

State of the Union 1997
Jonathan Prince

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

STATE OF THE UNION
1997

JONATHAN PRINCE

 Michael Cohen
01/27/97 09:37:58 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Laura K. Capps/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: what we still need 

Here are some answers:

1. The most recent international comparisons (released last Fall) show that U.S. students rank below the international average in 8th grade math and slightly above the international average in 8th grade science. Last week the President visited suburban Chicago school districts in which the students tied for first in the world in science, and for 2nd in the world in math. In addition, an international reading study conducted in 1991 showed that U.S. 4th graders ranked 2nd in the world.

The math and science results are probably the most useful; there are a number of other ways of describing how we rank (e.g., compared to the G7 countries; in terms of the percentage of top performing kids) Let me know if you want more on this.

2. The best example of curriculum that needs to be toughened is math. Compared to other countries, our math curriculum is "a mile wide and an inch deep" in which schools cover a lot of topics each year, but kids don't actually understand or master the material. In addition, only 20% of U.S. kids take algebra, compared to more than 50% internationally. -- I'm checking the international figure.

3. & 4 -- I'll have charter schools numbers in the morning

5. Enrollment -- according to an Education Department report released August 1996, 51.7 million kids entered public and private school (K-12) this fall, beating the previous record of 51.3 million set a generation ago. The same report projects total enrollment to be at 53.933 million by 2001. It does not provide a specific projection for 2000.

6. making education universal -- The high school graduation rate in the U.S. soared from 10% of 18 year olds in 1919 to 50% by the mid-1930's -- a graduation rate that most European countries did not meet until decades later.

7. I'll give you the school construction announcement in morning

8. America Reads Challenge--I will have the number we think we can announce tomorrow afternoon; if I can get it sooner I will.

WHAT A DIFFERENCE 4 YEARS MAKES
The Facts On The Economy Under President Clinton
January 24, 1996

WHAT A DIFFERENCE 4 YEARS MAKES:

Deficit Cut More Than In Half

- **In 1992.** The deficit was \$290 billion -- the highest dollar level in history.
- **Today.** The deficit has been cut by 63 percent in 4 years, to \$107 billion. The deficit is now smaller as a share of GDP than any major economy in the world. [CBO, 10/96 and OECD, 6/96]

Unemployment Is Down

- **In 1992.** The unemployment rate was above 7% during every month -- over 7.5% during 5 months. Four years ago -- in 1992 -- the unemployment rate averaged 7.5 percent.
- **Today.** In 1996, the unemployment rate was 5.4 percent -- it has been below 6 percent for 27 consecutive months. [Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics]

Jobs Are Up

- **In 1992.** Job growth was weak and had suffered from one of the worst 4-year periods in history -- worse than any Administration since President Hoover during the Great Depression.
- **Today.** The economy has created 11.2 million new jobs under President Clinton in just 47 months -- that's a faster annual rate of job growth than any Republican Administration since the 1920s. [Source: BLS]

Private-Sector Growth Is Up

- **1981-1992.** The private sector of the economy grew 2.4 percent annually from 1981-1992.
- **Today.** The private sector of the economy has grown 3.2 percent annually -- a stronger record of private-sector growth than either the Bush or Reagan Administrations. [Source: Based on data from the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis]

EXPERTS SAY PRESIDENT CLINTON DESERVES CREDIT FOR A STRONGER ECONOMY

- **Fortune, 10/3/94:** "[President Clinton's] economic plan helped bring interest rates down, spurring the recovery."
- **Paul Volcker, Federal Reserve Board Chairman (1979-1987), in Audacity, Fall 1994:** "The deficit has come down, and I give the Clinton Administration and President Clinton himself a lot of credit for that. [He] did something about it, fast. And I think we are seeing some benefits."
- **Alan Greenspan, 2/20/96:** The deficit reduction in President Clinton's 1993 Economic Plan was "an unquestioned factor in contributing to the improvement in economic activity that occurred thereafter."
- **Lehman Brothers, 1/10/94:** "Lower deficits, lower long-term rates and higher real growth was the overall promise. With the data now rolling in for December 1993, it seems clear that President Clinton delivered on all three counts..."

AMERICA'S ECONOMY IS BACK ON TOP -- #1 IN THE WORLD

The Facts On The Economy Under President Clinton

January 24, 1996

WHAT A DIFFERENCE 4 YEARS MAKES:

AMERICA'S ECONOMY IS BACK ON TOP OF THE WORLD

- **1992: Trailed Japan, Germany, Denmark, and Switzerland.** In 1992, the World Economic Forum found that Japan, Germany, Denmark, and Switzerland all had more competitive economies than the United States.
- **TODAY: Most Competitive Economy In The World.** For the first time in ten years, United States was declared the world's most competitive economy in 1994. The United States was ranked number one again in 1995, beating Japan and Germany by an even larger margin than the year before. And in 1996 -- on a comparable basis as previous reports -- America was ranked the world's most competitive economy yet again. [Source: World Economic Forum and IMD, 1992-1995; IMD, 1996.]

THE WORLD'S JOBS LEADER

- **1989-1992: Weaker Job Growth.** From 1989-1992, the six other major economies of the world created over two-and-a-half times more jobs than the United States.
- **TODAY: Strongest Job Growth.** The United States has had the fastest rate of job growth among major economies since 1992 and created more new jobs than the other six major economies combined.

Washington Post, 4/2/96: "[T]he U.S. economy has created more new jobs over the past several years than all the other G-7 economies combined...Since January 1993, 8.4 million new jobs, swelling the number of job holders by 7.7 percent. No other G-7 economy comes close to matching that performance."

THE WORLD'S AUTOMOBILE LEADER

- **1992: Trailed Japan for 13th Year In A Row.** In 1992 Japan produced 28 percent more automobiles than America -- trailing for the 13th year in a row.
- **TODAY: #1 in Auto Production.** In 1994 the United States surpassed Japan as the world leader in automobile production -- the last time the United States was number one was back in 1979. In 1996 -- for the third year in a row -- America was the world's largest car producer.

THE WORLD'S LEADER ON DEFICIT REDUCTION

- **1992: Bigger Deficit Than Japan, Germany, and France.** In 1992, the United States had a larger budget deficit as a share of the GDP than Japan, Germany, and France.
- **TODAY: Lowest Deficit.** The United States currently has the lowest deficit as a share of GDP of any major economy in the world.

THE WORLD'S LEADER IN SEMICONDUCTORS

- **1992: Trailed Japan for 7th Straight Year.** In 1992, the United States trailed Japan in semiconductor production for the seventh consecutive year.
- **TODAY: #1 in Semiconductors.** For the first time since 1985, America is leading the world in semiconductor production.

THE ECONOMY UNDER PRESIDENT CLINTON: THE BEST SINCE...

January 24, 1996

- ★ **Smallest Deficit As A Share Of The Economy In Over Two Decades.** The deficit was 1.4 percent of the economy this year -- smaller than any year since 1974. [CBO, 10/96]
- ★ **Lowest Combined Rate of Unemployment and Inflation Since 1968.** [Based on data from the BLS]
- ★ **Stronger Job Growth Than Any Republican Administration Since the 1920s.** Nearly 11.2 million new jobs added in 4 years -- that's a faster annual rate of job growth than any Republican Administration since the Roaring 1920s. [Based on data from the BLS]
- ★ **Highest Share Of Jobs In Private Sector Since Harding.** Ninety-three percent of all new jobs have been created by the private sector -- that's higher than the average during any other Administration since Warren Harding was President more than 70 years ago. [Based on data from the BLS]
- ★ **Lowest Inflation For An Administration Since Kennedy.** Inflation has averaged under 3 percent per year -- that's the lowest rate of inflation for any Administration since John F. Kennedy was President. [Based on data from the BLS]
- ★ **Stronger Manufacturing Job Growth Than Any Republican Administration Since Before the Great Depression.** Since President Clinton took office, the economy has added 164,000 new manufacturing jobs -- that's a faster annual rate of manufacturing job growth than any Republican Administration since the before the Great Depression. [Based on data from the BLS]
- ★ **Strongest Business Investment Growth For An Administration Since Kennedy.** Business investment has grown 11 percent annually -- that's a faster rate of business investment growth than any other Administration since John F. Kennedy was President. [Based on data from the Department of Commerce.]
- ★ **Lowest Mortgage Rates In 30 Years.** Mortgage rates have averaged 8 percent -- that's lower than any other Administration since Lyndon Johnson was President in the 1960s. [Department of Treasury]
- ★ **Strongest Stock Market Growth Since World War II.** The stock market has more than doubled -- that's a faster rate than during any other Administration since World War II. [Department of Treasury]
- ★ **Highest Homeownership Rate In 15 Years.** [Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census]
- ★ **Strongest Construction Job Growth Since Truman.** In 4 years, the economy has added 994,000 new construction jobs -- that's the fastest annual rate of construction job growth since Harry S Truman was President. [Based on data from the BLS]

MAJORITY LEADER DOLE, BARRON'S. AND DRI/McGRAW-HILL AGREE: *THE ECONOMY IS THE HEALTHIEST IT'S BEEN IN 30 YEARS*

Majority Leader Robert Dole, 2/20/96: "It is also true, as some have said, that our economy is the strongest it's been in 30 years."

Barron's, 3/18/96: "Clinton also rightfully boasted that, 'our economy is the healthiest that it has been in thirty years.'"

DRI/McGraw-Hill, March 1996: "[T]he normal economic indicators suggest [the economy] is in its best shape in decades."

WHAT "CLINTON CRUNCH" ???
The Facts On The Economy Under President Clinton
January 24, 1996

CLINTON ECONOMY IS STRONGER THAN PREVIOUS REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS

Stronger Job Growth. Nearly 11.2 million new jobs added in 4 years -- a faster annual rate of job growth than any Republican Administration since the 1920s. And 7½ times more private-sector jobs per month than during the previous Administration -- 221,000 jobs per month vs. 29,000.

- **Lower Combined Unemployment, Inflation, and Mortgage Rates.** The combined unemployment, inflation, and mortgage rate is at its lowest level in nearly 30 years.
- **Stronger Private-Sector Economic Growth.** Since President Clinton took office, the private sector has grown 3.2% annually -- stronger than either of the previous two Administrations.
- **Stronger Exports.** Exports have grown by one-third -- up \$215 billion -- a better record than either of the previous two Administrations.
- **Higher Homeownership.** Homeownership is now at its highest level in 15 years.
- **Deficit More Than Cut In Half.** CBO projects that the deficit will have been cut by 60 percent within four years, to \$109 billion. The deficit is now smaller as a share of GDP than any major economy in the world. [CBO 10/96; and OECD 6/96]

WHILE THERE IS STILL MORE WORK TO BE DONE, PRESIDENT CLINTON'S POLICIES ARE HELPING TURN THE CORNER ON 20 YEARS OF WAGE STAGNATION

- **Increase In Average Hourly Earnings.** During the last three years, real average hourly earnings have increased slightly, after dropping 84 cents during the previous two Administrations. [Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics (adjusted to December 1996 dollars using the CPI-U).]
- ***Business Week*, 3/11/96:** "Real hourly wages are rising, for the first time in 10 years."
- **Increase In Real Median Family Income.** After falling 4 percent during the previous Administration, real median family income is up \$1,600 since 1993. [Source: Bureau of the Census, *Income, Poverty, and Valuation of Noncash Benefits: 1995.*]
- **America Is Growing Together.** Since President Clinton took office, every family income group -- from the richest to the poorest -- has experienced a real increase in their incomes. [Source: Bureau of the Census, *Income, Poverty, and Valuation of Noncash Benefits: 1995.*]

EXPERTS AGREE THAT THE CLINTON ECONOMY IS STRONG

- ***Barron's*, 3/18/96:** "In short, Clinton's economic record is remarkable. ...Clinton also rightfully boasted that, 'our economy is the healthiest that it has been in thirty years.'"
- **Majority Leader Robert Dole, 2/20/96:** "It is also true, as some have said, that our economy is the strongest it's been in 30 years."
- ***Washington Post*, 5/4/96:** "Wages are rising at their fastest pace in five years, consumer confidence is soaring, and business and consumer spending has fueled an unexpectedly strong burst of economic growth."

David Wyss, DRI/McGraw-Hill, 6/10/96: "If you look at the economy during the Clinton Administration, you have to say it's been a success. We have low inflation, full employment, and steady growth. This is really just about the best of all macroeconomic worlds."

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ECONOMY

Divider Title: _____

Benefits of deficit reduction

- Lower interest rates
 - The last time the economy had the same unemployment rate (1989), interest rates were nearly 2 percentage points higher than they are today.
 - Interest rates have been lower under President Clinton than under any other President in more than 20 years (Nixon).
- Lower interest rates reduce mortgage payments
 - 1993 Economic Plan helped 10 million families who refinanced their home mortgages, and saved them between \$1,000 and \$2,000 per year
 - Homes have been more affordable during the Clinton Administration than during any other Administration in a generation (Nixon)
 - The decline in interest rates allowed some 10 million homeowners to save as much as \$25 billion by refinancing their loans

[Car payments and student loans to come]

- Lower Federal debt
 - The national debt will be more than \$1 trillion lower over 7 years than was projected before the passage of the President's economic plan. That's about \$15,000 of reduced federal debt for each family of four.
- Investment growth
 - Lower interest rates have spurred investment. Equipment investment (you can say "business investment" if you prefer) is up 11 percent per year during the Clinton Administration -- faster than any Administration since Kennedy.

[Line item veto to come]

Education

- How parents help on literacy -- see page 1
- Share of 4th graders who can't read -- see page 2



Peter R. Orszag
01/27/97 08:55:20 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Laura K. Capps/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Tax-free saving for college

The President is proposing to dramatically expand eligibility for making tax-free contributions to Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs), and to allow penalty-free withdrawals for higher education expenses. In particular, families with incomes of up to \$100,000 would be eligible for the new IRAs. And withdrawals from the IRAs that are used for education expenses will be exempt from the normal early withdrawal penalty.

Combined with the President's proposed Hope Scholarship tax credit and the proposed tax deduction for college expenses, the new IRAs will allow middle-class families to save for college completely tax free.

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Benefits of a Balanced Budget

Divider Title: _____

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POTUS St. Louis Speech 10/28/96

Divider Title: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(St. Louis, Missouri)

For Immediate Release

October 28, 1996

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE PEOPLE OF THE ST. LOUIS AREA

City Hall
University City, Missouri

10:20 A.M. CST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Good morning, University City! Good morning, St. Louis! Good morning, Missouri! Thank you for being here. Thank you for your good spirits. Thank you for your support. Thank you very much, Mayor Joe Adams, for this wonderful day. I assume the Mayor arranges the weather in University City every day. It's a beautiful day.

I want to thank Attorney General Jay Nixon and Treasurer Bob Holder and Secretary of State Becky Cook, Lieutenant Governor Roger Wilson for being here. And I want to thank St. Louis' own Bobby McFerrin for that great, great musical tribute. Thank you. (Applause.)

Thank you, Joan Kelly Horn, for running for the Congress, and for standing up against the Republican Congress. What they tried to do to cut education and the environment, to weaken Medicare and Medicaid, to allow workers pension funds to be raided -- they say if they keep their majority, they're going to do it one more time. You have to decide, and Joan Kelly Horn is your alternative, folks. Thank you for being here, Joan, and thank you for running. (Applause.)

I want to say a special word of thanks, too, to Congressman Bill Clay and Congressman Dick Gephardt who are not here today, but who are working their hearts out for victory in November, and who have stood by you and for your future. And I want to thank my good friend, Governor Mel Carnahan, for his leadership for Missouri, his support for me. He will be a great governor for the next four years. Thank you, Mel Carnahan. (Applause.)

I'd also like to acknowledge two people in the audience -- Senator Tom Eagleton, thank you for being here; and former Lieutenant Governor Harriet Woods, and the people of Project Vote, thank you for being here. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm glad to be here in University City, a model of racial and religious diversity, a city with more than 24 churches and synagogues, a leader in equal opportunity and racial harmony since the 1960s, a strong rebuke to those who would divide our country today by race or ethnicity or religion. Thank you for the example you have set. (Applause.)

Folks, I like the cheering and elections. I even like it when our opponents show up and cheer. I like it when Americans are enthusiastic. It's what America is all about. (Applause.) But I also hope every one of you will take a little time in these last eight days not only to cheer, but to think and to ponder. This is the last election for President of the 20th century and the first election for President of in 21st century. I'm glad so many young people are here today because this is about your future in a new world, a new era, a new time. (Applause.)

So as we close this election season, I also want to take some time every day to focus on the big issues before us. Yesterday we talked about welfare reform. Today I want to talk about how we can keep our economy strong by balancing the budget and still investing in the priorities that matter to Americans.

You have to decide who can best lead America into the 21st century. You have to decide whether you want to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past. You have to decide whether you want to build a bridge wide enough and strong enough for all of us to walk across together, or just say, there's the future, I hope you make it. You have to decide whether we're better off being told we're on our own or whether you believe it does take a village to raise our children and educate them and protect our country and build a good future. (Applause.)

Four years ago I ran for President with a simple vision, and I ask you to think about it tonight. When you go home just take a little time and ask yourself, what do I want America to look like four years from now when we start that new century. What do I want America to look like when my children are my age. My answer is simple: I want an America where the American Dream is alive and well for everybody who is responsible enough to work for it. I want an America still the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I want an America relishing, respecting its diversity and coming together across its differences in shared values, not being driven apart as so many places in the world are today. (Applause.)

To achieve that America I have worked hard on a strategy to expand opportunity for all, demand responsibility from all, and build an American community where everybody has a role to play and a place at the table. Four years ago when I came to you and told you this, you in Missouri, even here in the "show me" state, had to take me on faith. But today you don't have to do it anymore; today there is a record and we can show you. And that's why they're trying to shout us down, because we can show you. (Applause.) We can show you. So today, Missouri, you don't have to listen to the shouting, you can look at the showing. You can look at the showing. (Applause.)

We have more evidence today that our economy is on the right track. When I ran for President four years ago, no challenge loomed larger or seemed more difficult to solve than the deficit. The deficit had soared to \$290 billion, a record high, and growing. In the 12 years before I took office, our national debt had quadrupled over what it had accumulated for the 200 years before. We worked hard to change that. We passed a tough economic plan without a single, solitary vote on the other side. My opponent and others said we could never reduce the deficit, they said we would wreck the economy, they said these tough decisions would bring no good.

Well, we knew sooner or later there would be "show me" time. (Applause.) And we know now that for four years in a row, we have reduced the deficit. That's the first time a President has reduced the deficit in all four years of a term in the 20th century. (Applause.) We know now that our budget would be in surplus today if it weren't for the interest we pay on the debt run up in just the 12 years before I took office.

I pledged to you when I ran for President that we would restore fiscal discipline to our government, cut the deficit in half in four years. I said it was wrong to leave our children a legacy of debt, and we would never get Missouri and America's economy growing again until we got the deficit down to get interest rates down, so that business loans, home mortgages, car payments, and student loan payments were going down. We had to get those interest rates down. The deficit was a ball and chain holding back our economy.

Well, today we've got some new good news about exactly how far the deficit has dropped since I took office. So, since the young people have the biggest stake in it, I want to ask two of your young people, Dara Seward (phonetic) and Matthew Lodano (phonetic), to join me and we are going to officially announce, along with Frank Raines, the Director of the Office of Management Budget, the 1996 deficit figure. You can listen to them and look at the figure, and you decide. (Applause.)

The last time they were in office the deficit was \$290 billion. The 1996 deficit has been cut to \$107 billion. (Applause.) That's a reduction of 63 percent. That's the lowest level since 1981. But when you adjust for inflation, it is the lowest deficit in 22 years. (Applause.) Today, the United States has a deficit in its budget that has a percentage of our income that is lower than that of any major industrial nation on the face of the earth. This has meant real benefits to the people in this audience. It means cheaper auto, home, credit card, business loan rates, more business expansion, more job creation, a growing economy, providing opportunity again.

My friends, America has heard a lot of calls in the last several days. I would say that these results prove that America is awake and moving in the right direction to the 21st century. (Applause.) We are moving toward a balanced budget, we are going to continue building prosperity and creating jobs.

What has been the results of all of these efforts? Look at where we are now compared to

where we were four years ago -- 10.5 million new jobs in America, an unemployment rate of 3.9 percent in Missouri, median household income up \$1,600 after inflation in just the last two years, the largest drop in child poverty in 20 years, the lowest rate of poverty among senior citizens ever recorded, the highest rate of homeownership in 15 years, the welfare rolls down by 1.9 million fewer people on welfare today than the day I became President. (Applause.) Child support collections up 50 percent, \$4 billion a year. (Applause.) And I might say in Missouri it's even better, child support collections in Missouri are up 59 percent under Governor Carnahan. Thank you. (Applause.)

The crime rate has dropped for four years and is now at a 10-year low. Thank you. Here's a guy with a sign that says "Cop for Clinton." Thank you, sir. God bless you. (Applause.) We raised the minimum wage for 10 million families on October the 1st. Twelve million families have taken advantage of the Family and Medical Leave law to take a little time off from work when a baby is born or a family member is sick, and our economy is stronger because of it. (Applause.)

