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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Maria

I'm ready to ~~start~~ March 20, 1999

~~MR. PRESIDENT:~~ keep - still don't have
big chunk of it — PC

Attached is a near-complete draft of the race book. A couple of sections are missing, including what Chris Edley calls the "vision" chapter, Part II, "The America We Want" -- this should be done by Monday.

In consultation with Maria, I've circulated this version to a select few of your advisors, including John, Melanne, Bruce Reed, Elena, Gene, Chuck Ruff, Minyon, Michael Waldman, Sylvia and Ben Johnson. The First Lady also has a copy.

Copied
Echaveste
Podesta
Stern

John and Maria have asked Todd Stern to edit the book, collecting edits/comments from your advisors, refereeing the differences and getting it to a final product. Staff comments are due to him by Friday, March 26. Todd suggested that you might want to wait to make detailed edits until you receive the next version, which would incorporate your advisor's edits, but that of course is up to you.

Please note that Chris Edley has sent you a memo about this version -- it is attached.

Phil Caplan Phil

5-10-99



99 MAR 18 PM 6:30

March 17, 1999

Dear Mr. President:

This, after my unforgivable delays, is a very nearly complete draft. The missing items, described after the Table of Contents, will be done within a few days. While the draft has benefited from the suggestions of many White House, agency and other colleagues, it does not represent a "consensus" document. Terry and I have been informed by these comments, but in many cases just made our independent judgment of what we believed you were most likely to embrace, in substance and expression.

Maria will collect a number of comments on this draft from various readers. I can anticipate a few for you here, however, to help you focus as you wade through it all.

1. The most difficult missing elements are the personal stories that only you and the First Lady can add. We implore you to do as much of this as time and energy permit -- into a tape recorder, or to us on the phone, or whatever works.
2. We have tried to strike a balance between candid appraisal of unpleasant realities and celebratory recitation of Clinton-Gore accomplishments and proposals. You may disagree with our balance; several of your advisors seem to.
3. Because this book should have an extended shelf life, minimize the number of observations that will soon become forgotten headlines. This is a painful discipline. But, generally, legislative and budget proposals that seem destined for an early death should probably get lighter treatment here than they would in a speech. Here's our heuristic: Will a discussion of this matter make sense to a reader three years from now? If not, think minimalist.
4. On the other hand, we'd like to engage some policy ideas that may be many months or even a few years away from a specific legislative proposal. You want to energize a new national conversation. The new ideas can be consistent with your current legislative and budget program, but should not, in our view, be slavishly bound by them.
5. We want you to run *toward* the hard issues, not away from them, because that is what the nation must do. This risk-taking, which gives some of your advisers hives, is scattered throughout this draft, but will be more apparent in the forthcoming vision discussion, **Part II: The America We Want.**

Please don't get bogged down line-editing sections that are just trash. Be blunt, and we will re-group. Terry and I are so happy the end is near that you can say anything you want.

*

What next? You will have the balance of our draft within days, and comments trickling in from staff. I hope you and the First Lady will consider having a small dinner or a weekend conversation with a handful of friends whose perspective on the book might help you. For example, Taylor Branch, Henry Cisneros, Vernon Jordan, and Rodney Slater come immediately to mind. I would also urge you to invite reactions from the Vice President and Mrs. Gore. In general, with or without the dinner party, let us know to whom you would like the draft sent for their reactions. Or, you may decide that this draft is not yet "close enough" to circulate.

Finally, however, permit me to repeat what I have said repeatedly to Maria. I believe this should be your personal product, not a bureaucratic one. You have many remarkably able aides and officers, very few of whom have your perspective or compass on race. Fewer still have your appetite for boldness on this subject.

Christopher Edley, Jr.

OUT OF MANY, ONE:

RACIAL AND ETHNIC JUSTICE IN 21ST CENTURY AMERICA

President Clinton's Report to the Nation

Draft

March 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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Introduction

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INTRODUCTION

At century's end, color in America remains a vexing paradox of ideals and ordeals, of hopes and fears. We must embark on the new century recommitted to right the wrongs, ^{and} ~~To do so, we must set a course that leaves~~ behind our tainted legacy, ^{to} ~~leading us to~~ strengthen opportunity, ^{and} unite in a new spirit of community, ^{They cannot} ~~and~~ to redeem ^{the promise of our founding & the truth of our hearts,} the purity of our individual hearts.

We are (rightfully) upheld in the eyes of the world as the most successful multi-racial democracy in ~~human~~ history, ^{Emerging democracies and nations in the throes of} ~~horrible, often bloody ancient ethnic conflicts look to America as a model of peaceful~~ ^{in a world not by ethnic, racial & religious conflict.} co-existence, ~~but~~ in our best moments we have ~~always~~ aspired to a higher standard -- one in which we not only tolerate ~~difference~~, but actually celebrate the many races and cultures that make America. ^{high to standard of the world in which we not only affirm but try to live by} ~~After more than 200 years, we still struggle to live by our~~ Nation's founding creed, "that all men are created equal."

~~Each year, nearly a million people come legally to America.~~ Today, nearly one in ten people in the United States was born in another country; one in five schoolchildren are from immigrant families. Today, largely because of immigrants, there is no majority race in Hawaii or Houston or New York City. In nine of our ten

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largest public school systems, over 75 percent of the students are minorities. Within five years there will be no majority race in our largest state, California. In a little more than 50 years there will be no majority race in the United States.

All of this is happening against a backdrop of unparalleled peace and prosperity. Our economy has never been stronger. Our people have never been more confident in the future. And in the absence of a compelling racial crisis like the riots of the 1960s, many of our citizens have been lulled into thinking that America's racial problems are a thing of the past. That is simply not true.

An old enemy still lurks in the shadows. It continues to poison our perceptions, undermine our progress and threaten our future. Racism has been America's constant curse, predating the nation's founding by a century and a half. And race has also been our constant struggle. Many lives have been lost, many dreams deferred while we have grappled with this demon. ~~And~~ ^{too} Truth has ~~too~~ often ~~also~~ been a casualty, caught in the crossfire of our contradictions.

Consider this: We were born with a Declaration of Independence which asserted that we ~~were~~ ^{are} all created equal and a Constitution that enshrined slavery. We fought a bloody civil war to abolish slavery and preserve the union, but we remained a house

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divided and unequal by law for another century. We advanced across the continent in the name of freedom, yet in doing so we pushed Native Americans off their land, often crushing their culture and their livelihood. Our Statue of Liberty welcomes poor, tired, huddled masses of immigrants to our shores, but each new wave has felt the sting of discrimination, and for many that discrimination has burdened their native-born children and grandchildren. It is time we faced these contradictions squarely as a critical step, not only to healing the wounds of our past, but also of unleashing the power and promise of our future. We must become One America in the 21st century.

✦
~~It is my hope that~~ this report will help lay the foundation for a renewed national commitment to racial healing in America. At the beginning of this century, the great African American scholar and civil rights leader W.E.B. Dubois said that "The problem of the 20th century will be the problem of the color line." He was right. America's color line started centuries ago and stretches into our lives today. ~~It was right there, plain as day, throughout my childhood in the segregated south.~~

As a boy growing up in the 1950s and early 60s in segregated Arkansas, I was perplexed by the stark lines drawn in black and white that separated neighbor from neighbor. The black children went to different schools; ~~they ate at different restaurants. The~~ rough gravel streets they walked and played on stood in bleak contrast to the smooth

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paved roadways on the white side of town.

But these disparities were mostly background music to me until 1957, when the high stakes drama of the Little Rock Nine shook me and the nation out of our indifference. I was only 11 years old at the time. Like most southerners then, I never attended school with a person of another race until I went to college. ^{Though} ~~But the reality of~~ ^{Discrimination} ~~unequal treatment based on race~~ had always gnawed at me, ^{it was} ~~When I saw~~ the courage and sacrifice of those nine black children who endured constant attacks, both physical and emotional, to integrate Little Rock's Central High School, I ~~realized how important~~ ^{that} ~~the struggle for equality is. Little Rock~~ made racial equality a driving obsession in my life, ~~and~~ I have done all I could to make it a reality.

After I launched the national Initiative on Race in San Diego in 1997, people ^{asked me, why} ~~in the absence of any similar great national crisis,~~ ^{should the American} ~~people~~ ^{focus anew on the challenge of racial reconciliation.} That is a good question, ^{with} ~~and it has a good answer,~~ ^{As we grow more diverse and the world's become closer together,} ~~I believe there is no more critical mission for our nation than~~ ^{to ensure that our diversity} ~~is not the great problem, but~~ ^{will be either} ~~the great promise of the 21st~~ ^{or} ~~century.~~ ^{That we make of ourselves will determine whether we} ~~This effort is especially important right now because, as we grow more~~ ~~diverse, our ability to deal with the new challenges this presents will determine whether~~ ~~we really bind ourselves together or tear ourselves apart. And even more importantly,~~

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had the word towards greater
~~our ability to exercise world leadership for peace, freedom and prosperity, in a world~~
on jointness guided by
~~gripped with tense racial and ethnic and religious conflicts depends in large part on our~~
in a much more diverse future
~~ability to be a model for the world.~~

Consider also the great untapped potential of our expanding diversity. In the global economy of the 21st century, where free trade and open markets will link nations in new partnerships for mutual progress, it will be to our advantage that America looks like the world. It is already happening. Andrew Young -- former mayor, Congressman and U.N. Ambassador -- credits the diversity of his marketing team for landing the Olympics in Atlanta. When members of our Armed Forces join with soldiers of nations from every continent to preserve peace or provide humanitarian aid in far flung regions of the globe, America's diversity is a strength. Our shuttle missions and space explorations are increasingly conducted by multi-national teams, working side by side in space and in the process building bridges of trust and understanding right here on earth.

and our present propensity
~~To those who say "Why now?"~~ *and confusion*
~~Because our work is not yet done.~~ *quicker to find clear*
~~that we have moved out of the epicenter of racism that rocked our nation from the~~ *to find it*
time of the Indian conquest and slavery until the great breakthroughs of the civil rights era. But we are still experiencing the aftershocks. Though people of color have more

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opportunities than ever today, we still see evidence of unequal treatment, ~~It is borne~~
~~out most strikingly~~ in the litany of disparities in jobs and wealth, in education, in
criminal justice that so often still break down along the color line.

If we are ever going to truly overcome, we must begin to ~~see~~ ^{experience} our diversity as a
source of solidarity and strength, not division and weakness. ~~And~~ ^{First} we must begin by
~~first~~ getting the facts right and then daring ^e to be honest with ourselves and each other.
~~Then we must each one of us, must answer the call to action.~~
~~That was one of the most potent reasons I launched the nation's first presidential~~
~~initiative on race in 1998. And that is one of the core goals of this report.~~

In these pages, I will offer a rough blueprint and a ^{for that} bold challenge that calls ^e
~~every citizen to action in~~ a renewed commitment to racial reconciliation. I will lay out
three pathways for our journey: the pathway of opportunity, taking steps to make sure
everyone benefits from America's growing prosperity by closing the opportunity gap;
the pathway of community, building stronger bridges to connect people across lines of
class and color by challenging them to take personal responsibility for uniting around a
common agenda; and the pathway of the heart, coming to grips with the conscious and
unconscious ways our obsession with race has distorted our views of ourselves and
each other.

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group. Second, the sense of *community* must be so powerful a force that our social and economic lives pull us out of ethnic enclaves. Rather than merely tolerate our differences, we will celebrate ^{them} ~~and draw strength from them~~ and draw strength from them. Finally, our *hearts* will be healed of the crippling influences of prejudice and fear, free to appreciate the common humanity we share as the gift of our Creator. And we will not backslide into racial rivalries and distrust, because we will be steeled against them; we will study history and we will never repeat it.

Each of these elements -- opportunity, community, heart -- is necessary, and each is possible only in combination with the others. For example, we will never have a broad consensus on a bold opportunity agenda unless we care about each other as one community. Moreover, our laws and policies will only take us so far. It is true that, through law, we have torn down many of the barriers that have for generations kept so many from getting a fair shot at the American dream solely because of their race or color. But while more of this work remains, I believe at this juncture our most fundamental challenge is to make a journey of the heart.

Undergirding all the facts and plans presented here are a set of ethical precepts that I believe must guide us on this journey. The first is a spiritual law common to every major world religion. We hear its echo in our call for One America. It is the law

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Of the many things that have changed about race in my lifetime, as a lawyer and ~~public~~ ^{public} government servant I am particularly struck by the transformation in our legal and political culture. We cannot afford to be less vigilant in enforcing laws against discrimination and pressing to root out bias wherever we can find it. Yet, as I look ahead I am convinced that we must go beyond the agenda defined a generation ago. We will not achieve our vision unless we recognize that opportunity is not an accident in America -- it is a right of citizenship, not coded or discounted by color. And to redeem that right, we must embrace new civil rights for the new century. These must include:

- The right to a world-class education, and an equal opportunity for educational achievement;
- The right to have one's community be part of the nation's economic mainstream, neither ignored nor left behind; and
- The right to community security, with safety for one's family and home.

The workplan to secure these rights must combine public investments and personal inspiration, community engagement and committed leadership. I know we can do it.

The good and hard work that I have seen across our nation while President has

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Part I: America We See

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PART I: THE AMERICA WE SEE

A. INTRODUCTION

One of the most frustrating aspects of our ongoing national dialogue on race is the extent to which we find the nation stuck in a wheel-spinning debate about where we are in our journey to One America. Over and over we ask ourselves, "Is our racial glass half empty or half full?" Some would say that we have bridged the racial divide, largely eliminated discrimination and achieved equal opportunity by enacting antidiscrimination laws. They point to the growth of the minority middle class ~~and exceptional achievers~~ and exceptional achievers like Gloria Estefan, James Edward Olmos, Oprah Winfrey and Colin Powell and assert that any persistent racial problems or disparities are more a failing of personal responsibility than of society at large.

On the other hand, there are those who, in the face of demonstrable progress over the past 50 years, insist that minorities in America are no better off today than a generation ago. They argue that racism is omnipresent, quietly sanctioned and the root of all evil in their lives and their communities—from perceived inequities in criminal justice to the fact that they did not get that job or promotion they so desperately wanted. There is a kernel of truth in each point of view, and in this chapter I hope to bring them to light while separating fiction from fact.

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and most minorities in wages, income and wealth. It provides evidence that minorities still have fewer options and access to quality housing and quality health care. It confirms the sad truth that far too many diseases, some of them preventable, like AIDS, are afflicting people of color at two and three and even five times the rate of whites. And it shows that for many children of color, poor schools and segregation are a shameful legacy we have yet to overcome.

