years. This is the first time the childhood poverty rate dropped below 20 percent since 1980. [Poverty in the United States: 1998, Bureau of the Census, 9/99]

Teen Pregnancy

The teen pregnancy rate has fallen six years in a row, by 16 percent from 1991 to 1997. [HHS/Centers for Disease Control, 4/29/99]

Infant Mortality

There has been a 15.2 percent decrease in the infant mortality rate -- to the lowest level in history -- from 8.5 in 1992 to 7.2 in 1997. [America's Children: Key National Indicators of Well-Being, NIH, 7/8/99]

Child Support Collections

In Fiscal Year 1999, 2.8 million parents delinquent in child support payments were found through the National Directory of New Hires, more than double the number found during the previous year. [HHS, 9/23/99]

Government That Works Better

Less Regulation

16,000 pages of Federal regulations have been eliminated by President Clinton and Vice President Gore as part of the Vice President's National Performance Review. [Accomplishments fact sheet, National Performance Review]

Smaller Government

There are 365,000 fewer employees in the Federal government workforce than in 1993 -- giving us the smallest Federal workforce since the Kennedy Administration. [Budget of the U.S. Government FY 2000, "Historical Tables" (table 17.1); Budget of the U.S. Government FY 2000, "Analytical Perspectives," (table 10-1) p. 248]

Lower Government Spending

At 19.5 percent, Federal Government spending as a share of the Gross Domestic Product is at its lowest level in 25 years. [FY 2000 Budget Mid-Session Review (Table 1) p. 3; FY 2000 Budget Historical Tables (Table 1.3)]

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p.23-24]

Motor Voter

28 million new voters registered to vote -- and voting was made easier for millions more Americans -- since 1995 because of the National Voter Registration Act. [FEC, 6/99; FEC, 6/97]

Environment

Toxic Waste Sites

448 toxic waste dumps were cleaned up during the first six and one-half years of the Clinton Administration -- nearly three times more than the 155 dumps cleaned up in the previous twelve years. ["Superfund NPL Construction Completions Since 1/20/93 to 6/22/99," EPA]

National Parks

More than 3.2 million acres have been protected as national parks or monuments, and more than 141 million additional acres are being actively managed to conserve our nation's resources. The President has also created 13 new national park areas. [Protecting Our National Treasures, Department of Interior.]

**PRESIDENT CLINTON AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE
INVESTING IN EDUCATION: INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE**

"Our administration has made education a high priority, focusing on standards, accountability and choice in public schools, and on making a college education available to every American -- with increased Pell Grant scholarships, better student loan and work-study programs, and the HOPE scholarship and other tax credits to help families pay for college tuition. Because of these efforts, more young people have the chance to make the most of their God-given abilities, and take their place in the high-tech world of the 21st century. "

-- President Bill Clinton, August 7, 1999

Supporting Quality Education for All of Our Children
--

- ◆ **Largest Investment in Education in Thirty Years.** President Clinton and Vice President Gore have been committed to maintaining our nation's investment in education. The Clinton-Gore Administration enacted the largest investment in education in 30 years -- and the largest investment in higher education since the G.I. Bill.
- ◆ **Providing Early Education to 835,000 Children with Head Start.** Head Start gives children a good start in life by providing comprehensive developmental services for low-income children ages three to five and social services for their families. More than 200,000 more children are enrolled in Head Start today than in 1992.
- ◆ **Modernizing Our Schools.** The President and Vice President have proposed federal tax credits to pay the interest on nearly \$25 billion in state and local bonds to modernize and rebuild up to 6,000 public schools that are overcrowded, out-of-date, and unsafe.
 - A record 52.7 million children are enrolled in elementary and secondary schools today, and this number will climb to 54.3 million by 2008. At least 2,400 new public schools will be needed by 2003 to accommodate rising enrollment and relieve overcrowding.
- ◆ **Keeping Schools Safe and Drug-Free.** Championed the Safe and Drug-Free Schools program, which supports initiatives to reduce drug, alcohol and tobacco use, and violence in our nation's schools, through education and prevention. In October 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Gun-Free Schools Act, and issued a Presidential Directive to enforce "zero tolerance" for guns in schools. More than 6,000 students were expelled from public schools for bringing a firearm to school in one year under zero tolerance policies.
 - In 1998, President Clinton signed into law the *Safe Schools/Healthy Students Initiative*, an unprecedented joint effort involving the Departments of Education, Justice, and Health and Human Services to help communities design and implement comprehensive educational, mental health, social

service, law enforcement and juvenile justice services for youth. In September 1999, President Clinton announced more than \$100 million in grants through the initiative to support school districts in linking community-based services and prevention activities into one community-wide approach to violence prevention and healthy child development.

- ◆ **Providing Safe After-School Opportunities for Nearly 400,000 Students Each Year.** The President and Vice President expanded the 21st Century Community Learning Centers (CLCs) program to enable schools to stay open longer, providing safe and educational after-school opportunities for nearly 400,000 school-age children in rural and urban communities each year.
 - CLCs provide a safe place for homework centers, intensive mentoring in basic skills, drug and violence prevention counseling, helping middle school students to prepare to take college prep courses in high school, enrichment in the core academic subjects, recreational activities, technology education programs and services for children with disabilities.
- ◆ **Expanding Access to Education Technology.** Under the Vice President's leadership, the Clinton-Gore Administration has made expanded access to education technology a top priority. They created the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund to help connect every school to the Internet by 2000, increase the number of multimedia computers in the classroom and provide technology training for teachers. Increased overall investments in educational technology by thirty-fold, from \$23 million in 1993 to \$698 million this year. Secured low-cost connections (the E-Rate) to the Internet for schools, libraries, rural health clinics and hospitals.
 - In the fall of 1998, 89 percent of public schools were connected to the Internet. In 1994, only 35 percent of public schools were connected. And 51 percent of instructional rooms in public schools have Internet connections in 1998, double the number that were connected in 1997.
- ◆ **Strengthening Educational Accountability and Excellence.** 11 million low-income students now benefit from extra support to meet high expectations and challenging standards because of increased funding for the Title I program and reforms proposed and signed into law by President Clinton in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). This year, President Clinton has proposed building on this progress with further strengthening accountability in these federal programs, improving teacher quality, increasing school safety, expanding public school choice, and providing extra support through summer-school, after-school and other programs to help students master the basics and reach challenging academic standards. The reauthorization will also support teacher education programs that develop the ability of regular classroom teachers to teach limited English proficient (LEP) students.

- ◆ **Getting Good Teachers to Underserved Areas.** Created new teacher quality initiatives that will help recruit and prepare thousands of teachers to teach in high-poverty urban and rural communities and will strengthen teacher preparation programs across the country.
- ◆ **Expanding Investments In Youth Education And Training.** While House Republicans attempted to eliminate the successful Summer Jobs program in FY99, President Clinton prevailed with his request for \$871 million in funding, which will finance up to 530,000 summer jobs for disadvantaged youth. The Youth Opportunity Area Initiative program provides high school dropouts between the ages of 16 and 24 with academic and job-skills training, as well as apprenticeships building and rehabilitating affordable housing. The President proposed and won \$250 million for this new innovative program in the FY99 budget.

Helping Children Learn to High Standards

- ◆ **More High-Quality Teachers with Smaller Class Sizes.** Research proves that children learn more in smaller classes – particularly in the early years. Small classes allow children to receive more individual attention from teachers; acquire a solid foundation for future learning; and learn to read independently by the end of third grade. President Clinton and Vice President Gore won a downpayment on their new initiative to hire an additional 100,000 well-prepared teachers, helping school districts reduce class size in the critical early grades.
 - In 1998, \$1.2 billion was provided through the Class Size Reduction Initiative to help states hire approximately 30,000 new teachers for fall 1999.
- ◆ **Teaching Every Child to Read by the Third Grade.** More than 1,000 colleges have committed Work Study students to tutor children in reading, and thousands of AmeriCorps members and senior volunteers are organizing volunteer reading campaigns. Won \$260 million for a new child literacy initiative, consistent with the President's America Reads proposal. The FY2000 budget includes funding to continue the Clinton-Gore Administration Reading Excellence program – helping to train reading tutors and coordinating after-school, weekend, and summer reading programs linked to in-school instruction; helping train teachers to teach reading; and helping parents help children prepare to learn to read. In August 1999, 17 states received grants through this program.
 - The Department of Education hosted a Reading Summit in December 1998, gathering more than 500 education leaders from across the country to focus on the urgent need to increase child literacy.
- ◆ **Helping Students to Master Mathematics by the Eighth Grade.** President Clinton issued a Presidential Directive to the Department of Education and the National Science Foundation to work together to devise an action strategy for helping students to improve in mathematics. This joint effort led to the creation of America Counts, an initiative to

ensure that all students master challenging mathematics, including the foundations of algebra and geometry, by the end of the 8th grade.

- ◆ **Striving for Excellence with National Education Standards.** President Clinton has challenged every state to adopt high standards, and, by 1999, to test every 4th grade student in reading and 8th grade student in math so that parents, students, and teacher can tell if students are meeting high standards. Fifteen of the nation's largest urban school districts, as well as six states and the Department of Defense schools have joined the President's effort. The National Assessment Governing Board is developing voluntary national tests for the 4th and 8th grades, and the National Academy of Sciences is conducting studies on these tests.
- ◆ **Goals 2000.** The National Standards and Testing effort builds upon the success of Goals 2000, President Clinton's education reform initiative enacted in 1994, which helps States establish standards of excellence for all children, and plan and implement steps to raise educational achievement. Communities in every state receive Goals 2000 funds and are using these funds to upgrade the curriculum, improve teaching, increase parental involvement in schools, and make greater use of computers in the classroom.
- ◆ **Expanding Choice and Accountability in Public Schools.** Supported the increase of public charter schools, from one in the nation in 1993 to more than 1,200 in 1998. With at least 1,700 charter schools expected to operate this year, the nation is more than halfway to the President's goal of establishing 3,000 quality charter schools by 2002.
- ◆ **Supporting Local Education Reform Efforts.** The President signed into law the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999 (Ed-Flex) to give all states the ability to use federal resources in ways that best complement local efforts and innovation.

