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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

December 22, 1995

Memorandum to Steve Silverman

From Frank Holleman

FBH

Attached are Secretary Riley's ideas for the State of the Union speech. Attached are: (1) a two-page summary; (2) a three-page elaboration on the themes; (3) a two-page document that explains why education is a national concern today; and (4) a three-page document entitled "Why Federal Education Funding is Important." The last two documents are included as background materials and contain important polling data, educational statistics, issue descriptions, and education message materials.

Let us know if you need anything more.

Thoughts on 1996 State of Union Speech

Major Themes: Continue major theme of "opportunity and responsibility"

1. Increase Emphasis on responsibility

- o Responsibility to others, to society, to America
- o Taking advantage of opportunity requires hard work
- o Use concepts such as performance, accountability, standards, respect for others, discipline.

2. We are emerging into a new post cold-war, post balanced-budget era. We need to position America to be a strong democracy and economy in a diverse society with constrained spending.

- o Smaller, more responsive and efficient government
- o Focus on selected national purposes -- to support good citizenship and economy: Quality schools, clean water and air, healthy youngsters, safe streets and schools.
- o Performance Partnerships with states based on national purposes.

3. Provide leadership to address fundamental stresses and strains in society:

- o racial tensions
- o income inequalities
- o responsible role for youth who are not going on to college

4. Invest in Education: New Federal K-12 role based on leadership and high standards

- o Reaffirm national purpose of public schools -- to promote citizenship and create the public as well as serve the public.
- o Performance partnership with states around high state standards, local responsibility and flexibility with accountability.
- o National leadership through voluntary national standards, support for citizenship and service in schools, putting technology to use, and charter schools.

5. Invest in Education: Insure access to at least two years of college for all prepared high school graduates.

- o Scholarships based on merit for top two percent of all graduating classes.
- o Strong direct lending program with income contingent repayment allowing graduates to take low paying, service

oriented jobs.

- o Increase responsibility through greater work-study opportunities.
- o Reduce regulations for schools with strong administrative records.

6. Face issue of work for non-college going youth. "More recently he has proffered the wisdom that instead of simply yelling at the unskilled underclass to get off their duffs and go to work, we might spend some thought seeing to it that there is some entry-level work for them to do -- some modern-day equivalent of the factory." (WM Raspberry paraphrasing Hugh Price. WPost 12/22)

Department of Education

December 22, 1995

Other Thoughts on 1996 State of Union Speech:

Beginning to fleshing out some of the Themes

Emerging new federal role in post-cold war post-balanced budget era: Requires a new vision -- not a highly regulated government or the fragmented, rudderless vision of the Republicans. Government will be smaller, more responsive.

- o Need bold federal leadership in critical areas of national purposes and responsibilities -- clear direction in those domestic and international arenas required to keep our democracy and economy strong and to ensure "domestic tranquility."

- o Performance Partnerships around national purposes: Structure around clear standards of performance rather than conformity with process: Get incentives straight -- support and reward progress, quality, innovation, and hard work; emphasize responsibility; exercise accountability when progress is not forthcoming.

- o Tight budgets with new resources created by economic growth targeted to national priorities and a different way of doing business.

- o Key national priorities -- all where state and local governments are critical -- but where our national livelihood is at stake: To build a strong nation we need:

- * Strong schools that prepare all of our youth to be productive and involved citizens with good jobs through solid basic skills, high academic standards, and clear rules of conduct with consequences for mis-behaving.

- * Clean water, clean air

- * Healthy youngsters ... Basic safety net.

- * Safe streets, communities and schools ...

Education: A different Federal Role based on leadership, vision, identification of national purposes

o Reaffirm fundamental national purpose of public schools -- public schools do not only serve the public, they create the public.¹ Public schools are necessary to prepare our students to live and work in a challenging and internationally competitive democracy and economy.

o To meet this purpose public schools must prepare students to meet rigorous academic and occupational standards and to participate as Americans in our diverse democratic society. High academic standards as well as the basics, a safe and disciplined environment, well trained teachers, local flexibility and charter schools, occupational training for high paying jobs, support for all prepared students to attend college -- these are the ingredients of an effective education strategy. Clinton priority programs will help make this happen.

o A strong nation needs a strong school system -- while we have a long way to go the nation is beginning to move in the right direction: achievement is up in math, science and reading, 4 times as many advanced placement courses taken than in 1980, standards are having great effect in Maryland, NYC, KY and other states and communities throughout the nation.

o The federal government is beginning to move in the right direction -- put into place strong programs in support of state and local reforms for all students, reduced programs by over 70, reduced regulations in elementary and secondary education by over 75%, implemented large scale waiver program for the first time.

o At Elementary and Secondary level continued national leadership is necessary to make performance count. The need for increased national efforts is greater than ever as the school population will see a tidal wave of new students (over 20% increase) over the next decade to the highest levels ever.

- Support state and local reforms for challenging standards through Goals 2000 and School to Work.

- Strong Presidential and Secretarial support for voluntary national standards to help guide and challenge our schools. Strengthen National Assessment of Education Progress to give us regular performance feedback on our national and state efforts. Give public clear

¹ See recent Neil Postman book The End of Education.

expectations about what is high quality, internationally competitive work.

- Promote flexibility and accountability for results: Establish a system of performance partnerships with states to give incentives to states with improved achievement -- waive all federal education laws and regulations except civil rights laws and IDEA for states that have demonstrated improved achievement. In consultation with MD and other states to implement this plan.

- Presidential and Secretarial support for increased attention to citizenship in our schools -- public service, saluting the flag, clear guidelines for religious activities ...

- Technology -- public, private partnership to put computers to use in every classroom in the nation by the year 2000 -- wire all schools to the world wide web -- and train all teachers to use computers to enhance student opportunities to reach high academic standards.

- Provide strong incentives for the development and initial implementation of charter schools throughout the nation.

o At Post-Secondary level: Insure financial access to college for all deserving high school graduates. Simplify and strengthen other student assistance programs. (Could propose IRAs for college use -- Laura Tyson's plan: This would be expensive but powerful!!) Alternatively:

- Establish \$1000/year scholarship based on merit for up to two years for the top two percent of all graduating students in every secondary school in the nation (grade point average) for use in the college of their choice. 60,000 students per year cost up to \$120 million in the second year (when 120,000 students would have received awards).

- Increase Pell grants, the heart of the financial aid programs, to \$3128 by 2002!!

- Continue to have a strong Direct Loan program.

- Increase work-study by 50% phasing in over five years.

- Reward schools with strong records in administering student aid with dramatic reduction in federal regulatory requirements.

Connecting Education As A National Concern to Local Action and Support

1. *Given the long American tradition of local and state control, are education and its funding a national or federal concern of the public? Examples from recent polls show strong support:*

- * 81% oppose decreasing federal education funding to decrease the federal deficit; 19% would favor (Times Mirror, 1994).
- * 75% said federal aid to education should be expanded; 18% said "keep same"; and 4% said "cut back" (Gallup, 1995).
- * 80% of Americans think the federal Department of Education is necessary; 70% say "very necessary" (NBC/Wall Street Journal, 1995).
- * 76% disapprove of reducing federal funding for low-income schools to balance the federal budget; by comparison, 61% disapprove of cutting the rate of spending growth for Medicare; and 36% oppose cutting food stamp funding (Times Mirror, 1995).
- * 74% of Republicans in New Hampshire (10/25/95), said "no" to cuts in education to reduce the deficit as compared to 62% "no" to Medicare cuts; 33% "no" to defense cuts; and 43% "no" to cuts in assistance to the poor.
- * By almost 2-to-1, young voters (18-34) cite education as a top voting issue over the budget deficit, crime, and Medicare (NBC, Wall Street Journal, 11/2/95).

However, citizens clearly don't want micromanagement of detailed programs from the federal or state levels, but they do want accountability and want to reduce waste and red tape. They like encouragement of community-based solutions and local partnerships. They want all of us to work together on needed educational changes to reflect the changed realities of American society and the demands of today's and tomorrow's workplaces.

2. *What is the overall message on education that connects with local citizens?*

Celinda Lake has a framework that captures this well. Combining her findings with several others gives a good general message about needed focus and attention.

- * Quality education is absolutely necessary not only to the future of our children and our families but to the future of America. A good education is certainly essential to each citizen for full participation in the changing economy, but a well-educated citizenry is also essential to our country's democratic way of life. As a nation, we have a stake in giving our children a solid foundation to make the most of their lives and to be productive, responsible adults.

In addition to academics, a quality education is one that stresses discipline, hard work, respect and responsibility where guns, violence and drugs are not present. We need to set the highest standards in education and we need to make this a national priority. Parents should have the choice of public schools or charter schools to escape poorly run or disorderly schools. Schools should not allow hostility to religion or to good citizenship.

HeadStart, strong teacher training, extra help in the basics, getting computers in the classroom, and streamlined college loans are fundamental to helping our children get started on the right course. Along with better financial aid for college, providing specialized courses for career preparation with work-study experiences is also important.

We should be making all of these initiatives better, not cutting them back. They are essential to a strong economic future for our children and our families, and to our ability to compete in an international economy to bring us together as Americans.

Recurring critical issues:

- * safe, disciplined, and drug-free learning environment.
- * promoting parent involvement.
- * rigorously teaching the basics.
- * getting quality teachers and upgrading teacher skills.
- * setting high standards of discipline and achievement.
- * getting computer technology into the classroom as soon as possible.
- * access to student loans and financial aid for college.
- * teaching and connecting young people to real life skills that prepare them for adulthood, careers, and college.

3. *What are any opportunities to address these issues locally?*

- a. The proposed reconciliation and appropriation bills by the "new" Congress cut the very education areas people support the most. In fact, the public wants to improve and expand them. However, most people do not know about the cuts nor what to do about them. Showing direct impact on local schools, colleges, students, parents and teachers can make this a real and very important local issue.
- b. Citizens like to see local parent-teacher, business-school, and community-school partnerships that are solving education problems faced by real families and students. Many of the changes in new education legislation passed by the last Congress are beginning to create, and will create, new opportunities for building and expanding local partnerships and community-based solutions to solve the very education issues of most concern to the American public: *school-law enforcement partnerships through the Safe and Drug-Free Schools Act; school-community partnerships for educational excellence through the Goals 2000: Educate America Act; school-employer-community college partnerships through the School-to-Work Opportunities Act; school-parent compacts through Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; school-college partnerships through TRIO; and college student-direct financial aid through Direct Lending. Highlighting these partnerships solving the above critical issues shows leadership for effective change.*

Why Federal Education Funding Is Important

The Federal government plays a critical role in education. The most important contributions are:

- 1) **raising standards of achievement**
- 2) **improving basic skills of disadvantaged children**
- 3) **ensuring safe and disciplined schools**
- 4) **helping families pay for college**
- 5) **preparing youth for the world of work.**

The public overwhelmingly supports education, including the Federal role:

- ▶ 81 % oppose decreasing Federal education funding to decrease the federal deficit; 19 % would favor (Times Mirror, 1994).
- ▶ 75 % say federal aid to education should be expanded; 18 % say "keep same;" and 4 % say "cut back" (Gallup, 1995).
- ▶ In response to strong public demand and the outcome of the 1995 state election, Virginia's Governor George Allen this month submitted a new budget which substantially increases state expenditures for classrooms, technology, and higher education.
- ▶ 74 % of Republicans in New Hampshire say "No" to cuts in education to reduce the deficit as compared to 62 % "No" to Medicare cuts; 33 % "No" to Defense cuts; and 43 % "No" to cuts in assistance to the poor (10/25/95).
- ▶ By almost 2 to 1, young voters (18 to 34) cite education as a top voting issue over the budget deficit, crime, and Medicare (NBC/Wall Street Journal 11/2/95).
- ▶ 76 % of Americans disapprove of reducing Federal funding for low-income schools to balance the Federal budget; by comparison, 61 % disapprove of cutting the rate of spending growth for Medicare; and 36 % oppose cutting food stamp funding (Times Mirror 1995).

The Department of Education addresses critical areas of National concern, including:

- ▶ Provides \$32 billion in financial aid to help 6.5 million students attend college.
- ▶ Through Title I grants to local school districts, provides \$7 billions to more than 6 million

students each year in the highest poverty schools to improve basic and advanced skills.

- ▶ Provides \$3 billion a year to help communities meet the special needs of over 5 million children with disabilities to prepare them for further education and employment.
- ▶ Helps communities and States raise standards of student achievement, prevent drug abuse and violence in schools, and build partnerships to get computers and technology in classrooms.
- ▶ Assists States in helping youth move from school to careers.

Education works:

- ▶ Greater prosperity. In 1992, average annual earnings for those with a bachelor's degree were 74 % higher than for those with a high school diploma, and 155 % higher than for those who had not graduated from high school. Also, a student who graduates from high school earns \$200,000 more during his lifetime than a student who doesn't. A college graduate earns \$1 million more than someone who doesn't.
- ▶ Less welfare. Only 5 % of college graduates have ever participated in government assistance programs (AFDC, Supplemental Security Income, food stamps, housing assistance, or Medicaid), and only 10 % of high school graduates have, compared to 24 % of high school dropouts.
- ▶ Less crime. Although only about 18 % of the population has never finished high school, this group accounts for 41 % of state prison inmates and 47 % of prisoners on death row.
- ▶ More civic participation. Fully 85 % of college graduates and 75 % of high school graduates, but only 50 % of high school dropouts, are registered to vote.

Education programs work:

- ▶ The Rand Corporation found that the Title I program helped to close the achievement gap between disadvantaged students and their advantaged peers (from 1970 to the mid 1980's, the learning gap in reading, mathematics, and science was cut by over a third--NAEP). Bipartisan reauthorization in 1994 focused on improving the program to challenge low-income students to high standards to help continue closing the gap.
- ▶ The dropout rate is declining (from 14 % in 1982 to 11 % in 1993) . fewer students are taking remedial math courses, more students are taking advanced placement courses (150,000 in 1982, 450,000 in 1992), and the science test scores of both the highest- and the lowest-performing students are increasing.

- ▶ Comprehensive standards-based reforms, such as those supported by Goals 2000, in leading-edge states are showing impressive gains in student performance, such as in Kentucky, where 4th, 8th, and 12th graders demonstrated dramatic improvement on 1993-94 assessments over previous years' tests in mathematics, reading, science, and social studies.
- ▶ IBM Chairman Lou Gerstner, for example, says that "Goals 2000 is only a small portion of what we need. But it is a very critical portion because it is the fragile beginning of the establishment of a culture of measurement standards and accountability in this country. We must go beyond Goals 2000. But if we lose Goals 2000, it is an incredibly negative setback for the Nation.
- ▶ Goals 2000 has received widespread support because of its flexibility and its emphasis on high standards and accountability. The Wall Street Journal has reported that Goals 2000 is viewed "by many political analysts as the most flexible education plan ever produced by the Federal government." (WSJ 8/30/95)
- ▶ The New York Times reports that tougher graduation requirements in New York City public schools are spurring thousands more school students to take and pass college preparatory mathematics and science courses (5/9/95). Entering freshmen at CUNY are the best academically prepared in two decades (12/10/95).
- ▶ Increases in special education funding have contributed to major educational gains in children with disabilities, who now have opportunities that were unavailable before enactment of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act.
- ▶ For 5 years, Maryland has been working systematically to raise academic standards and is showing significant improvement in achievement as a result.