[Insert CEA Table, "Poverty Rates for Individuals," p. 36]

While we can and should be proud of the record of civil rights progress over the last half century, it is untrue and foolish for us to pretend we have beaten the problem of racial disadvantage. Sometimes raw statistics don't even tell the whole story. Let me give you just one example. We have heard a lot about the growth of the black middle class in recent years. But a close look at the data shows that this may have been a time-limited phenomenon. Research shows that the white middle class expanded considerably in each decade from 1940 to 1970, while the rise of the black middle class—a sure sign of reduced inequities and greater opportunity—was significant in the 1960s only. 2

While some point to such figures as evidence of tremendous black economic progress from 1940, there was little growth from the early to mid-1970s through the early 1990s. So, while we can be pleased that there has been progress in the expansion of the black middle class between the 1940s and the early 1970s, this was followed by roughly

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20 years of stagnation. I am pleased that our economic growth has led to a resumption of growth in the mid-1990s but it has not been enough for us to be sure there will be no reversals or stagnation and that we have undone the past's hurtful legacy.

This kind of surface, statistical accounting has led many whites to believe that they have done enough and that race-linked disadvantages deserve less attention from governments and other institutions, not more. Too many of us see signs of progress and believe that progress is either universal or sufficient. Enough blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and Asians do, of course, manage a level of success to assuage our—whites'—guilt and reinforce our belief that our society really is fair and equal. The successes of the few, however, should only spur us to expect more. The exceptions are important harbingers of the changes that are needed for every child to compete on the same, equal playing field, with the very same expectations of success.

Of course, many minorities view their progress differently. Time and again, my Advisory Board heard from minorities that progress has been too slow, uneven, subject to reversals, and only skin deep; whites have clutched their racial privileges too closely and have often surrendered to civil rights reforms only when required.

So where can we find common ground? We can start by looking at the imposing litany of disparities reported in *Changing America*. It is clear, from this report, that we must do more as a nation to reduce these harmful inequities. How many of us would want

eg
Blk, Hispanic
unemployment
lower than whites
African American
& not go to high school
but African

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our children to look forward to a life where they were virtually assured of earning less than whites with a comparable education, having a higher and sustained risk of becoming unemployed, of dying at an earlier age, and of having less income and wealth to provide for our families during and after our lifetimes? Isn't it obvious that our ugly racial legacy has continuing force in our lives when the median wealth of black households is only one-twelfth that of white families? When Hispanics and blacks are on average about six times more likely than whites to be victims of murder? And when the unemployment rate ^{→ 100% unemployment?} in Indian Country is a staggering 49 percent? Regrettably, I am not making any of this up. These are all real-life examples of disparities and discrimination occurring in 1999.

[Insert CEA Table, "Labor Force Participation Rates of Persons Aged 25 to 54," p. 25]

Understanding these disparities will help us create the agenda for our future. I start from a belief that many of the disparities that place minorities at a disadvantage cannot be explained away as the fault of minorities themselves. Just as every American had a role to play in ending slavery and the egregious mistreatment of many people of color that followed in its wake, we all share responsibility for improving the lives of those who have been handicapped by a legacy of oppression. There is no doubt in my mind that we can close these gaps in education, health, economic well-being, and in so doing, make America stronger for all Americans.

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this country.

Let me begin by stating my own uncomplicated conclusion: despite much progress and the strongest economy in 30 years, I am convinced by sound scientific evidence that discrimination against minorities continues today.

There is ample evidence of old-fashioned, blatant door-slamming, name-calling, even violent prejudice. The brutal 1998 truck-dragging murder of a black man, James Byrd, Jr., is a chilling recent example—and not the only one. But minorities today are often subject to a more subtle, less demonstrative brand of this affliction. Anyone who has ever experienced discrimination, including poor white southerners, understands the deep hurt and anger that it spawns. But aside from these emotional wounds, discrimination rips a hole in the social fabric of our nation and is a leading cause of many of the disparities I spoke about above. In this section, I will present concrete evidence of the continuing existence of discrimination, and offer a renewed call for the elimination of this cancer from the soul of our nation.

Hate crimes, ranging from hateful harassment to murder, are perhaps the most pernicious signs of old-fashioned discrimination, and they are sadly on the rise. In 1995, there were nearly 5,000 acts of hate crime against racial and ethnic groups, and nearly 3,000 more against other groups. In 1996, the number increased to 6,700 race incidents. And it is not all black and white. In June 1995, arsonists burned down the home of a

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"...[Blacks] could not live where they desired; they could not work where white people worked except in menial positions ... They could not use the same restrooms, drinking fountains, or telephone booths. They could not eat in the same restaurants, sleep in the same hotels, be treated in the same hospitals ... They could not attend the same public schools. They could not vote" ⁶ (Jaynes and Williams 1989: 40-42).

Indeed, in 1964, there were only three black members of Congress; today there are nearly 40. The number of Hispanics in Congress has also grown—from 4 to 20. There [?] are now 19 members of the Congressional Asian Pacific Caucus. And ~~let me tell you that~~ ^{see} the African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Pacific representatives in the 105th Congress have not just done an excellent job for their constituents, they have done an excellent job for America. For the generation of African Americans born in the 1920s and 1930s, only 45 percent graduated high school. Today, that number is 75 percent. ⁷ In the 1940s, the entire armed services were deliberately segregated; they are now among the most racially integrated parts of society. Harvard Professor Randall Kennedy comments about the degree of racial progress in criminal law since that time - changes that appear analogous to other areas of social life: "...[T]he administration of criminal law has changed substantially for the better over the past half century and...there is reason to

I think I know what

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believe that, properly guided, it can be improved even more.”⁸

A number of conservative authors and commentators look at this progress, however, and stop. Racial discrimination and systematic racial disadvantages, they conclude, are a thing of the past, an obstacle largely overcome. Discrimination might occur but it is small scale, isolated, and driven by random acts of racial prejudice of the few. All we need do, they say, is turn to our capabilities and skills to achieve whatever destiny, and the marketplace, bring to us.⁹ While I respect that view, I do not share it. The research evidence, my own observations, and conversations with many Americans have convinced me that discrimination remains real for too many of our citizens. I regret to say that all too many of us harbor in our hearts some feelings of racial superiority or inferiority that are part of the acid rain of racism in the United States in 1999.¹⁰ The work of our civil rights institutions, both public and private, is not yet done. But, more importantly, all Americans must rededicate themselves to the work of cleansing our hearts of the hurtful disease of discrimination.

That is the subject I would like to turn to next. Just how do Americans of different races and ethnicities feel about and behave towards each other today?

Bill Clinton

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same case, I might add, also overturned the antimiscegenation law in my own state of Arkansas).

The public's attitudes toward inter-racial marriage have grown substantially more tolerant since then. In 1963, 62 percent of whites approved of laws outlawing intermarriage. By 1996, that number had dropped to only 13 percent, and today, fully 67 percent of whites personally approve of intermarriage.¹²

While most of the large-scale research data on this subject focuses on white attitudes, there has been some data suggesting improvements in attitudes among people of color. For example, in 1969, about half of the black population (48 percent) thought that whites in general were interested in keeping blacks down. By 1995, less than 30 years later, this number declined to 29 percent.¹³

Some people skeptical about the racial progress we have made argue that these changes only reflect that people are better able to conceal their attitudes on surveys. There is some truth to that, but it is surely good even if the data on attitudes are only proving that more people can tell right from wrong, even if their hearts and all of their behavior haven't caught up with society's norms. Moreover, there is no denying the significant changes in people's behavior, too. America is simply a more tolerant and integrated nation today than ever before.

Perhaps the most convincing indicator of this fact is that more Americans than

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ever are living and working together. In 1966, only 21 percent of whites said they had at least some black neighbors. That figure had grown to 63 percent in 1996. In poll after poll it is clear, whites and people of color are less isolated from each other.

[Insert CEA Table, "Whites' Attitudes towards Integration," p. 68]

But despite these improvements, there is still a hard-core group of about 10-15 percent of Americans who cling to their negative stereotypes about African Americans and other people of color, and who often favor segregation and other divisive measures to maintain the subordinate status of minorities. While it would be easy to discount a 10-15 percent segment as statistically irrelevant, I believe we cannot afford to ignore the disproportionate impact these bigots—many of them operating invisibly in our midst—have on our racial climate. While almost every white person publicly professes a belief in racial equality, the fact is that about one in eight believe that certain people of color are less honest or less intelligent.

This situation is exacerbated for minorities by the fact that these hidden bigots are distributed throughout society, sometimes in power positions: the teacher in your child's school, a policeman who might detain you, or your supervisor at work. Given that these bigots generally do not publicly state their views, it would be difficult not to maintain a measure of distrust of all whites. This climate of distrust invades us all. We all become victims of the bigot's racism, and we all bear a responsibility to challenge him or her

Part III, Opportunity: Section 1, Education

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PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

[Introduction to Part III]

...

1. A HIGH-QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL

A. INTRODUCTION

I was eleven years old in September 1957 and living in Hot Springs, Arkansas. I remember listening to the radio one morning as, fifty miles away in Little Rock, nine black students tried to walk through the doors of all-white Central High School. I was riveted as the story unfolded. Those nine boys and girls were not much older than I was, and I tried to imagine what it would be like to be them, as mobs of white protesters glared, shouted, and spat at them on their first day of school.¹

It had been three years since the Supreme Court's historic decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* declared racial segregation in America's schools to be

¹ Of course, the President is going to want to edit this to make sure it is an accurate recollection.

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important, for me, is the idea that our schools and our nation are stronger when persons of all races learn together. ~~I believe this in my own heart.~~ I have seen it with own my eyes.

If America is the land of opportunity, then, for generations, education has been the cornerstone of that ideal. During the great era of immigration, between the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, American reformers like the pioneering John Dewey recognized the economic and political importance of building a public school system that would serve all of the nation's children.³ The foundation of our modern democracy and free enterprise economy has been our belief in the great capacity of all citizens to lift up America while lifting up themselves. Education, as John Dewey said, can be America's "great equalizer."⁴

Challenges Ahead

Of course, we have not always lived up to that egalitarian ideal. We have sometimes denied full and fair educational opportunity, at times through malice, and other times through indifference or inadvertence. Today, we continue to deny opportunity in a way that hurts disproportionately children of color. *Racial disparities in both student*

³ Fn. David Tyack, *The One Best System?*

⁴ Fn. See Dewey, *Education and Democracy*.

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learn together, there is little hope our people will ever learn to live together.”⁵

Finally, providing sound educational opportunities to our nation's youth is a moral imperative. Remember, if we fail our children, we fail ourselves. The decisions we make today could open the doors of unlimited possibilities for our children, or could shut them out of the promise of the 21st century. If we make sound choices today, not only will we make our nation stronger and our communities more dynamic -- we will also honor our obligations to future generations. Many urban parents, understandably tired of waiting for their local public schools to improve, have begun to entertain the idea of private school vouchers as a solution. And many parents, both urban and suburban, remind educational reform advocates that “local control” of schools is a long-standing and important American tradition. I understand the impetus behind these concerns. But I want to point out their liabilities.

I am for choice, but not through the use of vouchers, which could damage, perhaps irreparably, the public school system that has been one of the cornerstones of this society. And I am for local control. But not when it re-enforces race and class segregation.

It is clear that the American people agree with me. 90% of all children in this

⁵ Fn.

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These findings confirm what we already know, in our hearts, to be true about the kinds of educational experiences we want to provide all our children. Imagine what we could learn from them if they learned in truly diverse classrooms.

But currently we are not making the most of our growing student diversity. One grave challenge we face is the achievement gap between white, black, and Hispanic children. It is true that over the last few decades, we have made important progress in educating students of all races. Though improvement has often been slow and uneven, test scores, high school graduation rates, and college participation rates have increased for all racial and ethnic groups. In some cases, these improvements have been greater for students of color than for whites, thus narrowing achievement gaps.¹³

Nonetheless, as the wide disparities in SAT and other measures illustrate, substantial challenges in educational achievement remain. [Insert graphs with SAT and NAEP trends by race.] Racial gaps in achievement persist throughout the “pipeline” -- from preschool through higher education. Consider these stark examples:

¹³ For example, since 1976, even as the pool of students taking college entrance exams has grown dramatically, average SAT scores for students of color have increased 21 points for Mexican Americans (from 781 to 802 out of 1600), 24 points for Asian Pacific Americans (from 932 to 956), 42 points for American Indians (from 808 to 850), and 58 points for blacks (from 686 to 744), while average scores for whites have increased only 2 points (from 944 to 946). See *Digest of Education Statistics 1997* 132, Table 128.

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- According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), average reading proficiency scores for 17-year-old Hispanic students are lower than, and average scores for black 17-year-olds are not significantly different from, the average score for 13-year-old white students.¹⁴
- Although 93 percent of whites and 87 percent of blacks ages 25 to 29 have a high school degree, only 62 percent of Hispanics and approximately 66 percent of Native Americans are high school graduates.¹⁵
- While the importance of a college degree is growing, so is the gap between whites and persons of color who have a degree: 33 percent of whites ages 25-29 have a four-year college degree or higher, compared with just 14 percent of blacks and 11 percent of Hispanics.¹⁶

75- above
4 diff
GERS?

Clearly, it is in the national interest to have more of our students performing at the highest levels.

¹⁴ See *Changing America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being by Race and Hispanic Origin*, Council of Economic Advisers, 18 (September 1998).

¹⁵ *Id.* at 21.

¹⁶ *Id.* at 22.

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Each of us has both a reason and a responsibility to help overcome present disparities. We must build the highest quality educational system that will provide Americans of all backgrounds the opportunity to continuously learn. Joe Ke

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B. CENTERPIECE OF THE FEDERAL WORKPLAN:

THE COMPACT FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION

For more than three decades, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act [ESEA] has been the foundation of our nation's support for millions of poor students and their schools. In my January, 1999 State of the Union address, I proposed that we fundamentally redirect that effort to put far greater emphasis on spurring concrete improvement in results while creating far stronger systems of accountability--not just to federal taxpayers, but to communities and families. I also proposed targeting federal resources to help turn around failing schools, to reward progress in raising achievement levels, to put high-quality teachers in high-poverty schools, to end so-called "social promotion," and to expand after-school and other academic support programs. I proposed building in accountability at all levels to focus not only on improving education for every child in America, but also, especially, on narrowing the gaps between poor and rich, rural and urban.



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consequences of failure. First, they would lose at least some of their grant flexibility from the federal government, and some of their Compact funding. Second, they would work with experts to reform their strategies, perhaps by getting different kinds of academic support, or perhaps through shock therapy and swift managerial change.