Twenty-five million families may get protection because we passed a law that says you can't lose your health insurance any more just because you change jobs or somebody in your family has been sick. We passed a law to say that new mothers and their newborn babies cannot be forced by insurance companies out of the hospital in only 24 hours anymore. (Applause.)

We lowered the cost of student loans, had the biggest increase in Pell Grants in 20 years and gave students the option to pay off their loans as a percentage of their income, so no one should be deterred from borrowing the money to go to college. (Applause.) We are moving in the right direction. More opportunity, more responsibility, a greater sense of community.

But there is more to do, and your vote in this election will make a great difference. Your vote will decide, for example, whether we're going to keep this economy growing by bringing that 107 number down to zero -- balancing the budget while continuing to invest in education and the environment, protecting our obligations through Medicare and through Medicaid to poor children, to the elderly in nursing homes, to families with members with disabilities; whether we continue to invest in technology and grow this economy for the future; or whether we adopt a \$550 billion risky tax scheme that will actually raise taxes on 9 million working families, require bigger cuts in education, the environment, and Medicare and Medicaid than the ones I vetoed last year, and still blow up the deficit and weaken the economy and send that number going right up again. Your vote will decide.

Are you going to help us build that bridge to the 21st century? (Applause.)

We have begun to pass health care reform. Your vote will decide whether we adopt our balanced budget plan which will give families help to keep their health insurance when they're between jobs, which will give free mammograms to women on Medicare, which will give help for respite care to the over 1.5 million American families that are out there caring for a family

member with Alzheimer's, and still balance the budget. Your vote will decide whether we do that or continue to cut Medicare in ways that will allow it to wither on the vine and divide us in the future. Your vote will decide.

Will you help us build a bridge to the 21st century with health care for all? (Applause.)

We have had four years of declining crime rates. We've funded nearly half of those 100,000 police in our crime bill. The Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban didn't cost a single hunter a weapon, but 60,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers could not get handguns because of the Brady Bill. (Applause.) And now the law says if you beat up your spouse or your child you can't get a gun either. That's what the law says. (Applause.)

Now, your vote will decide whether we turn our back on that or whether we keep putting 100,000 police on the street; whether we take on the problem of violent teen gangs with the same vigilance we went after the mob; whether we give our kids something to say yes to by continuing to fund the Safe and Drug-Free Schools program and opportunities to keep children from getting in trouble in the first place; and whether we ban bullets whose only purpose is to pierce the bullet-proof vests of police officers. Your vote will decide whether we do that. (Applause.)

~~People from welfare~~ People from welfare work. We've passed the new welfare reform law, which says, we will continue as a nation to guarantee to the poor medical care and food for the kids and more for child care than ever, if the parent goes to work. But now the state of Missouri and local communities will have two years to turn a welfare check into a paycheck.

It sounds great, but it's just a law. The question is, what are we going to do about it. Missouri has a program. Governor Carnahan has a plan -- I have seen it working here -- to bring in people in the private sector and offer them real incentives to bring people from welfare to work. I have a plan to add another million jobs from welfare to work. I have a plan to help cities like St. Louis make the extra steps that people with large welfare populations will have to do.

It is wrong to tell people they have to go to work and then not have a job there. I want to require people to work and have the jobs. And you will decide whether we are going to do that. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? (Applause.)

Folks, under great assault by the present majority in Congress, we have continued to fight for our environment. When they tried to even float a scheme to sell a lot of our national parks, we said no. When they tried to cut back on environmental enforcement, we said no. When they tried to end our ability to enact new protections for our land, our water, our food, we said no.

We have instead taken more dangerous chemicals out of the air, moved to improve the purity of our drinking water, moved to raise the standards for our food. We have closed more toxic waste dumps in three and a half years than the previous administrations did in 12.

But there is more to do. And I'll just give you one example. Ten million American children still live within four miles of a toxic waste site. If you'll give us four years, we'll clean up 500 more so our children will grow up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? (Applause.)

Most important of all, especially here, will you help us give the American people a world-class system of education for every single young person in America? (Applause.) We have worked hard to increase Head Start, to raise standards in our schools, to improve efforts at reform at the grass-roots level. We have increased college scholarships and improved college loans and given 60,000 of our young people a chance to serve in AmeriCorps, the national service program, and earn their way through college.

But we must do more. And I just want to mention three things, very seriously, in this great center of learning. Number one, 40 percent of our 8-year-olds still cannot read on their own. Children cannot learn if they cannot read. Now, a lot of that is because we're a nation of immigrants again, the way we were 100 years ago, and English is not the first language. But that's not an excuse. That won't be much help to those young people when they're 15 and trying to learn algebra, trying to master the most sophisticated aspects of all the other science and math and other courses they have to take. I have a plan to mobilize 30,000 people, reading specialists, to get a million volunteers together to go out and solve this problem.

We just increased the number of work-study slots for college students by about 200,000. (Applause.) I want 100,000 of those work-study positions to be young college students teaching children to read, so that by the year 2000 every 8-year-old in this country can pick up a book and say, now I can read this all by myself. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? (Applause.)

We want to hook up every classroom and library in the country to the Information Superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web. What that means for all of you who don't have computers at home is that for the first time in history, in the next four years, for the first time in American history we can finally make available to every child in the poorest inner-city school districts, in the most remote districts in the high plains -- every child in every school district, poor, middle-class or rich -- the same information at the same level of quality in the same time in the same way. It has never happened before.

Will you help us do it in just four more years? Will you help us do that? (Applause.) And, finally, will you help us open the doors of college education to every single American who wishes to go? (Applause.)

On the way out here this morning I passed the St. Louis Community College. We know now -- we know that young people who want to get jobs with growing prospects in terms of income and security need at least two years of education after high school. I propose in four years to make two years of college as universal as a high school diploma is today, simply -- (applause)

-- simply by saying to the American people, we will let you deduct from your tax bill, dollar for dollar, the typical cost of a community college tuition for two years. All you have to do is go and make your grades, and work hard and be responsible, and you can do it. (Applause.)

I want to let more Americans save in an IRA and withdraw without tax penalty if the money is used for a college education, to buy a first home or for medical expenses. And finally, I believe that families should be able to deduct up to \$10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition. (Applause.) We need to open the doors to college education. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? (Applause.)

Do you understand what the choices are? Will you help us build a bridge wide enough and strong enough for all of us to go? (Applause.) We need you, Missouri. Thank you. God bless you. Bear down, eight days. Thank you. Show them. (Applause.)

END

10:44 A.M. CST

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Economic Activity

Divider Title: _____

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WELFARE

Divider Title: _____

Recent Welfare Roll Statistics

(New stats on welfare rolls and TANF plans approved will be available within the next couple of days)

- Over 200 CEOs have responded to the President's challenge to move welfare recipients into the workforce.
- As of today, there are 2.X million fewer people on welfare than the day the President took his first oath of office. That is the biggest drop in the welfare rolls in history.
- Before the President signed the welfare reform bill, we were working with states to test reform strategies, giving 43 states waivers from federal rules to experiment with reforms that required work, imposed time limits, and demanded personal responsibility.
- Over the past four years, we have also toughened child support enforcement, increasing collections by 50 percent. That's about \$4 billion.
- Some of these reductions have been even more striking: The welfare rolls have dropped 41 percent in Wisconsin and 38 percent in Indiana -- two states where we granted landmark waivers to launch welfare reform experiments.
- As of January 21, 1997, 39 states had submitted TANF plans to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Of the 39, 32 have been certified complete.
- The teen birth rate declined eight percent between 1991-1995 -- these are the most current figures available.

RFK Quote

Nearly 30 years ago Robert Kennedy said: "Work is the meaning of what this country is all about. We need it as individuals. We need to sense it in our fellow citizens. And we need it as a society and as a people."

Welfare to Work Success Stories

America Works

Lee Bowes and Peter Cove
America Works
New York, NY
212-244-5627

America Works, a for-profit placement and support organization in New York, Indianapolis, and Connecticut has helped more than 10,000 welfare recipients find full-time private sector jobs. Recipients are hired permanently at an average wage of \$16,000 per year, including benefits. The

state of New York found that 81 percent of those placed by America Works are still off the rolls after two years.

Following are a few of the private sector companies that have hired welfare recipients through America Works:

Diane M. Coffey
The Dreyfus Corporation
200 Park Avenue
New York, NY
212-922-6070

Tom Horn
CEO
Aramark
National food services company
130,000 employees internationally
Philadelphia, PA

Henry Scanlon
CEO
Comstock
start-up finance company, hires welfare recipients;
a former welfare recipient now manages the organization
NY, NY
212-353-8686

The Social Compact

Lynn Whiteside
Executive Director
Social Compact
Washington, D.C.
202-686-9190

The Social Compact is a D.C.-based member organization that works with private sector employers around the country to develop and publicize market-based approaches to solving social problems. Following are three corporate members of the Social Compact.

Bill Goodyear
CEO
Bank of America
Chicago, IL

Jerry Choat
CEO
AllState Insurance
Northbrook, IL

Judy Stewart
President/CEO
Rancho Vista National Bank
Rancho Vista, CA

The Goodwill Job Connection

The Reverend Don Roberts
CEO
Goodwill Job Connection
Goodwill Industries, Inc.
Sarasota, FL and Lafayette, LA
941-355-2721

The Goodwill Job Connection in Sarasota, Florida and Lafayette, Louisiana offers short-term, on-the-job training and job placement services to chronically unemployed members of the surrounding community. The Goodwill Job Connection, part of the national Goodwill Services, Inc., **uses no state or federal government funds** for its job placement program and spends only about \$1,500 per person. (This compares to per person costs of about \$4,000 for the Florida's work-focused JOBS program.)

Women's Self-Employment Project

Connie Evans
Executive Director
Women's Self-Employment Fund
Chicago, IL
312-606-8255

The Women's Self-Employment Project is a microenterprise program located in Chicago. It offers entrepreneurial training followed by start-up loans for microenterprise for those who successfully complete the training program. Most who enter the program and successfully start

micro businesses are welfare recipients.

Following are three former welfare recipients who went through the Women's Self-Employment Project and now run successful microenterprises.

--Ari Gilyard runs Child Care Crew, a successful day care service located across the hall from her current residence.

--Desiree Stewart runs Hair Systems, a full-service hair care salon that employs three people.

--Felicia Williams runs Conversation Pieces, an art gallery specializing in ethnic artifacts.

Cleveland Works

David Roth
Executive Director
Cleveland Works
Cleveland, OH
216-589-work

Cleveland Works, a private nonprofit group funded by public grants, foundations, and private money, has placed more than 2,000 welfare recipients in full-time jobs since 1986, enabling 7,000 men, women, and children to quit the dole. Over 80 percent of the Cleveland Works families have not returned to the welfare rolls, a remarkable result considering that the typical family had been on and off welfare for 10 years. All job placements through this program offer health care benefits.

Cleveland Works has 650 member employers who hire welfare recipients. Additionally, David Roth has helped launch 12 affiliate placement organizations spread over nine cities coast to coast.

Cleveland Works highlights several points: 1) welfare recipients can find jobs with health care benefits; organizations can create significant networks of private sector employers; and there is a growing marketplace for placement and support agencies as evidences by the 12 he has launched.

Examples of Corporate Involvement in Welfare-to-Work

Barbara Turner
President
Boscart Construction
Washington, D.C.

Turner has been working closely with people on welfare for several years. Boscart Construction has sponsored several memberships for people on welfare in the Carpenters District Council Union Apprenticeship Program. For those who are not ready to join the union, Turner offers an internal

program that has her journey level trade employees working side by side with welfare recipients, teaching them the skills they will need to obtain employment in the construction industry. Through her efforts, Turner has enabled more than twenty-five people to go from welfare-to-work.

Mitchell Fromstein
CEO
Manpower
Milwaukee, WI

Manpower is a successful job placement agency with over 1,200 offices around the country. Manpower recruits those who are job ready, many of whom are welfare recipients. If recruits lack specific job skills, Manpower will train them. However, Manpower does not provide basic education. People applying for placement through Manpower must be functionally literate as determined during the intake process, though a GED or high school degree is not required. Recruits are employees of Manpower until they are hired full time by an employer. Recruits are paid by Manpower while they are in temporary jobs, so both the employee and employer can assess each other. If there is a match, the recruit leaves Manpower for the new employer. About 40 percent of temporary workers end up in full-time permanent jobs. Manpower is paid only by the employer and will not take money from the recruit, including converted welfare benefits.

Robert Shapiro
Chairman & CEO
Monsanto
St. Louis, MO

CEOs, Robert Shapiro and Monsanto have designed a four-city welfare to work pilot program. The pilot sites will be St. Louis, MO, Chicago, IL, Pensacola, FL, and Greenwood, SC. Monsanto believes it can offer welfare recipients clerical and support job opportunities, and can influence their contractors, vendors and suppliers to hire welfare recipients. Further, Monsanto will work with community organizations, offering leadership and donating supplies to help make community-based welfare-to-work efforts a success.

By November 1997, Monsanto expects to have identified and begun partnerships with 1-2 major contractors and 1-2 community organizations in each location. By April, they hope to find about 50 welfare recipients jobs. Monsanto would then evaluate its success and expand if successful.

Rachel Hubka
CEO
Rachel's Bus Company
Chicago, IL

After taking a lien on her home, Rachel Hubka started Rachel's Bus Company in North Lawndale, one of Chicago's poorest neighborhoods. As she began to recruit drivers for her new company, despite high unemployment in the area, she could not find enough applicants who could meet the

strict regulatory criteria for school bus drivers. As a consequence, Rachel's Bus Company began offering a free, comprehensive training program to drivers with no experience. The training program guides drivers through the entire screening and licensing process. It also demands a strict work culture based on pride and professionalism, including a dress code. Additionally, she offers employees financial performance incentives, and advancement opportunities into company management.

Rachel's Bus Company has been in Chicago for over six years and employs 100 drivers, most from the surrounding neighborhood.

Bill Esery
Chairman & CEO
Sprint
Kansas City, MO

Sprint began hiring people off of welfare in its headquarters in Kansas City through the Kansas City Full Employment Council --a one stop shop offering GED training, basic job training, job placement and the like.

Last September, Sprint also donated an 800 number so that any employer in America can call to find out what he or she can do to help move people from welfare to work in their own communities. The White House is working with various non-profit organizations to staff a central phone bank for the toll free number as well as the National Governors Association to determine the best method of getting updated information on the various state programs.

Ben Cammarata
President & CEO
T.J.X. Company
Framingham, MA

TJX is the world's largest off-price apparel retailer with 596 T.J. Maxx stores and 466 Marshalls stores.

TJX has set up a working group to develop a program that will hire people directly from welfare. By the year 2000, Mr. Cammarata believes his company will have moved at least 5,000 people from welfare to work. T.J.X. hopes to set up pilot programs in Lynn, MA, Boston, MA and Charlotte, NC. They recognize that the issues they must address include: assimilation, transportation, child care, health care, and economic supplement.

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**POTUS Nashville Speech
10/27/96**

Divider Title: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Nashville, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

October 27, 1996

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NASHVILLE AREA

Langford Auditorium
Vanderbilt University Medical Center
Nashville, Tennessee

6:41 P.M. CST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.) I am delighted to be here at the reunion of the Vice President's family, friends, and medical support team. (Laughter and applause.) I would like to keep this crowd with us for the next several days. (Laughter.)

I'm delighted to be back at Vanderbilt. Chancellor Wyatt, Vice Chancellor Robinson, thank you very much for making us feel so welcome here. Congressman Clement, thank you for coming with us. I'd also like to acknowledge our good friend, Justin Dart, who leads our national effort to mobilize people with disabilities. (Applause.) Thank you, Justin. Thank you for being here. (Applause.)

Noah Liff, thank you for your example and for your fine words and for your support of welfare reform. And I thank the other business leaders who are here as well.

Governor McWherter, thank you for being my friend and my colleague over all these years. You know, you Tennesseans can say that he was the best governor Tennessee ever had. I don't know that because I never lived here. But I can tell you this: he's the best politician I ever met. (Applause.)

The first time I ever met him, he put that "aw, shucks" deal on me that he does, you know. (Laughter.) I wanted to reach in my pocket and make sure the billfold was still there. (Laughter.) And if he'd wanted it, I would have given it to him. (Laughter.)

I think it's fair to say that those of us who served as governors with Ned McWherter

thought at the time there was no state that was better run, no state more oriented toward the proper balance of continuous change and sensible management and old-fashioned common sense and good values. And I'm honored by his friendship and his support, and I'm delighted he's here with us today.

I want to say a special word of thanks as we move to the end of this election season to the Vice President. I was watching him on the debate the other night and thinking that I knew exactly what he was going to say before he said it. And we've spent so much time together now, it's almost like we can begin to speak in code, you know; two or three words, and I can finish the sentence, and vice-versa. I think there has never been a relationship quite like this in American history between the President and the Vice President. But I must tell you, it's been one of the most richly rewarding things of my life, and I think it's been very, very good for the American people. (Applause.)

His leadership is the principal reason that we have been able to reduce the government to its smallest size since the Kennedy administration, eliminate more regulations and government programs and privatize more operations than the previous two administrations combined. And no one has noticed a decline in government services. In fact, our federal employees are doing more with less and doing it better than ever before, thanks to the Vice President's leadership in reinventing government. (Applause.)

He was responsible for many of the most important provisions of the landmark telecommunications bill. He's helped us devise a budget that would continue to increase our investment in research and technology, even while we cut overall spending to balance the budget. He has made a major contribution to our efforts to finish the unfinished business of the Cold War, especially in his work in Russia.

There has never been a Vice President with more responsibility, who has achieved more, and who has done more to advance the cause of America than your native son, Al Gore. (Applause.)

As all of you know, 10 days from now the American people will go to the polls to choose the last President of the 20th century, and the first President of the 21st century. Tonight and over the next several days, I will ask the American people not just to come to rallies and cheer, although we all need that, especially in the last days of a long, hard effort, but to think again about how we are going to meet the challenges of the 21st century, how we are going to seize the opportunities of the 21st century, how we are going to preserve our values and the things we hold dear in the next century, how we can make it the age of greatest possibility in human history.

Our central goal must be to work together to give our people the tools they need to master the changes that are taking place.

In the next week I'm going to talk about four of the biggest challenges we face: How we finish the job of balancing the budget while preserving our values; giving our children a world-class education; opening the doors of college to all Americans and making at least two years of education after high school as universal by the dawn of the 21st century as a high school diploma is today. (Applause.) And I want to talk about making our families stronger by helping all Americans to succeed both at home and at work, in safety and security. And tonight I want to talk about ending the cycle of welfare dependency, family breakdown and crime by carrying on our historic efforts to reform welfare.

I first came to Vanderbilt to give a speech nearly a decade ago now, when I was invited to come here and talk about what it was like to be a governor in a time of change in the global economy. I remember it very well. I expect I'm the only person in this audience who remembers it very well -- (laughter) -- but nonetheless, I do. It was about that time that I was asked to represent the Democratic governors, along with my colleague, the Governor of Delaware -- the Republican governor of Delaware -- and working with Congress and the Reagan administration to try to help reform the welfare system.

Those efforts produced the Family Support Act of 1988, which itself was a substantial improvement over the previous law, and which gave the President very, very broad powers, which, before I took office were rarely used, to work with states and communities to change the rules of welfare, to try to develop a system that would move people from dependence to independence.

Four years ago when Al Gore and I came to Nashville, I said I wanted an America in which every person responsible enough to work for it has a shot at the American Dream, an America still the world's strongest force for peace and freedom, an America coming together and relishing its diversity through its shared values.

We have pursued a simple, but profound strategy. We have worked to expand opportunity for all, to demand responsibility from all, and to build a stronger American community -- to make that America's basic bargain. Four years ago, the Vice President and I asked you to take us on faith. Tonight, you can look at a record.

Our nation is clearly moving in the right direction. We have 10.5 million new jobs, over 270,000 of them here in Tennessee. Unemployment here has dropped by about a third, to 4.1 percent. We have the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation in home mortgages in 20 years -- 28 years. After inflation, household income is up about \$1,600 in the last two years. There are 4.5 million new homeowners. The inequality among working people just declined by the largest amount in 27 years. Childhood poverty dropped the most it has in 20 years. The incomes and poverty of households headed by women had its most dramatic drop in 30 years. And we just recorded the lowest poverty rates ever recorded for African Americans and all our senior citizens. We have 4.5 million new homeowners, record numbers of new small businesses, record exports. We are moving in the right direction.

(Applause.)

We are pushing back the frontiers of knowledge in ways that will benefit all of us. Here at the medical center, in science labs, biotech firms and universities all across our nation; in millions of homes in the everyday miracle of the Internet, we see the leaps of science, technology that are no less dazzling for being so widespread.

Just today, before I came here, I met with a lot of people who work with the problems of cancer. I met with cancer survivors, I met with physicians, I met with researchers, I met with people in support groups. Among other things, I announced that we will be dedicating 30 million more dollars this year to genetic breast cancer research, because -- (applause) -- and this is just one example -- we have identified two of the genes in the human structure that cause breast cancer. And when you put that with the fact that we are now using the very sophisticated imaging technology we use in our satellites for defense and intelligence purposes on the human body, so we can detect, prevent, or stop early the spread of all kinds of diseases, we are literally on the verge of breakthroughs we never could have dreamed of just a couple of years ago.