Opening the Doors of College to All Americans

- ◆ **Increasing Student Aid.** President Clinton and Vice President Gore are committed to expanding access to higher education. Their FY2000 budget would expand the amount of total student aid available to \$52.1 billion, a 3.9 percent increase over the 1999 level. More than 8.7 million students would receive assistance through grants, loans, and work study – an increase of 300,000.
 - This year, an estimated \$50 billion in federal grants and loans will be awarded to nearly 8.5 million students out of 10 million applicants. At a minimum, almost all students are eligible for loans without a federal interest subsidy but often with rates lower than commercially available loans.
- ◆ **Expanding Work Study and Pell Grants.** This year, nearly one million students will be able to work their way through college because of the President's expansion of the

Work Study Program. And in 1999, nearly four million students will receive a Pell Grant of up to \$3,125, the largest maximum award ever. The FY 2000 budget would raise the maximum Pell Grant award again, bringing it up to \$3,250, and would make it available to nearly 3.9 million students.

- ◆ **Making 13th & 14th Grades as Universal As High School.** The first two years of college are universally available for nearly six million students with the \$1,500 HOPE Scholarship, tax credits to help defray tuition and fees.
- ◆ **Increasing College Opportunity with Tuition Tax Credits and Education IRAs.** The 20 percent Lifetime Learning tax credit helps offset tuition costs for college or lifetime learning. More than seven million students and adults who want to upgrade their skills will benefit from the lifetime learning tax credit. The expanded IRA allows penalty and tax-free withdrawals for education.
- ◆ **Making College More Affordable.** The Clinton-Gore Administration has cut student fees and interest rates on all loans, expanded repayment options including income contingent repayment, and improved service through the Direct Loan Program.
 - Since 1993, students have saved nearly \$9 billion through the reduction in loan fees and interest rates.
- ◆ **Paying for College Through Community Service.** AmeriCorps has allowed more than 100,000 young people to serve their communities while earning money for college, repaying student loans, or getting important skills training.
- ◆ **Reaching Out to Disadvantaged Students.** The TRIO programs are designed to motivate and support students from disadvantaged backgrounds. TRIO includes five distinct outreach programs targeted to serve and assist students as they progress from middle school to postsecondary education. The President's FY2000 includes a \$30 million increase for the TRIO programs, which would increase the number of students served to 725,000.
- ◆ **Establishing the GEAR-UP Mentoring Program for Middle School Children.** The President and Vice President won \$120 million to create a new mentoring initiative to help low-income middle school children prepare for college. GEAR-UP (a program that incorporates the "High Hopes" proposal) will expand mentoring efforts by states, and provide new grants to partnerships of middle schools, institutes of higher education, and community organizations, to provide intensive early intervention services to help prepare up to 100,000 students at high-poverty middle schools for college.
- ◆ **Increased Funding for Historically Black Colleges and Universities.** Increased funding and grants for Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) by over \$250 million between FY92 and FY98 – an increase of nearly 25 percent. Today, America's 105 HBCUs are educating almost 300,000 African Americans.

- ◆ **Strengthening Hispanic Serving Institutions.** Last year the Clinton-Gore Administration won nearly \$500 million for the Hispanic Education Action Plan to enhance educational opportunity for Hispanic Americans and address the unacceptably high Hispanic dropout rate. The Administration will continue this effort through aggressive outreach efforts and innovative partnerships. It will work to ensure that that Hispanic serving institutions are actively involved in Department of Education activities, so that all schools fulfill their commitments to Hispanic students. The FY2000 budget included a \$14 million increase for the Developing Hispanic-Serving Institutions program.

DRAFT

A NATION TRANSFORMED

Clinton-Gore Administration Accomplishments: 1993 - 1999

Over the last six and a half years, President Clinton and Vice President Gore have led America in preparing for the 21st Century. The President and Vice President have put our economic house in order while providing tax relief for middle income families, expanding critical investments in the future and continuing American leadership in the world. The accomplishments of the Clinton-Gore Administration are giving Americans the tools to realize their potential, providing opportunity while demanding responsibility and building One America in which all are challenged to serve.

Economy: the Strongest Economy in a Generation

Closing the Book on A Generation of Deficits -- in 1992, the deficit was \$290 billion, a record dollar high. This year, the Administration expects the budget *surplus* to be \$115 billion, the largest budget surplus in history. This is the first time the United States has maintained a surplus for two years in a row since 1956-57, and the first time in U.S. history with seven years in a row of fiscal improvement.

More than 19 Million New Jobs -- more than 90 percent of the new jobs have been created in the private sector, the highest percentage in 50 years. That's 3.4 million more new jobs in six years than were created during the entire eight years of the Reagan Administration (19.4 million under Clinton vs. 16 million under Reagan).

Fastest and Longest Real Wage Growth in Two Decades -- Since 1993, real wages have risen 6.6 percent - compared to declining 4.3 percent during the previous two administrations. After adjusting for inflation, wages increased almost 2.7 percent in 1998 -- the fastest real wage growth in more than two decades. And wages have increased 3 years in a row -- the longest sustained growth since the early 1970s.

Unemployment Is the Lowest in 29 Years -- down from 7.5 percent in 1992 to 4.2 percent today -- staying below 5 percent for 27 months in a row.

Highest Homeownership Rate in History -- there are 7.8 million more new homeowners since the President and Vice President took office.

Families and Communities: Strengthening America's Working Families

\$500 Per-Child Tax Credit -- 27 million families with 45 million children are receiving the \$500 per-child tax credit.

Tax Cuts for Working Families -- 15 million working families receive additional tax relief through the President's expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit.

Protecting Families -- Family and Medical Leave allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for seriously ill family members, new born or adoptive children, or their own serious health problems without fear of losing their jobs. About 91 million workers are covered by the Family and Medical Leave Act

and millions of workers have already benefited from FMLA since its enactment.

Largest Five-Year Drop in Child Poverty Rate Since the '60s -- Under President Clinton, child poverty has declined from 22.7 percent to 18.9 percent -- the biggest five-year drop in nearly 30 years.

Increased the Minimum Wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 per hour -- increasing wages for 10 million workers.

Enacted the Workforce Investment Act -- reforming the nation's employment and training system by empowering individuals, streamlining services, enhancing accountability and increasing flexibility.

Signed the Landmark Adoption and Safe Families Act -- 36,000 foster care children were adopted in fiscal year 1998, up from 28,000 in 1996. This is the first significant increase in adoption since the national foster care program was established nearly 20 years ago.

Putting Families First -- put in place first-ever plan to protect our children from tobacco. Required the installation of V-chips in all new televisions. Encouraged schools to adopt school uniform policies to deter school violence and promote discipline. Produced guidelines on religious expression in public schools.

Supporting Community Service -- In just five years, AmeriCorps has allowed more than 100,000 young people to serve in their communities while earning money for college or skills training.

Building One America -- established the President's Initiative on Race to lead the nation towards becoming One America in the 21st Century. In FY99 budget, won first real increase in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in several years.

Education: Largest Investment in Education in 30 Years

Making 13th & 14th Grades as Universal As High School -- making the first two years of college universally available for nearly six million students with the \$1,500 HOPE Scholarship credits.

Increasing College Opportunity with Tuition Tax Credits and Education IRAs -- 20 percent tax credit will help more than seven million students offset tuition costs for college or lifetime learning. The expanded IRA allows penalty and tax-free withdrawals for education.

Expanding Work Study and Pell Grants -- this year, nearly one million students will be able to work their way through college because of the President's expansion of the Work Study Program. And in 1999, nearly four million students will receive a Pell Grant of up to \$3,125, the largest maximum award ever.

Making College More Affordable -- cut student fees and interest rates on all loans, expanded repayment options including income contingent repayment, and improved service through the Direct Loan Program.

Helping to Create Smaller Classes with Well-Prepared Teachers -- won a down payment on the President's new initiative to hire an additional 100,000 well-prepared teachers, helping school districts reduce class size in the early grades, when children learn to read and master the basic skills. Last year \$1.2 billion was provided to help states hire approximately 30,000 new teachers for fall 1999.

Teaching Every Child to Read by the 3rd Grade -- more than 1000 colleges have committed Work Study

students to tutor children in reading, and thousands of AmeriCorps members and senior volunteers are organizing volunteer reading campaigns. Won \$260 million for a new child literacy initiative, consistent with the President's America Reads proposal.

Increasing Title I Funding, Helping Students Most in Need – 11 million low-income students now benefit from higher expectations and a challenging curriculum geared to higher standards.

Providing Safe After-School Opportunities for Nearly 400,000 Each Year -- expanded the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program to keep public schools open longer and provide safe and educational after-school opportunities for nearly 400,000 school-age children in rural and urban communities each year.

Raising Academic Standards with Goals 2000 -- 47 states plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico have set higher academic standards for public schools by adopting comprehensive Goals 2000 plans for education reform.

Preparing for the 21st Century by Expanding Access to Education Technology -- created the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund to help connect every school to the Internet by 2000, increase the number of multimedia computers in the classroom and provide technology training for teachers. Increased overall investments in educational technology by thirty-fold, from \$23 million in 1993 to \$698 million this year. Secured low-cost connections to the Internet for schools, libraries, rural health clinics and hospitals. Increased investment in education research to ensure all children benefit from educational technology.