Simply put, this is a results-based approach to education. It focuses not on program administration and management, but on what students actually learn. We have seen states and school districts use this method to help all of their students achieve more. Let me give you an example. Dade County, Florida, which includes the city of Miami and is one of the most racially diverse school districts in America, had 45 low-performing schools on the "critical" list. But in two years, they raised their math and reading scores so much that all 45 were off the list. And they did this by focusing on results. Dade County officials and teachers refused to accept the proposition that because these students were poor or lived in tough neighborhoods, they could not learn.³²

Chicago -

³² From President's remarks to the Students, Teachers, Parents and the Community of Jackson Mann Elementary School, Brighton Massachusetts, February 2, 1999.

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The evidence is now coming in:
education reform that is based on high
standards and on holding schools
accountable for outcomes works.
Consider the recent Rand Corporation
study of education reform in North
Carolina and Texas, the two states with
the best track record of improving
achievement generally and closing the
racial achievement gap. The study ^{is new}
shows that in both states, a sustained,
statewide approach, based on holding
schools accountable for outcomes,
raising academic standards, providing
schools with the flexibility and other
tools they need, and targeting resources
for extra help to low-performing
students and schools, produced results.

As part of the Compact for Equal Educational Opportunity, the federal government would provide schools and districts new, greater flexibility to schools *that are able to achieve real results* in closing racial disparities in learning. Given an equal chance, all our children can succeed. I hope that the flexibility built into this proposal will spur innovation, tailoring of approaches to fit local needs, and emulation across the country. How would local Compacts work?

All of them would require several baseline goals, like a) strategies focused on putting high-quality teachers in high-need schools; b) plans to reduce disparities in other resources; and c) results-based plans for accountability at all levels, so that performance is measured fairly, and that both failure and success in meeting performance standards have consequences--and not just for the students.

Other parts of the Compact will be tailored to fit local needs. For example, schools might, but would not be required to: d) find ways to engage families, businesses, and other local institutions; e) develop strategies for building partnerships across jurisdictional lines of school districts and local government agencies; f) find creative responses to the needs of immigrant children with limited English skills; g) establish other educational programs, scheduled during out-of-school-time, that would contribute to reducing the racial achievement gap. But ultimately, the test will not be these particular "inputs", but the results.

We should all follow this results-oriented approach. I propose it in response to a tragic irony that is at work in American education: too often, the children who need the

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important and significant change. Early in my Administration, we worked with Congress to enact Goals 2000 and a major reform of the bedrock Federal grant program intended to help states and districts educate poor children, the so-called Title I program. Now funded at almost \$8 billion per year, the program is distributed by a formula related to the number of poor children. The law now tells participating states that they must raise standards, and that they must ^{use} tests or some other assessment measures to hold themselves accountable for making progress in improving education outcomes for poor children. These reforms are moving us in the right direction. In schools and states across the country, there are important signs of promise and progress. But the pace is too slow, and our ambitions must be still higher.

Now, we must take on the additional challenge of closing the racial achievement gap, and do so directly. We should use the same methods -- accountability, flexibility, standards, and targeted resources -- that have begun to show promise for improving student achievement generally.

We have tolerated racial disparities in opportunity as well as in achievement for far too long. I share the burning impatience felt by many parents, civic leaders, and educators who are demanding more for all our children. Let us, together, channel that impatience, forging a new federal-state-local-community partnership to break the cycle of disadvantage and eliminate gaps in student achievement.

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In forging this partnership, we must be sure to carefully coordinate education programs across all government agencies. The Vice President and I have led an effort to "reinvent" the federal government so that we all focus on the services we provide children, families, and communities, and on the real effects those services have on people's lives. We must do the same as we form our Compacts for Equal Educational Opportunity. As we work together to close disparities in schools, let us break down our own bureaucratic walls. We need to reduce the administrative burden on schools and teachers. We need to make sure that we focus not on the government agency granting money but rather on making sure that teachers have the resources they need to teach all children well. And we need to look beyond current solutions, which are so often limited by metropolitan boundaries. In many regions, we might find economies of scale as well as more diverse school populations. Such regional solutions might help us serve all children better, in more racially integrated schools, with the same allocation of resources.

*Explain
clearly how
money goes
to schools
and teachers*

Let me be clear: this is not Washington encroaching on local authority. In my years as a governor, working both within my state and on national policy, I came to appreciate fully that education is primarily a state and local responsibility. But I have also seen that sometimes a child's opportunity can be limited by the resources a local community can raise with a property tax, or the accident of a state's wealth or poverty, generous or stingy in aid to local schools. Some education programs are confining, with

C. A WORKPLAN FOR THE NATION

The three goals I outlined above—closing racial gaps; increasing college participation and graduation; and promoting integration—are, of course, not only federal priorities. Federal leadership on these issues is important. But just as important are the contributions that all Americans can make to our progress, as parents and students, teachers and businesspeople, community members and civic leaders. We can build the educational system we deserve if we work in partnership, each taking tangible steps, prepared to reexamine our old assumptions and arrangements in order to prepare all of our people for new challenges and opportunities. We have often

A WORKPLAN FOR THE NATION

- (1) Close Racial Gaps from Pre-School through High School
 - Support Families and Promote Early Learning Opportunities
 - Provide Educational Resources and Opportunities Equitably
 - Teaching
 - Curriculum
 - Buildings
 - Technology
 - English Acquisition
 - High Expectations and Accountability
 - Students
 - School Systems and Social Promotion
 - Charter Schools, Public School Choice
- (2) Increase College Participation and Graduation
 - Expand College Enrollment and Financial Aid
 - Close Racial Disparities in Graduation Rates and Increase Minority Participation in Graduate and Professional Schools
 - Support Minority-Serving Institutions and Build College Partnerships
- (3) Promote Integration to Enrich the Learning Experience for All Students
 - Reduce Racial Segregation Among and Within K-12 Schools
 - Promote the Benefits of Diversity in Higher Education

Shulzberg
Boerwien
What we see down on
Student Aid

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Beyond parents' roles, we must mobilize other aspects of the caring "village" my wife Hillary has spoken about so often. Children of all races must, but too often do not, have access to high-quality pre-school. Quality preschool boosts child development, which leads to higher achievement in school, better social adjustment, and even decreased involvement in crime.³⁸ Head Start plays an important role here by providing quality pre-school to nearly one million children of low-income families. But we are currently serving fewer than half of all eligible students, and only 32 percent of eligible Hispanic students.³⁹ There is more to do.

As can
be seen
from

Finally, families must remain involved in their children's education throughout school. A child's chances of success, regardless of race or class, are immeasurably increased when his or her family participates in the child's education. The more directly involved parents are in each child's school, the greater the return.⁴⁰ All schools should have parent compacts that clearly define parents' role in the school. As a *national goal*, I

³⁸ See Steve Barnett, "Long Term Effects of Early Childhood Programs on Cognitive and School Outcomes," Hirokazu Yoshikawa, "Long Term Effects of Early Childhood Programs on Social Outcomes and Delinquency," and Ellen C. Frede, "The Role of Program Quality in Producing Early Childhood Program Benefits," all in *The Future of Our Children*, Vol 5. No. 3, (Winter 1995).

³⁹ [According to U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Head Start Bureau (based on U.S. Census Bureau, *Poverty Status of People in 1997*).]

⁴⁰ See, e.g., *The Family is Critical to Student Achievement*, Center for Law and Education, Anne T. Henderson and Nancy Berla, eds. (1997).

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struggling to learn in our lowest quality schools. It's a tangled knot of problems: we have a tradition of local control; we then leave most local school districts heavily dependent on property taxes; and school district boundaries separate the poor from the affluent -- and states may or may not choose to redistribute the resources to give every child a fair shot. In recent years, there have been over a dozen law suits brought under state constitutional provisions, challenging the school finance systems established by state laws. These have met with some success. I hope much more change of this sort is on the way.

Money isn't everything in education, but we can't expect schools to succeed without adequate resources. In tracking the dollars, however, simple per-pupil expenditures don't really tell the story of how much money is going into the classrooms, directly to kids, teachers and learning. On the other hand, students and communities are very different, and sometimes the numbers are comparing apples and oranges. Inner city schools, for example, often have much higher costs for security, dilapidated facilities, children with expensive special needs, English language learners, and so forth.

The fact is, students in our poorest communities often face disadvantages in so many areas that it is impossible to adequately discuss them all. But let me mention several issues that I believe are most crucial.

*P. Winters, President
Spring in my CA class
when she was 10*

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important step with Federal legislation in 1998 to help schools decrease class size; I hope that Congress will carry through on this commitment. Building on that, we must ensure, through recruitment, training, and professional development, that the teachers in those classes are fully prepared in the subjects they teach and in effective pedagogical methods. More of our brightest Americans must be encouraged to become teachers; colleges must commit to better teacher education; and more of our best teachers, including teachers certified by the prestigious National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, must be inspired and given incentives to teach in our highest-need communities.

-- **Curriculum.** Students of all races must have equal access to challenging courses.

This is important not only for reasons of equity, but also because studies have shown that high school curriculum is one of the single most important predictors of students' college success.⁴⁵ That is why it was so important to me that federal legislation early in my Administration gave a vital boost to the high-standards reform movement, including the effort to ensure that poor children are offered challenging course work.⁴⁶ Progress, however, is too slow. Today, poor and minority children are far more likely than middle class and white students to take "math for consumers" rather than a solid course in algebra. Today, minority students are far more likely than whites to attend a high school that offers

⁴⁵ Scott? Is this right?

⁴⁶ Data? What part of the early administration proposals concentrated on poor and minority kids' curriculum?

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SCHL for kids to travel
in underserved schools
Unile. Ref. in school
to ensure opportunity
to raise achievement

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inner cities, where large percentages of minority students attend outdated, dilapidated schools often just miles away from the modern suburban schools complete with the latest technology. These conditions are also prevalent in our rural and tribal areas, where schools are antiquated and inadequate.

The Federal government can and should help with this problem, but at least for the time being, politics seems to have gotten the better of good sense. Meanwhile, the best leadership at the state and local level recognizes that we cannot expect our children to raise themselves up in schools that are literally falling down. We must keep all of our schools in top-notch physical condition, and we must build new schools where needed.

-- *Technology*. Closely related to this is the importance of overcoming racial and class disparities in access to technology.⁴⁹ The changing nature of the economy is one of the major reasons that this gap is so critical. As recently as the 1950s, 20 percent of the workforce was professional, 60 percent was unskilled, and 20 percent was skilled. But today, fewer than 20 percent of the workforce is unskilled, while more than 60% of all jobs require advanced technical and organizational skills.⁵⁰



⁴⁹ Disparity in tech access: do we have a quote or a stat here?

⁵⁰ Labor, Commerce, Education, SBA, and NIFL report, Lisa Stuart, etc. 21st c. Skills for 21st c. Jobs Report, www.vpskillssummit.org. Stuart and colleagues cite Frank Levy and Richard J. Murane, Teaching the New Basic Skills: Principles for Educating Children to Thrive in a

To prepare all students for jobs in the new economy, and to improve education more generally, every school must have a sufficient number of computers, access to the Internet, and training on how teachers and students can use technology effectively. My administration has established a \$2 billion Technology Literacy Challenge Fund, designed to put more computers and more trained computer teachers into classrooms.⁵¹ The new "E-rate" championed by Vice President Gore discounts the price of technology for schools, especially those with high levels of poverty, thereby providing precious technology resources. But the bulk of the investment must come from state, local and private efforts. If we fail at this, the color divide will be compounded by a digital divide.⁵²

Handwritten note: "Must see if E-rate is enough."

-- **English acquisition.** There is strong consensus across racial and ethnic lines that all students should learn English, and that schools must provide the necessary resources to help all students learn English within three years. The current needs are great. Today, approximately 2.3 million children in the United States are deemed Limited English Proficient (LEP).^{53a} In addition to a shortage of bilingual teachers, only 28

Changing Economy, New York: 1997 Free Press, p. vii

⁵¹ Details? Cite

⁵² Again, need a statistic or a story or something illustrative here. Mike Davis, *Ecology of Fear*

⁵³ The 2.3 million figure is an estimate from 1993. It is likely that the 1999 number is higher. Most LEP children are clustered in large-city school districts, and in a small number of states. From Fleischman, H.L. and Hopstock, P.J., *Descriptive Study of Services to LEP Students, Volume 1 Summary of Findings and Conclusions*, Arlington VA, Development

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street gangs in school, to see a gun in school, and more.⁵⁶ Let me be clear: Violence destroys opportunity. That is why I have proposed a comprehensive school safety initiative that supports efforts by schools and communities to eliminate guns, drugs, and violence from our schools.⁵⁷

*President
School
Violence
Initiative
Program*

• *High Expectations and Accountability*

-- *Students.* In addition to providing better resources, we must promote high expectations for all students. In large part this means holding all students to high academic standards and, especially, making sure that tracking does not restrict learning opportunities. Too often, students are tracked based not on their educational needs but on their skin color or accent. This is discrimination in the form of low expectations by teachers and other adults. As I have said, we must not replace the tyranny of segregation with the tyranny of low expectations (I will have more to say on this subject later in this chapter, in my discussion of civil rights enforcement.)

Building higher expectations often starts with simply expecting more from students. Consider this: Surveys show that African-American and Hispanic students feel

⁵⁶ *Id.* at 5 citing, US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, *School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey* (1989 and 1995).

⁵⁷ Specifics on the school safety initiative?

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-- *Charter schools and public school choice.* Public school choice is based on a simple idea: that children often have different needs and different interests. Some children, for example, learn best in small schools, with personalized attention from teachers and classes based on small-group discussion. Other children thrive in larger schools, which can provide a variety of academic courses as well as many sports and extracurricular activities. Therefore all children, and their parents, deserve choice.

In my administration, we have encouraged the growth of different kinds of public schools -- some small, some larger, many based on specific academic themes -- that are "chartered" by states. We have also supported student and parent choice among those schools, as well as among more traditional institutions. Families ought not be restricted by neighborhood, and thus restricted by race- and class- boundaries. Charter schools and public school choice together help families obtain the kind of education they want for their children within the public schools.

Charter schools, and public school choice, have been very successful, particularly at raising the achievement scores of students in poor, majority-minority communities. District 4 in New York City's East Harlem, a predominantly black and Hispanic area, has been transformed by charter schools and by public school choice. The newer charter schools in East Harlem have increased achievement levels for all students. Somewhat

This one
has been cited
too often -
I don't
know if it's
an example
or not
example

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and deserve to go to college can afford it. I am proud that we have made much progress in this area. But much more can be done. Black and Hispanic students are still less likely to go to college than white students.⁶³ In many cases, this is simply because students from disadvantaged backgrounds are less aware of college options and of how to take advantage of those options. Evidence shows that we can increase participation in college by building partnerships between colleges and high-poverty schools.⁶⁴ These partnerships can increase college expectations and provide support services, such as mentoring and tutoring. We have taken important action to develop these partnerships through our GEAR UP program [Descriptive text box to come.] We must build on that to ensure that every degree-granting college partners with high-poverty schools to make the dream of college a reality for more low-income and minority students.