Not very long ago, we had movement for the first time ever in a laboratory animal whose spine has been completely severed -- the animal had movement in its lower limbs when there were nerve transplants from other parts of the body to the spine. We've developed the first treatment for stroke ever in the last four years. The average life expectancy of people with HIV has more than doubled in the last four years with research and more rapid movement of drugs to market. It will soon, I believe, become a manageable, chronic disease, not a certain death warrant. All these things have happened in the last four years. (Applause.)

But we have much to do, and we have to choose a decision about how we're going to walk into the future. And one of the major decisions before the American people in this election -- and not just the race for president, but many others as well -- is what are those things which we should do together? To what extent do we believe we're better off on our own? To what extent do we believe, yes, it does take a village to raise our children and build our future? (Applause.) To what extent do we think we can find our way on our own into the 21st century? To what extent do we need to build a bridge that's clearly marked and big and wide and strong enough for us all to go over together?

We have tried to define what we think we should do together and what we think the nation's responsibilities are. We've cut the deficit by 60 percent. Now we can finish the job of balancing the budget and do it in a way that reflects our values, that preserves the fundamental structure of Medicaid and Medicare, education and the environment, research and technology.

We have cut taxes for 15 million working families. And because our economy is on the right track, we can balance the budget with a targeted tax cut for families where they need it

the most -- for education, child-rearing, medical care and buying that first home.

We've improved our educational standards, expanded college scholarships and loans. Now, we have to reform education at every level -- raising standards, increasing accountability, making sure that every 8-year-old can read independently, every 12-year-old can log into the Internet in every classroom and library in America, every 18-year-old can go on to college.

We're making our families and neighborhoods safer. We're in the process of putting 100,000 more police on our streets, getting gangs and guns and drugs off the streets. Now we have to finish the job of putting those police on the street and crack down on teen gangs with the same focus and the same law we are using to break organized crime.

We now have the lowest crime rate in 10 years -- four years of declining crime rates. (Applause.) But all of you know there is still a long way to go before the American people really feel safe and secure again. Now is not the time to back up; now is the time to bear down with an approach that is working.

We've helped to strengthen our families with the Family Leave law -- 12 million times families have taken a little time off from work when a baby was born or a family member was sick, without losing their jobs. And I think America is stronger because of it. I thank the Vice President and Tipper for the work they did to advocate that here in Nashville at the Family Conference. (Applause.)

Now it's time to expand family leave, I believe, so that parents can take a little time off to go see their children's teachers twice a year or to make regular doctor appointments for their kids. (Applause.) And because people are working harder than ever and so many people have trouble juggling the demands of parenting and work, I think we ought to give workers the option of using overtime they accumulate and taking it either in cash or in more time with their families at their own discretion. That will help us be a stronger country. (Applause.)

But we also have to finish the job of welfare reform. For many reasons, most of which have already been explained by previous speakers, and especially the Vice President, our welfare system has failed a lot of people. To be frank, a lot of people, it worked as well as anything would because they were just in a temporary difficult position -- they got on welfare then they got off again and went on with their lives.

But year in and year out, especially as more and more children are born into single-parent homes, more and more people became trapped in a permanent cycle of welfare dependency in ways that literally physically isolated generations of people away from communities with mainstream values, mainstream opportunities and mainstream futures, exiling people from the world of work that gives structure, meaning and dignity to the lives of the rest of us.

The system -- for those people for whom it did not work, the system hurt them a lot more than it did the other taxpayers who often complained about it loudly and publicly. Children who are born to a life on welfare we know from study after study are more likely to drop out of school, fall afoul of the law, become teen mothers or teen fathers, raise their own children on welfare.

For too long, welfare has been the object of partisan debate rather than collective common effort. Too many people in politics, especially the further you get away from the people on welfare, if you get all the way back to Washington, D.C., ask who is to blame instead of what to do. For too long, a lot of other Americans assumed there was nothing that could be done about it; you simply could not make it any better than it was. Welfare, teen pregnancy, crime all seemed destined to go on and grow forever.

That's why Al Gore and I pledged to end welfare as we know it four years ago. We did not believe that these problems would not yield to sensible, persistent human effort. As a governor, for 16 years -- 12 years as governor, now four years as President -- I have worked on welfare reform and worked personally face-to-face with people on welfare. I knew better. I knew how bad those people wanted a different deal and a better, brighter future. I knew from the beginning we could change this system for the better.

The old system -- yes, it wasted taxpayers' money, but even more tragically, it trapped millions into a lifetime of dependency. Well, that system is now over, but the question is, what are we going to do now?

We have shown that we can restore our communities and renew our values, but the job is not done. As the Vice President said, we gave special permission to 43 states to get out from under a whole variety of federal rules, to redesign systems that would help move people from welfare to work more rapidly. This has made a real difference. We also had some rules, including requiring teen mothers to live at home and stay in school, or lose their welfare benefits.

We also recognize that governments can't raise children, parents do that. One of the main reasons people go on welfare in the first place is that parents run away from their responsibility to support their own children.

Do you know, tonight, if every parent who is legally obligated to do so paid all the child support they had been legally found able to pay, 800,000 people would be off the welfare rolls tomorrow? (Applause.) That's why we stiffened federal child support enforcement, worked with the states more closely than ever, and why I signed an order directing federal employees to pay their child support, or have it paid for them. I wanted us to set an example.

We required hospitals to have programs to identify the father at the time of birth,

insisted that welfare recipients name the father or lose benefits. We posted deadbeat parents in post offices, in the Internet; we're going to deny them federal loans. We used the IRS to collect a record \$1 billion in child support; worked with states on a new computer system to identify those who switched jobs or moved from their home state to avoid paying child support.

I might say that 35 percent of all delinquent child support cases involve people who have crossed state lines. In the first few months of this new system, we identified 60,000 deadbeat parents who now must pay.

All of these efforts are bearing fruit. The welfare rolls are down by nearly 2 million in the last four years. Tennessee has 75,000 fewer recipients, a 25 percent drop. Just this week new statistics were published showing that all across America child support collections have increased by 50 percent in the last four years, up in every single state in America. That's \$4 billion a year more going to children and parents who otherwise would have to fend for themselves and depend more on the taxpayers to support them. (Applause.)

Another thing you can be proud of in Tennessee is that Tennessee is one of the top five states in the country over the last four years -- here, child support collections have doubled. They're up 100 percent in the last four years. (Applause.)

And believe it or not, while too many young people are still having babies outside marriage, even on that front America is making progress. Teen births have gone down for four years in a row. And last year the out-of-wedlock birth rate declined for the first time in nearly 20 years. (Applause.)

That brings us to where we are now, a people determined to get back to our basic values, even as we modernize our economy and face the future. This welfare reform law gives us an historic chance, but not a guarantee, to restore the basic values of work, responsibility, and families; and to end the literal exile of millions of poor people from the mainstream of American life and all of its promise. The new law imposes strict time limits on welfare. It requires those who can work to go to work. It mounts the strictest crackdown ever on child support collections. But it also says we will continue to provide as a national guarantee health care and nutrition for poor families; and when the welfare recipient goes to work, more for child care than ever before, so that families will get the help they need when they move from welfare to work.

The new law gives us a chance to make welfare what it was intended to be, a second chance, not a way of life. (Applause.)

But let me say again, we say from now on people who can work have to go to work; no one who can work can stay on welfare forever. We're making work, family, and responsibility a way of life. We are not going back. Our welfare legislation, however, is just

the beginning. That is the important thing that every single American citizen has to understand. Maybe it's because I was a governor before I became a President, but I know that there's a lot of difference between passing a law and changing lives in the neighborhoods and streets of every community in the United States. You have to help us change those lives. You have to help us implement this welfare reform law and make it work the way it was supposed to.

We're not going to walk away from these children. We're not going to walk away from these families. We're going to take them by the hand and walk with them into a bright new future. And you're going to help. (Applause.) Thank you. Thank you.

Let's look at where you are in Tennessee right now. You've heard this talked about before tonight, but I want to say again, there are 12,000 Tennessee families who have signed new personal responsibility contracts. Now, they've promised to be personally responsible. And the people of Tennessee, through their elected officials and those who work for the state have promised to keep up their end of the bargain to give those people a chance to act on their responsibility, like these fine folks who stood up over here and whom we clapped for tonight. So as we require people to take responsibility and go to work, we have to make sure they have the opportunity to work.

One of the reasons that I wanted to sign this law so badly -- maintaining the guarantees of health care and nutrition and child care, but giving the welfare money back to the states and ultimately to the local communities -- was so we could take poverty out of politics and substitute reality for that old rhetoric. Now, everybody who has ever said a bad word about the welfare system has nothing left to cuss; there is nothing there any more. (Laughter and applause.) And now, there is no politics in poverty any more, there are only people. And they are our people. They are our children. They are our future.

This law says to them, we're not going to keep you on modified life support forever anymore. It's a lousy deal for you and a bad deal for us. (Applause.) But here's where you come in. This is not the New Deal in The Great Depression any more, either. The government has to balance the budget to keep interest rates down, to keep the economy strong, so we can keep creating jobs for everybody. We cannot have a government-created program that hires all these folks. You're going to have to do that.

Sure, there will be some hired into public jobs, and in areas of densely high unemployment we're going to give extra help in the early years to make sure that people have a chance, but by and large, over the nation, people will have to be hired by employers in the private sector, in the nonprofit sector, churches, and great universities like Vanderbilt, both public and private.

But that is better -- it is better that people be hired, 10 or 15 or maybe even one or two at a time, and given a chance to just be integrated into the normal flow of American life,

rather than being hired a thousand at a time to do one thing off here to the side. We want everybody to walk together into the future. But to do it -- to do it -- we have to have an upsurge of personal responsibility from the private sector.

Now, as I said, under the new law states can take this money the federal government used to give for the monthly welfare check, and they can use it to help businesses provide paychecks. Seven hundred people have gone to work in Kansas City at the Full Employment Council that I visited in that system. That's a good deal for businesses; they can create more jobs for less money. And it's a good deal for taxpayers; they save money every time someone leaves welfare to work. It's a good deal for the people on welfare; they get a job.

The national government has tried to make work pay. We've raised the minimum wage. We dramatically expanded the earned income tax credit. We have made -- clearly made now work a better deal than welfare. That tax credit alone is worth about \$10 billion this year, and it's reducing the poverty rate among working people dramatically. It only goes to people who are working. And it is reducing the poverty rate dramatically by saying we're not going to tax people into poverty anymore.

The Vice President has helped us to create a national network of community development banks, a 105 empowerment zones and enterprise communities to get more private capital into the areas where there are large numbers of unemployed people, including many who are unemployed who are not on welfare -- a lot of single men, for example.

I have proposed a plan now that will create another million jobs. Number one, we want to give business a new tax credit for every person hired off welfare. Number two, we want to give the same private job placement firms that Americans use to get better jobs for themselves when they're already working, we want to give those firms a bonus for helping people on welfare find their first job. And we want to help states and communities give businesses more incentives to hire welfare recipients.

These are the things that we can do. We can also give greater investments into those areas, as I said, where there are a whole lot of people who are unemployed, including large welfare populations, because we may not be able to get enough private sector jobs in the short run.

But in the end -- we can do all this, we can do every bit of it, but if we don't have more people like Noah Liff, we're not going to make it. If we don't have more people like the nearly 50 business leaders who have already agreed to participate here in Tennessee, we're not going to make it.

So I ask you, every one of you, just think what would happen if every business, every nonprofit, every university, every school, and every church, synagogue, and religious institution in this country took what used to go to the welfare recipient in the welfare check as

a supplement and hired just one person -- just one person -- and took responsibility for training that person, making sure their kids were okay, and going forward. Just think about it. Think what we could do. We can revolutionize this. This would be over. (Applause.) Just one person.

I should emphasize -- Governor McWherter reminded me, you know, he plays like he's not interested in policy, but he's a policy wonk -- (laughter) -- in his rural clothing. (Laughter.) He said, now, when you get up there tonight, Mr. President, don't forget to tell them that in Tennessee we also guarantee that if these people have to go to work in a place that doesn't have health insurance, we set it up so they can keep their health insurance under Medicaid for a good while. And then after a certain amount of time, under TennCare, they can buy in at a rate they can afford to keep their health insurance even more. That's also important. You're doing that. (Applause.)

It's amazing to me the excitement here. The Governor of North Carolina told me he was in Charlotte the other day talking to 4,000 people at the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, and he said before he got out the door, 25 percent of them had volunteered to help.

The other day in Missouri, the CEO of Monsanto asked all his division heads to study every aspect of their company to see what they could do to hire as many people off welfare as possible in Monsanto, and to -- I hesitate to use the word, but "lean on" their suppliers and other business contacts to ask them to do the same thing.

The CEO of Sprint pledged to provide an 800 number that any employer in America can call to find out how to move people off welfare. A few weeks ago in Connecticut, hundreds of business leaders pledged that their companies would help us to meet this challenge. Last week in Louisiana, the CEO of Northrop Grumman, a company that makes a lot of products important to our national defense, did the same.

But this Tennessee Business Partnership is especially impressive. From Fortune 500 companies to Opryland, to companies like the recycling business that Noah described, it represents your whole business community. Just remember what I said: If every company would just hire one person, and not just companies, but nonprofits and universities and religious institutions, we would whip this thing. And if every state will form a partnership like the Tennessee Business Partnership, we will work with them to get this job done.

I want to say again -- we passed a law; that's a good thing. The law didn't change anybody's lives. And if we don't change the lives, benefits will someday be cut off, but we won't be creating jobs and building future for those people and their children. That's the important thing.

The other day I was in Florida, where I met with four very impressive women who were working themselves off welfare. And it was phenomenal to me -- I asked them all, why

are you doing this and they gave all of the obvious answers. And I said, what's the most important thing about it, and all four of them said, we want our children to look up to us, we want our children to be proud of us, and we want to feel good because we know we're supporting our kids. All four of them said that.

And, you know, more than 10 years ago -- I've told this story many times, but I was at a governors meeting when we were talking about reforming the welfare system, and I brought a woman from Arkansas there, and I asked her what the best thing about being off welfare was. And she said, when my boy goes to school and they say what does your mama do for a living, he can give an answer. He can give an answer. (Applause.)

Now, I have kept in touch with that woman for 10 years, and she introduced me the day I signed the welfare reform bill. She has four children now, this lady who was trapped in welfare. One of them has a good job; one of them is studying to be a doctor; one is in a technical school; the other one is a high school honor student. I'd say welfare reform worked for her. And it will work for nearly everybody if the rest of us will just create enough opportunity for all of those people who are dying to have it.

Now, I want to say, finally, we have got to take this law and make it live in the lives of our people. We can take poverty out of politics. We can give it back to the community. There will always be a time when the economy is better and the economy is worse. There will always be people who will hit a little rough patch in life and have trouble. But we do not need to have a nation with a huge number of people who are physically isolated from the rest of us living lives they can never break out of. We have all permitted that to happen; now it is time for all of us to stop that from happening and chart a bright new future to the 21st century.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

7:30 P.M. CST

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CRIME

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DRUGS

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ENVIRONMENT

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Baltimore Radio Address 1995

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FOREIGN POLICY

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The Clash of Civilizations

Divider Title: _____

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Political Reform

Divider Title: _____

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Voting Trends

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VP

Divider Title: _____



Elaine C. Kamarck @ OVP
01/27/97 07:16:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Eli G. Attie

cc:

Subject: SOTU inserts

Message Creation Date was at 27-JAN-1997 19:16:00

1) Family Conference. In June the Vice President will conduct his sixth conference on family policy. This year's topic will be the Family and Learning and we hope to continue to explore the relationship between children, their families and their ability to learn that the First Lady will begin next month.

2) Fatherhood. We have done and we will do many things to strengthen America's families and protect our children. But none of these is more important than something each of you can do as individuals. All too often divorce means that a child loses contact with his or her father. [I have data to back this up if you want to include it.] That's not right. Every child deserves a father as well as a mother. So tonight I call on the men of America. You are more than a paycheck to your children. If you are not a part of their life try to be. Help to raise them and to teach them right from wrong. Childrearing is not women's work; it is the responsibility of all of us.

3) Electoral Reform. And while we are at it we must guarantee that participation in our democracy is as easy and convenient as possible. Voter turnout in our country has always lagged behind participation in other democracies. This year voter turnout hit a 72 year low! [Check fact, I got it from a Pittsburgh Post-Gazette editorial.] There are two things we can do to try to turn this around. First of all we can make the presidential election day a national holiday as does almost every democracy in the world. Second, we should make it easy and common place to vote by mail. The enormous increase in mail ballots this year indicates that this is a convenient option voters want. We should give it to them.

4) Air Safety Proposals. We need a transportation infrastructure for the next century - one that is safe, reliable and able to accomodate the enormous growth in the American economy. To this end I asked the Vice President to chair an airline safety and security commission and to show us the way into the next century. I look forward to receiving their proposals on ways to enhance security, create a new National Airspace Architecture and make sure that our airplanes are safer than ever.

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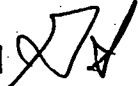
Greg Simon Items

Divider Title: _____

January 27, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR DON BAER

FROM:

GREG SIMON 

SUBJECT:

STATE OF THE UNION ITEMS

Attached are suggested paragraphs regarding educational technology, connecting children's hospitals, digitizing the Smithsonian collection, TV ratings, children's educational television, and the Human Genome Project.

STATE OF THE UNION ITEMS

CHILDREN

Education

1. Connecting classrooms, libraries and hospitals by the year 2000.

““ Three years ago I pledged that we would work with the private sector to connect every classroom, library and hospital to the information superhighway by the year 2000. When I came into office X percent of classrooms were connected. Today X+% are connected.

In 1996, through the help of private industry, we were able to connect to the information superhighway every school in the empowerment zones that wanted to be connected.

Last March in California the Vice President and I participated in “NETDAY”, a volunteer effort involving 20,000 people to help connect California's classrooms. This year I challenge each state to sponsor its own Netday before the beginning of the next school year to take a leap forward in the tools available to prepare our children for the 21st Century economy.

I challenge America's software industry -- the best in the world -- to focus on developing and distributing educational software designed to help our children learn to read.

I ask the industry leaders who have stepped up to meet our educational technology goals to help us ensure that every 6th grade teacher is trained to use computers in the classroom over the next two years.

Finally, I propose that we begin connecting hospitals by starting with children's hospitals. This year we will work with industry to connect every children's hospital to the information superhighway starting with the largest children's hospital in each state. This will allow these children to stay in school, send e mail to friends and families and to communicate with children in other hospitals who share their problems and with whom they can share strength and hope.”

2. Smithsonian Digitization

“The Smithsonian Institution in Washington is a true national treasure of history, culture, the natural world, space exploration , engineering and art. This year I will initiate a national partnership with industry and academia to digitize 10 million objects from the Smithsonian Institution so anyone in America and the world can tour the Smithsonian collection on-line.”

MEDIA

1. TV Ratings

Last year I challenged the Congress to pass a Telecommunications Reform Act that required a V chip in every new television to help families control what programming their children see and hear. Three weeks after I signed that bill into law, I met with the television industry at the White House to urge them to produce their own ratings system for television shows. They announced then that they would do so and in December they announced a system that is now in place.

I urge all parents who care about what their children see and hear on television -- and I hope that is all parents -- to use this new system, and to make your views known regarding its usefulness and how it can be improved over time.

2. Educational Television

"Last year I called on the FCC to adopt a rule requiring three hours of children educational television be broadcast per week by every television station. Following a White House Conference on the issue in July, the industry and the FCC agreed to implement the three hour rule. Television can be a powerful tool to educate our children in good behaviors not just bad ones. The new focus on children's educational television gives every parent a tool to guide their children in a positive way. I urge every parent to use this tool and make educational television a positive influence in their children's lives.

HEALTH CARE

1. Human Genome Project

"The Human Genome Project is a fifteen year effort to understand our genetic make-up so we can better understand human diseases and defects. Originally scheduled for completion in 2005, I have asked the Director of the National Institute of Health to accelerate the program by three years. This will not only save lives through earlier understanding of genetic diseases and defects, but it will also save \$500 million a year private industry spends now to unlock the human genetic code."

January 27, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR DON BAER

FROM: GREG SIMON

SUBJECT: SOTU LANGUAGE -- SPACE PROGRAM

"This Administration has reinvented NASA to preserve it for the next century. NASA is advancing our understanding of planet Earth, extending our reach to the farthest corners of the universe and uniting nations through cooperative missions to extend the frontiers of space.

This budget includes funding for the ORIGINS program which will seek clues to the evolution of the universe and the origins of life in and beyond our solar system.

Support for this and other programs such as the International Space Station and the Mission to Planet Earth demonstrates our commitment to hand to our children a greater understanding of our world and our universe."