Supporting Local Education Reform Efforts -- signed into law the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999 (Ed-Flex) to give all states greater flexibility in the use of federal education funds in exchange for greater accountability for helping all students reach high academic standards.

Establishing the GEAR-UP Mentoring Program for Middle School Children -- created a new mentoring initiative to help up to 100,000 low income middle school children prepare for college.

Expanding Choice and Accountability in Public Schools -- supported increase of public charter schools, from one public charter school in the nation in 1993 to more than 1,200 charter schools in 1998. With at least 1,700 charter schools expected to operate this year, the nation is more than halfway to the President's goal of establishing 3,000 quality charter schools by 2002.

Providing Early Education to 835,000 Children with Head Start -- now reaching more kids than at any time since its creation in 1965 and more than 200,000 additional children than in 1992.

Crime and Drugs: Lowest Crime Rates in 25 Years

Violent Crime Rate at Lowest Level since 1973 -- violent crime rate fell 7 percent in 1998 and 27 percent since 1993. The murder rate is down more than 25 percent since 1993, its lowest point since the Johnson Administration.

Putting 100,000 More Police on Our Streets -- this year, ahead of schedule and under budget, the Clinton-Gore Administration has met its commitment of funding 100,000 police officers for our communities.

More than 400,000 Felons, Fugitives and Stalkers Denied Guns -- since the President signed the Brady

Bill into law. And the historic 1994 Crime Bill banned 19 of the deadliest assault weapons and their copies, keeping assault weapons off our streets. The homicide rate dropped 7 percent in 1998 – almost entirely due to a decrease in homicides committed with guns.

Developed Comprehensive Anti-Drug Strategy Including a \$195 Million National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign -- appointed four-star general as the nation's Drug Czar. Illicit drug use among young people age 12-17 declined from 1997 to 1998, and the average age of first-time use went up.

Fighting Hate Crimes -- enacted the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act in 1994. Announced sponsorship of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act during the historic White House Conference on Hate Crimes.

Welfare Reform and Community Empowerment: Largest Drop in the Welfare Rolls in History

Lowest Number of People on Welfare in Thirty Years as More Recipients Go to Work -- signed the landmark welfare reform law to require work, impose time limits and dramatically expand child care spending. Since January 1993, nationwide the welfare rolls have fallen by 48 percent, from 14.1 million to 7.3 million -- cut nearly in half since the President took office and the largest welfare caseload decline in history. The percentage of welfare recipients working has tripled since 1992, an estimated 1.5 million people who were on welfare in 1997 were working in 1998, and all states have met the first overall work requirement under the welfare reform law.

Doubled the Number of Child Support Collections -- signed into law the toughest child support crackdown in history. In fiscal year 1999, 2.8 million parents delinquent in child support payments were found through the National Directory of New Hires, more than double the number found during the previous year.

Moving from Welfare to Work -- the Balanced Budget included \$3 billion to move long-term welfare recipients and unemployed non-custodial fathers into jobs and provided tax credits for employers.

Helping People Get to Work -- the President's Access to Jobs initiative helps communities design innovative transportation solutions so that families who need to work can get to work.

Helping Families Move from Welfare to Work with New Housing Vouchers -- 50,000 new housing vouchers will help families get or keep a job.

Expanded Investment in Urban and Rural Areas -- by creating 31 Empowerment Zones and more than 100 Enterprise Communities that have created new jobs, new opportunities and stronger communities.

Providing Incentives to Save -- created Individual Development Accounts, providing incentives for low income families to save for a first home, higher education, or to start a new business, effectively completing his 1992 community empowerment agenda.

Health Care: Increasing Access for Millions of Americans

Protected Medicare -- in the 1997 Balanced Budget, protected, modernized and extended the Medicare Trust Fund while offering new options for patient choice and preventive care. Proposed a plan to reform and modernize Medicare's benefits, including an optional prescription drug benefit that is affordable and available to all beneficiaries.

Extended the Life of the Medicare Trust Fund Until 2015. At the beginning of the Clinton-Gore Administration, Medicare was expected to run out of money in 1999.

Enacted Single Largest Investment in Health Care for Children since 1965 -- the \$24 billion Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) will provide health care coverage for up to five million children.

Passed Meaningful Health Insurance Reform -- signed the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act which limits exclusions for pre-existing conditions, makes coverage portable and helps individuals who lose jobs maintain coverage. As many as 25 million people will benefit from this law.

Working to Enact a Strong, Enforceable Patients' Bill of Rights for All Americans -- leading by example, the President directed all federal agencies to ensure that their employees and beneficiaries have the benefits and rights guaranteed under the President's proposed Patients' Bill of Rights.

Raised Immunization Rates to All Time High -- 90 percent of toddlers in 1996, 1997 and 1998 received the most critical doses of each of the routinely recommended vaccines, surpassing the President's 1993 goal. Childhood immunization coverage rates in 1998 were the highest ever recorded.

Ensuring Safe Food for America's Families -- issued new standards to reduce and prevent contamination of meat, poultry, and seafood; issued a presidential directive to prevent the importation of unsafe foods; signed the Food Quality Protection Act with special safeguards for kids; issued new regulations that improve the safety of fruit and vegetable juices; and created a President's Council on Food Safety to develop a comprehensive food safety strategic plan for federal agencies.

Environment: Cleanest Environment in a Quarter Century

Accelerating Toxic Cleanups and Brownfields Redevelopment -- cleaned up nearly three times as many Superfund sites in six years as the previous administrations did in twelve, with clean up of more than 90 percent of all sites either completed or in progress. Leveraged nearly \$1 billion in private sector investment for brownfields redevelopment.

Keeping Our Drinking Water Safe -- proposed and signed legislation to strengthen the Safe Drinking Water Act to ensure that our families have healthy, clean tap water. Required America's 55,000 water utilities to provide regular reports to their customers on the quality of their drinking water.

Reducing the Threat of Global Warming -- negotiated an international treaty to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in an environmentally strong and economically sound way. Secured \$1 billion in FY99 for research incentives to reduce greenhouse gas emissions through energy efficiency and clean energy technologies.

Preserving Our Lands -- protected or enhanced nearly 150 million acres of public and private lands, from the red rock canyons of Utah to the Florida Everglades. Reached agreements to protect Yellowstone from mining and save the ancient redwoods of California's Headwaters Forest.

Science and Technology: Leading America into the Next Millennium

Historic Investments in Biomedical Research -- the FY99 budget contained the largest-ever dollar increase in funds for the National Institutes of Health (NIH), including a 14 percent increase in NIH research funding. This expansion will enable scientists to pursue a wide range of cutting edge research from cancer to AIDS. Accelerated the pace of genetic mapping, leading to a more rapid discovery of ways to prevent and treat diseases.

Supporting University Research, Training the Next Generation of Scientists and Engineers -- the FY99 budget contained a 7 percent increase in the National Science Foundation research budget to support science and engineering research across all fields and disciplines.

Ensuring U.S. Leadership in Space Science and Exploration-- increased investments in space science that supported space exploration as well as new discoveries about the creation of the universe.

Strengthening the Economy and National Security with Information Technology -- provided \$1 billion investment to help ensure that America leads the world in information technologies that predict tornadoes, design life-saving drugs, and make air travel safer and more efficient, and maintain our nuclear weapons stockpile without nuclear testing.

Foreign Policy: World's Strongest Force for Peace, Freedom and Prosperity

Promoting Peace and Strengthening Democracy

- **Achieved victory and ended ethnic cleansing in Kosovo**, by leading the 79-day NATO air campaign in Kosovo that successfully compelled Milosevic to withdraw Serb troops, permit an international security force to enter and allow refugees to return to their homes in safety.
- **Restored momentum to the Middle East peace process**, brokering the Wye River Memorandum and visiting Israel and Gaza.
- **Led efforts that produced Good Friday peace agreement in Northern Ireland**, ending decades of bloodshed.
- **Building a self-sustaining peace in Bosnia** through implementation of the Dayton Peace accords.
- **Restored democracy in Haiti**, ending military dictatorship and stopping refugee flows.
- **Helped settle Peru-Ecuador border dispute and end civil war in Guatemala**.
- **Pressing for human rights, core labor standards, religious freedom, and the elimination of child labor** worldwide.

Combating New Threats

- **Protecting Americans from Weapons of Mass Destruction** by reducing Russian nuclear arsenals, **ratifying the Chemical Weapons Convention**, and **signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty**.
- **Combating terrorism** by developing a national counterterrorism strategy and striking terrorist targets in Afghanistan and Sudan.
- **Addressing threats to our infrastructure** like cyberterrorism and biological and chemical weapons.
- **Containing Saddam Hussein** through diplomacy, economic sanctions and military force.
- **Preventing North Korea from developing nuclear weapons** through deterrence, diplomacy and non-proliferation.
- **Improving military readiness** through increased defense spending.

Strengthening Alliances and Building Partnerships

- **Built a stronger and larger NATO** to ensure a more stable, democratic Europe and a fully-integrated Russia.
- **Deepening security alliances with Japan and South Korea.**
- **Built more constructive relationship with China** through engagement and frank dialogue on human rights, security and trade.
- **Expanding trade relations and strengthening democracy in Asia and Latin America.**
- **Building partnerships with Africa** during historic Presidential trip.

Expanding Prosperity

- **Opening markets abroad** through NAFTA, GATT and 270 other free trade agreements
- **Addressing global economic crisis** by leading international relief efforts and stimulating worldwide growth
- **Leading efforts to establish world finance and trade systems** for 21st century economy that benefits ordinary citizens in all countries.