Over the last several years, we have retooled and dramatically increased financial aid for college, including substantial increases in Pell Grants, which are received by more than half of all minority college students. Nonetheless, the high cost of college remains the major reason why many students decide not to attend college⁶⁵ and why too many minority students drop out.⁶⁶ Money for college is available to all who need it, and we

High cost of college is the major reason why many students decide not to attend college and why too many minority students drop out.

⁶³ See *Digest of Education Statistics 1997*, *supra* note 13, at 196, Table 186.

⁶⁴ *High Hopes for College for America's Youth*, Background document prepared by U.S. Department of Education, 5 (February 4, 1998).

⁶⁵ *Factors Related to College Enrollment*, U.S. Department of Education, Office of the Under Secretary, 26 (1998).

⁶⁶ See info for footnote 48 in Ed binder, Dan Goldenberg memo.

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Community colleges play an important role in expanding educational opportunity, especially for Hispanic students. These colleges also serve as a bridge to further education. Studies show that where there are clear agreements linking 2-year and 4-year colleges, more minority and other students successfully transfer from community college and more transfer students receive bachelor's degrees.⁶⁹ Two-year and 4-year colleges must build strong, clear relationships to enhance coordination, increase student transfer rates, and increase graduation rates.

⁶⁹ Tom Snyder suggests that we not footnote this. But if we do, we could probably use Dorothy M. Knoell, "Moving Toward Collaboration in Transfer and Articulation" in *New Directions for Community Colleges*, No. 96, Winter 1996, in the ERIC digest. Available on-line at www.ed.gov/databases/ERIC_digest/ed416934.html.

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students of color. Fifteen percent of black college students attend HBCUs, but HBCUs award 28 percent of all bachelor's degrees received by blacks. And HSIs award more than 50 percent of all bachelor's degrees received by Hispanics.⁷¹

Minority-serving institutions typically go the extra mile to retain their students, and more colleges should follow their lead. For example, Xavier University of Louisiana, a small, historically black university with only 3000 students, leads the nation in producing black physics, chemistry, and biology graduates and sends more black graduates to medical schools and pharmacy schools than any other college or university in the nation.⁷² Norman Francis, President of Xavier University, attributes Xavier's success to demanding hard work while providing all students with the support services they need to succeed, including advising, tutoring, and assistance in applying to graduate schools.

In addition, we must encourage partnerships between minority-serving institutions and predominantly white research universities. These partnerships can enrich academic offerings available to students. In addition, the partnerships can increase diversity by providing opportunities for students and faculty to interact in different environments.⁷³

⁷¹ *Digest of Education Statistics 1998, ibid.*

⁷² Scott, article

⁷³ Note: We now have info on the AUC Engineering Dual Degree. Felicia isn't sure whether it's worth including -- it's a bit complicated, and students from Spelman, Morehouse, etc. can partner either with mainstream white institutions or with other black universities like North Carolina Agricultural and Technical. Please advise.

usually
HBCUs
HSIs
referred to

*

(3) Promoting Integration to Enrich the Learning Experience for All Students

Parents, students, institutions, and communities should be able to choose a racially and ethnically diverse education. Segregation in elementary and secondary schools is worsening, for several reasons. Housing and demographic trends are the worst culprits, but there has also been a shift away from court-ordered desegregation remedies put in place years ago, and some lessening of local political support for voluntary school district efforts that would ease racial isolation. Furthermore, diversity in higher education, though strongly supported by the higher education community and the nation, is under attack on several fronts.

As I said earlier,⁷⁴ I firmly believe in the value of integration in education, while recognizing that it has been a painful subject in families and communities around the country for generations. As my Advisory Board said in its final report, the goals of quality and integration in education are complementary. Diversity is not about political

⁷⁴ See the discussion of integration in Part II, *supra*.

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transmission
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minority enrollment.⁷⁵ We must reduce this racial segregation and isolation among schools. *The single most important thing we can do to promote integration is to make all schools excellent, and make sure that excellence attracts a diverse student population.* ✓

There are also innovative ways to give more parents and children the option of an integrated education. We should expand interdistrict magnet and charter schools. Many of these schools are small, and therefore can provide students important individualized teaching. Many of them also build their curriculum around exciting themes, like science and technology or performing arts, and so attract students of all backgrounds who share the love of a certain subject. We must also support schools that are located in large employers' facilities and on university campuses. These can help break down the class- and race-barriers that still plague our neighborhood schools. And, finally, we must attack the residential problem directly by promoting housing integration efforts that will allow neighborhood schools to be truly multi-racial. (More on this later.)

Even in so-called integrated schools, however, too many students are resegregated into different classes, with students of color overrepresented in remedial and special education classes.⁷⁶ Furthermore, students sometimes self-segregate in inappropriate

⁷⁵ Orfield et al., *supra* note 20, at 11.

⁷⁶ Scott

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ways. We must take action to ensure that tracking based on biased expectations and faulty policies does not resegregate students and thereby undermine our efforts to have the kind of quality that will build One America.

*Ward
Section*

- *Promote the benefits of diversity in higher education*

College and university leaders have long known that diversity in the student body is essential to providing everyone on campus with a complete educational experience. According to Neil Rudenstine, President of Harvard University, "The conception of a diverse student body as an educational resource -- comparable in importance to the faculty, library, or science laboratories -- is the most direct expression of an idea that we have seen emerging over the course of more than a century."⁷⁷ Studies show that where the resource of racial diversity is used effectively, all students benefit.⁷⁸ However, diversity in higher education is poorly understood in the public arena and is under attack on several fronts. Most dramatically, in states where affirmative action has been outlawed, we have seen a dramatic decrease in the numbers of students of color accepted at the most prestigious institutions. For example, in 1998, the University of California, Berkeley had

⁷⁷ Neil Rudenstine, President, Harvard University, *Report to the Harvard University Board of Overseers*, 1993-1995, 33 (January 1996).

⁷⁸ Scott

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to reject more than 800 highly qualified black, Hispanic, and Native American applicants each of whom had a 4.0 or higher GPA and scored 1200 or higher on the SAT.⁷⁹

I address elsewhere the issue of affirmative action. But here I want to make the more general point that as a nation we must recognize the great value of diversity in higher education. In their recent book *The Shape of the River*, William G. Bowen and Derek Bok showed that college students of all races want a diverse educational experience. According to surveys of black and white graduates of selective universities who began college in 1989, a majority of both blacks and whites believe that “the ability to work effectively and get along with people of different races and cultures” is “very important.”⁸⁰ A majority of both blacks and whites also believe their undergraduate experience was of “considerable value” in developing those skills based on interactions with students of different races.⁸¹ And the vast majority of both blacks and whites believe that their school should continue to place the same or greater emphasis on diversity.⁸² What was true for elementary and secondary schools is just as true for college: properly understood, diversity

⁷⁹ Rene Sanchez, “With Ban on Preferences, UC Will Enroll 12% Fewer Blacks, Hispanics,” *The Washington Post*, May 21, 1998, p. A10.

⁸⁰ William G. Bowen, Derek Bok, *The Shape of the River: Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions*, 221-240 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).

⁸¹ *Id.* At 239.

⁸² *Id.* At 245.

instrument of destabilization and neighborhood decline.³⁷

In short, concentrated disadvantage and community disorder greatly reduce collective efficacy and, thereby, promote crime in our highest crime communities. We can and must take action to rebuild community infrastructure and strengthen the forces of cohesion. One simple key is to get organizations involved. Existing community organizations can and must reach into high-crime neighborhoods, encourage civic participation, and build a foundation of community support.³⁸ Furthermore, the community can be an essential partner in helping to restore order in high-crime communities by cleaning up areas and promoting positive activities for youth. Indeed, these roles might be more appropriate and successful ones for citizens and organizations than a more traditional law enforcement role. Finally, we must promote quality education and strong economic development to overcome the concentrated disadvantage that plagues many high-crime communities. The elements of the workplan I have proposed in these other areas are also vital to building secure communities.

³⁷ Wesley G. Skogan, *Disorder and Decline; Crime and the Spiral Decay in American Neighborhoods*. 2-3 (1990).

³⁸ Wesley Skogan, *The Community's Role in Community Policing, in Communities: Mobilizing Against Crime, Making Partnerships Work*, U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice Journal, 34 (August 1996).

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NY
circled

But I do not think you can talk about crime in America, especially the proliferation of crime and violence among young people of color in deeply poor communities, without talking about the values and the lessons we teach our young people. A child's world view—whether positive or negative—is formed early in life, not only by the love or lack of love we show them, but also by the investments we make or don't make in their futures, the values and images we present them through the media, and the opportunity or lack of opportunity that surrounds them. We cannot be satisfied when some states spend more on prisons than education, or when America, the land of the free, has one of the highest incarceration rates in the world. Doesn't it make more sense to invest in our children at the front end of their lives—in education, in prevention, in strong communities—than to pay at the back end by building more and stronger prisons in which to warehouse them? We cannot talk about race and crime in America without talking about our commitment, as parents and as a nation, to embrace all children as our own and to give them something to say yes to.

*For the President
J. Michael*

PART III: THE OPPORTUNITY WE DESERVE

[Introduction to Part III]

[Sections 1-4]

...

5. CREATING OPPORTUNITIES FOR NATIVE AMERICANS

A. INTRODUCTION

In 1994, I held a historic meeting at the White House with American Indian and Alaska Native tribal leaders from the over 500 federally recognized tribes. For most of them, it was their first ever visit to the people's house. I hope it is not the last. Native Americans occupy a special place spiritually, culturally, and historically in America. In 1998, I had the pleasure of hosting a White House conference on economic development in Indian country. There I met a young man named Dominic Ortiz from the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation. Dominic graduated from Haskell Indian Nations University, one of this country's tribal colleges, and transferred to the University of Kansas to major in accounting. While at Haskell, Dominic started his own successful business. Dominic's business is not only thriving, but it has allowed him to finance his education. Dominic embodies the entrepreneurial spirit sweeping through Indian country. Just as he is creating his own future, we must give all Native Americans the support and tools they

Wm. H. Miller
on E.O. 12812
for the purpose of
E.O. 12812, which
authorizes the
to carry out
the mission

Handwritten note:
Meet at Baumgardner's
for an appointment

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-7-99

5-7-99

After you have seen,
we will send to
Burkhardt for reply.

C. OK

DEAR PRESIDENT

CLINTON

I HAVE AN IDEA. ST,

A WHITE FLAG OUT
MR. PAPA COAC

AND THE ARMY?

COME BACK TO
FAMILIES.

THANK YOU

HAND AN. D.

AGE 6.

Handan Bennett
PSC 10 BOX 576
APO AE 09142

Barbara Layton
11 Cross Highway
East Hampton, NY 11937
(516) 329-3931

98 MAY 7 PM 4:41

6 May 1999

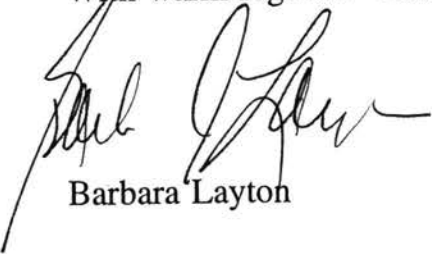
Bill,

Some excerpts I wanted to share with you from research I had done in the mid 90s on public school education in the U.S. As a passionate educator for almost 15 years (in full support of having our school system work) and a parent of 20 years, I thought perhaps they could prove insightful as you take a look at some of the contributing factors leading to the violence and unrest in some of our schools today, during your May 10th meeting.

Although many of the reasons may seem obvious (t.v., Internet, video games, movies, etc.), this particular time in history requires us to look more deeply than ever before. The answer may lay not in what we have before us, but rather, what we are missing and calling out for....a change that involves making a break with the past and looking both at ourselves and the world with new eyes....a change that requires a transformation of our fundamental values and beliefs in how we relate to one another....a major shift in our thinking and perception....a politics of meaning.

I acknowledge and honor your courage, commitment and insight to address with us these issues whose time has come, if we are to move purposefully, mindfully, compassionately and spiritually into the 21st century. After all, these are the times and we are the people.

With warm regards. Take care.


Barbara Layton

5/6/99

From Ann Lewis -

Send to Berkhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Hope to see you and Hillary in

C

It is in fact, nothing short of a miracle that the modern methods of instruction have not yet entirely strangled the holy curiosity of inquiry: for this delicate little plant, aside from stimulation, stands mainly in need of freedom; and without this it goes to wrack and ruin without fail. It is a grave mistake to think that the enjoyment of seeing and searching can be promoted by means of coercion and a sense of duty. To the contrary, I believe that it would be possible to rob even a healthy beast of prey of its voraciousness, if it were possible, with the aid of a whip, to force the beast to devour continuously, even when not hungry, especially if the food, handed out under such coercion, were to be selected accordingly." (Albert Einstein).

We live in a time of great school crisis linked to an even greater social crisis. Our nation ranks at the bottom of nineteen industrial nations in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Our teenage suicide rate is the highest in the world. This great crisis which we witness in our schools is interlinked with a greater social crisis in the community. We seem to have lost our identity.

John Taylor Gatto (New York State Teacher of the Year 1992) states "Schools and schooling are increasingly irrelevant to the great enterprises of the planet. No one believes anymore that scientists are trained in science classes or politicians in civic classes or poets in English classes. The truth is that schools don't really teach anything except how to obey orders. Although teachers do care and do work very hard, the institution is psychopathic: it has no conscience. It rings a bell and the

young person in the middle of a poem must close his notebook and move to a different cell where he must memorize that humans and monkeys derive from a common ancestor."

It is absurd and anti-life to be part of a system that compels you to sit in confinement with people of exactly the same age every day. It is absurd and anti-life to move from classroom to classroom at the sound of a gong for every day of your natural youth in an institution that allows you no privacy and even follows you into your own home demanding that you do "homework." "But how will they learn to read?" is a question often asked. When children are given whole lives instead of age graded ones in cellblocks, they learn to read, write, and do arithmetic with ease, if those things make sense in the kind of life that unfolds around them.

In his book "Dumbing US Down," John Taylor Gatto describes the children he teaches on a typical school day where so much of their time is taken away from them: ¹The children I teach are indifferent to the adult world. ²The children I teach have almost no curiosity and what little they do have is transitory. They cannot concentrate for long. ³The children I teach have a poor sense of the future, of how tomorrow is linked to today. ⁴The children I teach have no sense of how the past has predestined their present, shaping their values and their lives. ⁵The children I teach are cruel to each other, they lack compassion.

⁶The children I teach are uneasy with intimacy. ⁷The children I teach are materialistic. ⁸The children I teach are dependent, passive, and timid in the presence of new challenges.