January 24, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR JONATHAN PRINCE

FROM: GREG SIMON
JIM KOHLENBERGER

SUBJECT: SOTU Next Generation Internet

Next Generation Internet

We are only at the dawn of the Information Age. Last October, Vice President Gore and I announced a Next Generation Internet initiative -- to connect 100 universities and national labs at speeds that are 100 to 1,000 times faster than today's Internet. This partnership between industry, government, and academia will ensure that America stays at the cutting-edge of new technologies.

As the next generation of Internet technologies moves from the lab to the marketplace, Americans will have exciting new opportunities. Patients in rural hospitals will have access to the best medical care in the country. Our troops will enhance their fighting skills by training together in realistic, 3-D simulations of the battlefield. Students will take "virtual" field trips to the bottom of the ocean or the North Pole, or collaborate in real-time with scientists and other students from around the world. And more Americans will have the opportunity to spend more time with their family by working at home.

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EDUCATION

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Net Day

Divider Title: _____

NetDays

The President and Vice President brought together information industry leaders on September 21, 1995, to launch a historic effort to connect classrooms in at least 20 percent of California's schools by the end of the year. The initiative, called NetDay96, is a volunteer effort by California companies, universities, parents, teachers, and engineers to install internal wiring in California schools. On March 9, 1996, the President and Vice President and more than 20,000 volunteers laid 6 million feet of cable connecting thousands of California schools with the technology needed to link classrooms, libraries, and laboratories to the information superhighway. This effort sparked an enormous response around the nation and this last fall all 50 states hosted some type of NetDay events which will bring the nation dramatically closer to our goal of connecting all classrooms to the Internet by the end of the decade. We have made 1997 NetYear with another series of Netdays taking place across the country on April 19th.

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K - 12

Divider Title: _____

2. INVESTING IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING

9

waive certain Federal legal and regulatory requirements in order to help States and local communities make changes to the job training system.

Comprehensive reform still requires legislation. The President will again seek legislation that reflects the principles of his G.I. Bill. Because enactment would not occur before the fiscal 1998 appropriations process begins in Congress, the budget presents funding proposals under the current program structure.

Youth Programs

The President is deeply committed to helping States and communities help young people make a successful transition to the world of work and family responsibility. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the budget includes major new proposals to eliminate financial barriers to postsecondary education and training for all youth. In addition, the budget continues to support the goal by helping States develop and implement their school-to-work systems. And it proposes additional resources to aid disadvantaged youth who have left school, or are on the verge of doing so, and have entered the labor force.

School-to-Work: This activity, which the Education and Labor Departments fund and administer jointly, gives States and communities competitive grants to build comprehensive systems to help young people move from high school to careers or postsecondary training and education. School-to-Work supports reforms to the education system and its links to employers, so that young people can better prepare for high-skill, high-wage careers; receive top-quality academic and occupational training; and pursue more postsecondary education or training. Businesses get the trained workers they need to stay globally competitive. By 1996, 37 States and 133 local partnerships had already received grants to implement School-to-Work systems. The budget proposes \$400 million, maintaining the 1997 level, in accord with the strategy of phasing in School-to-Work in all States by early in the next decade.

After-School Program: Young people need access to after-school activities that keep them off the streets and out of trouble. The Presi-

dential initiative will provide \$50 million to keep public schools open during non-school hours, giving students access to after-school tutoring and other educational and recreational activities in a crime-free environment within their own communities.

Youth Opportunity Areas Program: Recognizing the special problems of out-of-school youth, especially those in inner-city neighborhoods where jobless rates can exceed 50 percent, the budget proposes \$250 million for new competitive grants to selected high-poverty urban and rural areas with major youth unemployment problems. The Labor Department would award funds to high-poverty areas, including designated Empowerment Zones or Enterprise Communities, based on the quality of the local applications—that is, those that show the best chance of substantially increasing employment among youth. These “seed” funds would leverage State, local, and private resources to sustain public-private efforts to train and employ youth in private sector jobs. (For more information on Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities, see Chapter 6.)

Summer Youth Employment and Training Program: The summer jobs program gives many urban and rural disadvantaged students their first work experiences, and localities may include an academic component that re-enforces the skills they have learned during the school year. The budget provides \$871 million to finance 530,000 job opportunities for the summer of 1998, assuming that localities spend this flexible funding entirely on summer jobs.

Disadvantaged Youth Year-Round Program: The year-round program helps low-income youth who have dropped out of school, are at risk of dropping out, or are in families on public assistance. The Administration will expand ongoing efforts to refocus this program to stress local programs of proven effectiveness. Local service delivery areas that receive these funds under the Job Training Partnership Act can shift resources between the summer and year-round programs, as local needs dictate. The budget proposes \$180 million for the year-round program.

Job Corps: The Job Corps provides intensive, work-related vocational skills training, academic and social education, and support

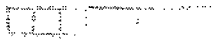
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COLLEGE

Divider Title: _____



Peter R. Orszag
01/27/97 08:55:20 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Laura K. Capps/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Tax-free saving for college

The President is proposing to dramatically expand eligibility for making tax-free contributions to Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs), and to allow penalty-free withdrawals for higher education expenses. In particular, families with incomes of up to \$100,000 would be eligible for the new IRAs. And withdrawals from the IRAs that are used for education expenses will be exempt from the normal early withdrawal penalty.

Combined with the President's proposed Hope Scholarship tax credit and the proposed tax deduction for college expenses, the new IRAs will allow middle-class families to save for college completely tax free.

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POTUS Princeton Speech

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School Construction

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Computers in the Classroom

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Literacy

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National Service

Divider Title: _____

01/17/97 18:49 2024565557

WHITE HOUSE

CORP NATL SVC

002/005

EB/Leon/Brew/Dan

Think full of great ideas
could really give a lift
to LFT, Education, getting

November 14, 1996

Bob Woodward - Please
carefully let discuss

① Retreat/Summit/Forum
② cc: Steve W.
③ Service Summit
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-14-96

'96 NOV 14 PM7:13

CORPORATION
FOR NATIONAL
SERVICE

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

BG

From: Harris Wofford

Subject: National Service and Educational Opportunity

Congratulations!

- The second most frustrating thing for me during this election – the first being the required non-partisanship of being CEO of the Corporation for National Service – was reading the continual complaint that your proposals were puny. It is baffling how people could think it is insignificant to mobilize one million tutors to help every child to read, hook up every classroom to the internet so every child can enter the information highway or help pay for two years of college education for every American. I am convinced that one of the reasons people haven't viewed these efforts as sufficiently grand is they haven't seen the two connecting threads: each improves education and each has government help citizens solve problems for themselves.

Therefore I propose an overarching theme for your second term: Americans solving problems and expanding educational opportunity through citizen service.

I am convinced this can be done in a way that earns broad bipartisan support. In fact, as I heard both you and the congressional leadership talk about working together it seemed rather obvious that a prime area for such bipartisanship is national service. As you know, the National and Community Service Trust Act must be reauthorized this year. Few issues typify the "vital center" better than the idea that Americans should have the opportunity to earn educational aid by doing service to community and country. Don't you want to add this to budget deficit reduction and campaign finance reform as a top issue around which to form a bipartisan coalition?

Below I will offer some additional proposals to expand national service programs, each with the dual mission of expanding educational opportunity and service. This will enable you to return to the ethic exemplified by the GI Bill – and create a legacy that will survive for generations.

1201 New York Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20525
Telephone: 202-696-5000

Getting Things Done.
AmeriCorps, National Service

Where we are

During your first term, you proved that national service works - that it can "get things done." AmeriCorps has provided an impressive model for how to strengthen community, allow Americans to earn educational opportunity and, at the same time, ask for a greater sense of responsibility. Through national service, you have shown how to be activist and anti-bureaucratic at the same time.

Yet we have not yet met several important goals you set out in the 1992 campaign.

First, AmeriCorps has not yet become a major way for Americans to serve their way through college. At 25,000 members per year, we are reaching about one percent of the college bound population. You have taken major steps in expanding these opportunities with your recent proposals to add 11,000 new AmeriCorps members as part of the America Reads Initiative and your plan to make the nearly one million college work-study jobs more geared toward service. But we are still not where we should be.

✓ Second, because of AmeriCorps' size, we have not yet conveyed the idea that national service can be a major force to unite our country. As you sensed during your visit to City Year back in 1993, national service is possibly the most successful approach yet invented to bring people of different backgrounds together to work in a common mission. Young Americans schooled in the politics of separatism on college campuses come to AmeriCorps and learn something else: teamwork. Indeed, as an old civil rights hand I believe that national service can be far more effective than affirmative action at providing opportunity while bridging the racial divide. It can be a powerful tool to carry through your theme of working together.

We need only look at recent American history. The greatest class-mixing institution of our time was the World War II draft. The current U.S. military services are perhaps the most effective institution at dealing with race relations. Each year there are at least 100,000 fewer opportunities for the young to serve with the armed forces than during the Cold War. We need to compensate by expanding civilian service opportunities that can help mix - and unite - Americans.

Third, we have not yet made national service a rite of passage - a common expectation - for a large portion of young Americans. Although larger than the Peace Corps, AmeriCorps is still a fraction of the size of the CCC, which reached 300,000 in its first year and 500,000 at its peak. Consequently, we have not yet established firmly the principle of reciprocity, the idea that government benefits ought to be tied to service. Nor have we established the principle that individuals serving their community in a concerted fashion can be part of a larger movement called national service.

Finally, we have not gotten policymakers or the people to routinely think of the ways that service and citizen action can actually help solve some of our country's most critical problems.

An Agenda for National Service and Educational Opportunity

In your second term, I urge you to establish these broad goals:

- Every young person who wants to perform significant full-time service in exchange for educational aid should have the opportunity to do so.
- Service should be viewed as a way of solving many of our social problems.
- Efforts to serve young people should also ask young people to serve.
- National service should be a way of uniting Americans.

To achieve these goals, I suggest these possibilities.

✓ Expand AmeriCorps to 100,000. This was your original proposal in 1993. We will keep working to get there. The 10,000 new AmeriCorps members you've called for are to be dedicated to seeing that all American children learn to read. Why not have each successive proposed increase tied to solving a particular problem? The next 10,000 could be dedicated to helping people make the transition from welfare to work; the next 10,000 focused on crime or housing (in collaboration with Habitat). This would provide a compelling justification for the increased funding and would strengthen the connection between service and solving problems.

* Expand work-study's emphasis on service. You have already taken a big step in this direction by calling for at least 100,000 of the new 250,000 work-study jobs to be committed to the reading initiative. I urge you to continue to use the bully pulpit to get schools to put the rest of the new money (another 150,000 slots) into service. Perhaps you could propose a new initiative to give bonus work-study slots to those campuses that put half their total work study slots into service. We should set a goal of getting at least 500,000 of the million work-study jobs into service.

✓ Encourage Faith-Based Service. As I mentioned in my last memo, there are low-cost ways to stimulate the nation's great religious groups to do more with full-time service. Make them a basic offer: if you multiply the opportunities for full-time service through your own resources and initiative, we will give all these committed young men and women a National Service educational award.

✓ Create summer service opportunities for another 100,000. These programs could be intense experiences for the corps members and accomplish a great deal. In the past, our summer programs have offered \$1,000 scholarship at the completion of

service. Imagine the combined impact if these young men and women also worked on school preparedness for disadvantaged children.

Help Military Recruitment through a Smart Partnership with Civilian Service.

When it comes to service, a rising tide would lift all boats. If we can stimulate a greater readiness for service to the nation, both AmeriCorps and the military would benefit. Here's one idea to start us down that road: if ROTCs or Jr. ROTCs added significant non-military service hours to their curricula, they could become eligible for the \$4,725 AmeriCorps education award. This would be a way of encouraging more volunteer work, increasing college aid – and making ROTC more attractive. We have already entered into a promising partnership with Selective Service, in which they will be encouraging all young men who register to consider serving America today through the U.S. Armed Forces or AmeriCorps.

Expand National Service Scholars. Last Spring you proposed a scholarship program to reward high school students who have done outstanding volunteer service. If communities put up \$500, the government will match it. This spring local communities will announce the first few thousand winners. But we'd like to grow that number ultimately to 100,000. It is also a good way to get the idea of service by young people recognized in every high school in the country.

Mobilize the young to serve the young. If we could get the great youth serving organizations, such as the 2.5 million-strong Boys and Girls Clubs, to put service by youth as a major part of their program, we would be bringing the idea of service to a new level. As part of the America Reads initiative, I would suggest a special partnership between the teachers and the country's great "youth serving institutions." One of the most effective tutoring models involves high school juniors or seniors tutoring young children.

Expand Senior Service. As I proposed in the last memo, we could create a new senior corps charged with the twin missions of helping children read independently and seniors live independently. This could be paid for through the savings generated to Medicaid and Medicare by helping seniors stay out of nursing home. This would expand educational opportunity in a most poignant way: seniors who do significant service could earn a college scholarship they could give as a gift to their children or grandchildren. We'd also like a partnership on this with the AARP, some major corporations and the media.

Add up these numbers and you have about 500,000 new opportunities for Americans to earn college aid by doing civilian service. If we succeed in our effort to get half the one-million work-study into service, we will have created one million opportunities for young people to serve their way through school. The cost of all these initiatives together would be about \$3 billion per year, the AmeriCorps expansion being the most costly part.

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To counter the argument that this is a new spending program, I suggest you pay for this by cutting government functions that can be better done by national service or through savings to government generated by service, as with Medicaid and the senior corps expansions. There are other variations on this theme. For instance, the AmeriCorps Habitat for Humanity projects produce affordable sweat-equity housing at a fraction of the cost of HUD housing because they harness the good-will of unpaid volunteers. The money allocated to the school renovation initiative could be stretched to go a lot farther if national service participants were enlisted. For example, The National Civilian Community Corps, the AmeriCorps program based on downsized military bases, did an outstanding job renovating a middle school here in the district this past summer using a team of national service corps members.

Other service programs generate tremendous long-term savings to the government. Programs that teach immigrants English and job skills save money by keeping them off government aid. Those that help young mothers make the transition from welfare to work will save society far more. These are just a few examples.

All of this adds up to something bigger than the sum of these ideas. It makes service a recurring thread through much that you do. As you did with America Reads, I urge you to include a service component in each major proposal you make in the next four years. If you're renovating public schools, have national service volunteers help – along with parents and students. If you're revitalizing public housing, place an emphasis on sweat equity approaches. If you're designing ways of helping get people off welfare, include a component for AmeriCorps. If you're trying to improve race relations without resorting to quotas, look to national service as a way of uniting races around a common mission. And wherever possible, national service participants should be able to earn aid for college.

Making Service a Permanent Legacy

To make national service an enduring legacy, it must become bipartisan – or better yet, non partisan.

As you think about possibly bringing Republicans into an administration, consider particularly having them work on service-related initiatives. It is one area around which Democrats and Republicans can really unite. A simple bold way for you to do that would be to name prominent bipartisan group of distinguished Americans to the Board of Directors of the Corporation for National Service. Or, we are considering creating a new advisory council of outstanding leaders.

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Here are some possibilities that would be dramatic and would get you a lot of credit for being above politics – and would help cement AmeriCorps future:

Colin Powell – As you may recall, in his autobiography he said that one job in the administration that would interest him most was working on youth service. Assuming he hasn't agreed to another administration job, why not ask him if he would be chairman or honorary chairman of the Corporation's Board of Directors. It would be a dramatic move politically for national service – and substantively it would elevate the goal of national service as a way to unite the races. Powell would be a powerful role model and recruiter. His initial entry on national service may well be through the Service Summit described below.

Elizabeth Dole – As President of the American Red Cross she strongly supported the creation of AmeriCorps. Since then, the Red Cross has become a major partner with AmeriCorps on disaster relief and in other areas. If she goes back to the Red Cross, this would be a good move for her.

Jack Kemp – He has privately expressed to me his support for national service. He's particularly interested in any ways service can bring together blacks and whites in a common mission.

Bill Weld – One of our strongest supporters. He said AmeriCorps is "one of the most intelligent uses of taxpayer money ever." (See, attached, the statement he made when swearing in the new class of AmeriCorps members).

Millard Fuller – The Founder of Habitat for Humanity has become a big AmeriCorps fan. I'm not sure if he's a Republican or Democrat but he's greatly admired by Gingrich and would help strengthen our ties to faith-based groups.

Gail Wilson – The First Lady of California is the Honorary chair of the California national service commission. She's a strong supporter, particularly of using service to help disadvantaged children.

Oleane Walker – The Lieutenant Governor of Utah is a strong supporter and well-connected in conservative circles.

Barbara Bush – In addition to her general popularity, she is strongly associated with literacy and could therefore be a good advocate for the America Reads Initiative.

Some other Republicans who have expressed support for national service: Norman Schwartzkopf, William F. Buckley, Lamar Alexander, Vin Weber, Elaine Chao, Michelle Engler (First Lady of Michigan and chair of the commission in that state).

We are, of course, actively considering who the best non-Republicans for the board. One of my first choices would be Sam Nunn. In addition to being one of the early leaders on national service, he could help strengthen the ties between civilian and military service. I enclose his latest piece on national service.

A major, historic opportunity to make service non-partisan will be the Citizen Service Summit now scheduled for April 27-29 in Philadelphia. President Bush has committed to joining you in the call for service, and we are working on getting Nancy Reagan and Presidents Carter and Ford. We have reason to hope that Colin Powell will agree to some

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high-profile role at the summit. Organizations and institutions invited to the Summit will be asked to come with tangible commitments to new action that will help create the conditions for the success of American youth.

Together, these proposals provide a grand theme for your presidency – government helping citizens to solve problems through service, and in the process expanding educational opportunity. By emphasizing local, volunteer-oriented solutions, you recognize that while the era of big government is over – the era of big citizens – and big citizen action – had better begin. It would demonstrate that you have far-reaching, far-sighted and effective ideas for addressing the problems facing America's families.

By reaching out to Republicans, you will be showing yourself to be above partisan politics, using common sense to find the common good.

As of now, national service is like the Peace Corps, a small but worthy program. You have an opportunity to make national service be more like the G.I. Bill – something can that transform the country.

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Entitlements

Divider Title: _____

Entitlements

According to CBO:

Spending on Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security is projected to rise from under 9 percent of GDP now to nearly 20 percent in 2050. The pressure from these programs would produce a government deficit of almost 20 percent of GDP by 2050, and Federal debt could reach 300 percent of GDP.

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Techno-factoids

Divider Title: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

To: Peter Orszag
From: Tom Kalil *TAK*
Re: Techno-factoids
Date: January 27, 1997

Below are a few possible techno-factoids for the SOTU:

1. **With fiber optics technology, we will eventually be able to carry all of the phone calls on Mother's Day on a single strand of fiber the width of a human hair**

"One fiber thread the width of a human hair can potentially use about 25 trillion of those herz for communications ... This span is enough to carry all the phone calls in America on the peak moment of Mother's Day."

[George Gilder, "From Wires to Waves," *Forbes ASAP*, June 5, 1995.]

2. **In 25 years, the number of transistors on a micro-chip has increased from 2,300 to 5.5 million**

	<u>Name of Microprocessor</u>	<u>Transistors</u>
1971	4004	2,300
1978	8086	29,000
1982	286	134,000
1985	386	275,000
1989	486	1.2 million
1993	Pentium	3.1 million
1995	Pentium Pro	5.5 million

[Source: Intel web site -- www.intel.com]

3. You ain't seen nothing yet

In 1997, Texas Instruments plans to make chips with 125 million transistors. These transistors will be 0.18 micron in size -- 1/600th the width of a human hair. This will make picture phones, "Dick Tracy" wrist computers, and voice recognition systems affordable to consumers.

[Source: Texas Instruments: "New TI Technology Opens the Door to Science Fact", August 1996]

3. In 10 years, the Internet has grown from connecting roughly 2 thousand computers to 13 million computers

Computers connected to Internet

2/86	2,308
1/93	1.31 million
7/96	12.88 million

[Source: Internet Domain Survey at Network Wizards web site: <http://www.nw.com>]

4. Today, 22-24 percent of North Americans (U.S. and Canada) 16 years of age or older have access to the Internet.

[CommerceNet/Nielsen Study, August 13, 1996. <http://www.commerce.net>]

5. The World Wide Web, which was virtually unheard of when President Clinton entered office, has exploded

Number of Web sites

January 1993	50
Today:	More than 476,000

[Source: Mathew Gray's World Wide Web Wanderer, Altavista search engine: <http://altavista.digital.com>]

6. Today's \$200 video-games have more computing power than a 1976, \$20 million supercomputer.

7. The Internet has created \$250 billion in wealth (market capitalization of new and existing firms) in the last 18 months.

[Source: Wall Street Journal, October 17, 1996.]

8. Venture capital investment has nearly tripled since 1992

[Source: VentureOne, as cited in The Economist, January 25, 1997, p. 20.]

8. Intel, in partnership with the Department of Energy, produced a supercomputer capable of one trillion operations per second.

It would take every man, woman and child in the United States working non-stop with hand calculators for 125 years to equal what this computer can do in one second.

[Source: Department of Energy, "DOE's "Ultra" Computer Reaches 1 Trillion Operations Per Second Milestone," December 16, 1996.]