9/99

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. email	Political (7 pages)	10/27/1999	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bethany Little
OA/Box Number: 18398

FOLDER TITLE:

Miscellaneous [9]

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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

George W. Bush Education Proposals

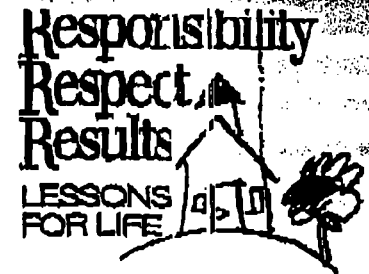
Issue	Bush Proposal	Current Law	Current Clinton Proposals (ESEA, FY 2000 Budget Request, or other proposal)
<u>Title I State Assessments</u>	- Title I schools required to test students on academic basics each year— provides no definition of “academic basics.” Choice of tests left to the states. - Disaggregated results by demographic on state tests	- Requires all states to have final assessment systems in place to measure performance of Title I schools/students against state standards in at least math and reading/language arts by 2001. Students must be assessed at a minimum at some point during grades 3-5, 6-9, and 10-12. - Requires results that can be disaggregated by demographic group by 2001.	No change.
<u>Rewarding Performance in Title I Schools</u>	States that make the greatest progress in closing the gap for economically disadvantaged students and schools within each state that make the greatest gains in moving Title I students toward the state standards will be rewarded “significantly” through an “Achievement in Education” bonus fund.	States designate schools as distinguished if the school has exceeded the state's definition of adequate yearly progress for three straight years. These schools can then act as models/mentors for other Title I schools and are eligible for additional funds from the state.	- States must set criteria for designating schools and school districts as “distinguished.” Criteria include measures such as gains in student performance, consistently high performance on state assessments, or improvements in participation. - Secretary will reward states that demonstrate significant achievement gains in core subjects for three straight years, close the gap between low and high performing students, have strategies in place for continuous improvement including reducing social promotion and retention. Rewards include priority in ESEA grant competitions, bonus funds to states, or increased flexibility.
<u>Turning Around Low Performing Title I Schools</u>	States will have three years to reform failing Title I schools by restructuring the management structure, changing personnel, reallocating money, taking over the school or school district, transferring education dollars to the parents and/or	Establishes a process for school and school district improvement that requires that (1) districts identify schools not making adequate progress for two consecutive years; (2) identified schools revise Title I plans in the year after being identified; (3) school districts help the identified schools to improve and ultimately take corrective	- Requires a change in Title I plan within three months of a school being identified for improvement with school district intervention beginning immediately. And, a school district may take corrective action at any time after a school is designated for improvement. - Sets aside 2.5 percent

	implementing a school choice program. • If after three years students at the school still do not demonstrate progress toward the state standards the state will be required to (1) give Title I students in the school the option of (fully paid for) transferring to another school that is closing the achievement gap or (2) offer parents a portable fund of \$1,500 per child for use at the school or supplemental education service of their choice. • If a state adopts a private school choice program at any time, students in failing schools would have the option of taking a pro rata share of Title I funds with them to a private school. <i>Note: No information is provided about how the "fully paid for" transfer will be financed. The \$1,500 figure in option 2 is an average and will be financed by the student's pro rata share of Title I resources matched by an equal amount from the state (either state or federal dollars). The student will be entitled to these resources for the duration of the time they would have been enrolled at the failing school.</i>	action against schools that consistently fail. Corrective actions include curtailing a schools decision-making authority, transferring staff and/or students to other schools, or reconstituting the school. States use a similar continuum with regard to failing school districts.	allocation at the state level (about \$200 million total) for states and school districts to carry out corrective action and help low-performing schools. States reserve a share of this money but the majority is sent to the district level to facilitate rapid action. • Corrective action must include at least one of the following measures: implementing a new curriculum, redesigning or reconstituting the school, reopening the school as a charter school, or closing the school. State and districts must also allow students to transfer out of schools identified for corrective action and must provide transportation or cover transportation costs for these students to attend other public schools.
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<u>Move Head Start To the Department of Education</u>	• “To ensure that Head Start makes education a priority and focuses on building skills for school readiness, especially pre-reading and numeracy, the Department of Education will oversee the administration and evaluation of local Head Start programs.”	• The 1998 reauthorization requires that Head Start programs develop performance standards to ensure that at a minimum children participating in the program develop phonemic, print and numeracy awareness, understand and use an increasingly complex vocabulary, develop and demonstrate an appreciation of books, and in the case of non-native English speakers, progress toward English acquisition. • HHS and the Head Start Bureau cooperate with the Department of Education to: *Revise Head Start performance standards to include effective transitions for children and families moving from Head Start to schools. *Ensure that all preschools funded with Title I meet the Head Start Program performance standards for education *Co-chair the America Reads Challenge workgroup on early childhood *Conduct joint training on literacy issues *Provide resources to ensure that grantees are working closely with their local elementary school.	
<u>Require Head Start Programs to Adopt a Proven Core Curriculum</u>	• The federal government will identify model curricula and effective methods of teaching pre-reading and school readiness. These research-based best practices will be made available to local Head Start programs so they can better prepare youngsters to enter school ready to learn.	• Head Start grantees must have a curriculum that supports the development of each child’s cognitive and language skills but there is no specified model.	

<u>Award Head Start Contracts on a Competitive Basis</u>	• New Head Start grants will be open to competition and awarded on a selective basis. • In the speech he said that unsuccessful Head Start contracts would be put out to bid and “someone else, including churches, synagogues and community groups” could bid on them. The paper the campaign put out makes no reference to this bold restatement of current law. • Upon renewal of each existing Head Start contract the program will be evaluated based on its effectiveness. If a program is found ineffective in teaching pre-reading and school readiness, its contract will be opened up for competitive bid.	• Competitions are currently held for Head Start grants regularly when the program expands into a new area, when a failed program is shut down, and for Early Head Start grants. • Current law allows community groups, churches, and synagogues to bid on Head Start contracts. • Programs are reviewed at least once every three years. The Administration has been clear that all Head Start programs must provide high quality services. Programs found to be deficient must correct the problems within a specified time period not to exceed one year.	
<u>Head Start Funding and Expansion</u>	• No mention	• Since 1993 Head Start funding has increased by 68 percent resulting in 200,000 more children served. Still only 2 in 5 eligible children are served.	• FY 2000 budget request includes a \$607 million increase.
<u>Reform the Office of Education Research and Improvement</u>	• Overhaul OERI and make it independent and operate it in accord with scientific standards • Eliminate the regional education laboratories.		• The forthcoming OERI reauthorization proposal contains reforms to make the agency more independent and ensure that all research conducted is rigorous, sound, and publicly accountable. The agency will become the Institute for Education Research and will be governed by an independent board appointed by the President. • The OERI reauthorization proposal continues to support the regional laboratories.

<u>Require that the federal investment in education demonstrates results</u>	• Evaluate the 760 federal education programs and insist that every program boost student achievement or replace it with other programs that succeed in reducing the achievement gap.	• Most of the “760 federal education programs” cited deal with specific purposes such as boating safety, aviation safety, or health and are not administered by the Department of Education and are not intended to raise the achievement of elementary and secondary students.	• The President has eliminated or consolidated more than 60 redundant or ineffective education programs during the past six years. • Almost every Clinton budget has proposed eliminating or consolidating redundant or ineffective programs.
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DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 335 NEW JERSEY AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20001-2079 TEL: 202-679-4458 FAX: 202-679-4556

October 5, 1999

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: Gregory King
PAGER: (888) 530-8174

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS ENDORSES
AL GORE FOR PRESIDENT**

Statement of AFT President Sandra Feldman

"Today, the 38-member AFT Executive Council, representing more than one million AFT members nationwide, voted to endorse Al Gore in his candidacy for President of the United States. As Congressman, Senator and Vice President, Al Gore has been a leading force for the needs of America's children and working families. He has fought the tough fights – and never walked away when the stakes were high. He has a lifetime of passion for education. That is why Al Gore is our clear choice for president.

"He has fought for better schools. He has fought for better health care. It is vitally important that he be elected president. Al Gore's vision includes securing a strong, enforceable patient's bill of rights, making pre-school available for every child, raising standards for students, teachers and public schools, strengthening Social Security and Medicare, and building on the strength of our economy to ensure that all Americans can participate in our prosperity.

"Starting today, AFT members across the country will roll up their sleeves to ensure that Al Gore's vision for America becomes a reality."

#

The American Federation of Teachers represents more than one million teachers, school support staff, higher education faculty and staff, healthcare professionals, and state and municipal employees.

BUSH'S FAILED ACCOUNTABILITY RECORD IN TEXAS

**"The President of the United States should insist on accountability. ...
The federal government ought to put a spotlight on results so that
parents and educators and citizens see what is happening."**

-- George W. Bush (Des Moines Register, 6/10/99)

The keys to education reforms in Texas -- reducing class size and creating accountability systems - were started 15 years ago and were strengthened by Democratic former Gov. Ann Richards. However, under Bush's watch, the Texas accountability system has been rendered ineffective by cheating, inaccurate reporting of dropouts and problems with the standardized test on which the system is based. In addition, so far in his education proposals, Bush has neither endorsed lowering class size, nor suggested increased funding for public schools. In fact, Bush's Title 1 proposal would drain money from public schools with a back-door voucher scheme. Here's a look at the Bush accountability record:

Bush Takes Credit for Other's Work: Bush gets credit for the Texas accountability system, but that system was set up 15 years ago under a Democratic governor and was strengthened in the early 1990s by another Democratic governor, Ann Richards.

TAAS Test under Fire: The basis for Bush's accountability system has come under fire recently for being outdated, detrimental to students, discriminatory to minority students and invalid because too many students were exempted.

Dropout Rates under Investigation: The Bush-supported accountability system is also based on dropout rates, which have come under investigation by the Texas comptroller for faulty data reporting by schools.