School training is not education. By pre-empting fifty percent of the total time of the young, by locking young people up with other young people exactly their own age, by ringing bells to start and stop work, by asking people to think about the same thing at the same time in the same way, by grading people the way we grade vegetables, no one survives with their humanity intact, not kids, not teachers, not administrators, and not parents. They take children out of and away from the great richness and variety of the world, and in its place give them school subjects, the curriculum. They may jazz it up with special materials and other goodies, but instead of letting children have contact with more and more people, places, tools, and experiences, the schools are busily cutting the world up into little bits and giving it out according to some expert's theory about what children need or can stand.

According to the dictionary, a curriculum is simply a "series of studies required for graduating." Many schools boast of the uniqueness of their curriculum, however, curriculum making is an art, not a science. Knowledge is fluid, changing constantly as we investigate ourselves and the world around us, however, the so called "body of knowledge" a curriculum represents is not fluid but rather frozen once decision makers decide what it should be. The advantage is its ease of execution and evaluation for teachers and administrators, being especially

useful for instructing large groups of children. Unfortunately,
it reduces a child's personality, interests, motivation, social
skills, and physical and mental skills. It is then fed into
numerous other schools' record keeping systems and becomes the
foundation for a student's "credentials." This method is paced to
the group, not to the individual. Too many children get lost and
left behind with fixed curriculum methods, not to mention the
boredom of the rigidity.

Time spent on learning tasks is important to a degree, but
it's overdone in school, resulting in boredom and lack of
challenge. While strict scheduling allows time to be spent
regularly on learning tasks, it also leads to the isolation of
subject matter and skills within each subject. It is difficult
for students to sense the overall picture and understand why they
must learn what is presented to them or how it relates to their
lives. There are so few activities calling for deeper levels of
thinking and instead most school work demands only minimal
thinking. Competition among students is overly emphasized,
resulting in a stress filled environment and as recent research
has shown, thought innovation, risk taking and self-confidence
are paralyzed.

Schools, for the most part, fail to provide an enlivening
and nurturing learning environment. There is little or no sense
of intimacy, the student has no control of his/her time, there is
little or no flexibility with schedule, and the needs and
inclinations of the student are rarely addressed. How a student

is feeling on any particular day really doesn't matter in a classroom of twenty plus students. Most public school environments provide us with the following: ¹Classrooms in which children are expected to compete with each other. ²Classrooms which measure children against each other or against outside standards. ³Classrooms in which children learn by being told. ⁴Classrooms in which the work is fed to children in tiny sequential bits. ⁵Classrooms in which everything is planned for them. ⁶Classrooms in which the teacher disciplines.

Throughout infancy, children are afforded a great deal of respect and encouragement as free spirited inquirers learning how to speak, walk, and interact with adults and other children. They enter school with enthusiasm and excitement expecting the same degree of respect. Instead, they enter a formal classroom setting that hasn't changed its basic structure for 150 years. We treat the learning process as we do the manufacture of a machine on a production line: input child age 5. Add reading, math, science, social studies, and output child 12 years later. What happened to that happy, creative learner who entered school with a natural hunger to explore? A few lucky ones make it through the system with their creativity more or less intact - though there's no telling how they would have flourished in a more progressive setting. But many are numbed by the process. These will make good production line workers, but unfortunately we have automated our production lines. What's left for them, and what's left for the ones who simply don't make it through the system.

True learning, learning that is permanent and useful, that leads to intelligent action and further learning can arise only out of the experience, interests, and concerns of the learner. Education is something a person gets for himself/herself, not that which someone else gives or does to him/her. Every child without exception, has an innate and unquenchable drive to understand the world, and whatever adds to the understanding, capacity, growth, pleasure, freedom, and dignity may be said to be true education.

The pressures in most public schools are enormous and harmful. They create in young children an exaggerated concern with getting right answers and avoiding mistakes. They drive them into defensive strategies of learning behaviors that choke off their intellectual powers making real learning all but impossible. According to John Holt in "The Underachieving School," the effects are even wider and more harmful in teenagers. This is the time in a growing person's life when he/she most needs to be free of pressure. It is at this period of life when he/she becomes most sharply aware of himself/herself as a person, of the need to know who and what that person is, and will become.

The pressures schools place on teenagers also tend to destroy their sense of power and purpose. The gross effects of the pressures are evident. Along with an increase in psychological disturbances, there is an increase in suicide and the use of alcohol and drugs. There is also an increase in all kinds of cheating, not among unsuccessful students, but among

superior students whose grades would be good even if they didn't cheat. The pressure for grades has corrupted the act of learning itself. Many young people learn quickly that what counts in school and college is not knowing and understanding, but making someone think you know and understand: that knowledge is valuable, not because it helps us deal better with the problems of life, but because it has become a commodity that can be sold on the market. The joy of learning is gone. For many, school has become a racket and success in school and in life depends on learning how to beat it. Schools do not seem aware of the harm that their competition for prestige is doing to American youth and American education.

Public school education seldom if ever addresses the issue of when the appropriate time is in a child's life to begin formal education. Piaget told us that the average child reaches formal cognitive operations (adult type perceptions and judgments) between the ages of 15-20. Reports of studies from the University of Oklahoma found that children who have had the advantage of family life during their early years reach cognitive maturity between 8-12. William Rohwer of the University of California at Berkeley insists we could save millions of youngsters from academic failure if we delayed formal academics until junior high school. Most early entrants (4, 5, 6) are tired of school before third or fourth grade, the minimal levels where they should be starting. David Elkind, Professor of Child Studies at Tufts University, calls them "burned out." According to educator Joseph Chilton Pearce, vision, hearing, and other

senses as well as brain, cognitive, and coordination development are not ready for normal academics until at least ages 8-12. In these days of early schooling, most children's eyes are permanently damaged before age 12. Neither the maturity of their delicate nervous systems nor the balancing of their young brains, nor the insulation of their nerve pathways provide a basis for thoughtful learning before age 8.

Dr. Howard Gardner, a psychologist and co-director of the Harvard Project on Human Potential is author of Frames of Mind. In this book he states that our concept of intelligence is far too limited. According to Gardner, he possesses not one but seven distinct forms of intelligence: linguistic, logical-mathematical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, and intrapersonal. He argues that Western Society as a whole, and its schools in particular, seem to reinforce linguistic and logical mathematical forms of intelligence while neglecting other ways of knowing. Teachers love children who are good with words and logic. However, children with ability in dance, art, music, social relations, intuition, drama, and other areas of self-expression tend not to receive as much recognition. In order to empower such diversity, schools need to provide a broad spectrum of classroom methods and activities which they currently do not provide.

Politicians look at the results of standardized tests and are upset because children of other cultures surpass our children's scores. So they attempt to produce world class students by turning up the heat. Let's put more pressure on the

system. Let's have more time spent in school. Let's try for total quality management. Today's system of classroom learning utterly fails to account for the essential humanity of children. We know how to condition children as we would animals. What we need to discover is how to respect children as humans entering the learning environment. It is not the teachers who are at fault, but the system itself that is at fault as it dictates how teachers must perform their job. And it is our society, our politicians, and a board of education that perpetuate the system.

Most educators feel that testing is a necessary part of education, however there is a growing number of educators who feel that testing does more harm than good...it hinders, distorts, and corrupts the learning process. Students are not as a rule tested to prove they can perform activities they have chosen for themselves (as would a dancer, tennis player, pianist, etc.). Teachers say that children are tested to find out what they learned so as to better know how to help them more. According to John Holt in "Teach Your Own," this is about 95% untrue. According to Holt, there are two main reasons that we test children: the first is to threaten them into doing what the system wants done and the second is to give the same system a basis for handing out the rewards and penalties on which the educational system, like all coercive systems, must operate. The greater the threat posed by a test, the less it can measure and far less encourage learning. They almost always penalize the student who works slowly. They severely penalize the anxious

students who worry about tests and because of their fears many students are unable to show just how much they do really know. Testing is misleading and worthless.

Many educators, along with people in industry, are beginning to study distinct aspects of behavior that successful people have in common. They have found that well-developed social skills seem to be of great importance in distinguishing the successful from the merely average. Norman Zuckerman, managing editor of the New York Post, described President Clinton as a man with "great political skills and great human skills." Any parent would be thrilled if some notable person said that of their child. But our present form of education does little to equip our youth with human skills.

Traditional education focuses only on fact based knowledge, memorizing information and parroting it back. We have sophisticated educational tools and concepts in our present educational system, yet the development of all the social qualities which we admire in successful people is left almost entirely to chance. Such things as self-initiation, good social skills, and self-expression are absent in the traditional curriculum. A well-adjusted, compassionate human being does not simply happen, but is crafted over time, yet we neglect the crafting process. As a country we admire the self-starter in our society, yet we do nothing to foster this behavior as our youth proceed through school. Instead of encouraging students to explore their own emerging ideas, we insist that they put them aside, work on them only after school, after homework, after

chores, after everything else has been assigned by teachers and
parents is out of the way. The message given is their own ideas
and interests are of no value. In the self-initiated learning
 environment nothing is accomplished without the student making it
 happen. The environment is designed this way because self-
 initiation is a key to being successful in life, yet traditional
 schools suppress this skill.

Two educational movements from Europe which are quite
 successful in the United States and are presently the leading
 alternative movements in contemporary American education are the
 Montessori and Waldorf schools. Montessori schools have become
 highly popular, mostly because the children's academics and self-
 discipline are so apparent. The approach encourages children to
 work at their own pace, either individually or in groups, while
 developing uncommon levels of concentration and self-direction.
Maria Montessori said "Our care of the child should be governed
not by the desire to 'make him learn things' but by the endeavor
always to keep burning within him that light which is called the
intelligence" Montessori argued that humankind will
achieve true peace only when the child's developmental needs are
fully and lovingly met—that is, when the needs of the child
become society's highest priority.

Waldorf education was founded by Austrian philosopher
 Rudolph Steiner. Steiner said that true education is not the
 inculcation of socially approved facts and skills into a passive
 student, but is an "art-the Art of awakening what is actually
 there within the human being" Waldorf teachers are

trained to pay close attention to their interactions with the children, move up grade by grade with their students, spending eight years developing a close, loving, trusting relationship with them. Waldorf educators believe that young children are not developmentally ready for academic learning (as did Piaget, Pearce, etc.). They oppose the competitive, high pressure demands of early childhood educators and believe that premature intellectual endeavors drain the child of physical resources needed for future well being. Waldorf students do not lag in academic achievement, in fact, the older students delve deeply into the humanities and science far more than public school students.

Both the Waldorf and Montessori school movements provide alternatives to the materialistic world view of the industrial age. Both philosophies can easily be adapted into the public school system.

What can we do to optimize the environment into which we place children? How can we help them expand and build upon the skills and learning styles they have so clearly mastered in their first six years of life? We need to throw out our production line approach to education and make way for a new approach, one that respects the defining quality of humanity in children.

Conventional teacher driven classrooms cannot possibly produce the reliable learning one must attain if schools are to survive. The results of many studies confirm that the 145 year old system we are still trying to use after 145 years of failure must be stopped and replaced.

Children must be able to converse freely with each other to develop an unrestricted flow of ideas. Children must feel that the classroom is a safe place for them to exercise freedom of thought. All who participate in the learning community must demonstrate respect for each other's ideas no matter how tenuous. There must be a special respect for fleeting thoughts and new ideas (Hartjen).

This is an environment in which children are given a great amount of freedom to initiate their own learning experiences and to continually exchange ideas. You can hear the children thinking. For schools to be effective there must be multiple opportunities for students to have extended hands on experience with projects that facilitate and expand their skills and knowledge, no matter what their field of interest. Our schools have focused on providing students with sufficient skills to earn a decent living. Not too bad a goal for the early 20th century as we moved from an agrarian society into the industrial age. We now need to work on an educational system that enables students to develop one or more of the creative potentials that exist in each of us. How do you justify taking time away from children's academic studies and devoting it instead to helping them discover their creative potential? The answer is obvious. Once a child has found his/her life's love, he/she is halfway there. And besides that, we do not need to keep our children's noses to the grindstone all day long, and with homework, into the

night.

According to Raymond H. Hartjen, Ph.D. in "Empowering the Child, Nurturing the Hungry Mind," research shows that children learn best when the school population is kept small (250 students). The closeness of such a setting enhances learning. Everyone knows everyone else. Freedom, trust, and respect dominate interaction. You don't need hall passes! Students come and go as their needs dictate. In such a learning environment, teachers expectations are high, and the students set high standards for themselves.

Freedom abounds in those schools. Children assert their freedom to choose when they select an area on which to focus their efforts. By accepting their choices, the teachers demonstrate respect for the child. Respect forms the foundation of trust which is essential to building a sound student teacher relationship. Limits are precisely defined, and both student and teacher have a say in establishing the laws by which they live. When teachers discover the richness of working with children in the self-initiated learning environment, a community emerges. This experience enhances the lives of teachers as well as students and they share the richness with their colleagues and the entire community becomes alive. Parents become an integral part of the school as it serves the community, and as a result you have children who love school. It is no longer a situation of students against teachers, us against them, as it is now in so many of the public schools.

Although alternative education has taken many forms, these

forms all share a few key characteristics. Children are treated as individuals with personal temperatments, interests, and abilities. Grading, standardized testing, and classification schemes (IQ, etc.) are minimized or totally eliminated. Human relationships between adult and child as well as within the school community, are non-authoritarian. Intellectual and vocational skills are highly valued, but not at the expenses of the emotional, artistic, social, physical, and spiritual development of the personality.

John Holt, in an interview with Education News N.Y.C. was asked "If America's schools were to take one giant step forward this year toward a better tomorrow, what should it be?" His reply was, "It would be to let every child be the planner, director, and assessor of his own education, to allow and encourage him, with the inspiration and guidance of more experienced and expert people, and as much help as he asked for, to decide what he is to learn, when he is to learn it, how he is to learn it, and how well he is learning it. It would be to make our schools, instead of what they are, which is jails for children, into a resource for free and independent learning, which everyone in the community, of whatever age, could use as much or as little as he wanted."

Faith in children's ability to learn and sort things out for themselves must distinguish the twenty-first century school. Exciting new developments crop up in education every day, and many of these developments will help transform our schools of tomorrow. But we need to begin by building on the natural

learning skills of the child first entering school. We need to begin by examining what distinguishes the children of human beings. Are we attending to these human dimensions as we plan the educational environment to which we commit children for their learning years? When we address these questions, we will initiate the evolution of our schools into productive learning environments rich in stimulating resources - where the teacher functions as a guide in a child-centered, individualized program.