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AIDS

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DISCOVER MAGAZINE'S TOP TEN SCIENCE STORIES OF 1996

- **Life On Mars:** The biggest story of the year and perhaps the millennium. Scientists say Mars' surface was fractured by meteorites 4 billion years ago, allowing water to seep into rocks and carbonate minerals to form. At this stage, Martian bacteria may have grown.
- **HIV-Fighting Drug Cocktails:** Recent studies show that a combination of anti-viral drugs can sharply curtail the AIDS virus in the bloodstream. Normally cautious researchers are euphoric.
- **Mending Severed Nerves:** In a ray of hope for the 10,000 Americans robbed of movement by spinal cord injuries, Swedish researchers restored some muscle function in rats with severed spinal cords using nerves with specialized cells to stimulate growth of connectors to motor neurons.
- **Hemoglobin's Role In Blood Pressure:** Hemoglobin, it turns out, brings nitric oxide from the lungs to the blood. The nitric oxide expands blood vessels, permitting better oxygen delivery.
- **Transmission Through Optical Fiber:** Engineers broke the "terabit barrier" in transmitting 1 trillion bits of information through an optical fiber in one second. It's a rate no one expected to reach until the next century -- and it may take an additional five to 10 years to find a marketplace use, in part because there's no demand for it yet.
- **First Complete Antimatter Atoms:** It sounds like science fiction, but German researchers created nine atoms of antihydrogen by passing a beam of antiprotons through xenon gas. Antielectrons bonded with antiprotons to create the antihydrogen atoms.
- **Earliest South American People:** Deep in Brazilian jungles, archaeologists found signs of an ancient human culture going back 11,000 years. The finding supports the theory that this culture did not descend from the earliest North American peoples but arose around the same time.
- **The First Supercontinent:** By dating cratons -- the ancient cores of continents -- a North Carolina geologist speculates that a single land mass existed 3 billion years ago. That's 2.8 billion years older than previously thought.
- **Male Birth Control:** Weekly intake of testosterone fooled the pituitary gland into thinking the testes were producing too much of the hormone. The pituitary then stopped releasing two other hormones that stimulate sperm production -- dropping the sperm count to zero and preventing conception 99 percent of the time. Oh, just one thing: The testosterone "pill" is actually a painful shot in the buttocks.
- **Face-lift For The Heart:** In a new technique, Brazilian surgeon nips and tucks a failing heart -- something that may reduce the need for transplants. Reducing the size of the chamber allows the weakened heart to pump blood more effectively.

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McCain-Feingold

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GI Bill Language

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dent financially dependent on his or her parents, to \$18,500 for a graduate or professional program student. Under this Administration, the rate of student loan defaults within the first two years after borrowers leave college has reached an all-time low.

Before 1993, students and parents paid fees of up to eight percent of their loan proceeds. The Student Loan Reform Act of 1993, which the President initiated, cut the fees to four percent and has already saved families nearly \$2 billion. The 1993 reforms also created the simpler, less costly, and more accountable Federal Direct Loan Program (FDLP), and gave borrowers a way to afford payments on their student loans based on their actual post-college income—which the existing guaranteed loan program could not do.

The budget proposes to cut the loan fees again—by half for needy students, and by a quarter for other students and parents. The budget also would continue to allow schools to choose to participate in either the FDLP or the guaranteed loan program—the Federal Family Education Loan Program (FFELP). In addition, it would reform FFELP to improve Federal management and give lenders and intermediaries financial incentives to prevent defaults. It also would ensure that all borrowers receive a variety of repayment options.

Presidential Honors Scholarships: The President proposes an achievement-based scholarship program, rewarding the best and the brightest of high school students. It would grant \$1,000 honors awards to the top five percent of graduating students in every sec-

ondary school in the Nation, making clear the Government's commitment to excellence. The budget requests \$132 million for this program.

College Work-Study: Work-study gives students additional aid through subsidized jobs, including an increasing number of community service positions. The budget proposes \$857 million for Work-study, three percent more than in 1997, and continues the President's commitment to raise the number of Work-study recipients to a million by the year 2000, including 100,000 reading tutors to support America Reads.

G.I. Bill for America's Workers

For the past two years, the President has sought to dramatically overhaul the complex, inefficient structure of Federal job training programs through his proposed G.I. Bill for America's Workers. It would consolidate multiple programs into a single, integrated work force development system and provide Skill Grants (i.e., vouchers) to adults who need training so that they, not bureaucracies, choose where to get it. It also would streamline program administration, while improving accountability by freeing States and localities to focus on results, not process.

Although Congress did not enact these essential reforms, the Administration has pressed ahead to reform the job training system under current law. The Administration is making grants to establish One-Stop Career Center systems and School-to-Work systems; developing America's Labor Market Information System; expanding America's Job Bank to help match workers to jobs across the country; and implementing new authority to

The President's Principles for Work Force Policy Reform:

1. Give resources for training directly to adults so they can make informed choices, without bureaucratic interference.
2. Consolidate and streamline Federal programs for adults, organize them within the One-Stop Career Center delivery system, and ensure that the private sector is a full partner.
3. Ensure strong accountability to taxpayers by establishing high standards for program quality and giving States and localities responsibility for results.
4. Organize Federal programs for youth within the School-to-Work Opportunities Act systems being established in States and local communities.
5. Increase funding for work force development each year, commensurate with the needs of workers and the economy.

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“Fertile Minds”
Time Magazine 2/3/97

Divider Title: _____

SPECIAL REPORT

FERTILE MINDS

From birth, a baby's brain cells proliferate wildly, making connections that may shape a lifetime of experience. The first three years are critical

By J. MADELEINE NASH

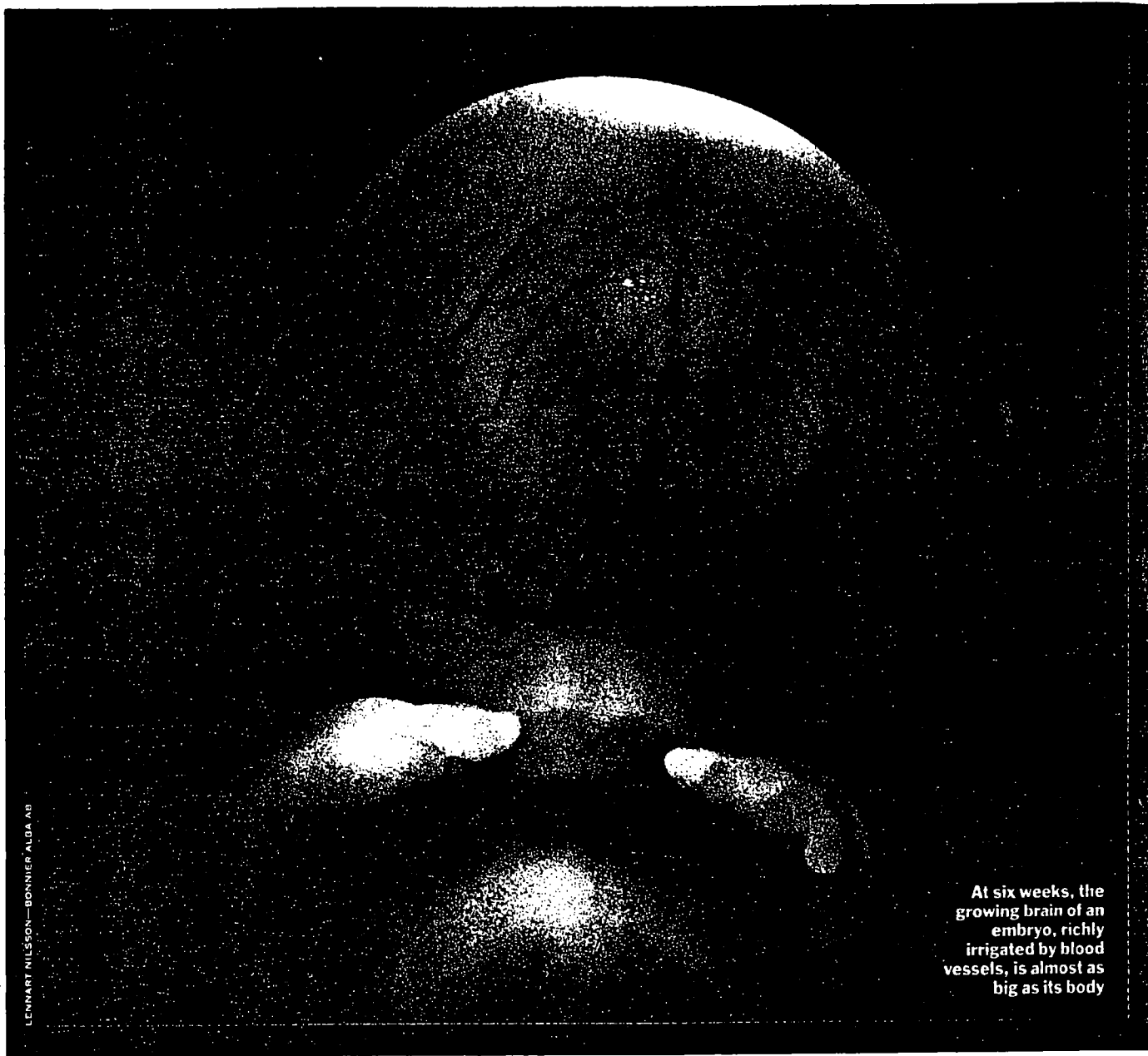
RAT-A-TAT-TAT. RAT-A-TAT-TAT. RAT-A-TAT-tat. If scientists could eavesdrop on the brain of a human embryo 10, maybe 12 weeks after conception, they would hear an astonishing racket. Inside the womb, long before light first strikes the retina of the eye or the earliest dreamy images flicker through the cortex, nerve cells in the developing brain crackle with purposeful activity. Like teenagers with telephones, cells in one neighborhood of the brain are calling friends in another, and these cells are calling their friends, and they keep calling one another over and over again, "almost," says neurobiologist Carla Shatz of the University of California, Berkeley, "as if they were autodialing."

But these neurons—as the long, wiry cells that carry electrical messages through the nervous system and the brain are called—are not transmitting signals in scattershot fashion. That would produce a featureless static, the sort of noise picked up by a radio tuned between stations. On the contrary, evidence is growing that the staccato bursts of electricity that form those distinctive rat-a-tat-tats arise from coordinated waves of neural activity, and that those pulsing waves, like currents shifting sand on the ocean



Photograph by Anne Geddes





LENNART NILSSON—BONNIER ALDA AB

At six weeks, the growing brain of an embryo, richly irrigated by blood vessels, is almost as big as its body

floor, actually change the shape of the brain, carving mental circuits into patterns that over time will enable the newborn infant to perceive a father's voice, a mother's touch, a shiny mobile twirling over the crib.

Of all the discoveries that have poured out of neuroscience labs in recent years, the finding that the electrical activity of brain cells changes the physical structure of the brain is perhaps the most breathtaking. For the rhythmic firing of neurons is no longer assumed to be a by-product of building the brain but essential to the process, and it begins, scientists have established, well before birth. A brain is not a computer. Nature does not cobble it together, then turn it on. No, the brain begins working long before it is finished. And the same processes that wire the

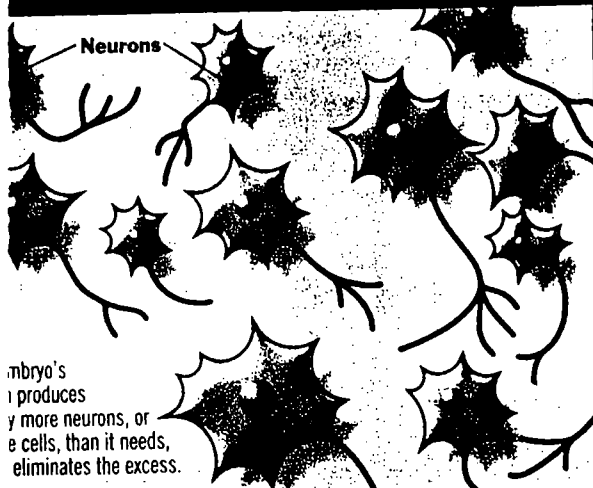
brain before birth, neuroscientists are finding, also drive the explosion of learning that occurs immediately afterward.

At birth a baby's brain contains 100 billion neurons, roughly as many nerve cells as there are stars in the Milky Way. Also in place are a trillion glial cells, named after the Greek word for glue, which form a kind of honeycomb that protects and nourishes the neurons. But while the brain contains virtually all the nerve cells it will ever have, the pattern of wiring between them has yet to stabilize. Up to this point, says Shatz, "what the brain has done is lay out circuits that are its best guess about what's required for vision, for language, for whatever." And now it is up to neural activity—no longer spontaneous, but dri-

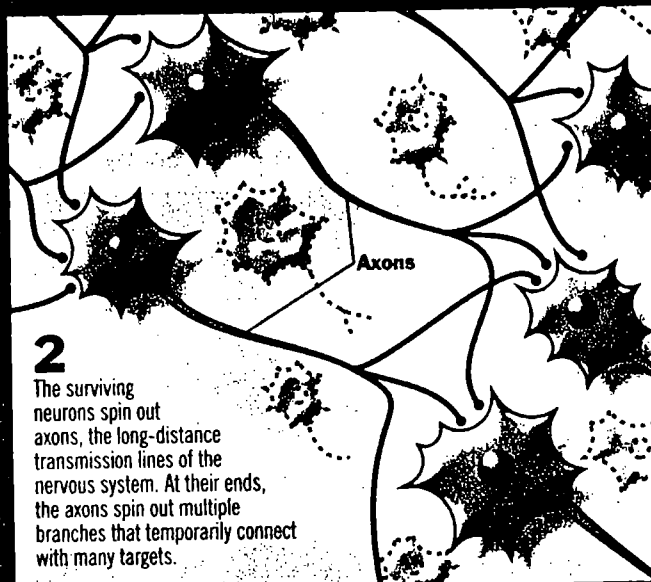
ven by a flood of sensory experiences—to take this rough blueprint and progressively refine it.

During the first years of life, the brain undergoes a series of extraordinary changes. Starting shortly after birth, a baby's brain, in a display of biological exuberance, produces trillions more connections between neurons than it can possibly use. Then, through a process that resembles Darwinian competition, the brain eliminates connections, or synapses, that are seldom or never used. The excess synapses in a child's brain undergo a draconian pruning, starting around the age of 10 or earlier, leaving behind a mind whose patterns of emotion and thought are, for better or worse, unique.

Wiring the Brain

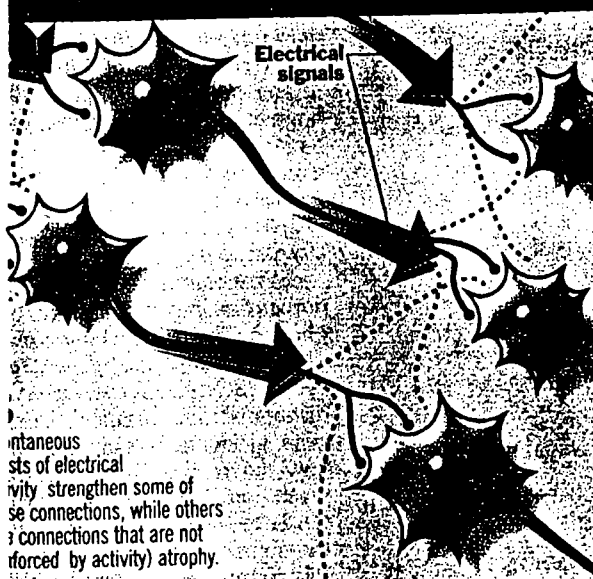


embryo's
produces
more neurons, or
cells, than it needs,
eliminates the excess.



2

The surviving neurons spin out axons, the long-distance transmission lines of the nervous system. At their ends, the axons spin out multiple branches that temporarily connect with many targets.



Simultaneous
bursts of electrical
activity strengthen some of
these connections, while others
(connections that are not
reinforced by activity) atrophy.



4

After birth, the brain experiences a second growth spurt, as the axons (which send signals) and dendrites (which receive them) explode with new connections. Electrical activity, triggered by a flood of sensory experiences, fine-tunes the brain's circuitry—determining which connections will be retained and which will be pruned.

TIME Diagram by Joe Lertola

Deprived of a stimulating environment, a child's brain suffers. Researchers at Baylor College of Medicine, for example, have found that children who don't play much or are rarely touched develop brains 10% to 30% smaller than normal for their age. Laboratory animals provide another provocative parallel. Not only do young rats reared in toy-strewn cages exhibit more complex behavior than rats confined to sterile, uninteresting boxes, researchers at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign have found, but the brains of these rats contain as many as 25% more synapses per neuron. Rich experiences, in other words, really do produce rich brains.

The new insights into brain development are more than just interesting sci-

ence. They have profound implications for parents and policymakers. In an age when mothers and fathers are increasingly pressed for time—and may already be feeling guilty about how many hours they spend away from their children—the results coming out of the labs are likely to increase concerns about leaving very young children in the care of others. For the data underscore the importance of hands-on parenting, of finding the time to cuddle a baby, talk with a toddler and provide infants with stimulating experiences.

The new insights have begun to infuse new passion into the political debate over early education and day care. There is an urgent need, say child-development experts, for preschool programs designed to

boost the brain power of youngsters born into impoverished rural and inner-city households. Without such programs, they warn, the current drive to curtail welfare costs by pushing mothers with infants and toddlers into the work force may well backfire. "There is a time scale to brain development, and the most important year is the first," notes Frank Newman, president of the Education Commission of the States. By the age of three, a child who is neglected or abused bears marks that, if not indelible, are exceedingly difficult to erase.

But the new research offers hope as well. Scientists have found that the brain during the first years of life is so malleable that very young children who suffer strokes or injuries that wipe out an entire hemi-

sphere can still mature into highly functional adults. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly clear that well-designed preschool programs can help many children overcome glaring deficits in their home environment. With appropriate therapy, say researchers, even serious disorders like dyslexia may be treatable. While inherited problems may place certain children at greater risk than others, says Dr. Harry Chugani, a pediatric neurologist at Wayne State University in Detroit, that is no excuse for ignoring the environment's power to remodel the brain. "We may not do much to change what happens before birth, but we can change what happens after a baby is born," he observes.

Strong evidence that activity changes the brain began accumulating in the 1970s. But only recently have researchers had tools powerful enough to reveal the precise mechanisms by which those changes are brought about. Neural activity triggers a biochemical cascade that reaches all the way to the nucleus of cells and the coils of DNA that encode specific genes. In fact, two of the genes affected by neural activity in embryonic fruit flies, neurobiologist Corey Goodman and his colleagues at Berkeley reported late last year, are identical to those that other studies have linked to learning and memory. How thrilling, exclaims Goodman, how intellectually satisfying that the snippets of DNA that embryos use to build their brains are the very same ones that will later allow adult organisms to process and store new information.

As researchers explore the once hidden links between brain activity and brain structure, they are beginning to construct a sturdy bridge over the chasm that previously separated genes from the environment. Experts now agree that a baby does not come into the world as a genetically preprogrammed automaton or a blank slate at the mercy of the environment, but arrives as something much more interesting. For this reason the debate that engaged countless generations of philosophers—whether nature or nurture calls the shots—no longer interests most scientists. They are much too busy chronicling the myriad ways in which genes and the environment interact. "It's

not a competition," says Dr. Stanley Greenspan, a psychiatrist at George Washington University. "It's a dance."

THE IMPORTANCE OF GENES

THAT DANCE BEGINS AT AROUND THE THIRD week of gestation, when a thin layer of cells

dominant partner during this phase of development, but nurture plays a vital supportive role. Changes in the environment of the womb—whether caused by maternal malnutrition, drug abuse or a viral infection—can wreck the clockwork precision of the neural assembly line. Some forms of epilepsy, mental retardation, autism and schizophrenia appear to be the results of developmental processes gone awry.

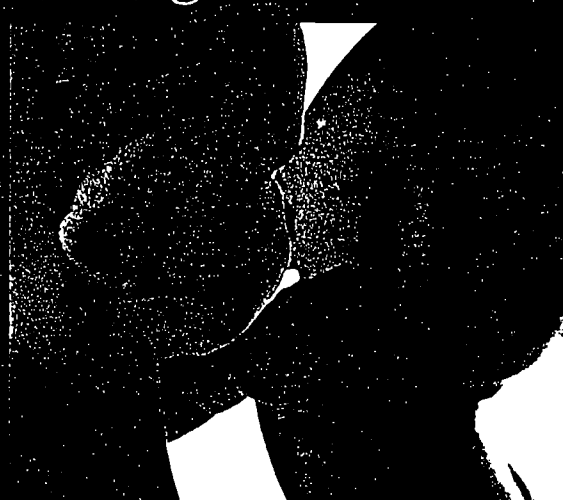
But what awes scientists who study the brain, what still stuns them, is not that things occasionally go wrong in the developing brain but that so much of the time they go right. This is all the more remarkable, says Berkeley's Shatz, as the central nervous system of an embryo is not a miniature of the adult system but more like a tadpole that gives rise to a frog. Among other things, the cells produced in the neural tube must migrate to distant locations and accurately lay down the connections that link one part of the brain to another. In addition, the embryonic brain must construct a variety of temporary structures, including the neural tube, that will, like a tadpole's tail, eventually disappear.