AGGREGATE DATA	STAFF	RESOURCES	STATUS
All the usual data from economy under Clinton for 5 yrs, 3yrs, 1 yr, vs. Bush and Reagan where approp.	Aaron	Orszag Krueger Treasury CEA	
Millionaires, stock market, small businesses, women and minority owners	Aaron	Treasury CEA Dorothy Robyn	
Deficit: usual data plus under Clinton plan the budget will be balanced for the first time in over 30 years in 2002.	Aaron and Pauline		
Unemployment rate variations e.g. for 2-parent families with children	Orszag	Krueger/Katz	
wages return to education	Orszag/Aaron	DOL, CEA	DOL fact pack CEA document
crime rates	Pauline	Dennis Burke	
elderly poverty	Pauline/Orszag	Commerce, CEA	Have poverty data
child poverty	Pauline/Orszag	Commerce, CEA	Have poverty data
Hiring on college campuses	Orszag	in recent WEB roundup	
#days to afford a mortgage #days to afford computer #days for health care #days for a car #days for fridge,w/d, VCR, TV, microwave	Orszag	Ev Ehrlic Larry Summers Krueger Katz	
% of people who own stuff	Orszag	Treasury, Commerce	
people in mutual funds, and how much gained	Orszag	Treasury, CEA	
# of people on internet computerization info	Orszag	Kalil, OSTP, OVP, Commerce	

INDUSTRY DATA	STAFF	RESOURCES	STATUS
Industries now rated most competitive	Aaron/Pauline	Commerce, NEC, USTR, Treasury	
Industries that have grown rapidly, rebounded, set records	Pauline	Commerce, NEC, USTR, Treasury	
Defense conversion data	Pauline	NEC, DoD	
Environmental technology industry	Pauline	EPA, Commerce, NEC,	
Manufacturing			
High Tech			
Inventions data	Pauline	OSTP, Commerce	
ANECDOTAL DATA	STAFF	RESOURCES	STATUS
	research staff		

To: Don Baer
Michael Waldman
Fr: Todd Stern
Re: State of the Union
Da: December 29, 1995

RECEIVED
DEC 29 1995

A few unsolicited thoughts about the structure of the State of the Union.

Message

Structure and content should be driven by the implicit messages we wish to send. I'd define them as follows: (i) **President as moderate alternative** between extremes of left and right; (ii) **President as leader**; (iii) **President on the side of ordinary Americans** rather than the wealthy or special interests; (iv) **President as healer** who can help us find common ground; (v) **President having the energy and vision** to lead this country toward a new century (as Dole cannot).

Incidentally, I don't think a speech of the kind Benjamin Barber suggests, explicitly constructed around the concept of leadership, is a good idea. It would sound forced. Best way for President to appear as a leader is to talk about what he has done rather than about leadership, and to speak in strong, declarative sentences.

Structure

I would organize the speech in three basic parts: (I) introduction, starting with a nod toward troops in Bosnia, laying out a roadmap of where the speech is going, and then pausing -- briefly -- to take stock of how much we've accomplished so far; (II) a second section built around the budget confrontation. We must address this early, with President articulating what he believes is at stake -- his conception of government's role vs. GOP (and distinguished from old-fashioned liberal); and (III) a third section on where we go from here -- domestically (preparing for new century [education, technology, etc.]; increasing wages/incomes; making our streets safer; community/values) and internationally.

I. Introduction --Nod to troops/roadmap/where we've come

Troops. I'd follow Jeremy Rosner's advice with a nod to our troops in Bosnia. His suggested language is excellent.

Roadmap. 'The past few months have been a difficult and confusing period of struggle over our budget. I want to discuss with you what that battle is/was really about, and then talk about where we're going from here both at home and abroad.' (It's a great help to the listener to say where you're going before you go there.)

Where we've come. 'But first, I want to take a brief look at where we've come. I arrived in Washington three years ago dedicated to reviving our economy and ushering in a new period of American renewal -- of economic growth, political reform, social progress and leadership around the world. We have much yet to do, but let us not lose sight of how far we have come. Economy strong with low interest rates, lowest combination of inflation and unemployment in past x years. American companies most competitive in the world. Strong in trade. Leader in technology. Federal government smallest in 30 years. Crime down. Real political reform, with last big step to reform campaign finance. America as leader and peacemaker on the world stage. A time of promise and a time of hope. No nation on earth is in better shape than the United States to meet the new century.'

II. The Budget Battle -- Role of Government

'For past several months, we have been engaged in struggle over the shape and nature of our national budget. I know it seems to many people watching from outside Washington like a confusing, perplexing debate over numbers and economic assumptions. But it is about much more than that. It is about real people. And about what we expect from our national government. Let's talk for a few moments about what's at stake in this budget fight.

Not about who wants balanced budget. 'First, let me tell you what the budget battle was/is *not* about. Not about one side wanting a balanced budget and the other opposing it. I came into office understanding how crucial it was to reduce the massive budget deficits I inherited from my predecessors. And we did that. Three straight declining budgets. *Lowest* budget deficit of any major industrial country. And last June, I put forward a plan to balance the budget using real numbers -- no smoke and mirrors. Numbers favored by the mainstream economists of Wall Street; even by the Wall Street Journal.

Not about who wants big government. 'Nor is the budget battle about one side wanting big government and the other opposing it. During my three years, the number of workers employed by the federal government has shrunk by nearly 200,000 workers. To a level smaller than Bush. Or Reagan. Or Carter. Ford. Nixon. Johnson. To smallest level since President Kennedy.

Different conceptions of role of government. 'What confrontation *was/is* about is fundamentally different conceptions of role of federal government. There are three basic models of what our government should do. On one side, the old-fashioned, liberal model that searches for a government program, managed in Washington, to fix every problem. On the other side, the minimal conception favored by many in the congressional majority, which believes government should handle national defense and then, for the most part, get out of the way. My view is different. I favor a middle way -- a government wise enough to understand the challenges confronting us, vigorous enough to address those challenges effectively, but smart enough to know its own limits.

Examples. [Then give examples from Medicare/Medicaid; education; technology; the environment; crime. In each case on the pattern of: "a government dedicated to maintaining Medicare and Medicaid for our elderly, our disabled and others in need, not one that wants to slash those programs; a government committed to helping young people get a college education through Direct Lending, not one that wants to eliminate government support for education; a government that demands clean air and safe drinking water, not one that wants to let companies that pollute off the hook; a government pledged to keep taxes down for our working families, not one that wants to raise taxes on families making just \$30,000 a year, while cutting them for families making over \$100,000, etc."]

'That is the kind of government I believe in. Not oversized. Not believing it has the answer for every problem. But understanding that this country can only make progress, meet its challenges, preserve God's green earth, and remain true to its historic mission of fairness and justice if our national government remains *engaged*. That is what I believe in and, as long as I remain President, that is what this government will do.'

III. Where Do We Go From Here

'What then are the challenges we must meet as we go forward from this day?'

Domestic

Prepare for challenges of new era. First, prepare our nation for the economic challenges of a new century and a new era. [Talk about education, technology, conditions for investment such as low interest rates.]

Work to increase incomes of ordinary Americans. 'Second, commit ourselves to tackling one of the central dilemmas of our time -- that the incomes of ordinary, working Americans are not keeping pace with our overall economic growth. This is a bipartisan problem that has persisted for 20 years through Republican and Democratic Administrations, caused not so much by government policy as by changes in the global economy and the nature of technology. But the bottom line is that average American workers -- the men and women who work the day shifts and the night shifts, who wear blue collars and white collars -- are not sharing as they should in this nation's wealth. Therefore, having put the nation's economic house in order during the past three years, I intend to rededicate myself to increasing the wages and incomes of ordinary Americans. [Use appropriate Reed proposals.]

'This is not an issue of labor vs. management or management vs. labor. We do best as a people and as a nation when each of us shares fairly in this nation's bounty. We are all in this together and must never forget that.'

Safety in our streets. Third, safe streets. [Any of Reed tough-on-crime proposals that work.] Press for 100,000 cops. Blast away on efforts to repeal assault weapons ban.

Community/Values. Fourth, an area beyond government programs but not beyond the scope of our national dialogue -- restoration of values and community.

Faith, discipline, hard work. First, reinvigorate the basic American values of faith, discipline [Taylor Branch's "favorite words"] and hard work. Opportunity and responsibility. Children learning that there's no something for nothing. Criticize Hollywood excess. Pro-marriage, anti-divorce (though I'd avoid calling on States to enact legislation, as Galston recommends). Making abortion rare. Fathers taking responsibility for children they bring into world. Child support enforcement. Welfare -- tough work requirements. But President couldn't sign bill that is too tough on kids and not tough enough on work. Perhaps pick up "challenge" theme from Reed memo.

Common Ground. Listen to one another. Dialogue. This nation's glory and greatness is its diversity. E Pluribus Unum. We must say no to the grisly murder of a black couple by white racists on a military base in North Carolina. We must also say no to the firebombing of a store in Harlem because the owner was white or Jewish. No to extremists on all sides. Yes to our vital center. To reason and tolerance. To understanding. To reaching out across races, ethnicities, religions, nationalities. A House Divided has never been able to stand. Let us pledge -- not through government, but through families, churches, synagogues and neighborhood organizations -- to finding common ground.

Foreign

A key section that should be strong and substantial, both because of Bosnia and as surest way to project leadership. Talk of this as a pivotal year for American leadership around the world. Bosnia, N. Korea, Haiti, Northern Ireland, Middle East. Emphasize successes, but also challenges ahead. Obviously need serious discussion of Bosnia. And position President on middle ground between isolationists and trying to solve all the world's problems. I agree with Rosner on bipartisan nod to Dole and McCain. I am in general agreement with Rosner's take on emphasizing the hard security challenges over the humanitarian, addressing the audience that we need to convince, not the one already with us.

V. **Conclusion.** Strong, upbeat, dynamic. And short.

FINAL VERSION, DEC. 29, 1995

State of the Union Questionnaire

- 1200 interviews
- Combination of techniques:
 - √ Issue Clustering
 - √ Theme and Message Testing
 - √ Lifestyle/Psychographics
 - √ Personality Types

The poll will be split sampled so that no respondent is asked more than 125 questions.

- Goal: To test out the proposed themes issues and form of the state of the Union address to help the planning group draft the most effective address taking into account the importance of new ideas, the salience of proposed themes and the personality of the swing audience.

State of the Union Questionnaire

Final Version - Dec. 29, 1995

1. Are you 18 years or older and registered to vote in the United States?

- 1) yes
- 2) no (TERMINATE)
- 9) don't know (TERMINATE)

2. In general, do you think things in the country are going in the right direction or are they off on the wrong track?

- 1) right direction
- 2) wrong track
- 9) don't know

3. What would you say is the most important issue confronting the country today? (/OPEN-ENDED WITH PRE-CODES)

- 1) Abortion
- 2) Bosnia
- 3) Budget Debate/balancing budget
- 4) Budget Debate/preserving Medicare, Education, Environment
- 5) Crime
- 6) Declining Moral Values, breakup of families
- 7) Drugs
- 8) Economy, jobs, inflation
- 9) Education
- 10) Protecting the environment
- 11) Healthcare/Medicare/Medicaid
- 12) Housing
- 13) Racial Tensions
- 14) Terrorism
- 15) Urban Policy, plight of cities
- 16) Women's issues, treatment of women
- 17) cutting taxes
- 18) helping agriculture/farming
- 19) retirement worries, pensions
- 20) welfare reform,
- 21) illegal aliens

- 22) poverty, homelessness
- 17) Other (SPECIFY)
- 99) Don't know

4. What is the next most important issue? (USE SAME CODES – CANNOT GIVE THE SAME ANSWER).

5. What would you say is the most important issue confronting your community today? (/OPEN-ENDED WITH PRE-CODES)

6. In general, do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable view of Bill Clinton?

- 1)very favorable
- 2)somewhat favorable
- 3)somewhat unfavorable
- 4)very unfavorable
- 9)don't know

7. Hillary Clinton, do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable view of her ?

- 1)very favorable
- 2)somewhat favorable
- 3)somewhat unfavorable
- 4)very unfavorable
- 9)don't know

8. Bob Dole, do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable view of him?

- 1)very favorable
- 2)somewhat favorable
- 3)somewhat unfavorable
- 4)very unfavorable
- 9)don't know

9. Al Gore , do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable view of him ?

- 1)very favorable
- 2)somewhat favorable
- 3)somewhat unfavorable
- 4)very unfavorable
- 9)don't know

10. Newt Gingrich do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable view of him ?

- 1)very favorable
- 2)somewhat favorable
- 3)somewhat unfavorable
- 4)very unfavorable
- 9)don't know

11. Thinking in general, would you say that you strongly approve of the job Bill Clinton has been doing as president, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of it?

- 1) strongly approve
- 2) somewhat approve
- 3) somewhat disapprove
- 4) strongly disapprove
- 9) don't know

12. If Bill Clinton was running for re-election right now, would you definitely vote for him, probably vote for him, possibly vote for him, not sure whether or not you would vote for him, possibly vote against him, probably vote against him, or definitely vote against him?

- 1) definitely vote for
- 2) probably vote for
- 3) possibly vote for
- 4) not sure whether for or against
- 5) possibly vote against
- 6) probably vote against
- 7) definitely vote against
- 9) don't know

13. Next year there will be an election for President. If this election were held today and the candidates were Republican Bob Dole and Democrat Bill Clinton, for whom would you vote?

- 1) Republican Bob Dole
- 2) Democrat Bill Clinton
- 9) don't know

14. What would you like to see Bill Clinton do in the next year of his presidency? (PROBE FOR DETAILS)

Clinton Attributes

Now I would like to read you some words and phrases. After I read each one, please tell me how well it fits President Clinton. Please use a one to five scale, with one meaning that it doesn't fit at all and five meaning that the word or phrase fits very well.

15. Effective -- gets things done

Does not apply 1 2 3 4 5 Applies a great deal

CODE RESPONSE

16. Strong leader

17. In touch with my values

18. Is on my side

19. Takes clear stands on the issues

20. Doing a lot to balance the budget

21. A Peace maker in the world

22. Does things because they are the right thing to do

23. Flip-flops on the issues

24. Bill Clinton was uniquely chosen as president because of his special ability to marshal the healing forces of good and peace and counter those of strife, hatred and violence. Do you strongly agree with this statement, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree with this statement?

- 1)strongly agree
- 2)somewhat agree
- 3)somewhat disagree
- 4)strongly disagree
- 9)don't know

Clinton and Democrats vs. Republicans in Congress
--

25. Who do you trust more to balance the budget - President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress?

- 1) Clinton
- 2) Republicans in Congress
- 9) don't know

26. Who do you trust more to balance the budget in a way that is fair to all - President Clinton and the Democrats or the Republicans in Congress?