If this system is to work, we must have faith in our teacher's ability to adapt, and in the children's ability to inquire and learn. This is the complete opposite of our current system, in which we rely on research findings and scientific methods to test hypotheses. Under such a structure, we cannot change the way teaching is done without having the changes first proven through rigorous research.

Schools must provide an environment where learning is an exciting adventure of the mind, heart and spirit--an environment of mutual respect and support, shared decision making, and the desire to grow and learn as a community--an environment that is engaging, alive, challenging, intimate, soulful and fun....an environment which offers a rich curriculum that is student directed and teacher guided--an environment that assists in preparing students for a whole, purposeful and meaningful life for the 21st century.

If education is always to be conceived along the same antiquated lines of a mere transmission of knowledge, there is little to be hoped from it in the bettering of man's future.

- Maria Montessori, *The Absorbent Mind*, 1949

Education, as conceived today, is something separated both from biological and social life.

- Maria Montessori, *The Absorbent Mind*, 1949

The world of education is like an island where people, cut off from the world, are prepared for life by exclusion of it.

- Maria Montessori, *The Absorbent Mind*, 1949

As I inched sluggishly along the treadmill of the Maycomb County school system, I could not help receiving the impression that I was being cheated out of something. Out of what I knew not, yet I did not believe that twelve years of unrelieved boredom was exactly what the state had in mind for me.

- Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, 1960

Those who have been required to memorize the world as it is will never create the world as it might be.

- Judith Groch, *The Right to Create*, 1969

Children must be taught how to think, not what to think.

- Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, 1928

Education strays from reality when it divides its knowledge into separate compartments without due regard to the connection between them.

- Frances Wosmek, Acknowledge the Wonder, 1988

To repeat what others have said requires education: to challenge it requires brains.

- Madeleine L'Engle, Walking on Water, 1980

I learned three important things in college--to use a library, to memorize quickly and visually, to drop asleep at any given time given a horizontal surface and fifteen minutes. What I could not learn was to think creatively on schedule.

- Agnes de Mille, Dance to the Piper, 1952

Nowadays it seems that moral education is no longer considered necessary. Attention is wholly centered on intelligence, while the heart life is ignored.

- George Sand, The Intimate Journal of George Sand, 1929

To me education is a leading out of what is already there in the pupil's soul. To Miss Mackay, it is a putting in of something that is not there, and that is not what I call education. I call it intrusion.

- Muriel Spark, The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie, 1962

So far we do not seem appalled at the prospect of exactly the same kind of education being applied to all the school children from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but there is an uneasiness in the air; a realization that the individual is growing less easy to find; an idea, perhaps, of what standardization might become when the units are not machines, but human beings.

- Edith Herritton, *Adventures of the Mind*, 1959

One might say that the American trend of education is to reduce the senses almost to nil.

- Isadora Duncan, *My Life*, 1927

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5-10-99

Podesta

Have we taken a
position on the
tax legis? — What
can we do to pursue
along — BC

① Podesta
② abstract

Copied
Podesta

Making History

War, Remembrance: How America Manages To Let Go of Its Past

Not So in Yugoslavia, Where
Milosevic Still Invokes
A Battle Cry From 1389

Justice Delayed, and Denied



By G. PASCAL ZACHARY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Kosovo dominates the headlines, but ethnic disputes—fueled by rival readings of history—rage all over the world: in the Middle East, Northern Ireland, India, Indonesia and parts of Africa.

Everywhere, the role of fractured history is crucial to promoting conflict. "Each side tries to legitimize their aims by appealing to history, sometimes selectively choosing episodes and other times just by inventing history," says Norman Davies, a historian at Oxford University. What scholars consider "history," he adds, "gets mangled" in the process.

This is all very difficult for many Americans to comprehend. To be sure, Americans distort historical images, but rarely in order to ignite group strife. For the most part, Americans have set aside disturbing memories, or prettied them up for the purposes of nostalgia.

Even so bloody a conflict as the Civil War, which 135 years ago left more than 600,000 dead, is viewed by many as a redemptive drama in which Americans expunged the evil of slavery and set the stage for their country's emergence as a world power in this century. "We have a vision of our history as progress, with detours, but basically going in the direction of better and better things," says Eric Foner, a historian at Columbia University in New York and president-elect of the American Historical Association.

Recent traumas, which might be expected to spark feelings of revenge—such as the Oklahoma City bombing or the 1983 massacre of 241 U.S. soldiers in Beirut—have begun to fade. And the willingness of victims of injustice to seek harmony runs deep. "For all our country's failings, there is an impulse to rectify injustice here," says Paul Boyer, a cultural historian at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. "Whereas if you're an ethnic Albanian in Serbia, history reinforces a sense of the impossibility of justice."

Indeed, around the world, rival interpretations of history inspire rival conceptions of justice. The Serb attacks in Kosovo are justified in part as payback for a series of betrayals—and outbreaks of violence in this century—that link back to a primary betrayal that allegedly occurred in 1389. Serbs say they lost their medieval kingdom because Albanians aided Turkish invaders. This casting of history may help explain what appears to many as a perverse puzzle: How is it that the ethnic group that is in power keeps explaining its actions by invoking its own victim status?

The 1389 defeat, on a plain in Kosovo known as the Field of the Blackbirds, inaugurated 500 years of Turkish domination. The date of this battle—June 28—so underpins the Serb sense of victimization that not only is it a religious holiday but on that very day, in 1914, a Serb nationalist assassinated Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, triggering World War I.

Yet the battle itself is shrouded in myths. No contemporary report of it exists. Much evidence suggests that Albanians may have fought alongside Serbs, making them allies and not enemies. Some historians think Serbia actually won the battle; others believe Serbs fought to a draw.

About the only thing everyone agrees on is that the Serb leader, Prince Lazar, was killed in the battle. This fact is critical, since Serb nationalists through the centuries have sought to associate themselves with the myth of their valiant prince. Lazar is recalled as a martyr who embodies Serb greatness. When Slobodan Milosevic in 1989 rescinded the autonomy of Yugoslavia's Kosovo province, he draped himself in Lazar imagery.

After one million Serbs gathered nearby at a monastery for the first public viewing of what were said to be Prince Lazar's bones, Mr. Milosevic arrived by helicopter at the Field of the Blackbirds. Addressing a throng, he reached back to 1389, declaring, "The Kosovo heroism does not allow us to forget that at one time we were brave and dignified and one of the few who went into battle undefeated. . . . Six centuries later, again we are in battles and quarrels."

The Kosovo performance marked a turning point in Serbian nationalism. By identifying himself with Lazar, and thus with the central myths of Serb history, Mr. Milosevic succeeded in prompting his fellow Serbs to enter what scholars call "collapsed time," psychologically returning to the Middle Ages.

"When Serbs talk about 1389, they are living in 1389," says Michael Sells, a professor of religion at Haverford College in Haverford, Pa., who has written a book about the religious and psychological aspects of Serb nationalism. "They are so transformed by the ritual that they no longer think of themselves as an audience looking at a past event."

That Serbia's readings of history may be spurious doesn't set it apart from other nations, and certainly not from the U.S., where historical accounts of how white settlers wrested control of Native American land carry a self-serving taint. While in recent years, some historians

Please Turn to Page A6, Column 1

Continued From First Page

have started calling the wars against Indians an early example of "ethnic cleansing," comparable to the campaign by Mr. Milosevic against the Kosovars, this position is considered extreme. "For most white Americans, memory of the gritty horrible elements of the Indian wars are either lost to amnesia, or distanced into a colorful, even chipper memory of Wild West Days," says Patricia Nelson Limerick, a historian of the West at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

This sort of historical manipulation suits America, which is today defined by a booming economy and a long wave of immigration. Ten percent of U.S. residents are foreign-born; 10 million newcomers have arrived in this decade alone. While they keep alive their own particular histories, they are eager to embrace the core myths of the American experience: that this land always offers liberty and equality to those who call.

With prosperity and jobs aplenty, people see a better future and don't wish to waste energy on the dead past. Opportunities abound. The American frontier as a physical landscape may no longer exist, but as a state of mind—in technology, entrepreneurship and new forms of community—it certainly does.

The inattention of many Americans to their history disappoints some, but may not be as bad when much of the world is burdened by painful memories. "I would be inclined to see the loss of memory as a shame," Prof. Limerick says. "But given what's going on elsewhere in the world, forgetting may be something of a virtue."

The Civil War is probably the best example of the way many Americans mold history to suit constructive purposes. Both the war and Southern defeat have come to be seen as inevitable—and right—because of the North's superior strength and its opposition to slavery. Once the war was over, the nation faced two key challenges: to heal the regional division and give former slaves a fair shake at decent lives.

Difficult as it was, healing proved the easier of the two, probably because whites in both the North and the South shared a language, a history, even a sense of America's destiny in the world. The drive for black justice expired. "The great tragedy in Civil War memory in this country is that we eventually had a great deal of healing without justice," says David Blight, a historian at Amherst College in Amherst, Mass.

By the 1880s, soldiers from the North and the South were holding reunions, brought together by a common memory of the horrors of war. With the abandonment of Reconstruction, Southerners were free to paint the effort as an invasion by greedy Northern "carpetbaggers" who weren't interested in former slaves. Even Northerners, meanwhile, began to prefer an idyllic picture of the antebellum South, devouring tales of plantation life that culminated in the 1930s novel "Gone With the Wind."

But for blacks, the promise of the war proved hollow. The commitment to black equality, which partly motivated Northern resistance to Southern secession, expired after the war so that by the 1880s, blacks fell prey to a resurgent Southern racism that culminated in the rigid system of segregation and exploitation that went by the

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name of "Jim Crow."

"The congratulatory story we tell ourselves masks generations of injustice," says Edward Ayres, a professor of history at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville.

African-Americans weren't the only ones to pay a price. The Indians did, too. After the war, thousands of soldiers, who might have struggled to find a peaceful role for themselves, headed West to fight Indians. "Some of the biggest Indian fighters—Sheridan, Sherman, Custer—were important Civil War generals," says Susan-Mary Grant, a Civil War specialist at the University of Newcastle in Britain. "So that the winning of the West becomes a unifier for both North and South."

The view of the Civil War as a "salvation drama" is epitomized by the final scene in Ken Burns's 1990 documentary on the subject. In 1913, on the 50th anniversary of the Gettysburg battle, one of the war's bloodiest, old Blue and Gray soldiers are seen in grainy film footage charging across the battlefield once again, this time to hug one another.

Such images are attractive today, when most Americans want to look to the future. Rather than examine their failures too closely, they move on. "The country's big enough, open enough, that if I don't like a place, I can just leave," says Chellis Glendinning, a social critic and psychotherapist who lives in New Mexico.

Not all problems can be left behind though, which is why the U.S. relies on political compromise, citizen rights and the rule of law to give aggrieved parties a clean shot at redress. The idea that everyone gets their day in court—before a judge or a legislative body—has much to do with why Americans view history so differently from people in other countries. Not surprisingly, it takes an absurd leap to imagine a Serbia-like situation in the U.S.

Try to imagine the following: "Consider how different the U.S. might be had the Congress agreed, in 1818, to set aside a chunk of Ohio for Irish immigrants, or in the late 1840s, a chunk of Texas for German immigrants," says David Hollinger, an intellectual historian at the University of California at Berkeley. "It's inconceivable."

Nothing close to that happened. Yes, the Mormons predominated in Utah. But individuals always had the chance to step across informal boundaries. African-Americans generally fought not for autonomy, but for inclusion. "Our political system fostered individual identity, not ethnic-group identity," Mr. Hollinger says.

It also promoted reconciliation. Consider one of the more peculiar disputes in American history, over land in what today is northern New Mexico. The land was awarded by Spanish and Mexican governors of this territory, prior to U.S. conquest in the war of 1846. Under a treaty ending the war, the U.S. pledged to honor these grants, but over the years, the grantees—Hispanic and Native-American families, descendants of some of the oldest settlers in North America gradually saw their holdings whittled away. Dishonest government surveyors, unscrupulous developers and uncharitable judges combined to reduce these pre-1846 grants, with white developers or the federal government benefiting.

For decades, resentment simmered in New Mexico. Anger finally boiled over in the 1960s. The land-grant families seized a courthouse, destroyed property and threatened rebellion. ~~But the attacks failed.~~ "From then on, a lot of people saw that violence was not going to work," recalls Roberto Mondragon, a land-grant heir who lives in La Loma, New Mexico. "Eventually we sought a peaceful solution."

The protesters turned to politics. They ran for local offices. Some won, including one man involved in the courthouse seizure. By the 1990s, the land-grant heirs convinced their congressional representative to back legislation authorizing a presidential commission to study ways to return land to families deprived of it. While the bill hasn't cleared Congress, the land-grant heirs are prepared to wait as long as it takes.

The delay frustrates Rep. Tom Udall, who represents the land-grant heirs in Congress. Mr. Udall knows many House members' eyes glaze over when they hear talk of a 150-year-old land dispute, but he insists, "This country has a tradition that when major injustices are done that we sort it out."

By settling disputes through compromise, where each side gets something, the U.S. avoids communal violence. How else to explain the New Mexico situation, where an aggrieved minority, dispossessed of its land by invaders, then becomes subjugated by them?

Sounds like the Balkans, right? Only without a crucial ingredient: Serbia won't share power with ethnic Albanians. In New Mexico, power is spread around. "America is very co-optive," says Peter Skerry, a political-science professor at Claremont College in California, who has written widely on Hispanics. "It responds in ways that drain the energies out of violent and radical changes."

When power isn't shared, disputes over land and ethnicity can escalate into violence. When this happens, the noise over competing historical interpretations gets louder. This is well-illustrated by the Israeli-Palestinian problem, one of the world's most difficult historical disputes because the history of vicious conflict seems, well, so ancient. It is, and it isn't. "There is a tendency to see things as going back to time immemorial," says Rashid Khalidi, a Palestinian-American who teaches history at the University of Chicago. "Arabs and Jews haven't been killing each other for thousands of years, not even hundreds of years. In fact, theirs is a very recent conflict. It is 50 to 100 years, not millennia."

By stripping away the historical veneer of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict—about which group, Jews or Arabs, "deserves" control of the land because of their unique historical association with it—the core differences become clearer. And they have little to do with the past and almost everything to do with present-day power.

"Most of these so-called ancient blood feuds really are about politics," says James Kellas, a professor of politics at the University of Glasgow in Scotland. "Politicians are using history to get the results they want: conflict. Change the politics, and you'll get different histories."

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INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS

Thais Angrily Blaming U.S. For Deadlock on Trade Post

By SETH MYDANS

BANGKOK, Thailand, May 7 — Protesters shouted at the gates of the United States Embassy today, voicing a growing wave of anger here that was summed up the other day by Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai: Something fishy is going on.