What biochemical magic underlies this incredible metamorphosis? The instructions programmed into the genes, of course. Scientists have recently discovered, for instance, that a gene nicknamed "sonic hedgehog" (after the popular video game Sonic the Hedgehog) determines the fate of neurons in the spinal cord and the brain. Like a strong scent carried by the wind, the protein encoded by the hedgehog gene (so called because in its absence, fruit-fly embryos sprout a coat of prickles) diffuses outward from the cells that produce it, becoming fainter and fainter. Columbia University neurobiologist Thomas Jessell has found that it takes middling concentrations of this potent morphing factor to produce a motor neuron and lower concen-

trations to make an interneuron (a cell that relays signals to other neurons, instead of to muscle fibers, as motor neurons do).

Scientists are also beginning to identify some of the genes that guide neurons in their long migrations. Consider the problem faced by neurons destined to become part of the cerebral cortex. Because they

Wiring Vision



WHAT'S GOING ON Babies can see at birth, but not in fine-grained detail. They have not yet acquired the knack of focusing both eyes on a single object or developed more sophisticated visual skills like depth perception. They also lack hand-eye coordination.

WHAT PARENTS CAN DO There is no need to buy high-contrast black-and-white toys to stimulate vision. But regular eye exams, starting as early as two weeks of age, can detect problems that, if left uncorrected, can cause a weak or unused eye to lose its functional connections to the brain.

WINDOW OF LEARNING Unless it is exercised early on, the visual system will not develop.

AGE (in years)	Birth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Visual acuity											
Binocular vision											

in the developing embryo performs an origami-like trick, folding inward to give rise to a fluid-filled cylinder known as the neural tube. As cells in the neural tube proliferate at the astonishing rate of 250,000 a minute, the brain and spinal cord assemble themselves in a series of tightly choreographed steps: Nature is the

rise relatively late in the development of the mammalian brain, billions of these cells must push and shove their way through dense colonies established by earlier migrants. "It's as if the entire population of the East Coast decided to move en masse to the West Coast," marvels Yale University neuroscientist Dr. Pasko Rakic, and marched through Cleveland, Chicago and Denver to get there.

But of all the problems the growing nervous system must solve, the most daunting is posed by the wiring itself. After birth, when the number of connections explodes, each of the brain's billions of neurons will forge links to thousands of others. First they must spin out a web of wirelike fibers known as axons (which transmit signals) and dendrites (which receive them). The objective is to form a synapse, the gap-like structure over which the axon of one neuron beams a signal to the dendrites of another. Before this can happen, axons and dendrites must almost touch, and while the short, bushy dendrites don't have to travel very far, axons—the heavy-duty cables of the nervous system—must traverse distances that are the microscopic equivalent of miles.

What guides an axon on its incredible voyage is a "growth cone," a creepy, crawly sprout that looks something like an amoeba. Scientists have known about growth cones since the turn of the century. What they didn't know until recently was that growth cones come equipped with the molecular equivalent of sonar and radar. Just as instruments in a submarine or airplane scan the environment for signals, so molecules arrayed on the surface of growth cones search their surroundings for the presence of certain proteins. Some of these proteins, it turns out, are attractants that pull the growth cones toward them, while others are repellents that push them away.

THE STIRRINGS

AT THIS POINT, GENES HAVE CONTROLLED the unfolding of the brain. As soon as axons make their first connections, however, the nerves begin to fire, and what they do starts to matter more and more. In

essence, say scientists, the developing nervous system has strung the equivalent of telephone trunk lines between the right neighborhoods in the right cities. Now it has to sort out which wires belong to which house, a problem that cannot be solved by genes alone for reasons that boil down to

specify more than a tiny fraction of the connections required by a fully functioning brain.

In adult mammals, for example, the axons that connect the brain's visual system arrange themselves in striking layers and columns that reflect the division between the left eye and the right. But these axons start out as scrambled as a bowl of spaghetti, according to Michael Stryker, chairman of the physiology department at the University of California at San Francisco. What sorts out the mess, scientists have established, is neural activity. In a series of experiments viewed as classics by scientists in the field, Berkeley's Shatz chemically blocked neural activity in embryonic cats. The result? The axons that connect neurons in the retina of the eye to the brain never formed the left eye-right eye geometry needed to support vision.

But no recent finding has intrigued researchers more than the results reported in October by Corey Goodman and his Berkeley colleagues. In studying a deceptively simple problem—how axons from motor neurons in the fly's central nerve cord establish connections with muscle cells in its limbs—the Berkeley researchers made an unexpected discovery. They knew there was a gene that keeps bundles of axons together as they race toward their muscle-cell targets. What they discovered was that the electrical activity produced by neurons inhibited this gene, dramatically increasing the number of connections the axons made. Even more intriguing, the signals amplified the activity of a second gene—a gene called CREB.

The discovery of the CREB amplifier, more than any other, links the developmental processes that occur before birth to those that continue long after. For the twin processes of memory and learning in adult animals, Columbia University neurophysiologist Eric Kandel has shown, rely on the CREB molecule. When Kandel blocked the activity of CREB in giant snails, their brains changed in ways that suggested that they could still learn but could remember what they learned for only a short period of time. Without CREB, it seems, snails—and by extension, more developed animals like hu-

Wiring Feelings



WHAT'S GOING ON Among the first circuits the brain constructs are those that govern the emotions. Beginning around two months of age, the distress and contentment experienced by newborns start to evolve into more complex feelings: joy and sadness, envy and empathy, pride and shame.

WHAT PARENTS CAN DO Loving care provides a baby's brain with the right kind of emotional stimulation. Neglecting a baby can produce brain-wave patterns that dampen happy feelings. Abuse can produce heightened anxiety and abnormal stress responses.

WINDOW OF LEARNING Emotions develop in layers, each more complex than the last.

AGE (in years)	Birth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Stress Response											
Empathy, Envy											

simple arithmetic. Eventually, Berkeley's Goodman estimates, a human brain must forge quadrillions of connections. But there are only 100,000 genes in human DNA. Even though half these genes—some 50,000—appear to be dedicated to constructing and maintaining the nervous system, he observes, that's not enough to

mans—can form no long-term memories. And without long-term memories, it is hard to imagine that infant brains could ever master more than rudimentary skills. "Nurture is important," says Kandel. "But nurture works through nature."

EXPERIENCE KICKS IN

WHEN A BABY IS BORN, IT CAN SEE and hear and smell and respond to touch, but only dimly. The brain stem, a primitive region that controls vital functions like heartbeat and breathing, has completed its wiring. Elsewhere the connections between neurons are wispy and weak. But over the first few months of life, the brain's higher centers explode with new synapses. And as dendrites and axons swell with buds and branches like trees in spring, metabolism soars. By the age of two, a child's brain contains twice as many synapses and consumes twice as much energy as the brain of a normal adult.

University of Chicago pediatric neurologist Dr. Peter Huttenlocher has chronicled this extraordinary epoch in brain development by autopsying the brains of infants and young children who have died unexpectedly. The number of synapses in one layer of the visual cortex, Huttenlocher reports, rises from around 2,500 per neuron at birth to as many as 18,000 about six months later. Other regions of the cortex score similarly spectacular increases but on slightly different schedules. And while these microscopic connections between nerve fibers continue to form throughout life, they reach their highest average densities (15,000 synapses per neuron) at around the age of two and remain at that level until the age of 10 or 11.

This profusion of connections lends the growing brain exceptional flexibility and resilience. Consider the case of 13-year-old Brandi Binder, who developed such severe epilepsy that surgeons at UCLA had to remove the entire right side of her cortex when she was six. Binder lost virtually all the control she had established over muscles on the left side of her body, the side controlled by the right side of the brain. Yet today, after years of therapy ranging from leg lifts to math and music drills, Binder is an A student at

the Holmes Middle School in Colorado Springs, Colorado. She loves music, math and art—skills usually associated with the right half of the brain. And while Binder's recuperation is not 100%—for example, she has never regained the use of her left arm—it comes close. Says UCLA pediatric neurol-

by, tiny bursts of electricity shoot through the brain, knitting neurons into circuits as well defined as those etched onto silicon chips. The results are those behavioral mileposts that never cease to delight and awe parents. Around the age of two months, for example, the motor-control centers of the brain develop to the point that infants can suddenly reach out and grab a nearby object. Around the age of four months, the cortex begins to refine the connections needed for depth perception and binocular vision. And around the age of 12 months, the speech centers of the brain are poised to produce what is perhaps the most magical moment of childhood: the first word that marks the flowering of language.

When the brain does not receive the right information—or shuts it out—the result can be devastating. Some children who display early signs of autism, for example, retreat from the world because they are hypersensitive to sensory stimulation, others because their senses are underactive and provide them with too little information. To be effective, then, says George Washington University's Greenspan, treatment must target the underlying condition, protecting some children from disorienting noises and lights, providing others with attention-grabbing stimulation. But when parents and therapists collaborate in an intensive effort to reach these abnormal brains, writes Greenspan in a new book, *The Growth of the Mind* (Addison-Wesley, 1997), three-year-olds who begin the descent into the autistic's limited universe can sometimes be snatched back.

Indeed, parents are the brain's first and most important teachers. Among other things, they appear to help babies learn by adopting the rhythmic, high-pitched speaking style known as Parentese. When speaking to babies, Stanford University psychologist Anne Fernald has

found, mothers and fathers from many cultures change their speech patterns in the same peculiar ways. "They put their faces very close to the child," she reports. "They use shorter utterances, and they speak in an unusually melodious fashion." The heart rate of infants increases while listening to Parentese, even Parentese delivered in a

Wiring Language



WHAT'S GOING ON Even before birth, an infant is tuning into the melody of its mother's voice. Over the next six years, its brain will set up the circuitry needed to decipher—and reproduce—the lyrics. A six-month-old can recognize the vowel sounds that are the basic building blocks of speech.

WHAT PARENTS CAN DO Talking to a baby a lot, researchers have found, significantly speeds up the process of learning new words. The high-pitched, singsong speech style known as Parentese helps babies connect objects with words.

WINDOW OF LEARNING Language skills are sharpest early on but grow throughout life.

AGE (in years)	Birth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Recognition of speech											
Vocabulary											

ogist Dr. Donald Shields: "If there's a way to compensate, the developing brain will find it."

What wires a child's brain, say neuroscientists—or rewires it after physical trauma—is repeated experience. Each time a baby tries to touch a tantalizing object or gazes intently at a face or listens to a lulla-

foreign language. Moreover, Fernald says, Parentese appears to hasten the process of connecting words to the objects they denote. Twelve-month-olds, directed to "look at the ball" in Parentese, direct their eyes to the correct picture more frequently than when the instruction is delivered in normal English.

In some ways the exaggerated, vowel-rich sounds of Parentese appear to resemble the choice morsels fed to hatchlings by adult birds. The University of Washington's Patricia Kuhl and her colleagues have conditioned dozens of newborns to turn their heads when they detect the *ee* sound emitted by American parents, vs. the *eu* favored by doting Swedes. Very young babies, says Kuhl, invariably perceive slight variations in pronunciation as totally different sounds. But by the age of six months, American babies no longer react when they hear variants of *ee*, and Swedish babies have become impervious to differences in *eu*. "It's as if their brains have formed little magnets," says Kuhl, "and all the sounds in the vicinity are swept in."

TUNED TO DANGER

EVEN MORE FUNDAMENTAL, SAYS Dr. Bruce Perry of Baylor College of Medicine in Houston, is the role parents play in setting up the neural circuitry that helps children regulate their responses to stress. Children who are physically abused early in life, he observes, develop brains that are exquisitely tuned to danger. At the slightest threat, their hearts race, their stress hormones surge and their brains anxiously track the nonverbal cues that might signal the next attack. Because the brain develops in sequence, with more primitive structures stabilizing their connections first, early abuse is particularly damaging. Says Perry: "Experience is the chief architect of the brain." And because these early experiences of stress form a kind of template around which later brain development is organized, the changes they cause are all the more pervasive.

Emotional deprivation early in life has a similar effect. For six years University of Washington psychologist Geraldine Dawson and her colleagues have monitored the brain-wave patterns of children born to

mothers who were diagnosed as suffering from depression. As infants, these children showed markedly reduced activity in the left frontal lobe, an area of the brain that serves as a center for joy and other light-hearted emotions. Even more telling, the patterns of brain activity displayed by these

brain-wave patterns, Dawson has found. What accounts for the difference appears to be the emotional tone of the exchanges between mother and child. By scrutinizing hours of videotape that show depressed mothers interacting with their babies, Dawson has attempted to identify the links

between maternal behavior and children's brains. She found that mothers who were disengaged, irritable or impatient had babies with sad brains. But depressed mothers who managed to rise above their melancholy, lavishing their babies with attention and indulging in playful games, had children with brain activity of a considerably more cheerful cast.

When is it too late to repair the damage wrought by physical and emotional abuse or neglect? For a time, at least, a child's brain is extremely forgiving. If a mother snaps out of her depression before her child is a year old, Dawson has found, brain activity in the left frontal lobe quickly picks up. However, the ability to rebound declines markedly as a child grows older. Many scientists believe that in the first few years of childhood there are a number of critical or sensitive periods, or "windows," when the brain demands certain types of input in order to create or stabilize certain long-lasting structures.

For example, children who are born with a cataract will become permanently blind in that eye if the clouded lens is not promptly removed. Why? The brain's visual centers require sensory stimulus—in this case the stimulus provided by light hitting the retina of the eye—to maintain their still tentative connections. More controversially, many linguists believe that language skills unfold according to a strict, biologically defined timetable. Children, in their view, resemble certain species of birds that cannot master their song unless they hear it sung at an early age. In zebra finches the window for acquiring the appropriate song opens 25 to 30 days after hatching and shuts some 50 days later.

WINDOWS OF OPPORTUNITY

WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, THE WINDOWS OF opportunity in the human brain do not close quite so abruptly. There appears to be a series of windows for developing lan-

Wiring Movement



WHAT'S GOING ON At birth babies can move their limbs, but in a jerky, uncontrolled fashion. Over the next four years, the brain progressively refines the circuits for reaching, grabbing, sitting, crawling, walking and running.

WHAT PARENTS CAN DO Give babies as much freedom to explore as safety permits. Just reaching for an object helps the brain develop hand-eye coordination. As soon as children are ready for them, activities like drawing and playing a violin or piano encourage the development of fine motor skills.

WINDOW OF LEARNING Motor-skill development moves from gross to increasingly fine.

AGE (in years)	Birth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Basic motor skills											
Fine motor ability											
Musical fingering											

children closely tracked the ups and downs of their mother's depression. At the age of three, children whose mothers were more severely depressed or whose depression lasted longer continued to show abnormally low readings.

Strikingly, not all the children born to depressed mothers develop these aberrant



DANNE GEDDES

guage. The window for acquiring syntax may close as early as five or six years of age, while the window for adding new words may never close. The ability to learn a second language is highest between birth and the age of six, then undergoes a steady and inexorable decline. Many adults still manage to learn new languages, but usually only after great struggle.

The brain's greatest growth spurt, neuroscientists have now confirmed, draws to a close around the age of 10, when the balance between synapse creation and atrophy abruptly shifts. Over the next several years, the brain will ruthlessly destroy its weakest synapses, preserving only those that have been magically transformed by experience. This magic, once again, seems to be encoded in the genes. The ephemeral bursts of electricity that travel through the brain, creating everything from visual images and pleasurable sensations to dark dreams and wild thoughts, ensure the survival of synapses by stimulating genes that promote the release of powerful growth factors and suppressing genes that encode for synapse-destroying enzymes.

By the end of adolescence, around the age of 18, the brain has declined in plasticity

but increased in power. Talents and latent tendencies that have been nurtured are ready to blossom. The experiences that drive neural activity, says Yale's Rakic, are like a sculptor's chisel or a dressmaker's shears, conjuring up form from a lump of stone or a length of cloth. The presence of extra material expands the range of possibilities, but cutting away the extraneous is what makes art. "It is the overproduction of synaptic connections followed by their loss that leads to patterns in the brain," says neuroscientist William Greenough of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Potential for greatness may be encoded in the genes, but whether that potential is realized as a gift for mathematics, say, or a brilliant criminal mind depends on patterns etched by experience in those critical early years.

Psychiatrists and educators have long recognized the value of early experience. But their observations have until now been largely anecdotal. What's so exciting, says Matthew Melmed, executive director of Zero to Three, a nonprofit organization devoted to highlighting the importance of the first three years of life, is that modern neuroscience is providing the hard, quantifi-

able evidence that was missing earlier. "Because you can see the results under a microscope or in a PET scan," he observes, "it's become that much more convincing."

What lessons can be drawn from the new findings? Among other things, it is clear that foreign languages should be taught in elementary school, if not before. That remedial education may be more effective at the age of three or four than at nine or 10. That good, affordable day care is not a luxury or a fringe benefit for welfare mothers and working parents but essential brain food for the next generation. For while new synapses continue to form throughout life, and even adults continually refurbish their minds through reading and learning, never again will the brain be able to master new skills so readily or rebound from setbacks so easily.

Rat-a-tat-tat. Rat-a-tat-tat. Rat-a-tat-tat. Just last week, in the U.S. alone, some 77,000 newborns began the miraculous process of wiring their brains for a lifetime of learning. If parents and policymakers don't pay attention to the conditions under which this delicate process takes place, we will all suffer the consequences—starting around the year 2010. ■

THE DAY-CARE

By JAMES COLLINS

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS. FOR ANYONE wondering how the latest brain research applies to the care of infants and toddlers, that is the crucial finding. Yes, proper brain development is a matter of genetics and nutrition and whether a mother-to-be drinks or smokes, but it also depends on the stimuli, as the scientists call them, that a baby receives. It depends on what the baby sees, hears and touches

and on the emotions he or she repeatedly experiences. But if environment matters, we are faced with a question: At a time when children suffer from perhaps the gravest social problems of any group in the U.S., how do we ensure that they grow up in the best environment possible?

In many ways, children are better off today than they were in previous decades. They are healthier, their families have a higher income, the level of their mother's education (the most important determinant of a child's intelligence) has risen. But 1 out of every 10 children three years old and younger lives in "extreme poverty"—at or below 50% of the federal poverty level. And the well-being of many others is threatened by such social changes as the rise of single-parent households, the uneven quality of day care, the decline of communities and, some would argue, the push to reform the welfare system.

Social policy cannot ameliorate all these conditions. A change in attitude toward parenting and marriage would do children far more good than any government program. Over the past few years, however, there has been a movement in Washington and the state cap-

itals to address the problems of children, from newborn to the age of three. Now neuroscientists, by confirming much of what social scientists had already surmised about early development, are giving that movement added momentum.

The recent concern about infants and toddlers has been inspired in part by *Starting Points*, a landmark report published by the Carnegie Corporation in 1994, which identified a "quiet crisis" in the lives of the youngest children. Hillary Clinton has begun to speak out on the importance of a child's earliest years, and several Governors have forcefully taken up the issue. The size of the programs in place is quite modest. But to their advocates they hold out promise not only



DILEMMA

Too many children today live in conditions that threaten their brain development. What can we do?

of helping children fulfill their potential but also of saving society the costs incurred when intellectually and socially impaired children grow up to be intellectually and socially impaired adults.

Government policy in any number of areas—health care, taxes, the economy, crime—touches children. But the initiative that will have the most particular and powerful effect on them is welfare reform. If, as some predict, the incomes of poor mothers are drastically reduced as a result of the new system, children will be harmed.

But let's assume that the reforms work as intended and mothers get jobs that pay them more than paupers' wages. What effect may the changes

have on childhood development?

There is some evidence that children benefit if their mothers stay home with them until they are one year old, and the welfare law allows states to exempt new mothers from work requirements for a year. But so far, states do not seem to be taking advantage of the provision. For example, in Wisconsin, which is a leader in welfare reform, mothers must start looking for work when their baby is 12 weeks old. Those who favor these reforms say a mother who has a job will be a prouder and more responsible parent, and some studies suggest that children do benefit if their mother receives earned income rather than a government check for the same amount.

If mothers are out working, however, the quality of child care provided by others will largely determine how well the children fare under the states' new plans. To care for their children, many mothers will rely on relatives and friends, some of whom will be loving and attentive and some of whom will not. Also, the strain on the day-care system is a matter of

grave concern to child-development and child-care experts. A recent study found that 40% of day-care centers for infants and toddlers gave less than the minimal standard of care. Problems ranged from safety hazards to unresponsive caregivers to a lack of toys. If a caregiver spoons food from one bowl into the mouths of half a dozen toddlers lined up in high chairs, as has been known to happen, not only is the health of the children at risk but they are surely not receiving the kind of attention that promotes healthy brain development.

"If you push more children into this system through welfare reform," says Ellen Galinsky, co-president of the Families and Work Institute, "and you are leaving these families just getting by, child care will be hard to find and can pay more than a real wage."

The challenge for the states is to regulate and subsidize child care in such a way



What States Are Doing



as to increase the likelihood of good outcomes for children. This is true regardless of welfare reform, of course. Bad day-care can harm the development of any child. Research has shown that children benefit when caregivers are trained and the ratio of staff to children is high. Several states license centers accordingly, requiring a minimum amount of training and setting ratios for different age groups. Welfare mothers themselves are not necessarily the best caregivers, and it is possible that in some instances welfare reform will actually improve the care of children. But high-quality care is expensive, and states do not have adequate budgets to subsidize it.