- 1) Clinton and Democrats
- 2) Republicans in Congress
- 9) don't know

Who do you trust more to accomplish each of the following - Bill Clinton or the Republicans in Congress?

- 27. Reform Welfare
- 28. Protect Medicare from Cuts
- 29. Protect Education from Budget Cuts
- 30. Cut taxes
- 31. Protect the Environment
- 32. Make decisions related to Bosnia

33. Who do you think right now is trying more to cooperate and reach a balanced budget deal - President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress?

- 1) President Clinton and Democrats
- 2) Republicans in Congress
- 9) Don't know

34. Two weeks ago, for the second time in a month, the government was partly shutdown because it has no budget. Who do you blame for the shutdown, President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress?

- 1) President Clinton and Democrats
- 2) Republicans in Congress
- 3) Both equally (VOLUNTEERED)
- 4) Neither (VOLUNTEERED)
- 9) Don't know

35. Do you think that Medicaid, the program of medical care for those who cannot afford to pay:

- 1) should be a federal entitlement program with the benefits as they exists now
- 2) should be scaled back so that recipients are guaranteed fewer benefits but individual states could decide to offer optional benefits
- 3) should be entirely funded as block grants to the states, with each state deciding upon the benefits for the residents of that state
- 9) don't know

36. Which of these is most important to you:

- 1) balancing the budget
- 2) preserving Medicare, education and environmental programs in the budget process
- 3) or cutting taxes?

37. Which of these is your second choice: (CANNOT CHOOSE THE SAME ONE)

- 1) balancing the budget
- 2) preserving Medicare, education and environmental programs in the budget process
- 3) or cutting taxes?

Now I'd like to talk to you about some other issues.

38. Do you think we should give tax incentives to people who do good things like adopt a child or take care of a relative or would such tax breaks inject too much government and potential abuse into decisions that people should make out of love and not for the money?

- 1)give tax incentives to people who do good things
- 2)inject too much government and potential abuse
- 9)don't know

39. Should we offer language instruction in English and native languages in places where there are significant numbers of immigrants?

- 1)yes
- 2)no
- 9)don't know

40. Should we offer education in general subjects in both English and native language where there are significant numbers of immigrants?

- 1)yes
- 2)no
- 9)don't know

41. Some people say that no bi-lingual instruction should be offered in public schools and that immigrant children will have to attend their classes in English; others say that while immigrant children are learning English they should have the opportunity to learn other subjects in their native language so they do not fall behind while they learn English. Which is closer to your view?

- 1)No bi-lingual instruction/attend classes in English
- 2)Learn native language so they do not fall behind
- 9)don't know

42. Some people say that no bi-lingual instruction should be offered in public schools and that immigrant children will have to attend their classes in English; others say that this decision should be left to educators who should have the flexibility to decide if this is in the best interest of the child to learn in english or their native language. Which is closer to your view?

- 1)No bi-lingual instruction/attend classes in English
- 2)Let educators decide if this in child's best interest

9)don't know

Top Priorities

For each of these possible priorities for the President to work on, please tell me how important each one is to you on a 1 to 5 scale with 1 meaning unimportant and 5 meaning extremely important:

Unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely important

CODE RESPONSE

- 43. Reducing crime and violence
- 44. Settling the conflict in Bosnia and other international conflicts
- 45. Arriving at a balanced budget agreement that is fair to all
- 46. Easing racial relations
- 47. Modernizing and reforming our educational system
- 48. Making sure the wealthy pay their fair share
- 49. Reforming healthcare to guarantee availability and the ability to take your insurance with you to your next job
- 50. Protecting and guaranteeing the security of private pension programs
- 51. Renewing our urban communities
- 52. Encouraging programs to help strengthen the family and raising children
- 53. Helping women achieve greater equality
- 54. Improving the wages of the middle class
- 55. Reducing poverty and dealing with the problems of poor Americans
- 56. Reducing taxes

57. Encouraging people to volunteer to help America solve its problems
58. Eliminating programs that give billions of dollars of benefits to private companies through government subsidies for exports and special products
59. Keeping up environmental enforcement and cleanup of toxic waste
60. Reducing government regulation
61. Protecting children from smoking ads, violent TV, and drugs
62. FOR EVERY ITEM THAT GOT A FIVE: Which of the items you said were extremely important is most important to you (computer will display list of which ones respondents gave a 5))
63. In terms of the job that the federal government does, do you want it to reduce its responsibilities, increase its responsibilities or keep them the same as they are now?

- 1)reduce its responsibilities
- 2)increase its responsibilities
- 3)keep them the same
- 9)don't know

64. Do you think that the federal government should get involved in tax incentives and other programs to raise the pay of workers relative to management to reduce inequality or is this gap something that the federal government should not get involved in because it is not the role of the federal government and is best left to the private sector?

- 1)get involved in raising workers' pay
- 2)not get involved/best left to private sector
- 9)don't know

65. Some people say that a balanced budget will mean significantly smaller government that will not be able to take on more responsibility and that will be limited in the substance of what it can carry out; others say that a balanced budget will eliminate waste but will still leave an effective government. Which is closer to your view?

- 1)limited in substance
- 2)waste eliminated
- 9)don't know

Candidate Positions

Here are some positions a candidate for president might take in the next election. For each one, please tell me if it would make you much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate.

66. Balancing the budget in 7 years in a way that cuts government spending but preserves Medicare, education and environmental programs, does not raise taxes on working families and includes a tax cut for families earning up to \$60,000 a year.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

67. Balancing the budget in 7 years by sharply cutting back entitlements including \$170 Billion in Medicare, ending Medicaid as an entitlement, cutting \$70 Billion in educational programs, and reducing environmental programs. At the same time funding a \$500 a child tax credit for families earning up to \$110,000 a year and cutting capital gains taxes.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

68. Finding more money for increased government spending on education, job training, and student loans for college.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

69. Creating programs to provide new job and educational opportunities for teenagers.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

70. Encouraging a new sense of community outreach and cooperation in which people and volunteer organizations in the suburbs and among the elderly, who would be encouraged to pair up with community programs in the ghetto and with young people in poverty areas.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

71. Providing increased incentives for businesses to locate in poor areas and employ high numbers of welfare recipients so that people affected by welfare reform will have jobs to go to.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

72. Create a program so that public schools would have Alcoholics Anonymous-type groups for drug and alcohol abusers.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

73. Placing metal detectors in schools.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

74. Increasing the penalties for criminals who use bullet proof vests in committing a crime.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely

- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

75. Encourage corporations to be family friendly by allowing flexible time for employees who need it, increasing day care requirements, and encourage them to extend unpaid family leave for more than 12 weeks for newborns or family emergencies.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

76. Increasing the availability and safety of worker pensions by increasing the portability of the pensions, restricting the investments management can make and preventing management further from recouping excess contributions.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

77. SPLIT: Setting up a national program to teach ethics and values in the schools to our young people.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely

9)don't know

78. SPLIT: Encourage the teaching of ethics and values in the schools to our young people.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9)don't know

79. Expanding drug testing requirements to include everyone arrested and everyone on parole.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9)don't know

80. Require high school students to undergo periodic drug testing and guidance counseling if necessary.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9)don't know

81. Use the tax system to encourage people to solve America's problems, offering tax breaks for curbing drug abuse, locating in poverty areas, and taking on disadvantaged employees.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more

likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

82. SPLIT: Require junior high school students to undergo periodic drug testing, and guidance counseling if required, but without any criminal referral.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

83. SPLIT: Require junior high school students to undergo periodic drug testing, and guidance counseling if required

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

84. Provide tax incentives to individuals for caring for an elderly parent or adopting an abused child.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely

- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

85. Offering a tax deduction for the first \$10,000 of down payment on a first home or condominium for people earning up to \$60,000 a year.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

86. Require corporations to make available stock options and bonuses to employees of corporations to match the programs offered to senior executives.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

87. Expand the availability of tax-free savings and retirement accounts to employees of small businesses who do not have access to the programs offered to employees of large corporations.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

88. Provide incentives to companies to encourage employee ownership of the stock of the company people work for.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

89. SPLIT: Limit the deductibility of high salaries to executives so that no more than \$500,000 would be deductible to the corporation

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

90. SPLIT: Limit the deductibility of high salaries to executives so that no more than \$250,000 would be deductible to the corporation

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

91. Adopt tough new measures that would be more effective in banning gangs from public housing.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

92. Placing a cop in every high school to reduce drugs and violence.
If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

93. SPLIT: Setting up a college police training program in which people who agree to become police officers after graduation would have part of their education funded.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

94. SPLIT: Setting up a high school police training program in which people who agree to become police officers after graduation would receive help during school.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way

- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

95. Expand the role of the federal government in prosecuting local police and local political corruption.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

96. Make it a federal requirement that states restrict drivers licenses to people who have graduated from high school.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

97. Set as a goal that every classroom in America by the next century have a computer and be connected to the Internet, and that computer education become a national priority.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

98. Require TV networks to provide at least three hours a week of educational programs for children.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

99. Allow parents to choose which local public school they would like their children to attend.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

100. Protect and expand the Environmental Trust Fund to clean up toxic waste sites and allow all polluter fines to be added to the trust fund.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

101. The Everglades are deteriorating and are used by local sugar producers to help them produce sugar. One proposal is to place a nationwide fee on all sugar producers to fund the saving of the Everglades.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more

likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

102. Expand environmental right-to-know laws so that all industrial facilities would have to completely disclose all of the pollutants they are releasing in the air and the toxic materials that they use in their plants.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

103. Reduce the subsidies that now go to the timber industry to cut trees on public land.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

104. Permanently ban all offshore drilling in sensitive areas such as California, Florida and North Carolina.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely

- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

105. Reduce government regulation of employees to give them more flexibility in meeting goals rather than telling them how to do everything.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

106. Launching a high-tech war on illegal immigration, welfare fraud and other crimes, promoting expenditure on new crime-stopping technologies that will secure these programs from fraud.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

107. Extending the federal sentencing standards to the states requiring the elimination of parole and early release so that each inmate serves at least 85% of his time.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

108. Setting up charter schools in communities where the schools do not work that would run as a co-op by the parents and with the only requirement that enough parents want to send their kids there and that the students pass standardized tests.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

109. Severance benefits that employees have should be tied to the golden parachutes that management receives

110. Individual contracts should be required between parents and schools explaining the responsibilities of the parents and explaining the responsibilities of the school that should be signed by each.

111. Requiring public service from every student that receives a loan, grant or scholarship.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

112. Offering a tax credit so that attending community or 2-year colleges would be free.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way

- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

113. Create community partnerships so that all federal funds for urban development can be spent as local coalitions believe would be best, not based on Washington or the state legislatures.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

114. Transform public housing by, on the one hand raising standards for maintenance by the owners, and on the other hand applying very strict requirements for the residents who would face eviction if they don't live up to them.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

115. Create new Home Ownership Zones with incentives for new home building and renovation there.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

116. Adopt flexible standards so that immigrants who do not understand English can learn in their own language so they do not fall behind in school.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

117. Change the name of the Department of Housing and Urban Development to the Department of Homes and Communities to reflect a broader mandate of the agency.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

118. Adopt national educational standards based on merit that would limit teacher tenure unless they met standards of quality, and that did not permit any student to graduate who had not passed standardized tests.

119. Affirmative action has to be limited so that it applies only in cases where past discrimination can be proved; in all other cases, decisions should be made on a color blind basis, with only the most qualified individuals being admitted to schools, hired for jobs, or promoted in their jobs.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely

- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

120. A commitment to all women that they will have safe and legal access to an abortion, should they choose to get one.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

121. Murderers and violent criminals must face the death penalty; this is the key to fair justice in America.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

122. We need to have the infrastructure to catch and convict criminals. We should build more prisons, make tougher sentences, and make it easier to arrest and convict criminals.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

123. Prevention is the long-term answer to crime. We need to invest in better schools and more recreational programs to keep kids off the streets, or in job training programs so that young people have an alternative to gangs and drugs.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

124. Gun controls with stiff sentences for violators are the best ways to reduce violent crime.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

125. Insurance companies are taking over more and more of health care and we need strict new laws to prevent them from denying coverage based on a preexisting condition and allowing people to keep their coverage when they change jobs.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

126. A national call for men to live up to their responsibilities as fathers

127. Give the FBI enhanced powers of surveillance for use against suspected terrorists.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

128. Support a ban on all smoking advertising aimed at kids.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

129. Support political reform that would reduce the role of money in politics and limit even further lobbying by former officials.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way

- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

130. Restrict the ability of foreign governments to lobby and of former government officials to become lobbyists for foreign governments.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

131. Make the pension contributions and benefits of Congressional and Executive Branch members and staff comparable to all other federal employees instead of the 10-20% higher they currently are.

132. Raise the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.00.

If a candidate for president took this position, would you be much more likely to vote for the candidate, somewhat more likely, not affect your vote, make you somewhat less likely or much less likely to vote for that candidate?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more likely
- 3) not affect my vote either way
- 4) somewhat less likely
- 5) much less likely
- 9) don't know

133. Eliminate special subsidies to corporations that sell products abroad and that grow things like peanuts and use that money to solve America's problems

Clinton Accomplishments

Now I would like to read you a list of some different things Bill Clinton has done as President. For each one, please tell me how learning about that

accomplishment affects your likelihood of voting for Bill Clinton -- does it make you much more likely to vote for him, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote. And do you believe it is true?

134. Bill Clinton promised to get the economy moving, and he says he did -- with 7 million new jobs being created since he took office. Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

135. Bill Clinton cut the deficit in half, like he said he would. Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

136. Bill Clinton promised 100,000 new cops in the crime bill, and says he delivered on that promise.

Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

137. Bill Clinton promised a ban on assault weapons, and he passed it. Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

138. Bill Clinton said he would expand the death penalty, and did so in his crime bill. Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

139. Bill Clinton passed the Brady Bill as promised, requiring a waiting period for handgun purchases. Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

140. Bill Clinton says he helped bring peace to the Middle East, Ireland, Haiti and now Bosnia. He is fulfilling an important foreign policy role. Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

141. Bill Clinton said he would appoint more women to his cabinet, and he did, and he has appointed twice as many women as federal judges as the last three Presidents combined.

Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

142. Bill Clinton said that if a parent works full time and is still poor, then he would give them a tax credit to help lift them out of poverty. Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

143. Bill Clinton said he would expand Head Start, and he says he delivered, adding 200,000 more kids to the program.

Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

144. Bill Clinton promised he would appoint a Supreme Court that respects a woman's right to choose, and he did.

Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

145. Bill Clinton promised to pass a family leave bill, so working parents could spend time with their newborns without fear of losing their jobs, and he says he did.

Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

146. Bill Clinton said he would cut the federal bureaucracy, and he says he has already cut 130,000 jobs, and will cut another 200,000 in the next 6 years.

Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

147. Bill Clinton promised to have a domestic service corps to help kids get student loans while working in community service, and he did. Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

148. Bill Clinton ran on the theme of improving the economy and since he has been in office unemployment is significantly down, 7 million new jobs have been created, inflation is low, interest rates have moderated and the U.S. has established world leadership in areas like automobiles and technology. Bill Clinton says most Americans are better off today than when George Bush was President in 1992.

Does learning this make you much more likely to vote for Clinton, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, or much less likely, or does it not affect how you will vote?

- 1) much more likely
- 2) somewhat more
- 3) somewhat less
- 4) much less
- 5) does not affect
- 9) don't know

149. If Bill Clinton was running for re-election right now, would you definitely vote for him, probably vote for him, possibly vote for him, not sure whether or not you would vote for him, possibly vote against him, probably vote against him, or definitely vote against him?

- 1) definitely vote for
- 2) probably vote for
- 3) possibly vote for
- 4) not sure whether for or against
- 5) possibly vote against
- 6) probably vote against

- 7) definitely vote against
- 9) don't know

Americans Concept of the Speech

150. Now I would like you to think about what you might expect from a state of the union speech given by a president. Would you expect such a speech to be 20 minutes or less, 20 to 40 minutes in length, 40-60 minutes in length or over an hour?

- 1) under 20 minutes
- 2) 20-40 minutes
- 3) 40-60 minutes
- 4) over an hour
- 9) don't know

151. Do you think the president should be speaking primarily as the head of the government or as the leader of the people?

- 1) head of the government
- 2) leader of the people
- 3) both **(Volunteered)**
- 9) don't know

152. Do you think that such a speech should primarily set out a moral agenda for the country or review the legislative goals and accomplishments of the president?

- 1) moral agenda
- 2) goals and accomplishments
- 3) both (volunteered)
- 9) don't know

153. Should the speech have lots of details about programs or focus more on broader themes?

- 1) details
- 2) broader themes
- 9) don't know

154. Do you usually watch state of the union address on TV or do you usually hear about it in the press?

- 1) watch it myself
- 2) hear about them in the press
- 9) don't know

155. Do you think that the state of the union address should focus on the strength of Americans as individuals or on what Americans can do if they come together in a greater sense of community?

- 1) individuals
- 2) community
- 9) don't know

156. Is there something you think President Clinton should focus on in his next state of the union address? (OPEN-ENDED)

Here are some areas that President Clinton could focus on in the next state of the Union address. For each one please tell me on a 1 to 5 scale with one meaning he should not cover it and 5 meaning it is extremely important for him to cover it.

Should not cover 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely important to cover

CODE RESPONSE

157. Offering moral leadership and guidance for the country

158. Explaining his legislative agenda for the next year

159. Setting out the broad themes that set him apart from the Republicans

160. Reviewing what has happened in the last year

161. Setting out goals for the country for the 21st Century

162. Talking about the need for all Americans to come together, form tighter communities and to help one another

163. Defining how we will meet America's future healthcare needs

164. Discussing the need to reduce the income gap between the rich and the middle class

165. Defining the future of education in America
166. Explaining his plans for strengthening the American Economy
167. Discussing the need to re-establish the old values of duty, hard work, opportunity as guiding principles
168. Dealing with the worries of lost jobs and pensions
169. Discussing the values America must build in its young people to overcome our social problems
170. Discussing the need to reach the ideal of equal opportunity for all, special privileges for none, an affirmation of the role of the average person in America
171. Raising the special problems of women and what they face in society today
172. Relating the crime and violence in America both to strong anti-crime measures and the need to restore a sense of values
173. Focusing on strengthening both the programs and values behind families as the key to improving America
174. Showing how America can leverage its tremendous technological and character strengths to be the world's economic, social and political leader in the next century.
175. Which of the ones you gave a top rating to is most important to you?
(Computer will generate a list of the ones given a 5 by each respondent)

Here are some paragraphs that could be given in a state of the union address. For each one, please tell me on a one to 5 scale how much agree with each one, how important it is to you and if it would make you much more or less likely to support President Clinton if he said it.

176. Out of the tumult of the past 3 years, a new American public philosophy is taking shape- a new American consensus. Americans want less government, but more leadership. Less entitlement, but more opportunity. Less bureaucracy, and more individual responsibility.
177. The most important job of the next President is this: to see into the next century, to be able to lead our country into the year 2000. We are blessed to live at the dawn of the new century- the time of the millennium. This new era will be

a time of peace, of spiritual awakening, a Golden Age for our nation- if we embrace the challenge of the new century. A time when every child can check into any library in the world, in the flicker of an electronic instant. A time when miracle drugs will continue to conquer our most dreaded diseases. A time when work and family will be balanced. A time when the United States- the world's strongest nation, the world's leading peacemaker- lives in security and peace.

178. America today is entering a period of New Democracy that will require a re-examination of our institutions. This period is characterized by the emergence of the service economy based on well-trained and highly educated workers, economic opportunity that is based on access to education that must be available to all, and on mutual responsibility of citizens to realize that they must give back to society as much as they take.

179. It is time for America to embrace the future with a strong, American, "can do" spirit. Rather than fear change, we must conquer it. Rather than fear technology, we must understand it. And rather than be consigned to smaller opportunities for our young we must expand them. To achieve this end we must embark on a national mission of technological learning and literacy for our next generation – every school must be modernized and every student given the tools to succeed.

180. America must return to its core values. We have to recognize that the family is the cornerstone of our nation, and we must re-orient all of our tax and welfare policies to promote families, not tear them apart. We are returning to faith, and we must let it guide us in our policies to our elderly and the poor. And we have returned to the future, refusing to saddle our young with debt but preparing them for a new age. It is this essential understanding of right and wrong that must guide this nation.

181. Americans are insecure. Jobs could be lost at a moment's notice. The rich and the corporations get richer at the expense of the working class, who are increasingly being left out of the benefits of being in America. Employee ownership, reduced executive compensation, higher working class wages are the critical ingredients of a needed national incomes policy to right this essential wrong with American society.

182. America must shrink the number of people living in poverty and grow the middle class. Only by shrinking the poor can we reduce crime, rebuild families, make America competitive and give every American a feeling of security and comfort. Public-private partnerships, recapturing old values, and opening educational opportunity are the only ways to reduce poverty.

183. We must renew our commitment to a government that can solve problems and that can do the job it has to do. Government must end wage stagnation, provide health insurance, encourage the nurturing of families, reduce the crime we face. Government must step up to these problems, not back away from them.

184. As we enter the next century, we must recognize that women have come a long way but still face the obstacles of finding a job with equal pay, of being free from violence, of policies that break up rather than mend families, and of a system that penalizes them for working and having children. In each of these areas we must redouble our support for the progress of women in America.

185. America's character, genius, and adaptability have begun to do wonderful things in the last few years. The economy is back. Our major industries are world leaders again. Even crime and poverty – some of toughest remaining problems – declined in the last year. The changes are taking place in the hearts and minds of Americans and they are the foundation of the progress we are seeing in this country today.

186. America wake up! Stop watching your TVs and living your own lives and join a national movement to repair America. Volunteer to tutor a child. Offer a home to an abused child. Learn about the other half of the country. Help get people off of drugs and alcohol. Become involved. Let me tonight call for a national volunteer mobilization to attack our social problems. We need to bring out the good forces of healing and peace to end the strife around us.

187. Our focus must be simple and direct: tough laws to make our streets safe and our schools free from drugs; education that is modernized so we can win in the global economic war, healthcare that is second to none and available to all and pensions that are funded and secure.

188. At home we are balancing the budget but preserving our values – taking care of the elderly and their needs and providing for the education and environment the next generation needs. Now, with a balanced budget and a strong economy, we will be able to turn to the social problems that have festered too long to create too much crime, fear and anxiety in America.

189. There is nothing wrong with America that what is right with America will not cure – American virtues, concern, empathy and values will solve our national problems – if only we harness them.

190. The forces of good and evil, of order and disorder, of liberty and despotism, of compassion and inhumanity and are arrayed in a climatic worldwide struggle. There is a seamless web of greed and violence in the world. The job of the President is to help lead the forces of good at home and abroad.

191. In America, there have always been three things that we have passed on to our children that are the essence of what made America strong: dreams of a better life, the conviction that if we work hard we can make our dreams come true and the belief that we are all in this together. One nation, not just individuals out for themselves. Our challenge at the dawn of a new century is to help our children know again that they can have dreams, that work pays and that we are one nation.

192. The 21st Century brings with it a new economic age driven by technology, education and rapidly changing markets. This can be a new age of much greater prosperity for most Americans, but it can also be one of greater uncertainty for the individual who can no longer count on working for a single company for his lifetime or staying in the same city. To allow him or her to enjoy that prosperity without worry, I believe that every American should have healthcare that he cannot lose and can take with him; pensions he cannot lose and can take with him; and the guarantee of adequate job training when he moves from one industry to another. These are new protections necessary for new economic times.

Here are some statements about the speech. For each one I'd like you to tell me if you strongly agree with it, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement

193. Politicians spend too much time attacking the darkness. The President needs, instead, to turn on the light. Do you strongly agree with this statement, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with this statement?

- 1)strongly agree
- 2)somewhat agree
- 3)somewhat disagree
- 4)strongly disagree
- 9)don't know

194. The President needs to lead Americans to embrace a bigger cause than themselves and reach out to others to heal our nation. Do you strongly agree with this statement, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with this statement?

- 1)strongly agree
- 2)somewhat agree
- 3)somewhat disagree
- 4)strongly disagree
- 9)don't know

195. The President needs to reach out for a re-enlivened sense of citizenship, to an expanded sense of duty and to a broader sense of obligation. Do you strongly agree with this statement, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with this statement?

- 1)strongly agree
- 2)somewhat agree
- 3)somewhat disagree
- 4)strongly disagree
- 9)don't know

196. Do you consider the phrase dreams, hard work and a sense of all being in it together to be a good theme or a cliché?

- 1)good theme
- 2) cliché
- 9)don't know

Personality Profile Questions

The next series of questions are about you personally and how you look at the world. Just give the answer to each question that you feel best expresses how you think.

197. Would you say you:

- 1) get more enthusiastic about things than the average person
- 2) get less excited about things than the average person

198. Are you usually:

- 1) a good mixer
- 2) rather quiet and reserved

199. In a large group, do you more often:

- 1) introduce others
- 2) get introduced

200. Can the new people you meet tell what you are interested in:

- 1) right away
- 2) only after they really get to know you

201. Do you usually:

- 1) show your feelings freely
- 2) keep your feelings to yourself

202. When something new starts to be the fashion, are you usually:

- 1) not much interested
- 2) one of the first to try it

203. Are you:

- 1) hard to get to know
- 2) easy to get to know

204. Among your friends, are you:

- 1) one of the last to hear what is going on
- 2) full of news about everybody

205. Do you:

- 1) find a lot to say only to certain people or under certain conditions
- 2) talk easily to almost anyone for as long as you have to

206. When you are at a party, do you like to:

- 1) help get things going
- 2) let the others have fun in their own way

207. Do you think the people close to you know how you feel:

- 1) about most things
- 2) only when you have had some special reason to tell them

208. Is it higher praise to say someone has:

- 1) common sense
- 2) vision

209. In doing something that many other people do, does it appeal to you more to:

- 1) do it in the accepted way
- 2) invent a way of your own

210. If you were a teacher would you rather teach:

- 1) fact courses
- 2) courses involving theory

211. Do you admire more the people who are:

- 1) conventional enough never to make themselves conspicuous
- 2) too original and individual to care whether they are conspicuous or not

212. Would you rather:

- 1) support the established methods of doing good
- 2) analyze what is still wrong and attack unsolved problems

213. Would you rather be considered:

- 1) a practical person
- 2) an ingenious person

214. In your way of living, do you prefer to be:

- 1) original
- 2) conventional

215. Which word appeals to you more based on what it means, not how it looks or sounds?

- 1) sensible
- 2) fascinating

216. Is it a higher compliment to be called:

- 1) a person of real feeling
- 2) a consistently reasonable person

217. Do you more often let:

- 1) your heart rule your head
- 2) your head rule your heart

218. Do you feel it is a worse fault to be:

- 1) unsympathetic
- 2) unreasonable

219. Do you usually:

- 1) value sentiment more than logic
- 2) value logic more than sentiment

220. Do you feel it is a worse fault:

- 1) not to have warmth enough
- 2) to show too much warmth

221. Are you more careful about:

- 1) people's rights
- 2) people's feelings

222. Which word appeals to you more based on what it means, not how it looks or sounds?

- 1) justice
- 2) mercy

223. Which word appeals to you more based on what it means, not how it looks or sounds?

- 1) peacemaker
- 2) judge

224. When you go somewhere for the day, would you rather:

- 1) plan what you will do & when
- 2) just go

225. Do you think that having a daily routine is:

- 1) a comfortable way to get things done
- 2) painful even when necessary

226. Do you prefer to:

- 1) arrange dates, parties, etc., well in advance
- 2) be free to do whatever looks like fun when the time comes

227. When it is settled well in advance that you will do a certain thing at a certain time, do you find it:

- 1) nice to be able to plan accordingly
- 2) a little unpleasant to be tied down

228. When you have a special job to do, do you like to:

- 1) organize it carefully before you start
- 2) find out what is necessary as you go along

229. Does following a schedule:

- 1) appeal to you
- 2) cramp you

230. Does the idea of making a list of what you should get done over a weekend:

- 1) appeal to you
- 2) leave you cold
- 3) positively depress you

231. Do you:

- 1) prefer to do things at the last minute
- 2) find doing things at the last minute hard on the nerves

232. Which word appeals to you more based on what it means, not how it looks or sounds?

- 1) orderly
- 2) easygoing

233. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: I would never cheat on my spouse. Do you strongly agree with this statement, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree with this statement?

- 1)strongly agree
- 2)somewhat agree
- 3)somewhat disagree
- 4)strongly disagree
- 9)don't know

234. Please tell me which phrase would best complete the following phrase to describe you. My strengths are my abilities to... READ LIST

- 1) adapt, survive, and make things happen
- 2) receive and process information to solve problems
- 3) stick with my beliefs, even under pressure
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I WILL NOW READ YOU THE FINAL SERIES OF QUESTIONS.

255. Do you have any children away in college?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 9) don't know

256. What type of radio station do you usually listen to?
(OPEN END WITH PRE-CODES)

- 1) top 40/popular music
- 2) hard rock/classic rock
- 3) hip hop/rap/funk
- 4) country
- 5) classical
- 6) news/sports
- 7) 50's music
- 8) 70's music
- 9) Talk Radio
- 10) other/SPECIFY
- 99) don't know

Demographics

257. Do you consider yourself a strong Democrat, weak Democrat, weak Republican, strong Republican, or Independent?

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- 2) weak Democrat
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- 4) strong Republican
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261. Which of the following categories best describes your age?
READ LIST

- 1) 18-24
- 2) 25-34
- 3) 35-49
- 4) 50-64
- 5) 65+
- 9) don't know/refused (DO NOT READ)

262. Are you married, single, widowed, or divorced?

- 1) married
- 2) single
- 3) widowed
- 4) divorced
- 5) other
- 9) refused

263. Do you have any children under the age of 18 living in your home?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 9) don't know

264. Are one or more of your parents living?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 9) don't know

265. IF YES: Do they live on their own, live with you, or do they live in a nursing home or other institution?

- 1) on their own
- 2) with you
- 3) in nursing home/other institution
- 9) don't know

266. Do you consider yourself to be in the upper class, upper middle class, middle class, lower middle class, or working class?