Charter Schools Are Mismanaged under Bush: The Texas State Board of Education chairman called several Texas charter schools "embarrassments." Despite charter schools' financial mismanagement and other problems, Bush supported increasing the number of charter schools without addressing how to fix the current ones.

Home Schools Are Not Held Accountable: Under Bush, Texas home schooled students are under no requirements for academic standards, attendance or teacher certification.

No Additional Funds: Bush's Previous Federal Education Plan Included Democratic Proposals without Funding: In 1999, Bush offered his first federal education proposal, which would require accountability from Title I schools and Head Start centers, measures that are already adopted or proposed by Democrats. Unlike Democrats, however, Bush included no additional funding for the programs or help for failing schools. In fact, Bush's would drain money from public schools with a back-door Title 1 voucher scheme.

Funding Cuts? Bush Backs \$800 Billion Tax Scheme that Would Cut Education Funding: Bush supported the risky \$800 billion GOP tax scheme, and said he would offer his own plan of the same size. Tax cuts of that size would require billions of dollars and hundreds of thousands of students to be cut from vital federal education programs like Head Start, Title I and student loans.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007a. talking points	Political (1 page)	10/05/1999	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bethany Little
OA/Box Number: 18398

FOLDER TITLE:

Miscellaneous [9]

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RESTRICTION CODES

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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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DNC TALKING POINTS ON BUSH'S EDUCATION SPEECH

After visiting a charter school in Harlem today, George Bush gave a speech on education today to the Manhattan Institute in New York City.

The more George W. Bush talks about education, the more he abandons our commitment to public education in this country.

90 percent of our children receive their education in our public schools. Bush's idea of fixing public schools is to walk away from them.

Once you look at his education record in Texas, especially when it comes to accountability, it is difficult to understand why he should be "promoted" to President.

The Texas Comptroller is investigating key pieces of Bush's accountability program in Texas including the test itself and drop-out rates.

His own Texas State Board of Education chairman called some Texas Charter Schools "embarrassments."

And Hispanics in Texas have questioned the fairness of his state test.

Accountability starts with a national commitment to improving every school in this country and holding those schools to a standard that improves every child's life.

It is also difficult to understand how Bush will pay for his new program without slashing funding for federal programs which families count.

Furthermore Bush wants \$800 billion risky tax scheme which could force devastating across-the-board cuts in key education programs.

And he still refuses to address the issues of class size reduction, modernizing and repairing crumbling schools, after school programs and increased technology in classrooms.

If we are going to end social program in this country, let's begin with George Bush.

-Attached One Pager-

VICE PRESIDENT GORE: NOT JUST TALK, BUT A RECORD AND A PLAN FOR HOLDING SCHOOLS ACCOUNTABLE FOR STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

"Education must become not just a period in our lives but a way of life in the 21st Century."

-- Vice President Al Gore

The Record

Setting High Standards for All Students

In 1994, the Clinton/Gore Administration worked with Congress to begin the transformation of the federal role in education by passing the Improving America's Schools Act, which reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), and the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, which supported state and local school reform efforts based on challenging academic standards and assessments linked to those standards. Prior to 1994, our education system had for too long condoned low expectations and low standards for disadvantaged children, and federal programs often reflected those expectations. The 1994 law established the clear expectation that all children can and should reach high standards.

The two laws were built on the principle that students and schools rise to the expectations and standards we set for them. Therefore, federal resources were focused on helping states to develop and implement challenging state standards for all children and to use those standards to improve learning through a coherent and aligned system of curricula and assessments.

Driving Reform

The 1994 laws provided a catalyst for change in states that had not yet begun setting high academic standards, while complementing and accelerating reforms already underway in many states and school districts. In fact, in a recent study by the General Accounting Office, many states reported that Goals 2000 has been a significant factor in promoting their education reform efforts. Similarly, according to the National Assessment of Title I, about half of poor school districts across the Nation report that Title I is "driving standards-based reform in the district as a whole." With 48 states, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia having completed the development of state content standards for all children, it is clear that higher standards are taking hold nationwide.

There is strong evidence that where states have implemented standards-based reform over a period of time—together with accountability mechanisms linked to those standards—students have benefited. For example, North Carolina made among the greatest gains in math and reading on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) between 1992 and 1996. A recent study concluded that the most plausible explanation for these gains included their effort to align their system of standards, curriculum, and assessments, and to hold schools accountable for the improvement of all students.

The Plan

The Vice President has promoted the Clinton/Gore Administration's 1999 BSEA reauthorization proposal coupled with other accountability measures and targeted investments to offer every child in America the high quality education they need to succeed. His plan was informed and enriched by conversations with hundreds of teachers, principals, parents, community activists, and state and local officials nationwide. Five accountability themes have emerged again and again during this process, and these themes are found throughout his education agenda: (1) firmly committing to high standards in every classroom, (2) giving students the tools and support they need to reach those high standards, (3) strengthening accountability for student achievement, (4) improving the quality of classroom experiences and instruction, and (5) ensuring safe, disciplined, and drug- and gun-free school environments where all children feel connected, motivated, and challenged to learn and where parents are welcomed and involved in their children's education.

Promoting High Standards and Accountability

The next step in education improvement is to take the high standards set at the Statehouse and move them to schools and classrooms. The Educational Excellence for All Children Act of 1999 renews the Vice President's commitment to high standards for all children and promotes the next stage of standards-based reform by helping states, districts, schools, and teachers use challenging state standards to guide classroom instruction and student assessment, and by holding them accountable for results. The Vice President supports this commitment to high standards by also promoting the investments in children's learning that they need to succeed, such as universal preschool, class size reduction in the early years, where children learn to read and master the basics, and extended learning time in after school and summer school programs.

The Educational Excellence for All Children Act of 1999

- Title I of the BSEA would continue to focus on high expectations for all children, retaining the current statutory requirement that states establish content standards, student performance standards, and assessments aligned with the standards by the 2000-01 school year.
- Title II includes a specific authorization to help states and school districts align instruction, curriculum, assessments, and professional development to challenging academic standards.
- States will hold all school districts accountable, and school districts will hold schools accountable, for continuous and substantial gains in overall student performance and in the performance of the lowest-performing students.
- Provide teachers with up-to-date training and support through a new Teaching to High Standards initiative, and provide professional development for early childhood educators to help children's learning start off strong.
- Put useful technology into schools and classrooms to help teachers teach to high standards, particularly in high-poverty districts, for instance by using distance learning to get

challenging subject matter into all classrooms.

- Continue the Class-Size Reduction initiative, which seeks to reduce class size in the early grades to a nationwide average of 18 students, to give all students the individual attention they need to read well and independently by the end of the third grade. It would also continue the Reading Excellence Act, which focuses on professional development, extended learning time, and family literacy.
- Focus on promoting equity, excellence, and public school choice options for all students through charter schools, magnet schools and school within schools. Every parent should be able to choose the public school that best fits their child's needs.
- Continue to target federal resources on the most disadvantaged students and those struggling to meet state and local standards.

An Education for the 21st Century

Vice President Gore is working to ensure that all our children receive the high quality education they will need to succeed in the 21st Century. He will build on and extend the aggressive efforts since 1993 to improve our schools through higher standards, extra help to students who need it the most, and equal access to higher education, but he will also go farther in bringing change to our schools.

- "First, we must begin at the beginning -- by making high-quality pre-school fully available to every family, for every child, in every community in America."
- "Second, in the 21st Century, we must improve teacher quality and elevate the teaching profession, by setting high standards for teachers and giving them the intensive support they need to succeed. And then we need to reward them for excellence."
- "Third, we need a renewed focus on discipline, character, the right values, and safety -- and we need more parental involvement in our schools."
- "Fourth, we should commit ourselves to fundamentally changing the American high school. We envision a new American high school -- with smaller classes, smaller schools, and principals with the power to lead."
- "Fifth, we need an aggressive plan to turn around every failing school in America."
- "Sixth, we should realize that the technological revolution makes possible an instructional revolution -- where we can replace standardized textbook learning with individualized learning matched to every child's pace and potential, and learning style."
- "Seventh, we must give every family the ability to save and pay for their children's college education, and to continue their own education throughout their lifetimes. We have made progress, but much more is needed."

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Bush Aims To Change Local Education

By Glen Johnson
Associated Press Writer
Tuesday, Oct. 5, 1999; 3:35 a.m. EDT

WASHINGTON — The federal government should give states greater flexibility in spending grant money for elementary and secondary education, but not without accountability through student testing, Texas Gov. George W. Bush proposes.

In his second major address on education, the Republican presidential candidate also was calling today for a tenfold increase in education savings account contributions, from \$500 to \$5,000 annually; a \$500 million Achievement and Education Fund to reward improving school systems; and a \$3 billion Charter School Homestead Fund to provide loan guarantees to help start or improve charter schools.

The goal: To improve education across the country with "pressure from above and competition from below."

"What I am proposing today is a fresh start for the federal role in education," Bush said in remarks prepared for delivery at a Manhattan Institute luncheon in New York. "A pact of principle. Freedom in exchange for achievement. Latitude in return for results. Local control with a national goal: excellence for every child."

Last month, Bush began rolling out his tough-love approach to education, telling an audience in Los Angeles that money for Title I – the main federal program for poor and disadvantaged children – should be confiscated from the worst-performing schools and given to parents for private schooling, tutoring "or whatever offers hope."

In the second of three planned speeches, Bush expanded on ways to let states use federal education dollars more freely while also demanding results. He also envisions offering parents alternatives through private- or charter-school education.

One target of the Bush program is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The \$13.8 billion program currently provides grants for elementary and secondary programs under 60 categories.