The Federal Government and the states do have programs specifically aimed at helping the development of infants and toddlers, although as social policy they are nowhere near as sweeping as an overhaul of welfare. The most notable federal initiative is Early Head Start, which was created in 1994 when Congress reauthorized funding for Head Start, the 32-year-old program that brings three-, four- and five- year-olds into classroom settings in part to prepare them for school. Mary Jo Bane was working at the time at the Department of Health and Human Services (she quit over welfare reform), and she led a task force charged with finding ways to improve Head Start. Child-development experts, she says, "pointed the group

toward the importance of interventions earlier than age four."

In 1996, the budget for Early Head Start was \$146 million, and HHS awarded grants to 143 sites. The money is used to provide a variety of services to poor families with children under the age of four and to poor pregnant women. How the funds are spent is determined to some extent by the communities that receive them. Some communities are experimenting with family interventions that include grandparents; others are trying to address the special health needs of newborns or to provide extra help to teen parents with a history of drug abuse.

SMART START, HEALTHY START

NORTH CAROLINA HAS INSTITUTED A FLEXIBLE program called Smart Start. Under it, parents, teachers, doctors and nurses, child-care providers, ministers and businesspeople form partnerships at the county level that set goals for the education and health care of children under six. These partnerships then administer private and public funds as they see fit. In one county, for example, administrators chose to give subsidies to new parents so that mothers could stay home from work during a baby's first year. More than half of North Carolina's 100 counties are participating in the program, at a cost to the state of \$68 million.

Governor James Hunt hopes that by adding hard science to his arguments, he will strengthen his position when battling for increases in Smart Start funding. "This is revolutionary information," he says of studies demonstrating the sensitivity of babies' brains in the first years of life. "Now that we can measure it and prove it, and if it can be made known widely so people understand this, then they'll understand why their schools aren't going to work for them, their technical training isn't going to work, other things we do later on aren't going to work fully unless we do this part right and do this at the appropriate time."

Some states have found that a very simple but powerful way to help parents is simply to coordinate the various services that they already offer. In West Virginia, for example, single sites that provide more than a dozen services have been established in seven communities. "Parents typically get a runaround and may only get a long list of phone numbers," says Kimberly Veraas, chairwoman of the state's Early Childhood Implementation Commission. "If they're really motivated, they can get information. But now we're rolling out the red carpet to parents. They only have to tell their story once."

As developmental experts often point out, child rearing is not an innate skill, and several states are trying to help educate parents about parenting. Home visits by

social workers or nurses are among the most promising methods. In Oregon such visits occur under a program called Healthy Start. Sandra Daus, 22, a single mother of an 18-month-old girl, recalls the help she received from Melissa Magill. "She encouraged me to read books, a lot of books," says Daus. "I thought when Sydney got older, maybe two or three, we'd start reading. Melissa said no, start reading to her now. Sydney was a month old."

In Vermont someone from the state's Success by Six program first visits a home within two weeks of a baby's birth. "That gets us in the door at age zero instead of age five, so we can assess what families need," Governor Howard Dean points out. Visits may continue for up to three years. "It is so inexpensive," says Dean, "to take care of children relative to the other things we do, such as build jails and put up expensive social-service networks for run-away youth."

With the new scientific evidence to bolster it, the logic for spending money on early-childhood development programs may seem incontrovertible. But not everyone is convinced. The question of what approaches have worked and will work has not been resolved. Research supports the long-term benefits of older programs that are used as models today, but those studies are criticized because they look at very small samples of children who were given special attention and care.

"We have seen over and over and over that even if you can produce good results with small programs, when you expand to a national level, the effect often disappears," says Ronald Haslins, a top Republican staff member of the House Ways and Means Committee. "That is the case with Head Start. We still do not have evidence that Head Start produces any long-term effects."

Social science, however, is an imperfect discipline. Referring to programs for young children, Isabel Sawhill, a scholar at the Urban Institute and former official in the Clinton Administration, has written, "The evidence is always mixed. We simply do not know whether they work. In these cases, one must weigh the risk of doing something and having it not work against the risk of doing nothing and missing an opportunity to improve lives. It can be just as costly to not fund a potentially successful program as it is to fund a potentially unsuccessful one."

Right now, the total public expenditure on early-childhood development is tiny. Given the potential rewards, how risky is a bigger investment? —*Reported by Ann Blackman/Washington, Wendy Cole/Chicago, Rita Healy/Denver, Melissa Ludtke/Cambridge and Lisa H. Towle/Raleigh*



HOLLYWOOD GOES GAGA

Whoopi, Robin, Rob and friends have found a new cause

CELEBRITIES WHO PUBLICLY EMBRACE worthy causes sometimes seem to be auditioning less for *Sense and Sensibility* than for *Clueless*. Stars have dangled from bridges to protest logging practices, hawked clothes made in sweatshops while promoting moral values and slugged pesky photographers even as they were begging for kindness to animals. A recent surge of show-biz interest in children, however, seems to be as well aimed as it is high profile. More than half a dozen organizations founded or funded by Hollywood celebrities are zeroing in on kids' issues. And early childhood development is one of their top concerns.

In April, ABC-TV will air a prime-time special on brain development, directed by Rob Reiner and featuring such A-list stars as Tom Hanks and Robin Williams. It's the opening shot of an elaborate multimedia blitz that is coordinated by Families and Work Institute, based in New York City, and includes public-service announcements, magazine specials, home videos, online sites and CD-ROMs. "I couldn't create a big, federally funded program," says Reiner. "But I certainly can put on a show to raise awareness about how the first three years critically

impact the way a child later deals with society."

Reiner says he became interested in baby brain activity three years ago during his own analysis. Now he is taking his case directly to the top. He has been urging President Clinton to host a Washington summit on the subject, and last month sat beside Hillary Clinton at a White House arts-award dinner. The next day she gave a speech that included a long section on early-childhood learning. "It's an important issue for the President to get on," says Reiner. "You talk about trying to fix the welfare situation. This is a way to do it."

Reiner is one of dozens of celebrities who have joined Hollywood's latest children's crusade. Whoopi Goldberg, Barbara Streisand, Whitney Houston and Henry Winkler have all donated their names, their time and even their money to

various kids' causes. Not only did Steven Spielberg and his wife Kate Capshaw co-found the Children's Action Network, which makes educational films and sponsors immunization campaigns, but Spielberg also chairs the Starbright Foundation, an innovative charity group that deploys entertainment technologies to help ease the suffering of sick children.

Hollywood's interest in a cause often means Big Money. A benefit movie premiere can raise up to \$350,000 in a single night. Still, as Starbright managing director Chris Garvey notes, "Our board members give more than their money and Rolodexes. They relish the hands-on experience of dealing with children in hospitals."

But not too hands on. Celebrity sightings at clinics and youth shelters are, for the most part, rare. "We try to provide children with a calm, soothing place, not chaotic, star-studded events," says Leslie Johnson of the Westside Children's Center in Culver City, California. "Besides, children under three have different ideas about celebrity. When Barney came to our Christmas party, Jim Carrey could have been standing there and no one would have noticed him."

—*By Jeffrey Ressler/Los Angeles*

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BYLINE: ERIC POOLEY, WITH REPORTING BY ELAINE RIVERA/NEW YORK

BODY:

ICE IS FALLING FROM THE NEW YORK sky, but New York City police captain Thomas Lawrence looks as if he's been out in the sun too long. It's just past 7 on the third morning of the new year, and Lawrence, who runs the 10th Precinct in Midtown Manhattan, is standing on a podium in the command control center at police headquarters--the "war room." His face is bright red and a little clammy. His body is wired up tight. He is surrounded by sheaves of statistics, screens filled with computerized maps and charts and N.Y.P.D. bosses, who, amazingly, seem to know as much about crime in his precinct as he does. "It's been 30 days since we've seen you, Tom," says Chief of Department Louis Anemone, a dark tone creeping into his voice. "And we're seeing an increase in robberies."

"What's the pattern here, Cap?" asks Deputy Commissioner Jack Maple, the department's thickset, dandyish crime guru. Using a laser pen, Maple scrawls on an overhead map, tracing robbery patterns the way John Madden diagrams football plays. Maple circles an archipelago of red dots: muggings along Ninth Avenue. "What are you doing to take these guys out?"

Lawrence launches into a first-rate description of his anticrime efforts, but the CEO of this organization--a slim, well-tended man who wears his reading glasses slung low on an impressive nose--barely looks up from his papers. Police Commissioner William Bratton designed these Comstat (short for computer statistics) meetings as a way to make his 76 far-flung precinct commanders--and 38,000 cops--accountable for the crime rate. Nobody had ever done it before, and it's working: total felonies in New York City are down 27% in just two years, to levels not seen since the early 1970s.

Crime had been falling gently since 1989, thanks to community policing strategies, a thinning in the ranks of the crackhead army and thousands of new prison beds and new cops. But as Comstat took hold in May 1994, the drop became a giddy

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double-digit affair, plunging farther and faster than it has done anywhere else in the country, faster than any cultural or demographic trend could explain. For two years, crime has declined in all 76 precincts. Murder is down 39%, auto theft 35%. Robberies are off by a third, burglaries by a quarter. No wonder Comstat has become the Lourdes of policing, drawing pilgrim cops from around the world--Baltimore, London, Frankfurt, Zimbabwe, Taiwan--for a taste of New York's magic.

If those waters seem bitter to some--cops who can't take Comstat's pressure, black and Latino leaders who say some of Bratton's cops carry his aggressive style too far--"that's too damn bad," says Bratton. Success isn't pretty, even for his troops. Effective precinct commanders such as Lawrence (crime was down 15% in his precinct in 1995) merely get grilled to a medium rare at Comstat. Those who show up unprepared, without coherent strategies to reduce crime, are fried crisp, then stripped of their commands. Half of all precinct bosses have been replaced under Bratton. Those who survive get unprecedented autonomy but have to demonstrate extraordinary results. Some feel pressured to shave their stats; as the New York Daily News reported last fall, a commander in the Bronx told his troops that assault arrests could be made only when victims suffered broken bones, not fat lips or black eyes. Crimes in the category plummeted in his precinct.

"You have delivered big time," says Bratton, standing to address his Comstat managers. He reminds them that when he was hired as chief from the Boston Police Department in January 1994 by Mayor-elect Rudolph Giuliani, who had made crime and quality of life his major campaign themes, Bratton had asked for an immediate 10% decrease in crime (the request was met with derision and disbelief). "In the end, we got 12%," he notes. "In 1995 I raised the bar to a 15% reduction, and you gave me 17. Last year you accounted for 60% of the national crime decline--all from one city. You proved that police can change public behavior. For that you should be proud." Bratton pauses, then snaps, "Now get your feet off the desk. It's 1996." In the new year, he says, he wants an additional 10% reduction--more than even Giuliani expects. If he gets it, New York's crime rate will be half what it was five years ago. That, he says later, "should show the criminologists who refuse to give police credit."

Some experts doubt that Bratton is responsible for any of New York's crime drop. "It's like trying to take credit for an eclipse," says former New York City Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly. Others are watching Bratton with mouths agape. "I've never seen anything like it," says University of Maryland criminologist Lawrence Sherman, who has studied 30 police departments in the past 25 years. "Police chiefs routinely say, 'Don't expect us to bring down crime, because we don't control its causes. But Bratton says just the opposite. It's the most focused crime-reduction effort I've seen. It will take time before we can say how much effect it has had, but this clearly is new. When I sat in at Comstat, I thought, 'Bratton is using

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crime data for management by objective--a basic idea that's never been tried before.'"

There's more to the Giuliani-Bratton strategy, of course, than terrorizing captains at early-morning meetings. Though their predecessors, Mayor David Dinkins and Kelly, deserve real credit for putting more cops on the beat, Giuliani instructed Bratton to do something Dinkins would never have allowed: use those cops to crack down on minor offenders, public drunks, potheads, those who urinate on the street, aggressive panhandlers, graffiti scribblers and "squeegee pests," who converged on cars at stoplights to clean windshields for spare change.

This quality of life campaign tested a principle that Giuliani and Bratton had believed for years: the "Broken Windows" theory, first put forth in 1982 by criminologists James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling. Wilson and Kelling argued that minor violations create a disorderly environment that encourages more serious crime. "I chose Bill Bratton," says Giuliani, "because he agreed with the Broken Windows theory." Sure enough, as arrests for small offenses rocketed, New York's streets became notably more civil. Then Maple, who has been Bratton's aide-de-camp and crime strategist since Bratton was slashing subway crime as New York's Transit Police chief in the early 1990s, proposed an intriguing corollary to the theory.

He wanted to go after shootings, and he knew that gun possession and drug dealing were intertwined. "It's relatively hard for a uniformed patrolman to catch someone carrying drugs," Maple said. "But as we'd seen, it's easy to catch someone for an open can of beer on the street." Thus what the cops call "beer and piss patrol" became a tactic for apprehending more serious criminals. "Your open beer lets me check your ID," says Maple. "Now I can radio the precinct for outstanding warrants or parole violations. Maybe I bump against that bulge in your belt; with probable cause, I can frisk you." Civil libertarians have been screaming, but shootings, gun murders and other signs of firearms use are down--proof, Bratton says, that thugs are leaving the guns at home.

This is a significant departure from the service-oriented "community policing" introduced during the Dinkins administration, when beat cops were encouraged to be problem solvers for a neighborhood. (Now the patrolmen funnel these issues to their precinct commanders.) The Bratton version of community policing is to devise strategies that target specific criminal behavior. Special squads are dispatched to hit high-crime hot spots, while others track down illegal guns. Precinct detectives now interrogate suspects not just about the crimes they may have committed but also about other gun and drug dealers they know. Eventually, Bratton believes, all the policies begin to dovetail, and crime drops through the floor. "Most criminals commit multiple crimes," he says. "We're processing crime data faster than ever before, so we can identify patterns early and stop them after three crimes instead

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of 30. If you do that city-wide, you'll knock the crime rate down."

But what some rank-and-file cops refer to as "Bratton taking the cuffs off us" has increased force, abuse and discourtesy complaints to the Civilian Complaint Review Board 30%. Many of the complaints have never been investigated by the CCRB and are impossible to evaluate. Still, some New Yorkers fear the N.Y.P.D.'s new swagger. "A lot of people aren't comfortable with this style," says Kelly. "It goes to the question of what kind of policing we want in America. You can probably shut down just about all crime, if you're willing to burn down the village to save it. Eventually, I think, there will be a backlash, and crime will go back up. But Bill will be gone by then."

Asked about persistent rumors that he'll soon jump ship, Bratton says even if he stays only another year, "that's enough time to consolidate our gains, so that long after I'm gone, my successors won't retreat." As for Kelly's burning-village imagery, Giuliani and Bratton dismiss such talk as sour grapes, pointing to the benefits of reduced crime being enjoyed by those hardest hit by it: Latinos and African Americans in the poorest parts of New York City. "The crime reduction has been across the board, in every neighborhood," says Bratton. That means four fewer people killed on the wealthy Upper East Side, but 51 fewer killed in war-torn East New York. The people who live there have noticed the change. "It used to be that I was throwing myself on the floor with my son all the time," says Elisandra Beltran, 27, "use of the bullets flying through my window. But now I haven't seen a bullet hole in a year." She doesn't much care who gets the credit, just as long as the bullets don't fly anymore.

--With reporting by Elaine Rivera/New York

COLOR PHOTO: MARK PETERSON--SABA FOR TIME

NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTION: The commissioner, visiting a Manhattan station house, wants an additional 10% drop in crime [William Bratton and others]

TWO COLOR CHARTS

Major felonies in New York City

Source: New York City Police Department

[Charts not available--Graphs show burglaries, car thefts, robberies, assaults, rapes and murders from 1975 through 1995]

COLOR PHOTO: MARK PETERSON--SABA FOR TIME

THE BEAT GOES ON: Despite Bratton's tough policies, some community patrol officers, like John Cayenne of Brooklyn's 77th Precinct, still have a soft touch [Police officer John Cayenne with children]

COLOR CHART

Murders

1994	1995	Percent change
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Seattle	71	48	-32%
San Antonio	194	140	-28%
New York City	1,571	1,182	-25%
San Diego	119	94	-21%
Houston	379	304	-20%
St. Louis	248	203	-18%
Miami	129	111	-14%
New Orleans	421	364	-14%
Chicago	930	823	-12%
Washington	399	360	-10%
Atlanta	153	145	-5%
Dallas	291	276	-5%
Detroit	525	514	-2%
Los Angeles	836	828	-1%
Phoenix	244	244	0%
Baltimore	321	325	1%
Denver	85	90	6%
Boston	85	98	15%
Minneapolis	62	97	56%

Source: Local police departments

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 9, 1996

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POTUS Princeton Speech 6/4/96

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Princeton, New Jersey)

For Immediate Release

June 4, 1996

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

12:00 Noon EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. President Shapiro, members of the faculty, alumni, to parents and friends of this graduating class, especially to the graduates of the Class of 1996 -- (applause.) Let me thank you co-Presidents, George Whitesides and Susan Suh, who came to say hello to me this morning; and compliment your valedictory address by Bryan Duff, and the Latin address by Charles Stowell. I actually took four years of Latin in high school. (Laughter.) And even without being prompted, I knew I was supposed to laugh when he was digging me about going to Yale. (Laughter.)

I want to also thank Princeton for honoring the high school teachers and the faculty members here for teaching, for today we celebrate the learning of the graduates and we should be honoring the teachers who made their learning possible. I thank you for that. (Applause.)

It's a great honor to be here in celebrating Princeton's 250 years. I understand that Presidents are only invited to speak here once every 50 years. President Truman and President Cleveland -- you've got to say one thing, for all the troubles the Democrats have had in the 20th century, we've had pretty good timing when it comes to Princeton over the last 100 years. (Laughter and applause.)

I want to thank President Shapiro for his distinguished service to higher education in our country. I thank Princeton for its long and noble service to our nation. I also am deeply indebted to Princeton for the contributions it has made to our administration and my presidency.

My Press Secretary, Mike McCurry, sat in these seats in 1976. I'm sure that Princeton had something to do with the fact that he not only thinks, but talks so fast. (Laughter.) The Chair

of our National Economic Council, Laura Tyson, was a Princeton Professor then, and Mike McCurry's thesis advisor. And you got back from me Professor Alan Blinder, who was a distinguished member of the Council of Economic Advisors and the Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve, and a brilliant contributor to our efforts to improve the economy. I want to thank Alan Blinder here among his colleagues and these students for what he has done.

I thank Tony Lake and Bruce Reed and John Hilley and Peter Bass, all members of our staff who graduated from Princeton. Two Princeton graduates who are no longer living -- Vic Raiser and his son, Monty, were great friends of mine. Vic's wife, Molly, is here -- our protocol chief. And if it hadn't been for him I might not be here today, and I want to recognize their contributions to Princeton and Princeton's gifts to them.

I also want to say that one of my youngest staff members is a classmate here -- Jon Orszag. And when the ceremony is over I'd like to have you back at work, please. (Laughter.)

I would like to talk to the senior class today about not only the importance of your education, but the importance of everyone else's education to your future. At every pivotal moment in American history, Princeton, its leadership, its students have played a crucial role. Many of our Founding Fathers were among your first sons. A president of Princeton was the only university president to sign the Declaration of Independence. This hall was occupied by the British since 1776, liberated by Washington's army in 1777, and as the President said, sanctified forever to American history by the deliberations of the Continental Congress in 1783.

In 1896, the last time there was a Class of '96, when Princeton celebrated its 150th anniversary and, as has been said, Grover Cleveland was President, Professor Woodrow Wilson gave his very famous speech, "Princeton in the Nation's Service." I read that speech before I came here today. And I'd like to read just a brief quote from it: "Today we must stand as those who would count their force for the future. Those who made Princeton are dead. Those who shall keep it and better it still live. They are even ourselves." What he said about Princeton 100 years ago applied then to America and applies to America even more today.

At the time of that speech 100 years ago, America was living as it is living today, through a period of enormous change. The Industrial Age brought incredible new opportunities and great new challenges to our people. Princeton, through Wilson and his contemporaries, was at the center of efforts to master these powerful forces of change in a way that would enable all Americans to benefit from them and protect our time-honored values.

Less than three years after he left this campus, Woodrow Wilson became President of the United States. He followed Theodore Roosevelt as the leader of America's response to that time of change. We now know it as the Progressive Era.

Today, on the edge of a new century, all of you -- our Class of '96 -- are living through another time of great change, standing on the threshold of a new Progressive Era. Powerful

forces are changing forever our jobs, our neighborhoods, the institutions which shape our lives. For many Americans, this is a time of enormous opportunity. But for others, it's a time of profound insecurity. They wonder whether their old skills and their enduring values will be enough to keep up with the challenges of this new age.