- 1) upper class
- 2) upper middle class
- 3) middle class
- 4) lower middle class
- 5) working class
- 9) don't know

267. Do you work?
DO NOT READ LIST

- 1)yes
- 2)no
- 3)Unemployed

268. IF YES: Do you work full or part-time

- 1)Full-time
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- 4) \$60,000-\$99,999
- 5) \$100,000+
- 9) don't know/refused (DO NOT READ)

270. Do you own or rent your home?

- 1)own

2rent

9)don't know

271. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?
IF YES: Is this person a member of a public employee union or of some other union?

1) no union

IF YES:

2) public

3) other union

9) don't know

272. What type of work does the head of the household usually do? What is the job called?

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04) teacher/professor

05) fine arts: ex. artists/singers/dancers/

06) white collar office: ex. secretary, receptionist

07) trained civil servants: ex. fireman, policeman, military

08) skilled labor: ex. union, carpenter, electrician, trucker, blue collar

09) farming

10) civil servant: ex. sanitation, DMV, government

11) unskilled labor: ex. security guard, physical work

12) student

13) housewife

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15) other

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2) some high school

3) high school graduate

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1)yes

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2)no

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-18-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 DEC 8 17:08

cc: VP

December 7, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Bruce Reed

good - This is
exciting!

SUBJECT:

Weekly Report -- New Ideas

Here is a brief update on some of the long-term ideas under development for the State of the Union and beyond. This list is very much a work in progress: These proposals are still being vetted with policy and political advisers in the White House and around the agencies, and some may not stand up to deeper scrutiny. Meanwhile, the search for additional ideas will continue. Don Baer and I have been working on a process for the State of the Union to ensure that in preparation for the speech, we ask the Cabinet and prominent thinkers outside the Administration to submit their thoughts on what you should say.

In the end, the State of the Union may not be the right moment to unveil our whole agenda -- either because it would be overshadowed by wherever we are in the budget talks, or because we want to keep enough new ideas in reserve so that you can stay in the news and put forth a positive agenda while the Republican candidates are attacking us and one another throughout the spring. But we need to make sure that the State of the Union sets the tone for our new agenda, and that the FY97 budget leaves room for it.

This week's report will focus on first-tier issues: the economy, crime, education, and personal responsibility. Next week, I will say more about political reform, the environment, and other issues.

I. ECONOMY

The best way for you to highlight your strong record of economic accomplishment is to put forward a positive, optimistic vision of economic opportunity. This is not just a matter of generating new economic ideas -- our actual policies have always been more appealing than the Republicans'. What we need is an overarching theory of economic growth as

compelling and simple as their message of cutting taxes and cutting government. Here are two possible theories of economic growth that are consistent with your record:

1. Economic Reform and Self-Reliance: One way to describe what we have done and need to keep doing is the idea that there's nothing wrong with the American economy that can't be fixed by getting rid of old rules, old deals, and old arrangements. That is what reducing the deficit, lowering trade barriers, and reinventing government are all about -- stripping away laws and habits that were meant for another era and are a burden to American workers, taxpayers, and business. Now, we must unleash the full energy of individuals and the private sector by phasing out corporate welfare, reforming the tax code to reward savings and investment instead of access and privilege, reducing regulation, and continuing to make government work better and cost less. Our guiding principle would be Andrew Jackson's motto, "Equal opportunity for all, special privileges for none."

Phasing Out Corporate Welfare: This would not only reduce the deficit, it would get rid of tax and spending subsidies that distort the economy and discourage innovation. It's a bigger downpayment on tax reform than the Republicans will ever offer. We don't have to wait for the State of the Union -- we could capture the issue once and for all in the budget talks right now. For example, as a good-faith effort to close the gap between our 7-year budget and theirs, we could propose paying for the tax cut through a base-closing commission on corporate welfare. We should link the size of the tax cut directly to the size of the corporate welfare cuts: if the Republicans want to go higher than \$100 billion on the tax cut, they'll have to agree to an equally high number on the corporate welfare cuts. This proposal would win enormous editorial and public support, put the Republicans on the defensive on their tax cut, and establish a consensus Democratic position that if there's going to be a tax cut, it must be fully paid for. The commission could be designed with an annual trigger, so that each year it proposed enough corporate welfare cuts to pay for that year's tax cut (which would mean we would face relatively modest corporate welfare cuts in 1996).

Middle-Class Tax Reform: What we can propose next year on tax reform depends largely on what is left to do after a budget deal. The Kemp Commission is likely to recommend a flat tax to Dole in January. That will leave us all kinds of running room, from narrow initiatives like tax simplification to broader proposals that encourage savings (like Lieberman's Kidsave idea to make the children's tax credit larger if parents put the money into savings). Rob Shapiro is working on a sweeping proposal that would close most loopholes but exempt personal savings and education as well as business research and development.

Ending Bureaucracy As We Know It: We have never made an economic argument for reinventing government, but we should. The next generation of REGO ideas will make government smaller and more efficient, streamline regulation, and reduce fraud. For example:

By the year 2000, no American should ever have to set foot in a government office: We can and should make every government service available by computer, telephone, or ATM card. (Already, people can pay their taxes, order stamps, and take care of their Social Security checks by phone.) That means we'll be able to close a lot of government offices -- but more important, no one will ever have to stand in line again. We may want to form a consortium with the private sector to ensure that this vision comes true.

The federal government will begin to measure performance, not red tape: If we end up with block grants in areas like welfare and training, we should make the most of it by getting out of the business of red tape and regulation and into the business of rewarding performance. We can't let federal agencies go on operating the same way as if nothing happened -- we should make a clean break. For example, we could close down the welfare office at HHS and replace it with a performance office (either at OMB or HHS) that keeps track of results but doesn't regulate or tell states what to do. We don't get enough credit for downsizing government because we never actually eliminate an office. This would be a chance to get out of the welfare business altogether (at little sacrifice, since the current bill mandates a 60+% staff cut anyway).

Common-sense regulation will promote economic growth: Paul Weinstein has been working with NEC, EPA, and Treasury on a Brownfields initiative that would provide a combination of tax incentives and liability relief to encourage cities and the private sector to develop abandoned industrial and commercial property. This proposal combines economic development and environmental cleanup in a way that appeals to suburbanites tired of seeing their "greenfields" developed as well as urban leaders who want to revitalize the inner city.

A high-tech war on illegal immigration, welfare fraud, and other criminal abuse: We now have the technology (fingerprinting, biometrics, DNA testing) to stop all kinds of abuses that drive most Americans crazy: trading food stamps for drug money, applying for welfare benefits in more than one state, dodging paternity, etc.

2. Democratic Capitalism: Another economic approach, which Bruce Babbitt championed in 1988 and we touched on in 1992, is the idea that enabling Americans to earn a bigger stake in their companies and their economic destiny will make America richer and more competitive. This is an optimistic, forward-looking answer to the wage gap: Every American should have the chance to be an owner, every company that rewards its executives should reward its employees, and every American who works hard should earn the right to take their pension, health insurance, and training with them wherever they go. In a Microsoft economy, the best way for a secretary's wages to keep pace with a star programmer's is for

both to own stock in the same company or invest in the same mutual fund. This approach leads to market-based proposals with a populist edge:

Any company that gives bonuses or stock options to its executives should do the same for its employees: Stocks and profits are soaring while wages are stagnant, but it does little good to plead with corporate leaders to "give America a raise." A policy of bonuses and options for all or none has more teeth -- companies could no longer deduct bonuses and stock options unless they're universal and company-wide.

Individual ownership and workplace democracy could prove to be one of our most powerful weapons in reducing the income gap between the upper 20% and everyone else. Consider this: Wages and incomes for the average American have been flat for 25 years, but the stock market has nearly doubled after inflation. To underscore our commitment to workplace democracy, we could also experiment with citizen-owned government -- privatizing federal agencies by giving shares directly to citizens.

Companies that overpay their executives shouldn't get a tax break from the government: In 1993, we eliminated the deductibility for CEO pay of over \$1 million, but Congress riddled it with loopholes. We could strengthen it by reducing the threshold to \$250,000 or \$500,000, and by adopting Hank Brown's proposal to apply the rules to private as well as public companies. Brown would eliminate the deductibility of high salaries unrelated to performance -- for example, utility infielders who earn \$1+ million to warm the bench.

Pensions, health care, and training should be portable, not entirely at the mercy of the employer: We should be pushing portability in an optimistic way -- as a new freedom that will enable people to change jobs when they want, not just as a security blanket for workers who get laid off. The NEC is working on proposals in these areas (achieving portability is not as simple as it sounds), but the basic idea is that people who work hard should earn some independence as a result. In particular, we can put forward a series of measures on pensions: cracking down on pension ripoffs; warding off Republican efforts to make raiding easier; and stop making taxpayers pick up the whole tab for congressional pensions -- members of Congress should have to set money aside like everyone else.

II. CRIME

Rahm and I are working with the Justice Department on an aggressive anti-crime agenda for the coming year and beyond. We are focusing on three targets: youth violence, drugs, and reform of the criminal justice system:

1. Youth Violence: The overall crime rate has begun to decline on our watch, but random youth violence continues to increase, and is expected to get much worse by the end of the

decade as the number of 14-17-year-olds goes up. We are looking at a host of ideas to stem the tide:

Declaring war on gangs, the way Bobby Kennedy declared war on organized crime: We would want to know how much we can actually accomplish before taking on such an ambitious challenge. But there is no question that gangs are responsible for much of the crime and drugs on our streets, and have literally destroyed childhood for millions of young Americans. A war on gangs might include:

- More aggressive gang prosecution, including: an FBI Most Wanted List of the 10 Most Dangerous Gangs, high-profile indictments of gang leaders, and an anti-gang community policing initiative through the 100,000 cops program.
- Banning gang members from public housing: We've asked Justice for constitutionally permissible ways to restrict gang activity. One housing authority is using a two-strikes-and-out policy to evict repeat offenders.
- Stiffer sentences for criminals who wear bullet-proof vests.
- Target criminals with guns: Justice is developing police gun detectors that can spot concealed weapons. These could be deployed in combination with more aggressive use of constitutionally permissible police authority to stop and frisk suspicious characters for weapons.

Every school should be safe, disciplined, and drug-free: We are working with the Justice and Education Departments to build upon our record on school safety, which includes a nationwide youth handgun ban, drug testing of school athletes, zero-tolerance for weapons in schools.

- Put a police officer in every public high school that wants one: We have talked with Secretary Riley about using existing funds from federal drug education programs to enable communities to put police officers in every dangerous school. There are about 10,000 public high schools in America, but requiring a local match (as we do in the COPS program) would keep the demand well below that -- probably in the range of \$50-200 million a year.

- Give schools a roadmap of constitutionally permissible ways to fight crime and drugs -- ranging from drug testing and locker searches to school uniforms: The Education Department has agreed to work with Justice on a set of constitutional guidelines for fighting crime and drugs, akin to the guidelines for school prayer. The Attorney General met with school officials in Long Beach this week to announce our interest in school uniforms.

- Promote law enforcement ROTC in the high schools: NYPD Commissioner Bratton is pushing youth police academies as a way to steer teenagers toward discipline and law enforcement at an early age.

Challenge states to change the way they deal with young criminals: Justice has drafted legislation on federal prosecution of juveniles as adults. But the real challenge will be to get states to reform their juvenile court systems to ensure that young criminals are punished. Justice has developed a Youth Violence Action Plan that includes model standards for states.

2. **Drugs:** We will need to maintain the offensive on drugs, which Republicans view as our weak spot. One of our most important initiatives, Drug Courts, is up for grabs in the appropriations battle. Other possible initiatives include:

Drug testing for parolees: This initiative is ready to be announced at any time.

Zero tolerance for professional athletes: It is time to close the revolving door for professional athletes like Darryl Strawberry, Steve Howe, and Dwight Gooden, who are repeatedly suspended for drug use, but manage to make their way back onto the field. We should challenge baseball and other professional sports to no longer tolerate drug use -- period. Imagine the message it would send to young people if athletes actually had to act like role models, and if using drugs meant the end of their professional career rather than a slap on the wrist. It should be a privilege to play in the major leagues, not a right.

Challenge high school coaches to adopt drug testing for athletes.

3. **Shutting the Revolving Door:** Americans are fed up with the criminal justice system. We can't solve the problem on our own, since 95% of crime is state and local -- but we can ill afford to ignore it.

Make swift and certain justice the law of the land: The federal system is actually a model of swift and certain justice: every defendant gets a speedy trial, every victim has certain rights, and every convicted felon serves his entire sentence. The real trouble is in the states. The Crime Bill gives states and localities billions of dollars to hire police, build prisons, and overhaul their systems. Now we should set forth a compelling vision of the national standards we expect them to meet. Every state should have a Speedy Trial Act, a Victims Bill of Rights, certainty of punishment for young offenders, drug testing for prisoners, and Truth in Sentencing for everybody. A sound three-strikes policy should be the law of the land.

Every victim has the right to a lawyer: Many lawyers, if they do pro bono criminal work at all, do it on behalf of defendants on death row. There's nothing wrong with that, but why aren't we challenging the legal profession to do more to help victims and not just accused criminals? For example, we should urge the ABA membership to make a pro-bono national commitment that every victim of domestic violence who needs a lawyer can get one, free of charge. We should also find out whether we could make it easier for lawyers to do pro-bono work to assist prosecutors and police.

III. EDUCATION

Carol and I met with Secretary Riley this week, and he agreed to come back to us next week with ambitious proposals on charter schools, school safety, work study, and technology. All these initiatives build on our achievements thus far, and contrast nicely with the Republicans' agenda.

Every public school in America should be accountable for results, and any parent who isn't satisfied should have the right to choose another public school for their child: One of the best things we could do to spur reform would be to lead a national campaign for charter school and public choice laws in every state (19 states already have charter laws on the books, although some are too weak). The Education Department is also developing a bold federal initiative to provide start-up money for up to 1,000 new charter schools. Public school choice and competition should become as universal as public education. Since charter schools have to compete for customers and most school charters are tied to performance, the marketplace will eventually ensure parents can see a report card for every school.

Every school should be safe, disciplined, and drug-free: [see Crime section]

We should reward students who work their way through college: Nothing symbolizes the American Dream more than the value of working one's way through school, as you did. Yet for all the battles over student loans and national service, work-study is the form of college aid that gets the least attention. The Republican budget cuts work-study in two ways -- by cutting the EITC and by taxing adults whose education is paid for by their employers. We have asked Education to come up with options for ways to expand work-study -- for example, by getting rid of current student loan rules that penalize students for working, or by offering grants to institutions to offer work-study jobs during the summer. Eventually, we could link all college aid to work or service.