Bush wants to streamline them into five general categories so states can tailor programs to their unique needs. Under the plan, money could be spent to improve the achievement of disadvantaged children; promote fluency in English; train and recruit teachers; encourage student character

and school safety; and promote innovation and informed parental choice.

Proposals to use federal money for state voucher programs – strongly opposed by teacher unions and Democratic candidates such as Vice President Al Gore – would be allowed. Bill Bradley, Gore's rival for the Democratic presidential nomination, has voted for voucher experiments but doesn't believe they are the solution to fundamental educational problems. Most of the GOP candidates favor voucher systems.

In exchange, Bush would demand that states design and administer annual tests to children in Grades 3-8. States that are not improving after five years would lose the administrative portion of their ESEA grants, roughly 5 percent of the total. States that improve would be eligible for money from the Achievement and Education Fund, which would be bolstered with \$500 million over five years.

Test results would be distributed over the Internet.

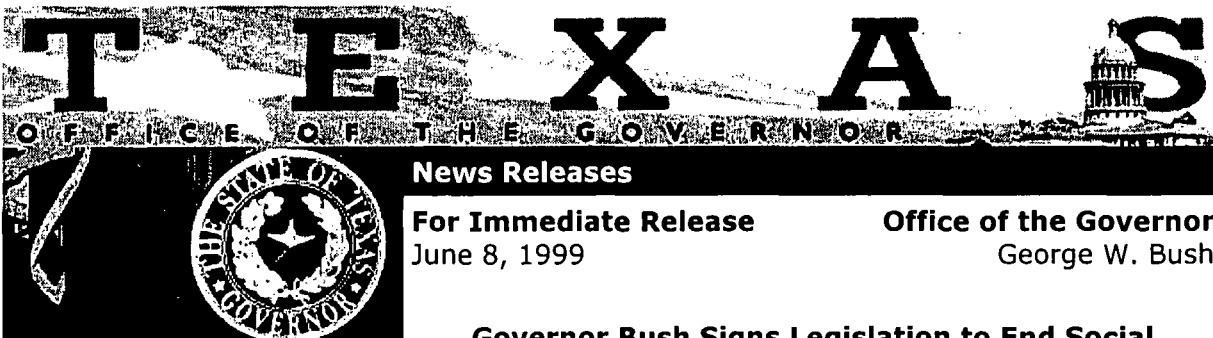
"Without testing, reform is a journey without a compass," Bush said.

"Without testing, teachers and administrators cannot adjust their methods to meet high goals. ... Without testing, parents are left in the dark."

Bush also wants to increase the number of charter schools – privately run schools that receive public money – to give parents another education option. His \$3 billion Homestead program would provide seed money for up to 2,000 such schools.

"As president, I want to fan the spark of charter schools into a flame," Bush said. "If charters are done properly – free to hire their own teachers, adopt their own curriculum, set their own operating rules and high standards – they will change the face of American education."

Finally, Bush is proposing to increase the federal allowance for education savings from \$500 per year to \$5,000. Under a 1997 law, parents can withdraw their contributions tax-free to pay for college expenses. Bush would let parents spend the money from kindergarten through college.

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June 8, 1999

Office of the Governor

George W. Bush

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**Governor Bush Signs Legislation to End Social
Promotion and Increase Funding for Public Schools,
Teacher Pay, and Property Tax Cuts**

AUSTIN – Governor George W. Bush, joined by legislative leaders, today signed into law Senate Bill 4, a \$3.8 billion comprehensive public education bill that raises teachers' salaries, cuts property taxes and ends social promotion in schools.

"We are substantially increasing funding for our number one priority, the public schools, and at the same time providing property tax cuts and tax relief for Texans," said Governor Bush. "Texas leads the nation when it comes to improving public schools. We are raising standards, strengthening accountability and funding early intervention so that every child learns to read and no child is left behind."

The initiative, to be phased in with the kindergarten class of 1999, requires that children who are diagnosed with reading problems in grades K-2 get extra help and that any child who fails the TAAS 3rd grade reading test gets additional intensive reading instruction. Students would also be required to pass the reading and math portions of the TAAS in 5th grade and 8th grade to be promoted.

"Our accountability system for education in Texas is one of the best in the nation. Now we have made it even stronger by ending the failed practice of automatic social promotion," said Governor Bush. "We will make sure that every child with a reading problem gets early, additional reading instruction. This initiative is going to change Texas. When we teach every child to read, we are going to change people's lives."

Senate Bill 4 gives public school teachers and full-time nurses, counselors and librarians a \$3,000 pay increase. The measure also targets intervention for pre-K, kindergarten, and 9th grade. It mitigates the impact of Robin Hood by limiting the amount of recapture in Texas. It increases state funding for capital improvements for schools and to help pay down school district debt.

Senate Bill 4 includes nearly \$1.4 billion in property tax relief that will result in an average property tax rate reduction of six cents per \$100 evaluation. On a home

assessed at \$100,000 the tax cut could be as high as \$440 with a statewide average of \$60 a year.

"I thank the sponsors, Senator Bivins and Representative Sadler, for their strong support and hard work on this legislation which will result in better schools and lower property taxes," Governor Bush said. "Dollars and actions speak louder than words, and across Texas the message is clear – public schools are our number one priority."

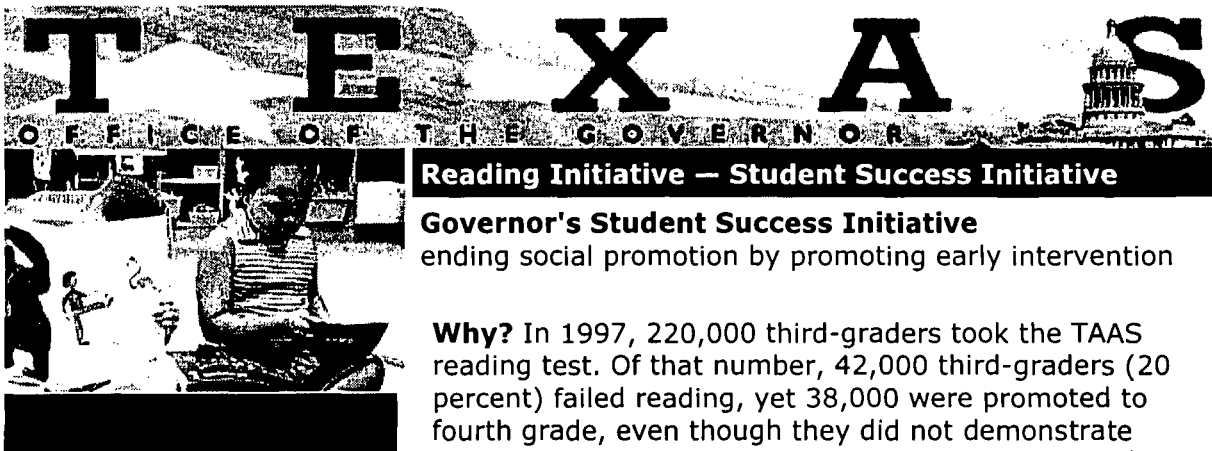
Governor Bush also signed Senate Bill 103, sponsored by Sen. Bivins and Rep. Kent Grusendorf, which moves the TAAS exit level test to the 11th grade, continues testing at the 10th grade level, and establishes new assessments in reading and math in the 9th grade. This will allow schools and parents to follow the year to year progress of students.

Governor Bush signed House Bill 2075, a Truth in Taxation law that makes taxation notices more clear and understandable to taxpayers. He commended the bill sponsors Senator David Cain and Representative Scott Hochberg.

"The legislation signed here today benefits the school children of Texas and the taxpayers of Texas and will make our state a better place," said Governor Bush.

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Reading Initiative — Student Success Initiative

Governor's Student Success Initiative

ending social promotion by promoting early intervention

Why? In 1997, 220,000 third-graders took the TAAS reading test. Of that number, 42,000 third-graders (20 percent) failed reading, yet 38,000 were promoted to fourth grade, even though they did not demonstrate third-grade reading proficiency as measured by TAAS. This practice is known as social promotion.

The TAAS measures reading skills that are essential for learning other subjects. Studies show that most children who cannot read well by third grade never catch up. The only way to prevent this is through early intervention. Clearly the ages between five and eight provide a window of opportunity for developing reading skills. Without early intervention, the window will close for many Texas children. Social promotion further shuts this window by ignoring serious reading problems.

Under the state accountability system, reading skills are not measured until the end of third grade. Measuring a child's reading progress in early grades creates an opportunity for intervention. State law says, "A student may be promoted only on the basis of academic achievement or demonstrated proficiency of the subject matter of the course or grade level." The intent of this law is to forbid social promotions, but 1997 statistics indicate that the practice is common. Current law lacks accountability, does not set clear criteria for promotion, fails to empower teachers and frequently ignores children with poor reading skills.

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Reading Initiative — Student Success Initiative

"I propose we begin the new century by ending social promotion in Texas schools. I believe the best way to end social promotion is to eliminate the need for it by better equipping our children with basic, building block skills – especially reading – in their first years of school.



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"When children artificially rise through the school system through social promotion, no one wins. The child is set up for frustration and failure. Parents are left with a false impression of their children's abilities. Teachers must adjust instruction to accommodate under-prepared children. This, in turn, affects those children who were promoted because they had strong skills and are able to tackle new challenges.

"As socially promoted children move through the system, they cannot keep pace, and many fall into an academic abyss they may never escape. To ensure a quality education for every Texas child, we must put a stop to this practice that creates false hopes, fuels the dropout rate and destroys the dreams of too many children.

"Just advancing children a grade does not make problems disappear. *Fixing the problem* is what makes problems disappear.

"Texas must stop using social promotion to mask our children's learning problems, and start fixing the underlying cause: poor reading skills. To promote children without teaching them to read is like sending them to climb Mount Everest without the equipment or training to reach the summit.