Seemingly out of nowhere, a surge of anti-Americanism has gripped some Thais over the opposition by Washington to the candidacy of Supachai Panitchpakdi, a Deputy Prime Minister and Commerce Minister, to lead the World Trade Organization.

Public figures have been announcing that they will boycott the Fourth of July reception at the embassy. In addition, a number of leading politicians have called for a reassessment of Thailand's friendly ties with the United States.

Mr. Supachai, 52, has been on the front lines of the struggle for economic revival by Thailand, the birthplace of the Asian financial crisis nearly two years ago. He is a finalist to become the new Director General of the trade organization, the 134-nation group that makes the rules of global trade, and he is widely viewed as a voice for Asia and developing nations.

But an opposing camp, led by the United States, has formed around the candidacy of Mike Moore, the former Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Negotiations to pick one of them have been deadlocked in heated debate at the trade organization's Geneva headquarters since last Saturday, when the four-year term of the incumbent Director General, Renato

Ruggiero of Italy, expired.

The absence of a leader at the organization is imperiling a new round of trade talks scheduled to start Nov. 30.

"This institution will stop," said Rita Hayes, the American representative in Geneva. "It will completely stop until we have a new Director General."

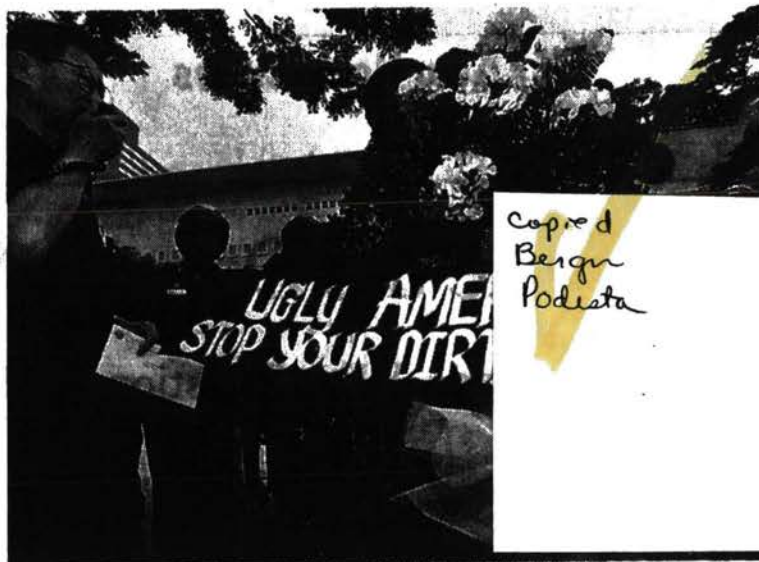
An attempt last week by Ali Mchumo, chairman of the organization's General Council, to break the impasse seems only to have inflamed Mr. Supachai's supporters.

Mr. Mchumo said he had determined that Mr. Moore had the support of 62 countries, versus 59 for Mr. Supachai, and that therefore Mr. Supachai should quit the race. Mr. Mchumo's calculation did not take into account 13 countries whose preferences were not determined.

Thai officials were outraged, and said the United States was responsible for what they called a conspiracy against their candidate. Calls for retaliation intensified.

"The lesson of the W.T.O. selection is that it's time we reviewed our foreign policy with all countries, especially the United States, which say that they are our true friends," said the Senate Speaker, Meechai Ruchapan, this week. "We have to see who are our real friends and who are our real enemies. In the present world every country must have claws of its own, and that's not just in terms of arms but also strategy."

Noppadol Pattama, a member of Parliament's foreign affairs committee, went further, saying, "We might need to turn more to the European Union, Japan and China, which will increase our balance of power."



Agence France-Presse

A Thai candidate's failure so far to get the top post in the World Trade Organization is stirring wrath toward the United States. Officials have protested, and so have demonstrators like these in Bangkok yesterday.

Even Mr. Chuan alluded to a "dirty tricks" campaign against the Thai candidate and said there was "something fishy going on" in the selection process.

This was a reference to a widespread sense here that Washington had been orchestrating an undeclared backstage campaign to undermine Thai interests. Officials here say the United States, despite its denials, has exercised a "secret veto" against Mr. Supachai, whom Washington might regard as insufficiently committed to free trade.

In a front-page editorial, the English-language daily The Nation crystallized the resentment. The editorial accused the United States of "betting on Moore's candidacy to fulfill its hegemonistic aspiration after having flexed its muscles in other world organizations like the United Nations, World Bank and Interna-

tional Monetary Fund."

After the crash of the Thai currency, the baht, in July 1997, the I.M.F. produced a \$17 billion rescue package for Thailand that like the packages for other nations has resulted in painful economic austerity. Critics here have complained that these new economic policies have sacrificed the welfare of ordinary people to that of the banks.

The critics have also complained that the United States offered only limited aid to Thailand, particularly in the early days of the crisis.

"It's different strands intertwined together," said Ji Ungpakorn, a political scientist at Chulalongkorn University. "It's the I.M.F. involvement in the economy and also the move to privatize state industries that have set off a nationalistic response. That's starting to cause a current of anti-Americanism."

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May 4, 1999

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MEMORANDUM

To: The President
From: Nancy Hernreich
Beth Ferryman
Re: Stanley Sheinbaum Correspondence

On April 30, Stanley Sheinbaum sent you a fax regarding the Greek position on the current US Kosovo policy. He enclosed a speech given by George Papandreou at the Kokkalis Foundation. Mr. Sheinbaum noted the publicity generated by Papandreou's "Marshall Plan-type" proposal.

George Papandreou addressed the following issues in his speech on April 25.

Citing Kosovo as the "theater of events" that affects the foundation of European security, Mr. Papandreou warns NATO against "punitive expeditions that often beget unanticipated and dangerous commitments."

It is vitally important for NATO to pursue a policy of impartiality that is consistent with the principles of the UN Charter and International Law, "regardless of subjective temporary concerns of nationalistic or other interests."

Sharing a common history, a common background and economic community with the Balkan region, Greece has "no choice" but to pursue a "pro-Balkan" role in the events of Kosovo. While Greece supports NATO's decisions and remains loyal to its alliance, it will not participate in any military operations. Rather, Greece will continue to provide assistance to the worsening humanitarian crisis.

Greece intends to pursue a strategy that aims at regional stabilization by providing relief to both refugees and to economies in the Balkans. This strategy includes: containing the flow of refugees, striving for balance in reaching all who suffer and demonstrating active Greek participation.

An incremental process of "confidence-building" is the key to economic growth and development of democracy in the Balkan region. Among the "essential steps" in achieving this stability are the establishment of a crisis management system and the development of programs that "promote institutional development." Greek policies are based finally on the belief that security lies in "achieving prosperity and democracy in the region."

Also enclosed is Prime Minister Simitis' Action Plan.



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

Handwritten note:
J. H. -
Ask Phil.
to summarize
N

30 April, 1999

President Bill Clinton
The White House—West Wing
Washington, DC 20500
Via Fax

Dear Bill,

The enclosed speech by George Papandreou is worth a moment. Although a bit long, it contains much of his Marshall plan-type proposal that has gotten some publicity. Further, the Greeks are well positioned to deal both with Serbia and Russia.

In some sense—although I am not trying to suggest I have any involvement in its substance—but because George's mother, Maggie, and his brother, Nick, were at our house last week it was done while here. As you well know, the Greek position on the current US Kosovo policy is less than either you or I would like. However George, has broken away from that general Greek objection. That he is the Foreign Minister helps.

Sincerely,

Stanley K. Sheinbaum
SKS/kc
enclosure

cc: Sandy Berger
Mort Halperin

Opening Address at the Kokkalis Foundation

George Papandreou
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Sunday April 25, 1999

When I was first asked to deliver this speech a few months ago, the situation in Kosovo was of concern, but had not reached the critical point. Events since then are well known to all. It is difficult, therefore, if not impossible, to speak about NATO and offer empty platitudes about visions and promises of the future.

Kosovo is real, Kosovo is here, Kosovo is now.

Asked what he thought might spark a European war, Otto von Bismarck once replied, "Possibly an insignificant and stupid event in the Balkans." Soon afterwards the "Blut und Eisen" - Blood and Steel - Chancellor was regrettably proven right by those fateful shots in Sarajevo. Eighty five years later, and a few miles to the south, Kosovo is now the theater of events which will once again affect the foundation of European security. The consequences that will come out of the Kosovar tragedy and the precedents set by our actions go beyond the regional conflict. This truth alone makes it imperative that we keep in mind lessons that history has taught us. Punitive expeditions often beget unanticipated and dangerous commitments. Good intentions are not enough. NATO must take conscious decisions in shaping its future, and not allow the abrupt whirl of local events to dictate decisions with global implications for this Alliance.

Like it or not, given our intervention in the area, we have already thrown the ball into the court. NATO has taken the decision to play a major role for stability and peace in the region. Through its fundamental network of co-operation, be it in the field of political deliberations within the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council or in the enhanced and operational program of Partnership for Peace, the Alliance can foster the democratic institutions in the countries of the region, thus promoting respect for human rights. These are, mind you, the fundamental principles that NATO has espoused since its inception.

Can NATO shape for itself a new role? I believe the Alliance has the potential and the mechanisms to do so - but only if the leadership finds the political will. It is up to us politicians to find a way to keep NATO on the sturdy road built during its first 50 years of existence. This means that it is of vital importance for the Alliance to pursue a policy of impartiality, based on the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the International Law, regardless of subjective temporary concerns of nationalistic or other interests.

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I am one of those who believes that great results are rarely the consequence of great and noisy initiatives; rather I believe in the hard and consistent work of numerous small but efficient initiatives. This hard work is the basis for achieving that one singular, lasting success. Confidence-building is one such initiative – it is a long and difficult process, it does not yield instant results, it is hard work with little daily reward; but once achieved it will yield success: if we can build confidence among neighbors in the Balkans, we will create a lasting peace.

Turning back to the immediate problem. I cannot stress enough the dangers that lie in a prolonged Kosovo crisis. Dangers of spillover into the broader Balkans as well as dangers for overflow into the wider area of Europe make imperative an immediate resolution. For Greece, the reality of these truths cannot be overstated.

Being close to the epicenter of conflict, but simultaneously being both a NATO ally and a European Union partner, Greece has no choice but to be actively involved in the unfolding events in Kosovo.

Our common history and our common background with our Balkan neighbors is all more the reason for us to seek a political solution to the crisis. Knowing our neighbors gives us the advantage of being able to play the role of interlocutor among the protagonists of this conflict. Our vision, one that is shared by all, is to strive for a peaceful, viable and just solution. We want to see tragedy turn into opportunity.

Finally, Greek national interests, much more than those of its allies and partners, demands that the conflict not go beyond its present difficult state. Equally important to us are the direct economic consequences of this tragedy, not only on the Greek economy, but also on the economic development of the entire region.

In the pursuit of a successful peace, Greek policy is based on one fundamental assumption. The assumption is that the problem of Kosovo cannot be resolved through military means. At some point, a solution to the current crisis *must* be sought through political dialogue and negotiation. By saying this I must clarify that while Greece supports NATO's decisions and unwaveringly stands by its alliance, we cannot ignore the peculiarities of geography and history. **As such, we are not participating, and will not participate, in any military operations.** We are, and must be, pro-Balkan. This is our backyard; these are our neighbors. We are willing, however, to participate in any peace keeping mission that would be accepted by both parties directly concerned. We have and continue to provide all our support for humanitarian assistance.

I will not go into and repeat Prime Minister Simitis' Action Plan, though it is available in the speech that I have handed out; nor will I repeat the elements of a political solution, which include of course, inviolability of frontiers, autonomy and the return of refugees; finally I

cannot stress enough the need for stabilization, in the post-war world, through support of democratization. These are all important elements to a complete resolution to the crisis. Instead, I would like to devote my final words to Greece's humanitarian efforts. (See Supplement at end of article)

Humanitarian Efforts

What we have is no less than a catastrophe. We have an economic crisis and, without statesmanship, we risk seeing the exclusion of this region from full participation in the international economy and in the major institutions which now bind most of our countries together.

We see human beings who suffer, human beings on the move and in fear. We see economies stretched beyond their already limited capacity. And, we see social tensions which could rip apart the already fragile process of building up societies founded on the principles of civility, pluralism and democracy.

The response to this crisis cannot be panic, nor can it consist of incoherent and spasmodic lurches into philanthropy. We are fully aware that out of the terrible tragedy that has befallen our region we must take a lead in both offering relief now and in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of societies, economies and democracy in the future. Incoherence, incompetence, and self-canceling competitive initiatives will amount, in times like these, to an abdication of responsibility.

What then are the specifics of this crisis? What is the damage? And, then, what do we do about it in a manner that is strategic?

There are about one million Albanians displaced either in Albania and Fyrom, but also within Yugoslavia. They are caught between the hammer of Serbian repression and the anvil of NATO bombing. In addition, though, we have a Serbia in which up to a million people have also left their homes, for fear of being bombed. This is a country in which surgical air strikes have resulted in a systematic amputation of the economic limbs of a country that was once poised to be an economic leader in the region.

So long as bombing continues and Serbian military action on the ground continues, this humanitarian crisis will get worse; the period of recovery from the damage inflicted – I mean physical and psychological damage – will lengthen proportionately. The suffering of the people will worsen, the instability in the neighbouring countries will be aggravated, the economic damage in the region will worsen.

At the outbreak of NATO's campaign, Greece anticipated two potential areas for action. The first would be immediate relief both to humans and to economies so as to stabilize the situation. The second would be to develop a plan, in cooperation within the region and with the international community for the long-term stability of the Balkans.

These two courses of action are closely interwoven. Without the one, the other cannot occur. Imagine a body that has suffered a traumatic shock; immediate attention to stabilize the body is the pre-condition for a process of recovery and healing.

The strategy is founded on four basic principles:

First, contain the flow of refugees so that they can return to their homes as soon as the circumstances permit. To this end, we are building camps in FYROM and Albania, as part of the international relief effort.

Second, strive for some sort of balance in reaching all who suffer. We intend to help Serbs and Albanians: we intend to help FYROM, Albania and the FRY. To those who argue that we should give more to one community over another, we say that this is neither moral nor is it wise. Charity does not distinguish between the nationality of a suffering child. Our national interests demand that we be leaders in supporting all the countries of this region.

Third, we wish to demonstrate the active participation of the Greek people in this work. In such moments of disaster, it does not fall to governments alone to act. The people, through non-governmental and other civic initiatives must be – and have already been – mobilized. Not only are many Greek groups involved in providing assistance, but also we, the government are providing finance for many of these groups. We see this as a major departure in our policy. It heralds a new generation of civic involvement in foreign policy.

We hope to see an era when diplomacy is so diversified, that it can include citizens as well as diplomats.