Parent-teacher contracts: [See Personal Responsibility section]

IV. PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND SELF-RELIANCE

It is always tempting to offer a program for every problem. But as we move toward an era of block grants and balanced budgets, we should face up to the fact that the government no longer has the money, the public confidence, or the moral authority to try to solve all the country's problems.

There is another way to go -- a more refreshing, honest approach that might do more to put our country and our politics back on track and bring our people together. Instead of

new promises, we could set forth new challenges, and call on individuals to take more responsibility for their own lives, families to stick together, parents to look out for their children and children to respect their parents, politicians to find common ground and civility, corporations to share their gains with their workers, and citizens to give something back to their community and country.

The last 30 years have shown Americans that they can't count on government to solve all their problems. The last 12 months have shown them that they can't count on getting rid of government to solve all their problems. Americans don't want to go back -- so where else can they turn now but inward?

The virtue of self-reliance: I believe this hunger for self-reliance is a good thing, for us and for the country. Self-reliance is America's oldest, most enduring virtue. It is not the same as the Republican ideal of every man for himself, which too often comes at the expense of everyone else. And it is a more powerful idea than our favorite buzzword, empowerment, because its ultimate goal is to figure out not simply what government can do for you, but what it will take (from family, from community, from government, and most important, from within) to make it possible for all Americans together to achieve the liberty and independence that this country was founded to secure.

A Challenge to America, not another list of promises: Many Americans are longing for a crusade to turn the country around before it's too late -- to reverse family breakdown, moral decay, and complacency, and inspire responsibility, community, and patriotism. The Million Man March is powerful evidence that Americans are willing to ask more of themselves, and want their leaders to ask more of them as citizens.

I'm not sure that a moral crusade needs an agenda, but if it did, the organizing principle could be a 5- or 10-point challenge to the American people -- instead of a Contract with America full of easy promises, a Challenge to America that sets forth honest expectations and demands responsibility from Americans in all walks of life. For example:

Challenge families to stay together: Restoring the family will do more to solve our economic and social problems than any government program. Incomes have gone up over the past 25 years for two-parent families; it's the rising number of single-parent families that holds household incomes down. You should repeat your challenge to every man in America never to raise his hand to a woman.

Challenge parents to get more involved in their child's learning: Under Tony Blair, the Labour Party has begun pushing parent-school contracts that spell out responsibilities for parents (to help their children study, stay off drugs, and

show up for school) and schools (to challenge children and provide a safe, disciplined environment). Many charter schools in the U.S. have begun to enter into these contracts as well.

Challenge young people to stay in school or lose their driver's license if they drop out for no good reason: This shouldn't be a federal mandate, but it's a good example of the personal responsibility agenda you pushed in Arkansas and could push from the bully pulpit.

Challenge companies to invest in their workers and in America: Companies should let workers share more of the rewards from their hard work. The next time they open a new plant, they should do it in South Boston, South Texas, or South Central instead of South America or South Korea.

Challenge politicians to make politics more civil, and citizens to get more involved in their democracy.

Challenge Americans to give more back to their community: Dan Coats may be right -- perhaps we should provide more incentives for charity and family, as we have done for national service.

Challenge everyone to reach across racial lines and come together as a community.

Agenda
to
challenge
the
status
quo

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 21, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: DON BAER

SUBJECT: State of the Union Working Groups

To move ahead on the State of the Union process, we have made assignments for specific tasks in preparation for the speech and surrounding events.

Attached is a list of groups. Where appropriate, each group is being supplied with a separate assignment sheet that includes a deadline and recommendations for the task at hand. The designated lead for each group should call the group together or, in some cases, should reach out for written recommendations and to other staff in whatever way is helpful.

The Communications Department staff and I will work with each of the groups. Your final reports should be sent to me directly, and I will circulate to other senior staff for their ideas and sign-off.

Working groups

Presidential schedule

(pre and post)

Ann Walley, Lead
Ann Lewis
Doug Sosnik
George Stephanopoulos
Dick Morris

Surrogate themes and schedule

(pre and post)

Kitty Higgins, Lead
Alexis Herman
Marcia Hale
Barry Toiv
Lorrie McHugh
Gene Sperling
Maggie Williams
Melanne Verveer
Ron Klain
Ann Lewis
Bill Curry
Rahm Emanuel
Jill Schuker
Chris Dorval

Policies

Bruce Reed, with help
from others

Themes

Don Baer, Lead
Ann Lewis
George Stephanopoulos
Michael Waldman
Maggie Williams
Melanne Verveer
Ron Klain
Tony Blinken
Rahm Emanuel
Gene Sperling
Elaine Kamarck
Bill Curry
Dick Morris

Speech visuals

Maggie Williams, Lead
Ann Lewis
Melanne Verveer
Mike McCurry

Media Training

Doug Sosnik, Lead
Mike McCurry
Don Baer

Rehearsals

Don Baer, Lead
Ann Lewis
Michael Waldman

January Foreign Policy Speech

Tony Blinken

January Budget Speech

Michael Waldman



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

December 18, 1995

FAX TO: Bruce Reed
Carol Rasco
Gene Sperling
Jeremy Ben-Ami

FROM: Terry Peterson *TP*

In light of our meeting a couple of weeks ago with Secretary Riley, we have been thinking not only of individual initiatives that the Administration can take to upgrade and publicize educational advancement but also underlying public sentiment and opinions about various ideas to improve education.

Here is an early draft of two documents, one called *The American Voter and Education*. The other document is an overall message on education that we think would connect with Americans.

We will continue to work on these documents as well as on individual initiatives and ideas but we would appreciate your reactions to these overarching themes and ideas. Please call or fax me.

Office Telephone: (202) 401-3414
(202) 401-1407

Home Telephone: (202) 628-7638

Office Fax: (202) 205-5377

DRAFT 12/18/95, 10:30am

The American Voter and Education

1. Most Americans want changes in public schools, but when they talk of specific changes, most don't favor radical new ideas (e.g., in a recent survey in Georgia, by almost 2 to 1, adults strongly disapproved of private management of schools even though 84% said they wanted "fundamental" or "some" change in public education). The public wants disciplined, safe learning environments in which the basics are rigorously taught. They want more parent involvement. They don't want schools to be hostile to religion. It is important to keep in mind that most of the "public" are older Americans -- many without children or without children currently in school -- 49.2 percent of voters are 45 years of age or older. They want a President fighting for better education to set young people on the right course to make the most of their lives.

Action needed. We need to stress what the Administration has done to address: discipline, the basics, safety and drug prevention; promoting parent involvement in schools; and breaking down the hostility toward religion in schools. Equally important, we must have several new initiatives (e.g., budget increases and other actions) that address the basics and discipline; and keep promoting better ways to increase parent involvement and common ground on religion and citizenship in schools. For instance, launching a reading campaign involving voluntary tutoring (e.g., Read*Write*Now) and strengthening the teaching of the basics is a good idea. A tough discipline message coupled with mentoring is a good idea.

2. Parents and the public in "middle America," for the most part, like their local schools (e.g., 65% of public school parents give their school "A" or "B"; 48% of the public gives their neighborhood school "A" or "B".) They naturally want to make improvements in their schools and don't like the status quo. Support for public education is particularly seen in the suburbs, smaller cities and rural areas where 75% of middle income people live -- a group the Administration needs "to do better with." Evidence of their support for public education can best be seen in the high rate of participation in public schools -- almost 90% of students in suburban/large towns attend public schools and more than 90% of children in rural and small towns attend public school. While safety and the basics are always a top concern, these communities also want computers in the classroom, the best trained teachers, higher expectations and standards so their children are prepared to compete successfully in college and in the job market. They also want the latest science equipment, arts, foreign language, and after-school and extracurricular programs. They want their kids (and grandkids) prepared for college and/or real careers with a future. Access to financial aid for college and student loans are very important because almost all want their children to have a chance to go to college.

Action needed. We need to describe what we are doing in these high priority areas since most of the legislation the President passed is just beginning to affect schools and colleges in 1995-96 (e.g., our investment in the improvement of 5,000 schools through Goals 2000; focusing 10,000 schools on improving the basics and core subjects through Title I; student loan consolidation). Also, we must have several new initiatives such as

getting computers in the classrooms and giving teachers the best training to use technology to better teach their students the basics, core academics and computer skills. Also a new initiative to make college more accessible is very important.

3. In these middle America communities, such ideas as charter schools and vouchers are often not high priorities because they are seen as taking money out of their schools at a time when we need to be strengthening the quality of public education. However, people want an escape valve from poorly run and disorderly schools. Public school choice and charter schools offer both an escape valve and a way to challenge the status quo. They also provide accountability for public funds, unlike using taxpayer money for school vouchers. That may be why among 13 different groups, not one shows a majority favoring private school vouchers at public expense (Gallup, 1995). However, to many, public school choice and charter schools are not known or understood. About half had not heard very much or nothing at all about public school choice or charter schools (Gallup, 1995). It is important to note that part of the appeal of charter and private schools may be that they tend to be small and personal, something large public schools are not.

Action needed. An interesting proposal is to expand the start-up funds to charter schools and add to it start-up funds for public school choice programs and start-up monies to make public schools smaller and more personalized, with advanced courses ... thereby gaining support from those who want safer, more disciplined schools, those who want to challenge the status quo, and those who believe in their local public schools, but want to make them better.

DRAFT 12/18/95

What is the overall message on education that connects with local citizens?

Celinda Lake has a framework that captures this well. Combining her findings with several others gives a good general message about needed focus and attention.

Quality education is absolutely necessary not only to the future of our children and our families but to the future of America. A good education is certainly essential to each citizen for full participation in the changing economy, but a well-educated citizenry is also essential to our country's democratic way of life. As a nation, we have a stake in giving our children a solid foundation to make the most of their lives and to be productive, responsible adults.

In addition to academics, a quality education is one that stresses discipline, hard work, respect and responsibility where guns, violence and drugs are not present. We need to set the highest standards in education and we need to make this a national priority. Parents should have the choice of public schools or charter schools to escape poorly run or disorderly schools. Schools should not allow hostility to religion or to good citizenship. HeadStart, strong teacher training, extra help in the basics, getting computers in the classroom, and streamlined college loans are fundamental to helping our children get started on the right course. Along with better financial aid for college, providing specialized courses for career preparation with work-study experiences is also important.

We should be making all of these initiatives better, not cutting them back. They are essential to a strong economic future for our children and our families, and to our ability to compete in an international economy to bring us together as Americans.

PENN + SCHOEN ASSOCIATES, INC.
245 E. 92ND STREET
NEW YORK, NY 10128
PHONE: 212 534 4000
FAX: 212 360 7423

FAX COVER PAGE

TO FAX NUMBER: 202 456 2878

THE FOLLOWING PAGE (S) ARE FOR:

NAME: Gene Sperling

LOCATION: _____

COMMENTS: _____

FROM: Mark Penn

DATE: _____

TIME: _____

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET: 3

IF YOU HAVE NOT RECEIVED ALL THE PAGES THAT ARE INDICATED, OR ARE HAVING PROBLEMS WITH THE RECEPTION OF THE MATERIAL, PLEASE CONTACT OUR OFFICE AT 212 534-4000.



245 East 92nd Street New York, NY 10128 (212) 534-4000

**Penn + Schoen
Associates, Inc.**

TO: Gene Sperling

FROM: Mark J. Penn
Penn + Schoen Associates, Inc.

DATE: 12/28/95

- 1) if you would like to review the state of the union questionnaire, Baer's office has copies (its about 40 pages).
- 2) Xmas, in the absence of any government data, has been spun completely into the ground starting with a New York Times article last Saturday that everyone picked up on and led by a "Redbook" survey.

It is hard for me to see how there can be a bad Xmas when computers and big screen TVs are the biggest moving items. While it appears that there probably has been an over expansion of apparel retail stores, the bell weather Sears was up 5% and a lot of gungy discounters were having a bad time while all the flagship names (Saks, Gucci) were doing great.

And the last time they were revealed, Visa/Mastercard transactions were up double digits, and they are the only true indicator of total sales. This is true despite everyone repeating that we are in a credit crunch.

So, here you have the most negative possible stories being written while big ticket items and both bell-weather and upscale retailers are doing well and the discounters are doing poorly – the reverse of the typical signs of a bad Xmas.

My suspicions are: 1) there is a retail over-expansion so that same store sales of clothing retailers would not look good and consumers have benefited from lower prices and 2) that overall spending is quite good when you factor in the shift to electronics and computers, which are much more expensive items. Is there any way to document overall spending and to look at the data so that it does not just reflect clothing, but includes the new growth segments?

December 11, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: DON BAER

SUBJECT: STATE-OF-THE-UNION PROCESS

Attached is a proposed process and notional schedule for the planning, writing and marketing of the 1996 State of the Union Address. This plan incorporates the following tasks:

1. Development of themes and substance
 - A. Policy outreach process from within and outside the government being led by Bruce Reed
 - B. Thematic outreach process from range of thinkers and advisers being conducted by Speechwriting
 - C. Public opinion research (polling on themes, language, target groups, ideas) being conducted by Penn & Schoen
2. Drafting of speech under White House Speechwriting
3. Presidential preparation, including time for thinking, writing, editing, media training and rehearsing. (Activity that requires substantial Presidential time is underlined).
4. Amplification and roll-out of speech and themes
 - A. Free media opportunities before and after speech
 - B. Paid media before and after speech
 - C. Other marketing efforts designed to build impact of speech

The attached schedule already reflects some ideas for Presidential media and events that relate broadly to year-end/new-year themes.

To move this entire process forward, we need to work closely with the Message Group. With your permission, I would like to use a subset of that group as a SOTU working group, which would begin to take responsibility this week for implementing the approved process (Attachment 1).