"My plan calls for schools to closely monitor the reading progress of K-3 students, and to quickly intervene when problems are detected, using research-based, phonics-driven reading instruction. Early intervention will ensure poor readers catch up and move ahead in school.

"The point of my plan is not to punish, but to equip every child with the essential skills for learning before it's too late.

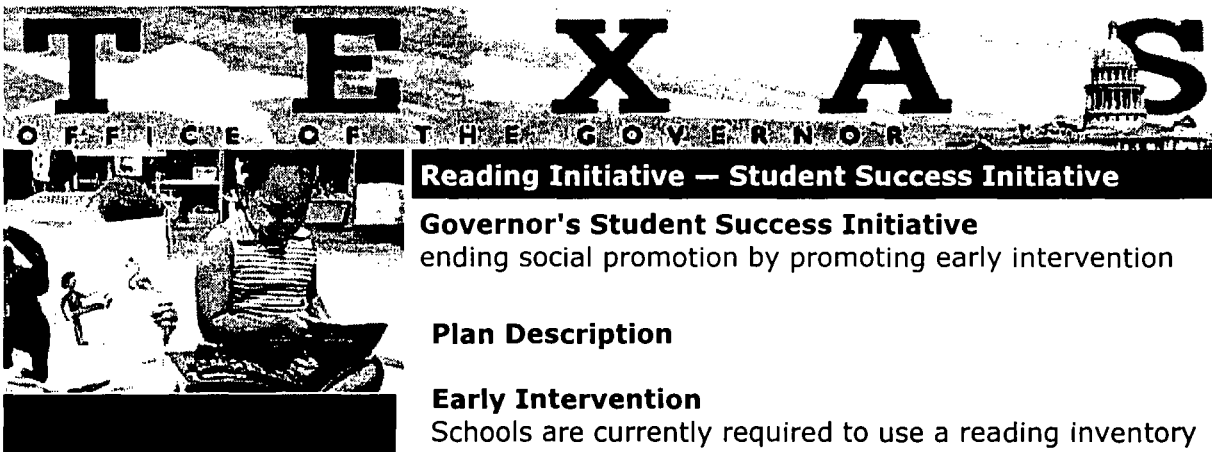
"If we leave the system as it is now, we are dooming generations of children to failure. I refuse to accept that. I

believe in the bright potential of every single child in Texas. I am committed to rallying public and private resources and the full energy of our education system to bring out that potential.

"This plan will open doors -- to opportunity and hope and a brighter future for every Texas child." George W. Bush

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Reading Initiative — Student Success Initiative

Governor's Student Success Initiative

ending social promotion by promoting early intervention

Plan Description

Early Intervention

Schools are currently required to use a reading inventory to identify whether students in kindergarten, first grade and second grade are progressing in reading. Parents will be notified of the results of the reading inventory.

Schools will be required to provide accelerated instruction to students who are behind. The method and type of accelerated instruction is a decision made locally, such as summer school, extended day programs, or tutorials. Students will be required to attend.

Resources for help

Schools will receive up to \$670 per student to provide accelerated instruction to kindergarten, first and second grade students who are behind in reading skills. Accelerated instruction will be provided to ensure that each and every student is on course to be reading on grade level by the end of third grade.

Teacher Academies/Professional Development

Teachers will have the opportunity to participate in summer seminars that will focus on the science of reading and the methods of instruction for correcting reading problems. To coincide with the entering kindergarten class of 1999, kindergarten teachers have an opportunity to attend this summer. First grade teachers and new kindergarten teachers will have the opportunity to attend training in the summer of 2000. Second grade teachers and new kindergarten and first grade teachers will have an opportunity to attend in the summer of 2001. The state will pay participating teachers a \$150 per day stipend. The state cost for professional development is \$1,200 per teacher including the stipend.

School Accountability

Third grade students in 2003 must pass the reading section of the TAAS in order to be promoted to the fourth grade. Fifth grade students must pass the reading and math sections in 2005. Eighth grade students must pass the reading and math sections of the TAAS to be promoted in 2008. Students will be given three opportunities to pass the TAAS. Accelerated instruction must be provided after each failure.

After a second attempt and failure, a grade placement committee (GPC) comprised of the student's parents,

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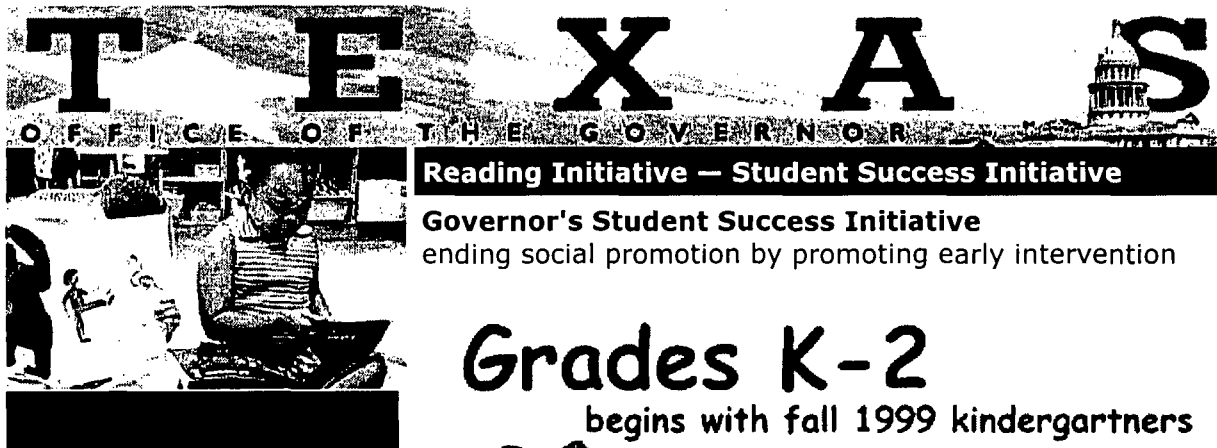
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teacher and principal is formed to determine the instruction given before the third administration of the TAAS. In addition, the student may take an alternate assessment approved by the Commissioner. After a third attempt and failure, the student will be retained. Parents could appeal the retention to the GPC, which may promote a student so long as the decision to promote is unanimous and is in accordance with local policies and procedures. The GPC must affirm that the child would be expected to perform at fourth grade level if promoted. The decision of the GPC is final. Any decision to promote through the GPC must be reported in the accountability system. Regardless of whether the student is promoted, the GPC must develop an education plan to help the student perform on grade level. If a student passes the TAAS, schools may decide not to promote the student based on other factors contained in law or school board policy.

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Reading Initiative — Student Success Initiative

Governor's Student Success Initiative

ending social promotion by promoting early intervention

Grades K-2

begins with fall 1999 kindergartners



Lisa

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Reading Inventory

Lisa's reading development is evaluated through a reading inventory.

→ Lisa does well



Lisa needs and gets help

Lisa's performance on the reading inventory shows the need for more instruction.



Lisa is promoted to next grade.

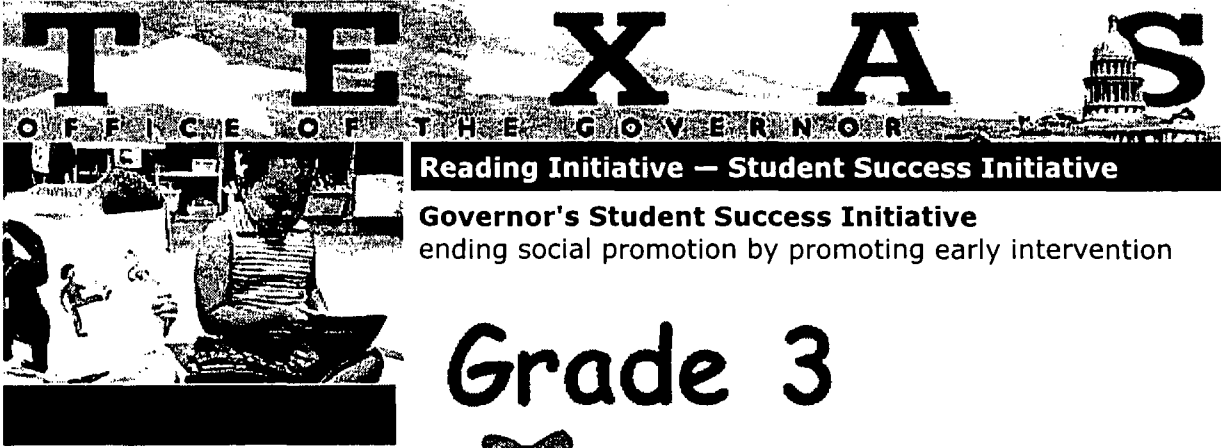
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Grade 3
 Lisa

Lisa takes the TAAS

Lisa passes

Lisa fails & gets help

Lisa takes TAAS again

Lisa passes

Lisa fails & goes to summer school

Lisa takes TAAS again

Lisa passes



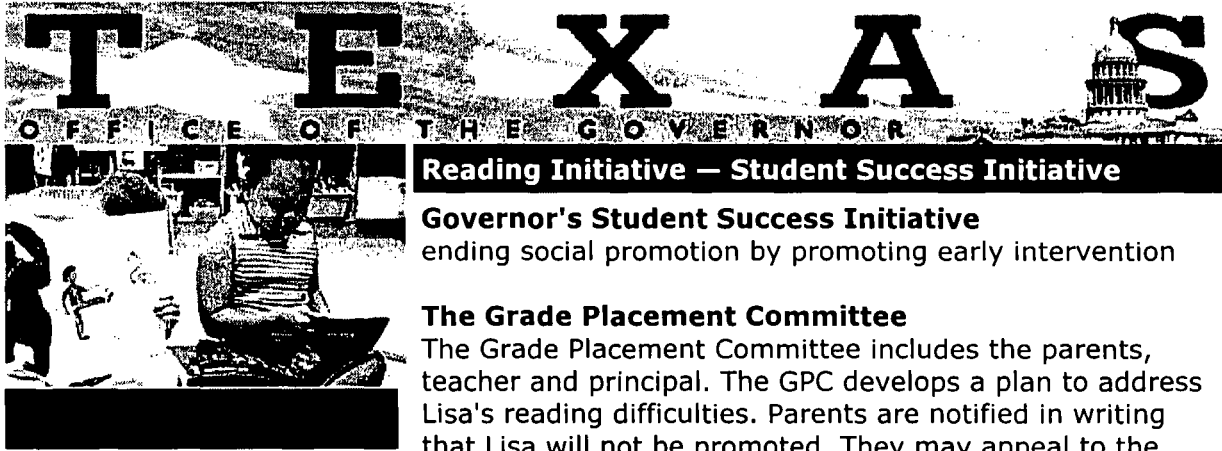
Lisa fails and is not promoted

Lisa is promoted to fourth grade

Grade Placement Committee

Click to learn more about GPC

Lisa may also take an alternate assessment approved by the commissioner.