In 1996, like 1896, we really do stand at the dawn of a profoundly new era. I have called it the Age of Possibility because of the revolution in information and technology and market capitalism sweeping the globe -- a world no longer divided by the Cold War. Just consider this: There's more computer power in a Ford Taurus every one of you can buy and drive to the supermarket than there was in Apollo 11 when Neil Armstrong took it to the moon. Nobody who wasn't a high-energy physicist had even heard of the World Wide Web when I became President. And now even my cat, Socks, has his own page. (Laughter.) By the time a child born today is old enough to read, over 100 million people will be on the Internet.

This Age of Possibility means that more Americans than ever before will be able to live out their dreams. Indeed, for all of you in the Class of '96, this Age of Possibility is actually an age of high probability, in large measure because of the excellent education you celebrate today.

But we know that not all Americans see the future that way. We know that about half of our people in this increasingly global economy are working harder and harder without making any more money; that about half of the people who lose their jobs today don't ever find another job doing as well as they were doing in their previous one.

We know that, therefore, our mission today must be to ensure that all of our people have the opportunity to live out their dreams in a nation that remains the world's strongest force for peace and freedom, for prosperity, for our commitment that we can respect our diversity and still find unity.

This is about more than money. Opportunity is what defines this country. For 220 years, the idea of opportunity for all and the freedom to seize it have literally been the defining elements of America. They were always ideals never perfectly realized, but always our history has been a steady march of striving to live up to them.

Having these ideals achievable, imaginable for all is an important part of maintaining our sense of democracy and our ability to forge an American community with such disparate elements of race and religion and ethnicity across so many borders that could so easily divide this country.

And so I say to you, creating opportunity for all, the opportunity that everyone has, that many of you are now exercising, dreaming about your future -- that is what you must do in order to make sure that this Age of Possibility is really that for all Americans.

When I took office, I was concerned about the uncertain steps our country was taking for that future. We'd let our deficit get out of hand, unemployment had exploded, job growth was the slowest since the Great Depression. The country seemed to be coming apart when we needed desperately to be coming together.

I wanted to chart a new course, rooted first in growth and opportunity -- first, to put our economic house in order so that our businesses could prosper and create jobs; second, to tap the full potential of the new global economy; third, to invest in our people so that they would have the capacity to meet the demands of this new age and to improve their own lives.

This strategy is in place, and it is working. The deficit is half of what it was. The government is now the smallest it's been in 30 years. As a percentage of the federal work force, the federal government is the smallest it's been since 1933, before the beginning of the New Deal. We signed over 200 trade agreements. Our exports are at an all-time high. Fifteen million of our hardest-pressed people have gotten tax cuts. Most of the small businesses have as well.

We've invested in research and defense transformations. We've invested in new technologies. And we've invested in environmental protection and sustainable development. And I will say, parenthetically, the great challenge of your age will be to prove that we can bring prosperity and opportunity to people all across the globe without destroying the environment, which is the precondition of our successful existence. And all of you will have to meet that challenge, and I challenge you to do it. (Applause.)

Our economy, while most of the rest of the world was in recession, has produced 8.5 million new jobs, the lowest combined rates of inflation, unemployment and home mortgages in three decades, the lowest deficit as a percentage of our income of any advanced economy in the world, 3.7 million more American homeowners, and record numbers of new small businesses in each of the last three years.

We are doing well, but we must do better if we are going to make the promise of this new age real to all Americans. That means we have to grow faster. How fast can we grow? No one knows the exact answer to that. But if we look at the long-term, if we believe in our people and invest in them and their opportunities, and our people take responsibility, the sky is the limit.

We must look with the greatest skepticism toward those who promise easy and quick solutions. We know that the course that leads to long-term growth is in the minds and spirits and ideas and discipline and effort of people like those of you who graduate here today. We are on the right course; we must accelerate it, not veer from it.

We have to finish the job we started in 1993 and balance the budget -- not only because we want to free you and your children of the legacy of debt, but because that will keep interest rates down, increase savings, expand companies, start new small businesses, help more families buy homes and more parents send their children to college.

We know we have to continue to fight for fair and open trade because we proved now if other markets are as open to our products and services as we are to theirs, we'll do just fine. We know we have to do more to help all Americans deal with the economic changes of the present day in a more positive way by investing in the future and targeting tax cuts to help Americans deal with their own problems and build strong families.

We know we have to continue to invest in the things that a government needs to invest in, including research and development, and technology, and environmental protection. We know that since so many people will have to change jobs more often than in the past, we have to give families the security to know that if they change jobs they can still carry with them access to health care and pensions and education for a lifetime.

But finally and most importantly, if we really want Americans -- all Americans -- to participate in the future that i to increase the quality and the level of education not just for the graduates of Princeton and Georgetown and Yale and the state universities of this country, but for all the American people. It is the only way to achieve that goal. (Applause.)

The very fact that we have been here or our forebears have for 250 years is testimony to the elemental truth that education has always been important to individual Americans. And for quite a long time, education has been quite important to our whole country. Fifty years ago when the Class of '46 was here, coming in after World War II the G.I. Bill helped to build a great American middle class and a great American economy. But today, more than ever before in the history of the United States, education is the fault line, the great Continental Divide between those who will prosper and those who will not in the new economy.

If you look at the census data, you can see what happens to hard-working people who have a high school diploma or who drop out of high school and try to keep up in the job market, but fall further and further behind. You can also see that if all Americans have access to education, it is no longer a fault line, it is a sturdy bridge that will lead us all together from the old economy to the new.

Now, we have to work to give every American that kind of opportunity. And we've worked hard to do it -- from increasing preschool opportunities, to improving the public school years, to increasing technology in our schools. And this spring the Vice President and I helped to kick off a Net Day in California where schools and businesses and civic leaders hooked up nearly 50 percent of the schools to the Internet in a single weekend. What I want to see is every schoolroom and every library in every school in America hooked up to the Internet by the end of the year 2000. We can do that. (Applause.)

And I am very proud that I was asked to announce today that a coalition of high-tech companies, parents, teachers and students are launching Net Day New Jersey this week to connect over a thousand schools in New Jersey to the Internet by this time next year. That will make a

huge difference in making learning more democratic and information more accessible in this country. I thank them for that. Every single person in New Jersey who will be a part of that. (Applause.)

But we have to face the fact that that is not enough. We have to do more. Just consider the last hundred years. At the turn of the century, the progressives made it the law of the land for every child to be in school. Before then there was no such requirement. After World War II, we said 10 years are not enough, public schools should extend to 12 years. And then, as I said, the G.I. Bill and college loans threw open the doors of college to the sons and daughters of farmers and factory workers. And they have powered our economy ever since.

America knows that higher education is the key to the growth we need to lift our country. And today that is more true than ever. Just listen to these facts. Over half the new jobs created in the last three years have been managerial and professional jobs. The new jobs require higher-level skills. Fifteen years ago the typical worker with a college degree made 38 percent more than a worker with a high school diploma. Today, that figure is 73 percent more. Two years of college means a 20-percent increase in annual earnings. People who finish two years of college earn a quarter of a million dollars more than their high school counterparts over a lifetime.

Now, it is clear that America has the best higher education system in the world, and that it is a key to a successful future in the 21st century. It is also clear that because of cost and other factors, not all Americans have access to higher education.

I want to say today that I believe the clear facts of this time make it imperative that our goal must be nothing less than to make the 13th and 14th years of education as universal to all Americans as the first 12 are today. (Applause.)

We have put in place an unprecedented college opportunity strategy: Student loans can now be given directly to people who need them, with a provision to repay them based on the ability of the graduate to pay -- based on income. This is a dramatic change which is making loans more accessible to young people who did not have them before. Americorps, which by next year will have given over 65,000 young people the chance to earn their way through college by serving their country and their communities. More Pell Grants, scholarships for deserving students every year.

Now we want to go further; we want to expand work-study so that a million students can work their way through college by the year 2000. We want to let people use money from their Individual Retirement accounts to help pay for college. We want every honor student in the top five percent of every high school class in America to get a \$1,000 scholarship.

And we also want to do some other things that I believe we must do to make 14 years of education the standard for every American. First, I have asked Congress to pass a \$10,000 tax

deduction to help families pay for the cost of all education after high school -- \$10,000 a year. (Applause.)

Today I announced one more element to complete our college strategy and make those two years of college as universal as four years of high school -- a way to do it, by giving families a tax credit targeted to achieve that goal and making clear that this opportunity requires responsibility to receive it.

We should say to Americans who want to go to college, we will give you a tax credit to pay the cost of tuition at the average community college for your first year, or you can apply the same amount to the first year in a four-year university or college. We will give you the exact same cut for the second year, but only if you earn it by getting a B average the first year. A tax deduction for families to help them pay for education after high school; a tax credit for individuals to guarantee their first year of college and the second year if they earn it.

This is not just for those individuals, this is for America. Your America will be stronger if all Americans have at least two years of higher education. (Applause.)

Think of it: We're not only saying to children from very poor families who think they would never be able to go to college, people who may not have stellar academic records in high school, if you're willing to work hard and take a chance, you can at least go to your local community college and we'll pay for the first year. If you're in your 20s and you're already working, but you can't move ahead on a high school diploma, now you can go back to college. If you're a mother planning to go to work, but you're afraid you don't have the skills to get a good job, you can go to college. If you're 40 and you're worried that you need more education to support your family, now you can go part-time, you can go at night. By all means, go to college and we'll pay the tuition.

I know this will work. When I was the governor of my home state, we created academic challenge scholarships that helped people who had good grades and who had good behavior to go to college. But my proposal today builds mostly on the enormously successful HOPE Scholarships in Georgia, which guaranteed any student in the state of Georgia free college as long as they had a B average. This year those scholarships are helping 80,000 students in the state of Georgia alone -- including 70 percent of the freshmen class at the University of Georgia.

In recognition of Georgia's leadership, I have decided to call this proposal America's HOPE Scholarships. And I want to thank the Governor of Georgia, Zell Miller, who developed this idea. I also would like to recognize him -- he came up here with me today -- and thank him for the contribution that he is now going to make to all of America's future.

Governor Miller, where are you? Would you please stand up? Here he is. Thank you. (Applause.)

Let me say, as all of you know, money doesn't grow on trees in Washington, and we're not financing deficits anymore. I'm proud to say, as a matter of fact, for the last two years our budget has been in surplus, except for the interest necessary to pay the debt run up in the several years before I became President. So we are doing our best to pay for these programs. And this program will be paid for by budgeted savings in the balanced budget plan. We cannot go back to the days of something for nothing or pretend that in order to invest in education we have to sacrifice fiscal responsibility.

Now, this program will do three things. It will open the doors of college opportunity to every American, regardless of their ability to pay. Education at the typical community college will now be free. And the very few states that have tuition above the amount that we can afford to credit, I would challenge those states to close the gap. We're going to take care of most of the states. The rest of them should help us the last little way.

Second, it will offer free tuition and training to every adult willing to work for it. Nobody now needs to be stuck in a dead-end job or in unemployment. And finally, this plan will work because it will go to people who, by definition, are willing to work for it. It's America's most basic bargain. We'll help create opportunity if you'll take responsibility. This is the basic bargain that has made us a great nation.

I know that here at the reunion weekend the Class of '46 has celebrated its 50th reunion. And I want to just mention them one more time. Many members of the Class of '46 fought in the second world war. And they came home and laid down their arms and took up the responsibility of the future with the help of the G.I. Bill. That's when our nation did its part simply by giving them the opportunity to make the most of their own lives. And in doing that, they made America's most golden years.

The ultimate lesson of the Class of 1946 will also apply to the Class of 1996 in the 21st century. Because of the education you have, if America does well, you will do very well. If America is a good country to live in you will be able to build a very good life.

So I ask you never to be satisfied with an age of probability for only the sons and daughters of Princeton. You could go your own way in a society that, after all, seems so often to be coming apart instead of coming together. You will, of course, have the ability to succeed in the global economy, even if you have to secede from those Americans trapped in the old economy. But you should not walk away from our common purpose.

Again I will say this is about far more than economics and money. It is about preserving the quality of our democracy, the integrity of every person standing as an equal citizen before the law, the ability of our country to prove that no matter how diverse we get, we can still come together in shared community values to make each of our lives and our family's lives stronger and richer and better. This is about more than money.

The older I get and the more I become aware that I have more yesterdays than tomorrows, the more I think that in our final hours, which all of us have to face, very rarely will we say, gosh, I wish I'd spent more time at the office, or if only I'd just made a little more money. But we will think about the dreams we lived out, the wonders we knew when we were most fully alive. This is about giving every single, solitary soul in this country the chance to be most fully alive. And if we do that, those of you who have this brilliant education, who have been gifted by God with great minds and strong bodies and hearts, you will do very well and you will be very happy.

In 1914, Woodrow Wilson wrote as President, "The future is clear and bright with the promise of the best things. We are all in the same boat. We shall advance and advance together with a new spirit." I wish you well, and I pray that you will advance, and advance together with a new spirit.

God bless you and God bless America. (Applause.)

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Breast Cancer Initiative

Divider Title: _____

JANUARY 24, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR RAHM EMANUEL
SYLVIA MATHEWS
JOHN PODESTA
ANN LEWIS
BRUCE REED
JOHN HILLEY
ELENA KAGAN
JANET MURGUIA

Betsy

FROM: BETSY MYERS

RE: BREAST CANCER LEGISLATION

In 1996, more than 184,000 cases of breast cancer were diagnosed and more than 44,000 of those women will die from the disease. Breast cancer is the most common cancer among women, accounting for one out of every three cancer diagnoses.

The following is an update on the breast cancer legislation (with strong bi-partisan support) pending in the House and Senate. The legislation corrects several injustices in the health care system affecting all American women. The President has an opportunity at the beginning of the new Congress before the State of the Union to take a leadership role on these measures.

The President could support the legislation through several avenues: (1) in the State of the Union; (2) in a radio address; and (3) in a letter to Congress.

A fourth option would be participating in a breast cancer event on February 3 with a bi-partisan group of members of Congress and Lifetime television. The network has collected more than 15,000 signatures of women supporting Congresswoman DeLauro's legislation which would mandate at least 48 hours of hospitalization for women who have had a mastectomy. We are recommending that the President host the event at the White House by accepting the petition, along with the members of Congress. In addition to supporting Congresswoman's DeLauro's bill, the President could express support in his remarks at the event for several other breast cancer measures. (See the attached scheduling request for more details.)

We recommend the President support the following legislation:

- **The DeLauro-Dingell-Roukema Breast Cancer Protection Act of 1997:** This bill would guarantee a minimum hospital stay of 48 hours for a woman having a mastectomy and 24 hours for lymph node removal for the treatment of breast cancer. Under pressure from managed care organizations to reduce costs, doctors have had to perform mastectomies and lymph node dissection as outpatient surgery. This has resulted in women being sent home when the surgery is still

weighing heavily on their physical and mental state. To ensure that the bill is on a fast-track, Congresswoman DeLauro wrote the bill with language similar to that in the 48-hour maternity bill that we supported last year. The simplicity of the bill should also help ensure its passage. There is bi-partisan support for this bill in the House. Senator Daschle has introduced a companion bill.

- **The Reconstructive Breast Surgery Benefits Act:** This bill, introduced by Congresswoman Eshoo, would require health insurance companies that provide coverage for mastectomies to cover reconstructive breast surgery that results from those mastectomies including surgery to establish symmetry between breasts. The legislation would prohibit insurance companies from denying coverage for breast reconstruction resulting from mastectomies on the basis that the coverage is for cosmetic surgery. Congresswoman Eshoo is working with Senator Kennedy who will file a companion bill.
- **The Breast Cancer Early Detection Act:** This legislation, introduced by Congresswoman Maloney, would require Medicare to cover annual mammograms for women over 65. Currently, Medicare only covers mammograms every other year.
- **The Medicare Mammography Enhancement Act:** This legislation, introduced by Congresswoman Kennelly, would require Medicare to cover annual mammograms for women over 50. In addition, the legislation would waive the 20 percent co-payment and any deductible costs for the screening.

MEASURE: HR135

SPONSOR: DeLauro (D-CT)

BRIEF TITLE: Breast Cancer Patient Protection Act of 1997.

OFFICIAL TITLE: A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act and Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to require that group and individual health insurance coverage and group health plans provide coverage for a minimum hospital stay for mastectomies and lymph node dissections performed for the treatment of breast cancer.

INTRODUCED: 01/07/97

COSPONSORS: 92 (Dems: 85 Reps: 6 Ind: 1)

COMMITTEES: House Commerce
House Education and the Workforce

RELATED BILLS: See S143

LEGISLATIVE ACTION:

01/07/97 Referred to Committee on Commerce, Committee on Education and the Workforce (for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned) (CR p. H143)

01/07/97 Original Cosponsor(s): 54

Ackerman (D-NY)	Gejdenson (D-CT)	Murtha (D-PA)
Barrett, T. (D-WI)	Gonzalez (D-TX)	Nadler (D-NY)
Bentsen (D-TX)	Gordon, B. (D-TN)	Norton (D-DC)
Brown, C. (D-FL)	Green, G. (D-TX)	Oberstar (D-MN)
Brown, S. (D-OH)	Hinchey (D-NY)	Oliver (D-MA)
Clayton, E. (D-NC)	Kennedy, J. (D-MA)	Owens (D-NY)
Clement (D-TN)	Kennedy, P. (D-RI)	Pallone (D-NJ)
Conyers (D-MI)	Kennelly (D-CT)	Payne, D. (D-NJ)
DeFazio (D-OR)	Kildee (D-MI)	Pelosi (D-CA)
Dingell (D-MI)	LaFalce (D-NY)	Quinn (R-NY)
Eshoo (D-CA)	Lowey (D-NY)	Rahall (D-WV)
Evans (D-IL)	Maloney, C. (D-NY)	Rivers (D-MI)
Faleomavaega (D-AS)	Matsui (D-CA)	Romero-Barcelo (D-PR)
Farr (D-CA)	McDermott (D-WA)	Roukema (R-NJ)
Foglietta (D-PA)	Meek (D-FL)	Sanders (I-VT)
Fox (R-PA)	Mink (D-HI)	Slaughter (D-NY)
Frank, Barney (D-MA)	Moran, James (D-VA)	Towns (D-NY)
Frost (D-TX)	Morella (R-MD)	Velazquez (D-NY)

01/09/97 Cosponsor(s) added: 8

Boucher (D-VA)	Lewis, Jerry (R-CA)	Scott (D-VA)
Dellums (D-CA)	McHugh (R-NY)	Serrano (D-NY)
Gutierrez (D-IL)	Roybal-Allard (D-CA)	

01/07/97 DELAURO, D-Conn., House speech: Introduces the Breast Cancer Patient Protection Act of 1997. (CR p. E43-E44)

01/21/97 Cosponsor(s) added: 30

Allen (D-ME)	Maloney, J. (D-CT)	Moakley (D-MA)
Carson (D-IN)	Manton (D-NY)	Neal, R. (D-MA)
Delahunt (D-MA)	Markey (D-MA)	Pascarell (D-NJ)
Fazio (D-CA)	McCarthy, C. (D-NY)	Pickett (D-VA)
Filner (D-CA)	McCarthy, K. (D-MO)	Rangel (D-NY)
Furse (D-OR)	McGovern (D-MA)	Stokes (D-OH)
Hinojosa (D-TX)	McNulty (D-NY)	Tauscher (D-CA)
Jackson-Lee, S. (D-TX)	Meehan (D-MA)	Thurman, K. (D-FL)
Kaptur (D-OH)	Millender-McDonna (D-CA)	Woolsey (D-CA)
Lofgren (D-CA)	Miller, G. (D-CA)	Yates (D-IL)

01/21/97 *** Related measure (S143) introduced in Senate. ***

January 7, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR

RAHM EMANUEL
BRUCE REED
JANET MURGUIA

FROM:

BETSY MYERS

RE:

DELAURO-DINGELL-ROUKEMA BREAST CANCER
PATIENT PROTECTION ACT OF 1997

CC:

ERSKINE BOWLES
DON BAER

Congresswoman DeLauro introduced legislation today that will guarantee that women who undergo surgery for treatment of breast cancer get the hospital stay they need. The DeLauro-Dingell-Roukema Breast Cancer Protection Act of 1997 would guarantee a minimum hospital stay of 48 hours for a woman having a mastectomy and 24 hours for lymph node removal for the treatment of breast cancer. The bill, modeled after the law protecting mothers from "drive through" deliveries, ensures that women and their doctors, not insurance companies, would determine if a shorter stay is needed.

The legislation is needed as doctors across the country, under pressure to reduce costs by managed care organizations, are performing mastectomies and lymph node dissections as outpatient surgery. This has resulted in women being sent home groggy from anaesthesia, in pain and with drainage tubes in place.

The bill, which was introduced with 53-co-sponsors, has the support of the National Breast Cancer Coalition.

This legislation offers the President another opportunity to support a common sense measure that will directly improve the lives of women. Breast cancer -- the most commonly diagnosed cancer and the second leading cancer killer in American women -- affects one in eight women in their lifetimes. I hope that the President can send a letter of support to Congress and include his support for this legislation at an event, and in a radio address and speeches, particularly in the State of the Union.

Please see the attached legislation which Congresswoman DeLauro has introduced. Senator Daschle is planning on introducing similar language. I hope to discuss this matter with you in the near future.