DECEMBER

Week of 12/11

- Present plan to Message Group; approval of plan by President; formation of SOTU working group
- Outreach by Speechwriting to outside thinkers and advisers (including Galston group) for themes (aimed at 12/19 deadline)
- Receive comments on Reed ideas memo and continue to vet new policy ideas (aimed at 12/19 deadline)
- Draft and circulate poll questionnaire, coordinated with theme and policy research (aimed at survey in field 12/16-18; note: no poll at this time if government is shut down)
- SOTU working group first cut at the following: Themes and policies; pre- and post-speech Presidential and Cabinet/surrogate amplification

Week of 12/18

- Preliminary analysis of poll (12/19-20)
- SOTU working group session to develop thematic outline and integrate other material (12/20 - 3 hours)
- Meeting with President (12/22) to present thematic memo, survey conclusions and notebooks containing Reed policy research and thematic advice from outside thinkers
- Proposed year-end media reflecting themes: CNN hour long special on President this year (12/21); CSPAN long interview

Week of 12/25

- First draft work by Speechwriting
- Meetings with President to discuss policy research (Reed) or thematic advice, if so desired or needed (12/26 - 27)
- SOTU working group: Further amplification plans

DECEMBER-JANUARY 1996

Week of 12/31

- Internal circulation of draft (1/5)
- First draft to President (1/6)
- Galston dinner with outside thinkers (1/6)
- SOTU working group: Final plans for Cabinet and other surrogates for pre- and post-speech efforts (1/5)
- Proposed new-year national town meeting (ABC/Jennings) reflecting themes

Booklet
First priority: less is more

① Policy - highly thematic
② Themes - Core text
③ Form (Short)
④ Optics (Reed/Fitz) - Other Areas
⑤ Press

JANUARY

Week of 1/8

- Revised draft based on internal circulation and Galston group discussions (1/10)
- Media training (1/13)
- Polling/focus groups other research (1/8-12)
- SOTU working group meets with Cabinet/surrogates for pre-speech assignments to begin week of 1/15 (including speeches, tv interviews, talk radio, regional/specialty press); decides on post-speech plan for President and surrogates and develops other marketing
- Paid media group reviews themes; begins developing post-speech spot concepts (1/12)

Week of 1/15

- Draft back from President to staff (1/15)
- Martin Luther King Day speech (1/15)
- President speech prep (1/15)
- Redrafting (1/15-16)
- Full read through (1/17)
- Further media training
- Paid media drafts mall-test spots based on draft speech (1/16); filming with President (1/16-19, plus MLK Day speech)
- Proposed major print (newsmag) and tv interview by President on themes/expectations for speech
- SOTU working group meets with Cabinet/surrogates for final pre-speech assignments (in final run-up to speech) and post-speech assignments (to begin 1/24 - 25)

Question: Bosnian visit in run-up to speech?

Week of 1/22

- Rewriting by President
- Read through (1/21, 1/22) (2 ½ hours each day)
- Final pre-speech press interview?
- Mall test spots (1/20-21)
- State-of-the-Union (1/23 or 1/24)
- Post-speech Presidential activity TBD
- Cabinet/ surrogate post-speech activity
- Spot run begins (1/25)

December 1995

State-of-the-Union Schedule

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11 SOTU Working Group formed Reed outreach Outside thinker outreach	12 Plan to message group Plan to POTUS	13	14 Draft poll questionnaire	15 SOTU Working Group: themes, policies	16 Poll in field
17 Poll in field	18	19 Deadline: outside thinker outreach Deadline: Reed outreach Preliminary poll analysis	20 SOTU Working Group: review themes, polls, policies	21 CNN special Prepare booklets on policy/themes	22 POTUS meeting: themes, polls, policies	23
24	25	26 CSPAN special POTUS meeting: themes, policy SOTU Working Group: amplification	27 Speechwriting: first draft work	28	29	30
31						

November 95

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

January 96

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

January 1996

State-of-the-Union Schedule

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday																																																																																											
	1	2	3 National town meeting (ABC)	4 SOTU Working Group: plans for POTUS post- speech	5 First draft: internal circulation SOTU Working Group: final plans for Cabinet/ surrogates	6 First draft to POTUS Galston group dinner																																																																																											
7	8 SOTU Working Group: meet Cabinet/surrogates for pre-speech; decide post-speech; marketing	9	10 Revised draft (based on circulation/Galston group)	11	12 Media group: themes, post-speech spot concepts	13 Media training																																																																																											
Polling/focus groups																																																																																																	
14	15 Draft to staff from POTUS Further media training MLK Day speech POTUS speech prep	16 Media group: draft mall spots	17 Read-through SOTU Working Group: meet Cabinet/surrogates for final pre/post-speech assignments	18 POTUS filming for spots POTUS major tv/print interviews	19	20																																																																																											
Redrafting			Mall test spots																																																																																														
21 Read-through (2.5 hr)	22 POTUS rewrite Read-through (2.5 hr)	23 State-of-the-Union [TBD]	24 Cabinet/surrogates post- speech activity POTUS post-speech activity	25 Spot run begins	26	27																																																																																											
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Remember: This guy
predicted couple
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"Agrees to hunter-gatherer stops"
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October 8

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO: GENE SPERLING
Organisation: _____
Phone Number: _____
Fax Number: 456-2878

From: TERRY PETERSON, Counselor to the Secretary
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Fax Number: (202) 205-5377, (202) 401-0596

Message: _____

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4 page(s) to follow



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

December 18, 1995

FAX TO: Bruce Reed
Carol Rasco
Gene Sperling
Jeremy Ben-Ami

FROM: Terry Peterson *TP*

In light of our meeting a couple of weeks ago with Secretary Riley, we have been thinking not only of individual initiatives that the Administration can take to upgrade and publicize educational advancement but also underlying public sentiment and opinions about various ideas to improve education.

Here is an early draft of two documents, one called *The American Voter and Education*. The other document is an overall message on education that we think would connect with Americans.

We will continue to work on these documents as well as on individual initiatives and ideas but we would appreciate your reactions to these overarching themes and ideas. Please call or fax me.

Office Telephone: (202) 401-3414
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DRAFT 12/18/95, 10:30am

The American Voter and Education

1. Most Americans want changes in public schools, but when they talk of specific changes, most don't favor radical new ideas (e.g., in a recent survey in Georgia, by almost 2 to 1, adults strongly disapproved of private management of schools even though 84% said they wanted "fundamental" or "some" change in public education). The public wants disciplined, safe learning environments in which the basics are rigorously taught. They want more parent involvement. They don't want schools to be hostile to religion. It is important to keep in mind that most of the "public" are older Americans -- many without children or without children currently in school -- 49.2 percent of voters are 45 years of age or older. They want a President fighting for better education to set young people on the right course to make the most of their lives.

Action needed. We need to stress what the Administration has done to address: discipline, the basics, safety and drug prevention; promoting parent involvement in schools; and breaking down the hostility toward religion in schools. Equally important, we must have several new initiatives (e.g., budget increases and other actions) that address the basics and discipline; and keep promoting better ways to increase parent involvement and common ground on religion and citizenship in schools. For instance, launching a reading campaign involving voluntary tutoring (e.g., Read*Write*Now) and strengthening the teaching of the basics is a good idea. A tough discipline message coupled with mentoring is a good idea.

2. Parents and the public in "middle America," for the most part, like their local schools (e.g., 65% of public school parents give their school "A" or "B"; 48% of the public gives their neighborhood school "A" or "B".) They naturally want to make improvements in their schools and don't like the status quo. Support for public education is particularly seen in the suburbs, smaller cities and rural areas where 75% of middle income people live -- a group the Administration needs "to do better with." Evidence of their support for public education can best be seen in the high rate of participation in public schools -- almost 90% of students in suburban/large towns attend public schools and more than 90% of children in rural and small towns attend public school. While safety and the basics are always a top concern, these communities also want computers in the classroom, the best trained teachers, higher expectations and standards so their children are prepared to compete successfully in college and in the job market. They also want the latest science equipment, arts, foreign language, and after-school and extracurricular programs. They want their kids (and grandkids) prepared for college and/or real careers with a future. Access to financial aid for college and student loans are very important because almost all want their children to have a chance to go to college.

Action needed. We need to describe what we are doing in these high priority areas since most of the legislation the President passed is just beginning to affect schools and colleges in 1995-96 (e.g., our investment in the improvement of 5,000 schools through Goals 2000; focusing 10,000 schools on improving the basics and core subjects through Title I; student loan consolidation). Also, we must have several new initiatives such as

getting computers in the classrooms and giving teachers the best training to use technology to better teach their students the basics, core academics and computer skills. Also a new initiative to make college more accessible is very important.

3. In these middle America communities, such ideas as charter schools and vouchers are often not high priorities because they are seen as taking money out of their schools at a time when we need to be strengthening the quality of public education. However, people want an escape valve from poorly run and disorderly schools. Public school choice and charter schools offer both an escape valve and a way to challenge the status quo. They also provide accountability for public funds, unlike using taxpayer money for school vouchers. That may be why among 13 different groups, not one shows a majority favoring private school vouchers at public expense (Gallup, 1995). However, to many, public school choice and charter schools are not known or understood. About half had not heard very much or nothing at all about public school choice or charter schools (Gallup, 1995). It is important to note that part of the appeal of charter and private schools may be that they tend to be small and personal, something large public schools are not.

Action needed. An interesting proposal is to expand the start-up funds to charter schools *and* add to it start-up funds for public school choice programs and start-up monies to make public schools smaller and more personalized, with advanced courses ... thereby gaining support from those who want safer, more disciplined schools, those who want to challenge the status quo, and those who believe in their local public schools, but want to make them better.

What is the overall message on education that connects with local citizens?

Celinda Lake has a framework that captures this well. Combining her findings with several others gives a good general message about needed focus and attention.

Quality education is absolutely necessary not only to the future of our children and our families but to the future of America. A good education is certainly essential to each citizen for full participation in the changing economy, but a well-educated citizenry is also essential to our country's democratic way of life. As a nation, we have a stake in giving our children a solid foundation to make the most of their lives and to be productive, responsible adults.

In addition to academics, a quality education is one that stresses discipline, hard work, respect and responsibility where guns, violence and drugs are not present. We need to set the highest standards in education and we need to make this a national priority. Parents should have the choice of public schools or charter schools to escape poorly run or disorderly schools. Schools should not allow hostility to religion or to good citizenship. HeadStart, strong teacher training, extra help in the basics, getting computers in the classroom, and streamlined college loans are fundamental to helping our children get started on the right course. Along with better financial aid for college, providing specialized courses for career preparation with work-study experiences is also important.

We should be making all of these initiatives better, not cutting them back. They are essential to a strong economic future for our children and our families, and to our ability to compete in an international economy to bring us together as Americans.

DRAFTWIKIDRAFT, 12/18 P.2/10

CHARTER SCHOOLS AND EXPANDED PUBLIC SCHOOL CHOICE

BACKGROUND

Neither the administration nor the congress are yet fully tapping into the American public's concerns and values about K-12 education in this country. Important goals for public schools articulated by this administration (e.g., investing in higher standards, safe and disciplined schools, students learning the basics, computers, and involved parents and communities) seem to enjoy strong support from the majority of Americans. However, support for our educational goals is undermined by widespread skepticism about the ability of the current public educational system to reform itself or move significantly toward achieving these goals. As a result, discussion of these attractive themes -- decoupled from any believable way to make them happen -- does not captivate public or media attention.

Meanwhile, voucher proponents tap into this dissatisfaction with calls for using public funds to support tuition payments to private schools, and aiding those students who are perceived to be caught in a bureaucratic and dysfunctional system. Indeed, Americans want change in K-12 education -- even if many think their own children's schools are OK. But this lifeboat theory, calling for saving a few kids from a public school system labeled as a failure, runs aground on an abiding belief in the importance of the American public school. For now.

Addressing public concerns about K-12 education would require reforms more far-reaching than most Democrats currently promote, and more rooted in the American tradition of public schooling than many Republicans support. To this end, the administration could make a passionate defense of public education in this country -- along with appeals for parental choice among public schools, and independent and autonomous charter schools accountable to parents, and for results -- all in context of results-based accountability systems geared to challenging standards and assessments.

I. FRAMING THE INITIATIVE

A way of talking about this initiative might be "Every student in America should have access to a good public school. To this end, this administration is already heavily investing in high standards, technology, the basics, preparation for the workplace, safe and orderly schools and involved parents and communities; indeed, much of the budget battles with Congress have been protecting these investments. We are going to redouble our efforts in these areas, along with a major new initiative to support public charter schools and expanded public school choice.

"The purpose of this initiative will be to insure that any parent whose child does not have access to a quality education should be able to send their child to another public school. And where there isn't space or adequate access to quality education in another nearby public school, parents should be able to send their child to -- or even help form -- an independent public charter school. Indeed, to have meaningful choices, these public charter schools (and their partners, whether they are universities, non-profits, or business) should be free to be more responsive to the needs and interests of parents and students, than to the dictates of a centralized governance system, as long as that school is held accountable for results. Moreover, if a local school doesn't use our -- or other resources -- to reach high standards and be responsive to parents, a quality and publicly accountable charter school should be able to use these investments instead."

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Advocacy for charter schools can be effectively used as a counter for vouchers, and indeed a way to sharpen the differences between those who are for, and those who are against, public education. Discussion of charter schools can go hand-in-hand with a defense of public education as a cornerstone of American Democracy, equal opportunity, and a way for people to learn from, and thrive on, the diversity that exists in this country. Indeed, public schooling in this country is a critical foundation for public life, and for maintaining a strong and cohesive middle class that is the best bulwark against the deterioration in other countries of ethnic, religious, and economic differences into violence and wars. Charter schools can also help demonstrate this administration's interest in improving, even shaking up the public school system, while protecting it from those who would destroy it. [Language here can be subtler, more effective]

II. SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS OF INFUSING A CHARTER AND PUBLIC SCHOOL CHOICE INITIATIVE INTO OUR EXISTING REFORM AGENDA

NOTE: We need to identify a series of steps that need to be taken, research and information gathered and analyzed, and meetings, to flesh out this initiative. An initial meeting might discuss these options, raise others, and agree on immediate next steps and a timeline for those. For now, here are possible elements of an initiative:

- The President would propose a dramatically increased appropriation in the federal charter schools "venture capital fund", providing start-up funds for charter schools nationwide. Indeed, in a nationwide survey this summer, lack of access to start-up funds was named by charter school developers as the most significant barrier to their success. The President could call for an increase from the current \$6 million appropriation to \$50 million in FY 1997, gradually increasing to about \$250 million in FY 2001. This could provide start-up funds for 250 charter schools next year, 500 the following, and roughly 2500 charters by the Year 2000. (Ck figures.) Appropriations could be larger, perhaps even within the current authorizing language, if funds were used to support "schools-within-schools" that people don't currently think of as charters.
- The President (and Secretary Riley) could deliver a series of speeches articulating the importance of public schooling in America, along with the need for high standards, technology, and public school choice and charter schools where children are not getting a good education. (See pages 1-2, "framing the initiative"). The State of the Union Address is one obvious forum for this, as is the Secretary's State of Education Address the following week. Other potentially effective uses of the bully pulpit, and ways for the President to provide visible leadership on charter schools and public school choice, would be speeches in targeted states where a) charter school, and voucher debates, are taking place at the state level (e.g., Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Colorado, California, or Florida); or, b) debates are taking place about the development of individual charter schools in communities where there may be concern, or misunderstanding, about the charter concept.

Another forum for speeches -- at least, in states already receiving federal charter school start-up funds -- would be at individual charter schools receiving start-up funding in state competitions held with federal charter schools grants. Visits to very successful charter schools (some of the best are in California and Minnesota) are always another option.

Because the concept of charter schools is not yet widely understood, there is a real opportunity for this administration to show leadership on this issue, and to be associated in the public mind with an idea that -- once understood -- is likely to be very appealing.

- The President and Secretary could call for all states to consider enactment of charter school laws within 12 months. Among other forums for this appeal might be President's speech to the Education Summit to be convened in March by the nation's governors and CEOs. While 19 states have enacted charter laws, more than half a dozen of the remaining 31 are expected to debate charter legislation next year.