Reading Initiative — Student Success Initiative

Governor's Student Success Initiative

ending social promotion by promoting early intervention

The Grade Placement Committee

The Grade Placement Committee includes the parents, teacher and principal. The GPC develops a plan to address Lisa's reading difficulties. Parents are notified in writing that Lisa will not be promoted. They may appeal to the GPC. If the GPC decides to promote, the decision must be **unanimous**, and the GPC must determine that Lisa will be able to perform at fourth grade level. Districts are accountable to the state for the number of students passed through the GPC.

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Politics

THE EDUCATION OF W., COURTESY OF PPI

BY SIOBHAN GORMAN



WILL MARSHALL: "It's difficult for me to criticize [Bush's education] position because it's ours." He calls Bush "shrewd."

Looking for "compassionate conservative" ideas? Try the Democratic Leadership Council. It seems to be working for George W. Bush.

An education proposal Bush outlined Oct. 5—consolidating 60 federal education programs into five—cribs liberally from an April proposal by the DLC's think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute. This unusual meeting of the minds not only highlights Bush's ever-more-centrist strategy, but also may offer a springboard for a New Democrat education proposal expected to be introduced in the Senate within the next few weeks. And having embraced a Democratic proposal that Democratic front-runner Al Gore hasn't, Bush's maneuver raises questions about what the Vice President will pursue in terms of a comprehensive education policy.

Bush's plan would merge federal elementary and secondary education funding into five categories: achievement for disadvantaged children; teacher training and recruitment; English fluency; character-building and school safety; and parental choice. The PPI proposal groups the same federal money into programs for compensatory education; professional development for teachers; limited-English-proficient students; "innovative strategies"; and state administration. Both proposals withhold federal money if states do not show they are boosting student test scores.

"It's difficult for me to criticize his position because it's ours," said Will Marshall, the president of the Progressive Policy Institute. "I think it's a shrewd recognition of how the debate has changed in the United States. What he has done is to try to move to occupy territory that represents where the debate is moving. I think there is a growing feeling

that the federal role in education has been well intentioned but ineffective in terms of raising the performance of low-income kids."

The Bush team has had its eye on the PPI proposal for a while. "They've always liked [PPI's plan]," said Nina Shokrait Rees, an education policy analyst at the rightward-tilting Heritage Foundation, and an adviser to the Bush campaign. "Conceptually, they're identical." She added that Bush's education agenda also includes elements of the GOP Straight A's proposal, which would allow states to combine the funds from more than 30 federal programs. Bush also backs tax-free education savings accounts, a favorite of Sen. Paul Coverdell, R-Ga.

Two of Bush's education proposals could soon end up on the Senate floor simultaneously—one sponsored by Democrats and the other by Republicans. Bush's consolidation proposal sets up a new dynamic on Capitol Hill that may boost a bill based on the PPI proposal—which Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, D-Conn., plans to introduce when Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., brings the Straight A's proposal to the floor.

"It highlights what everybody knows from Texas," said Bush spokeswoman Mindy Tucker. "Governor Bush leads by uniting people behind common goals and working with people from both sides of the aisle to achieve results."

Lieberman believes that Bush's support for a similar proposal will give his bill traction on the other side of the aisle. Bush's consolidation plan "may perhaps be our best pitch to moderate Republicans for our proposal," said Dan Gerstein, Lieberman's press secretary. "It has legs all the way to Austin." Several House members, including Reps. Tim Roemer, D-Ind., and Calvin Dooley, D-Calif., have expressed interest in sponsoring a companion bill.

Heritage's Rees agreed that the Lieberman/PPI proposal, now co-opted by Bush, could offer a blueprint for reforming the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), which outlines the federal commitment to elementary and secondary education. "Everyone is fed up with ESEA—it's just that no one's thought outside the box," Rees said. "The leadership in the House and Senate are paying attention to education, but not offering anything new." House Education and the Workforce Committee Chairman William F. Goodling, R-Pa., plans to shepherd through his chamber this fall legislation making relatively few changes to the 34-year-old law.

PPI's Marshall said that if the legislation comes to pass, Bush will be able to share in the credit. "I think that there's still the opportunity for New Democrats in the Senate and the House to say this is their proposal," he said. "He moves the debate back toward this position, so there could be a real bridging here. It'll be interesting to see if Republicans get behind their front-running candidate."

Recently, Bush has taken multiple stands against the Republican leadership in Congress, and it is not yet clear whether this proposal will be another such example.

Bush's co-optive move forces not only congressional Republicans but also Al Gore into an awkward position. When Lieberman's office forwarded the consolidation plan to Gore's campaign, it met with no response, though Lieberman is a

Gore backer. And ironically enough, the author of PPI's proposal, Andrew J. Rotherham, is now at the White House, where he is special assistant to the President for education policy.

"I think it presents [Gore] with an interesting choice," Marshall said. "Choice one is to offer a competing blueprint of his own for all these federal aid to schools programs, or he can simply criticize the Bush proposal."

Calling Bush's consolidation proposal a "bureaucratic fix," Gore campaign policy adviser Elaine Kamarck said that Gore wants to focus on "new ideas" such as universal preschool and extended family leave to cover parent-teacher meetings. Noting that Gore was the father of "reinventing government," Kamarck said, "There's nothing wrong with [Bush's] idea; it was our idea to make it easier for states to administer their federal money." She added that Gore has worked to streamline programs at the Education Department throughout his vice presidency.

"It has not been our experience that these things make for great news," Kamarck said. "These are sort of inside baseball for the government. They're not the most exciting things to put into campaign speeches." She said she did not know whether Gore would later consider a consolidation policy.

"He's cautious right now," said one Democratic analyst and Gore supporter. "Bush is getting a pass from his interest groups that Gore's not getting. He's telling the Christian Coalition to go to hell, but

Pat Robertson is still all over the Sunday morning talk shows saying how great he is." Gore was endorsed by the American Federation of Teachers the same day Bush introduced his consolidation plan, and the National Education Association's endorsement followed later that week.

"Gore is really locked into a box where he can't say, 'I don't like my boss's plan,'" Rees of Heritage said.

Although Marshall said Gore does not have to toe the Clinton Administration line on education, the agenda Gore has thus far outlined largely builds on Clinton's 1994 reforms that emphasize setting standards for student achievement; testing student progress toward those benchmarks; pushing for money to hire teachers; and fixing crumbling schools.

For Gore, Marshall said, the challenge will be to find a publicly appealing, comprehensive proposal that sounds different from what the country has heard for the past seven years and doesn't just establish a program to address every problem. The Vice President's next step, said Marshall, should be "to look beyond the initial strategy of base consolidation to a general election strategy."

That's what Bush is doing as he co-opts Democratic ideas possibly at the expense of his base. And Marshall, a key strategist for Clinton in 1992, noted that's a familiar recipe for success. "It's further confirmation that Bush is pulling a reverse Clinton," he said. "He's running a Republican version of the campaign Clinton ran in 1992." ■

■ Campaign Circuit ■

More Bucks for Bush

That nonstop money-raising machine that goes by the name of Texas Republican Gov. George W. Bush's presidential campaign is, once again, Operatives in the campaign have invited some 200 to 300 of its top fund-raisers to Austin next month for two days of talks about the campaign's future money needs, a luncheon with the Governor, and, of course, more fund-raising for the front-running Republican candidate.

Organizing the gathering is Donald Evans, the Bush campaign's national finance chairman, who gets a big share of the credit for an operation that has already raised more than \$56 million. The Austin event will include a 230-a.m. fund-raiser on Nov. 16 to help invigorate the campaign's efforts to collect dollars for a special fund that covers legal and accounting expenses.

Each party nominee typically raises between \$5 million

and \$7 million to pay these bills in the general election. Both the Bush campaign and that of Vice President Al Gore have set up such an account, which is officially called a General Election Legal and Accounting Compliance Fund (GELAC Fund).

So far, the Bush GELAC Fund has raised about \$500,000, according to campaign sources. But the campaign expects to raise several million dollars more from Bush supporters who have already given the maximum individual campaign donation of \$1,000, but are allowed to chip in another \$1,000 for the GELAC Fund.

After the fund-raiser, the cash harvesters—who will most likely include the 160 or so "Pioneers" who have already raised more than \$100,000 for the Governor—will attend a private luncheon with him, at which Bush will personally congratulate them. It's an opportunity for the Governor and Evans to thank everybody, said one Washington fund-raiser. "We've been on a marathon for months."

—Peter F. Stone