- The President and Secretary could call for states with weaker charter laws to strengthen their laws, and to devise strategies for fostering the growth of many more charter schools in their state. "Strong" charter laws are important, because they tend to produce more charter schools. Currently, only nine of the 19 state charter laws are considered strong, and 190 out of the 200 existing charter schools are in six of those nine states. "Strong" provisions include permission for a variety of public authorities to grant charters, providing an appeals process when charter applications are rejected, providing greater autonomy to charter schools, and placing a less stringent cap on the number of charters that may be awarded.

- The Administration could provide leadership and broker technical assistance in areas critical to the success of charter schools. Key areas of assistance and training include all activities related to starting up what is essentially a small business (budget and finance, accounting, payroll and pension, insurance purchasing, real estate, as well as general leadership and management), and development and use of accountability systems including standards and assessments. In theory, one of the greatest benefits of a charter school is accountability, with a charter closing if it does not meet agreed-on performance goals. In practice, charter schools, and sponsoring agencies, are struggling with the definition and use of indicators for school success. Effective forms of technical assistance:

- A White House Conference on Charter Schools and Public Schools could provide support and visibility to the charter schools initiative. Such a conference could be a forum for convening businesses, museums, universities, and others to explore becoming partners and sponsors of charter schools. The President or Secretary could announce at the conference the formation of charter school leadership committees involving these institutions.

- The Department of Education or White House could convene meetings on specific issues involving charter schools, and relevant experts. For example, the Department of Education could convene a meeting with standards and assessment experts (or in another meeting, accounting, insurance, or real estate experts), and charter school developers, where the group would identify issues needing attention, and establish a plan and timetable for addressing those problems. Solutions might include the development of business software -- or a new kind of liability insurance -- designed for charter schools.

- The Administration could call for, and support the development of, graduate schools that include centers for preparation and ongoing training for people in charter schools. Such a center would combine relevant business and education training, in innovative ways. The center might help its students learn about such as issues as how to use educational research to drive the development of a school; it might provide training needed to set up a small

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business; it might combine teacher and administrator preparation, breaking down institutional walls separating teachers from school administrators; and it might provide training to people from outside education (whether from business, the military, or elsewhere) who want to use their talents and knowledge to contribute to education. In fact, this center could dramatically expand the pool of people able to launch and participate in successful charter schools. It could also be at the forefront of efforts to reform schools of education. These reforms are widely acknowledged to be urgently needed, and currently happening far too slowly..

In order to be near to the highest concentration of existing charter schools, a center might be developed at a university in California, another in the midwest, another in Texas, and another in Massachusetts. The President and Secretary could provide leadership in the development of these centers, without spending federal funds, by asking business and universities to fund these efforts. Indeed, this could become a new, very attractive way. for business to support public education reform.

-- The Administration could explore ways to provide charter schools with better access to transportation and facilities, including through leveraging private sector funds. Transportation, and particularly lack of access to adequate facilities, have been identified by charter schools as major barriers to success. Identifying sites for possible use by charter schools, including converted military bases, public housing complexes, and commercial space near where many parents work all could help address current lack of access to adequate facilities for charter schools.

• The Administration could call for, and support, a charter schools initiative in Washington, D.C. The President could call for charter schools legislation, either by the Congress or by the City Council, and pledge this administration's full support for charter schools here if such legislation is enacted. Among other activities, the President could hold a press conference announcing plans to form several public charter schools under the auspices of the Smithsonian (or a local military base) if charter legislation is passed. The Administration could also provide and broker intensive assistance to charter schools and their sponsors, along the lines described above.

In particular, the resources of the Smithsonian, a branch of the federal government, are vast (14 museums, and 1500 professionals with substantive expertise) and could be powerful tools to support effective public schooling in D.C. A Smithsonian American History public charter school, for example, could get considerable national media and public attention, and could become a symbol for the promise of charter schools. To do this, meetings would need to begin soon to develop this concept. A first step might be a meeting between Secretary Riley, the Secretary of the Smithsonian, and the superintendent of the D.C. schools. These would be followed by staff meetings to develop plans for proceeding further.

A White House conference solely on D.C. charter schools might be extremely worthwhile.

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- The President could propose a new free-standing charter schools and public school choice bill to Congress that would have several components.

-- First, the bill would clarify how allocations of federal funds would be made to charter schools, while insuring adequate flexibility in the use of these funds by charter schools. Currently, some charter schools are experiencing difficulties getting their fair share of federal program funds, while retaining adequate independence from the nearby school district in choosing how to spend these funds. Some of these problems stem from technical issues associated with current law, and others stem from poor relationships between charters and the school districts that feel threatened by competition. A bill would address these problems.

-- Second, the bill would authorize a \$100 million "public school choice and competition challenge grant" that would support efforts by school districts, states, and networks of schools or teachers to promote greater competition in public school systems. The purpose of this challenge grant would be to foster creative thinking about a variety of strategies, by many different people and institutions, to draw on the principles of competition and choice to support high-quality public schooling. Uses of funds might include: the development of consumer information systems, school choice directories, and training helping parents to make informed decisions about where to send their child to school; supporting networks of individual schools in developing curricula, and marketing those curricula to other schools or school systems; supporting the development of associations of teachers that would market their services to interested schools or school systems.

-- Third, the bill could authorize a national business organization to coordinate efforts to raise funds and support the kind of charter school activities described below. This would be similar, in some respects, to the National American Schools Development Corporation (NASDC) started in the Bush Administration, except with a focus on charter schools and public school choice. One option might be to authorize an existing organization, such as the National Alliance of Business or the Council on Basic Education, to do this work. The bill might authorize one year of start-up funds to get this effort off the ground. [Take this paragraph out?]

-- Fourth, if charter schools legislation is not enacted by the D.C. City Council, the Administration could call for federal legislation to authorize charter schools in Washington D.C., now that Congress has junked charter schools language passed by both the House and Senate in order to keep vouchers out of the D.C. appropriations bill. One vehicle to do this would be including language to authorize D.C. charter schools in a free-standing charter schools bill proposed by the Administration.

III. WHY WE NEED THIS INITIATIVE TO BOLSTER THIS ADMINISTRATION'S EDUCATION REFORM AGENDA

For several reasons, an initiative to support charter schools and expanded public school choice might be critical in translating this administration's vision for education reform into reality. To explain why, this section provides an overview of our substantive education reform agenda, limitations of these current efforts, and how charter schools can help overcome these limitations. At the end of the section is a quick sketch of a future educational system that includes standards, charter schools, and public school choice. [This entire section might not appear in document for White House, or at least just in abbreviated form.]

A. This Administration's education reform agenda.

The vision for K-12 education reform in this administration has, so far, included these components:

1) States will have adopted challenging academic standards and assessments. Goals 2000, Title 1, and a few small discretionary grants will support the development of these. In public, these days, we talk about "high standards of achievement and discipline", or "supporting the basics and preparing students for the workplace and citizenship."

2) States, school districts, schools will use their resources -- including federal programs -- to improve achievement geared to challenging standards, as measured by assessments and other indicators of student success. To make it easier to use federal resources effectively and coherently -- and perhaps drive more effective use of state and local resources as well -- we are trying to shift focus of federal programs from compliance with rules and regulations to a focus on results, i.e., how well states, districts, and schools use these programs to help students achieve to the standards they set. To some extent, the administration is also trying to shift from use of specific programs for specific groups of children, toward use of programs to support overall improvements in state and local education systems and, increasingly, in schools.

The idea is that these overall improvements -- especially improvements of schools -- will best help all students learn, including the children who are most in need. Schoolwide provisions in Title 1 might be the most dramatic example of these shifts, and how they might enhance effective use of federal funds to support student learning.

3) Parents, business, and communities will be actively involved in shaping education decisions, and be regularly involved in children's learning. Development of state and local citizen panels under Goals 2000, parent contracts in Title 1, School-to-Work, expansion of Even Start, and the Secretary's family involvement initiative all support this involvement.

4) Schools will prepare students for the world of work, the age of information and technology, and will provide all students with safe, orderly, and disciplined environments in which to learn. Communities and schools will have used some seed money (technology challenge grants, safe and drug free schools grants, and school-to-work), along with other federal, state, and local resources to do these things. Arguably, improving academic achievement will also help schools succeed in each of these efforts.

B. Limitations of current federal efforts to achieve our vision of education reform.

If this is roughly the administration's current agenda in K-12 education reform, several factors may make our current efforts -- while helpful -- fundamentally inadequate to lead to the realization of our vision for educational change. These factors include:

1) There are several reasons why our initiatives do not take the above principles to their logical conclusion. For example, although we call for "unprecedented flexibility and cutting red tape", we actually rely on limited and clumsy tools for supporting this claim. While changes in federal law permitting greater flexibility, waivers, consolidated planning are helpful -- and could potentially set a model for states and districts to follow in using their own funds -- their ability to provide real flexibility for schools is limited.

For example, the provision-by-provision waiver approach -- while a significant step forward -- is still a cumbersome way to provide flexibility. It is unlikely to be taken full advantage of by schools who don't fully understand federal law and, furthermore, are often part of school districts and states that prefer adding, rather than reducing, restrictions on schools. Even in the best case scenario (i.e., well-informed schools in sympathetic school districts), schools will still need to go through a fairly onerous process -- at a particular time each year as they finalize budgets to get specific provisions waived. While helpful, this process leaves schools in the position of needing to understand many process restrictions, and make a case to 3 different levels of government that they should be removed. Consolidated plans provide another example, for they in no way affect how schools, districts, and states can spend funds, or operate federal programs.

Moreover, because federal funds comprise such a small portion of funds used by schools, even maximum provision of flexibility affects only a relatively small portion of a school's budget -- not enough to change the way an entire school functions. Finally, federal funds are the most narrowly designed to help specific groups of children; therefore they are the toughest to shift from a program-by-program focus on inputs and regs to results for a whole school. The limitations of a shift toward flexibility are most apparent in IDEA, but also in other federal programs, including targeted assistance schools under Title 1.

Flexibility is just one of the many areas of federal activity in which our rhetoric cannot easily be matched by our ability to deliver. Important exceptions might include educational technology and the development of systems of challenging standards and assessments.

2) Further complicating our ability to drive educational change is the lack of evidence that those we are investing in to lead education reforms -- state department of education and school districts -- are willing or able to carry them out. Our reform strategy relies principally on these organizations to design and implement systems of standards and assessments, as well as reform plans geared to them. While reliance on SEAs and LEAs to drive education reform was probably helpful in enacting Goals, IASA, etc, these organizations could be the least likely to make changes in educational systems needed to accomplish this vision: after all, these changes, followed even halfway to their logical conclusion, would deprive these organizations of much of their power, \$, jobs, sense of stability and role, and would be antithetical to their current culture.

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Indeed, the very reason-d'être of these organizations is, in many cases, to set and enforce rules and enforce others who do the work. Now we are asking them to junk the rule-based approach that has traditionally been the basis for their authority, size, and existence. Furthermore, even where there is an individual school district willing to assume this leadership, a reluctant state department of education can stymie their reform efforts.

In other words, we might be calling for the right vision, but investing in the wrong people to lead the way.

3) Fashioning an effective public message around, or building public support for, our substantive agenda is difficult. After all, a public message is not likely to be effective unless it is tied to activities that the public or media believe will make a difference. And it is difficult to see the direct effect of our federal efforts -- obscure, remote and arcane to the average citizen -- and educational change. The public might be more impressed with arguments that truly might be related to significant change, where needed, in American schools.

Our more recent message on education -- aside from the effective message on the budget -- has been a discussion of our educational goals and values that we think the public shares. This message is appealing because it may help persuade people that the President and Secretary share their values. But it does not really directly advance our education reform agenda.

C. How charter schools can help overcome these limitations.

Charter schools can truly provide flexibility, autonomy really, for schools willing to be held accountable for standards. They provide a way to drive change in public education, shifting power where necessary from school districts. They provide an effective way of involving, and truly empowering, parents and communities. Moreover, as schools that are closed if they fail to meet performance goals, they truly -- if tied to systems of challenging standards and assessments -- provide accountability in public education. Finally, charter schools can be an attractive way to get across the message of serious change where needed, while still preserving the American tradition of public education.

Clearly, the ability of the federal government to drive public school change through charter schools is limited. But forceful use of the bully pulpit, as well as budget and other legislative proposals, can place charter schools at the center of education reform discussions. And subsequent creation and flourishing of charter schools will provide one visible picture of how federal and presidential leadership can lead toward the achievement of our vision: access to a good education for all students through high standards, federal investment, and parental choice.

D. Fleshing out a vision of a future system of public education.

A quick sketch of a future public educational system, run on these principles, might help clarify what steps are needed now to move us in the right direction. Ultimately, an educational system truly run on these principles might look like the following:

Any interested school, or partnership of teachers and an outside organization, could become an independent public charter school if it had a quality plan for helping children learn and succeed, the capacity to implement that plan, and willingness to be held accountable for academic and other clearly defined performance standards. In return, the schools would be given real autonomy from centralized educational agencies, and freedom from endless worries about red tape and compliance with centrally-determined rules. Charters would be approved for continuation every 5 years if they met their performance standards; otherwise, they could be closed.

Many schools would choose to become charters, many others would remain part of their local school district. Some school districts would sign performance contracts for all of their schools, setting out performance goals, and giving additional flexibility from laws and rules.

But all schools -- or school districts -- would choose among many challenging standards and assessment systems to serve as the basis for a result-based accountability system for the school, as well as a framework for the curriculum, professional development, and other activities at the school. These standards and assessments might be selected from the state in which the school is located, from another state, or from among nationally recognized standards like NCTM or the national science or civics standards.

Meanwhile, any parent could send their child to the public school of their choice. That school might be a charter school, a "regular" school, or a "school-within-a-school." All parents would have clear, understandable, and relevant information about their alternatives, including information on the standards and assessment system used by the school, and progress of the students at the school on those systems. Parents could also choose schools, or help form schools, with special emphases like discipline and uniforms, technology, more individualized attention, a traditional, or an interdisciplinary curriculum. Or, they might choose schools because a school sponsor is a particular museum, library, or kind of business.

Also, a range of organizations -- including universities, other non-profits such as museums, libraries or zoos, businesses, community organizations, and even the military -- would become active partners with many of these schools. While many of these organizations now grow frustrated with barriers to partnerships under the existing system, they would be able to help co-design and co-sponsor schools, infusing their resources, people, and knowledge into making a particular school work.

Other organizations would compete to provide services needed by the independent schools, leading to more efficient provision of truly needed services and supplies. These services might include curriculum development, professional development and teacher training, and assistance with budgets, payrolls, and pension systems. Already, charter schools tell stories of finding deals, and paying one-fifth of the cost that would have been paid by their school district for such supplies as portable classrooms. This would reduce the now-frequent expenditures by school districts on administrative resources that are not necessarily of high quality, nor perfectly match school needs.

Networks of schools might form and provide many of the services now provided by school district central offices and other organizations. Such networks might organize around certain types of standards and assessments, or other themes that might tie together networks of schools.

IV. IMMEDIATE NEXT STEPS [Include in memo?]