Fourth, Greece has a unique role to play in Kosovo. Both Belgrade and NATO have encouraged Greece to provide help in Kosovo. As inhabitants of the region and as members of NATO and the EU, we are uniquely positioned to reach people no one else can.

We are acting on this: my envoy has been to Kosovo; Greek assistance is getting there and with our supervision we are reaching those Albanians (and the Serbs who remain) with assistance. We believe this program will demonstrate how decisive and strategically conducted humanitarian action can also contribute to a peaceful resolution. The greater the presence in the humanitarian initiative – the greater the prospect of persuading all sides to lower the temperature of violence and to begin an incremental process of confidence building from the ground up. After all, this is a war over Kosovo and the solutions must begin to be implemented there.

This last reflection leads me to the broader issue of long term damage in the region.

Categorizing the nature of the long-term damage in the region.

We now have a massive refugee population. Even if they were to return to Kosovo, they would have no livelihood. The sudden eruption of refugees into Albania and FYROM has completely stretched the economic capacities of both governments and has caused them to divert essential budgetary resources from their normal investment in social and economic development. In other words, the very thin fabric of state-building in two of Greece's neighbours is being shredded before our eyes. The rest of the nations in the area have also been greatly affected by the crisis, and this is not to mention the destruction done to the FRY.

Greece has argued strongly in favor of a massive, coordinated initiative to develop the Balkans, to build cooperation among the countries as the essential stepping stone to economic growth, stability and democracy.

In practical terms, we have already initiated a process of consultation among experts from the countries of the region to develop what I would call our own Balkan template for development. We welcome the expertise and potential investment of the international financial institutions and the European Union. But we ask that they take into account and help to build a process of closer cooperation among the countries of the region. We do not need another cookie-cutter answer for development in the Balkans, imported from some other parts of the world. The challenge – and this is where we wish to be a leader – is to promote an understanding of how politics, economic and relations among countries in the region are intimately intertwined.

That very process of managing a regional – I repeat regional – transition to peace and prosperity is the key to long term success.

We have therefore proposed several essential steps:

We will host conferences in Athens on coordination of humanitarian work and a series of conferences on the future programs of regional development.

We propose the establishment of a crisis management system among the countries – building on the South East European cooperation initiative – to provide us both with early warning and a mechanism to trigger preventive diplomatic action;

We propose the rapid development of a series of programs that promote institutional development in the region: we simply cannot pretend to speak of development if our institutional capacity to establish the rule of law, to establish a confident climate for business and to establish the space for civic life does not exist. I particularly want to pursue the idea of establishing a new generation of Balkan leaders and a Balkan University aimed at developing technical and managerial excellence in which our future leaders grow and study together.

We must address the cultural issues and not fall prey to cultural and confessional differences. We are part of the Orthodox world. We want to help that world of Orthodoxy to be better understood and to understand better the world Western Europe. This is no time for western condescension or eastern introversion.

We must lay down the building blocks for successful business. We would welcome new financing mechanisms to promote small business – the key to developing a future middle class with a stake in the prosperity of the region.

We must move immediately to finance the regional electrical, transport and telecommunication grids.

All these constitute the threads that must be simultaneously woven to become the fabric of a region that wishes to live in peace and prosperity and in which initiative is freely undertaken and security is given to those who fall behind.

It is complicated, it will be tough and it will require patience. But we will persevere, just as we have in building an economic base for Greece that was beyond contemplation just a few years ago.

What I hope I have outlined this evening is a new departure for Greece. We can no longer simply be reactive. We are bound to Europe, to NATO and to the region in which we live. Our policies are based on the belief that security lies in achieving prosperity and democracy in the region; that tensions will ease when we all act within a regional framework. All these are possible, but the pre-requisite is that Greece assumes the leadership and responsibilities, as it is, endowed upon her by the unique combination of history, geography and alliances.

POSSIBLE CONTINUATION: Recall what Thucydides, that ancient Greek expert on war once wrote: *In times of peace and prosperity cities and individuals alike follow higher standards. But war is a stern teacher; it reduces man's character down to the level of their fortunes.* We do not want to see this. We must put our collective heads together and find a solution.

Thank you.

SUPPLEMENT

A. Action Plan

Prime Minister Simitis presented a concise proposal for resolving the Kosovo crisis and bringing stability back into the Balkans. This proposal consists of three tiers.

First: A political solution for the crisis as soon as possible

Second: Stabilization of the entire area. Notably this would be through reconstruction of the infrastructures that have been damaged, using realistic and credible programs, that will lead to economic

development, further democratization of the Balkan states and the development of civil societies. All these efforts must lead to the gradual but steady incorporation of the entire region into the Euro-Atlantic structures.

Third: An immediate response to human suffering. While the largest problem is primarily located in Kosovo, it has also spread to the neighboring countries of Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and to a lesser, but growing degree, to other countries in the Balkans as well.

Let me expound a bit on these objectives.

A political solution to the crisis in Kosovo

Any peaceful and lasting settlement in Kosovo should be based on six main tenets:

Respect for the inviolability of frontiers - This principle is self evident, and yet it must be clearly upheld. Any agreement reached cannot allow for misunderstandings or misrepresentations. The contrary will only open a Pandora Box that will take us back to the beginning of this century. Revindications from various countries will have a certain domino affect that could lead the Balkans into a general war.

Autonomy for Kosovo - As an offset to the inviolability of frontiers, Kosovo Albanians, as well as the rest of the ethnic minorities living in Kosovo, must enjoy a regime of broad autonomy within the sovereignty of the FRY. This should guarantee them their political, economic and cultural rights through institutions that will belong and comply to the general framework of the FRY. These arrangements can be formulated through direct free negotiations between the parties concerned and the assistance of the international community and its institutions.

The return of all refugees - Refugees must return to their homes. This must be fulfilled with the guarantee of respect for human, minority, civil and identity rights.

These rights, in order to have any meaning, must not remain a dead letter. An international armed presence in Kosovo is necessary for some time to come, which will allow for monitoring and securing the implementation.

It goes without saying that once a settlement is in view but before the refugees start to return home, a cease-fire is necessary. The cessation of hostilities would require that the Yugoslav army and the Yugoslav police force in Kosovo be reduced and withdrawn to specified positions.

Crimes- all those responsible for crimes committed during the hostilities against innocent civilian population will be brought to

justice and both sides will cooperate accordingly with both sides of the international war crimes tribunal.

Mechanism for the Peaceful Resolution of Disputes – A credible mechanism must be set up in order to supervise the situation and thus guarantee the maintenance of peace.

Cooperation for democracy and civic society - Although this is an issue that involves the entire region, we must, at this point, pay special attention to Kosovo.

C. Stabilization through democratization

Before this crisis broke out, we were already thinking about the democratization mechanisms available and needed to assist the states of Eastern Europe. Pluralism, democratic infrastructures and respect for human rights and multiculturalism are critical elements of stability. The Kosovo situation has accelerated our efforts to looking for models to achieve these goals. There are three frameworks from which we must work from:

The framework of the institutions to which we belong, (NATO, EU) Through these we must encourage initiatives, support proposals and seek opportunities with our partners.

The framework of the regional system of the Balkan states. Working through this framework we must intensify efforts to formulate a common approach with common priorities.

The broader international framework. Here we must aim at the greatest possible cooperation and we must rely on the political process of seeking a solution through the UN and the OSCE. In this context I must stress the important role that Russia can, and indeed must, play.

Sandy - in Miami
counseling
about to begin

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
5-10-99
THE NEW YORK TIMES OP-ED

After The War In Serbia Is Over

By Milo Djukanovic
and Zoran Djindjic

Despite the current conflict, we remain committed to Yugoslavia's integration into Europe, and eventually into the European Union. The road to Europe is the only route that will help our country solve its considerable problems and build a lasting peace and stability throughout the region. It is difficult to imagine that any economic or political renewal can occur in Yugoslavia without unambiguous and long-term international support.

Only a democratic and stable Yugoslavia can secure stability in the Balkans. We want to underscore that the democratic political forces in Yugoslavia are committed to that goal. The immediate concerns are ending the war, securing the return of the refugees and implementing a political settlement in Kosovo that will include the deployment of an international force.

But to establish a lasting peace, the outside world needs to ensure that solve the Kosovo crisis. Military intervention in Kosovo has led to new problems, which are not that was intended. With intervention, the West assumed part of the responsibility for finding solutions to the problems.

At the same time, intense efforts will also be necessary on the part of Yugoslavs to win the trust of the outside world and recover the moral standing lost because of Kosovo.

Even before the end of the war, the international community should state clearly and unequivocally that democratic and economic reconstruction in Yugoslavia represents its official and binding position. Such a statement would give hope to the citizens of our country and encourage the transformation of the political landscape.

The cycle of politics that over the past 10 years or more has led our country to this tragedy must be broken. If the war ends with a signature on a peace agreement and the same leadership in power, with Slobodan Milosevic at the helm, the tragedy and violence will continue.

Yugoslavia's stability is crucial

Op-Ar
CHRISTOPH NI

Springtime



Setting Our

By James Conaway

A FREDERICKSBURG, Va. boat this time each year, Kenny Mills takes two five-gallon buckets and a net to the foot of the old concrete dam on the Rappahannock River and dips yellow and white perch from the tumbling water. When the buckets are full he carries them up and around the dam, then releases the fish so they can swim upriver, toward a final destination imprinted in their DNA like celestial coordinates.

When the shad are running, Kenny performs the same oblations with the net and schleps the fish toward the prospect of survival. Ask why he does it and you get a Tidewater understate-

er, has spent his life on this stretch of the Rappahannock, one of several beautiful little rivers rising in the Blue Ridge that flow through Virginia's vernal Piedmont toward the Chesapeake Bay. The Rappahannock once boiled in the spring with migrating fish, which enriched the town of Fredericksburg, then a sporting paradise. As late as 1954 Kenny remembers seeing a sturgeon as big as himself

Big Western dams
aren't the only ones
that should fall.

democratic and economic reconstruction in Yugoslavia represents its official and binding position. Such a statement would give hope to the citizens of our country and encourage the transformation of the political landscape.

The cycle of politics that over the past 10 years or more has led our country to this tragedy must be broken. If the war ends with a signature on a peace agreement and the same leadership in power, with Slobodan Milosevic at the helm, the tragedy and violence will continue.

Yugoslavia's stability is crucial because of its size and geographical position in the Balkans and its role in determining the stability or instability of neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Albania. To date, however, international strategy on Yugoslavia has boiled down to crisis management, while ignoring the roots of crisis.

Yugoslavia will need democracy and its own Marshall Plan.

Democracy can be established in our country only with a complete political transition in Serbia and the rest of Yugoslavia. This depends on free and fair elections, the strengthening of Serbia's democratic opposition, close cooperation with the democratic Government of Montenegro, the complete isolation of underground forces and the establishment of an outside body to help monitor the political change.

Respected European politicians with previous experience in the Balkans, like former Prime Minister Felipe González of Spain, former Chancellor Franz Vranitzky of Austria and Egon Kosschick, a veteran German Social Democrat, could work in such a commission under the auspices of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Accelerated economic reconstruction in the Balkans will be possible only with some variant of the Marshall Plan. The promise of outside aid would help the cause of democracy in Yugoslavia by tempering lingering anger. It will be difficult for the democratic opposition to function after this NATO campaign because people are likely to see us as part of that Europe — part of that West — that bombed us, destroyed bridges, roads and factories, and killed civilians. People will protest in both Serbia and Montenegro.

But there is hope for the democratic forces. Mr. Milosevic's policies are facing destruction, which would create the glimmer of a chance to build something new on those ruins. If anything good can be extracted from the evil that is now among us, it is the chance — with international help — for a new beginning.

A live-gallon bucket and a net to the foot of the old concrete dam on the Rappahannock River and dips yellow and white perch from the tumultuous water. When the buckets are full he carries them up and around the dam, then releases the fish so they can swim upriver, toward a final destination imprinted in their DNA like celestial coordinates.

When the shad are running, Kenny performs the same oblations with the net and schleps the fish toward the prospect of survival. Ask why he does it and you get a Tidewater understatement: "I get satisfaction helping a few fish upriver, so they can spawn."

The shad may not be a glamour species like the salmon, and the Rappahannock may lack the visibility of the Columbia River, but the Embrey Dam is important because it represents thousands like it that serve no purpose and impose burdens both un-aesthetic and deadly. While the damage done by the monster dams in the American West may get the attention, many more of the nation's 75,000 dams are like the Embrey.

Kenny, a 58-year-old retired farm-

James Conaway is the author of eight books, including "The Kingdom and the Country," about public lands in the American West.

fish, which enriched the town of Fredericksburg, then a sporting paradise. As late as 1954 Kenny remembers seeing a sturgeon as big as himself

Big Western dams aren't the only ones that should fall.

rise in the pool below the dam, searching for a way around it.

He has not seen a sturgeon since, of any size. The perch, shad and herring runs are a mere shadow of what was, and the Embrey Dam itself a looming relic. Built in 1910 to generate electricity and divert water into a canal, it has precluded the spawning of an incalculable number of anadromous fish — those that live in salt water but spawn in fresh — and altered the river here beyond recognition.

Embrey Dam's generator is defunct; the water needed for the canal and for drinking could easily be diverted through a pipe upstream. These points were made three years ago by John Tippet, director

The Vatican's Mar

By Joaquin Navarro-Valls

On the evening of March 24, shortly after the NATO bombing began, I expressed to the Vatican's Secretary of State the war's course with the following declaration: "The course to the use of force is a defeat for humanity. It can help but think of the victims and the feelings of the people. It will inevitably arise. I think of Pius XII's words in 1939: Nothing is lost with peace. All can be lost with war."

These words, "Nothing is lost with peace. All can be lost with war,"

Urging enemies to talk sooner rather than later

peace, all can be lost with war," represent the position of the Holy See and explain the Vatican's numerous initiatives, to which the American news media has given very little coverage. Such initiatives have the aim of stopping the suffering, massacre and destruction, and of encouraging the start of new negotiations to guarantee a just solution.

The position of the Vatican comes

destruction and death inevitably increase the hatreds and destroy Christian faith?

The Vatican, in effect, has created its efforts in many directions. On March 30 the Secretary of State, Cardinal Angelo Sodano, gathered all the NATO ambassadors to the Holy See and permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to examine "crucial situations which may contribute to the peace" in Yugoslavia.

On April 1, the Pope sent Archbishop Jean-Louis Tardieu, Secretary of the Relations with States, to bring a personal message to President Slobodan Milosevic and the Serb-Orthodox Patriarch. The Holy See asked to open fire on the targets of Catholic and Orthodox refugees, which led to the death of one another.

In the Urgency Office message April 4, John Paul II said he hoped that a humanitarian corridor for refugees would be created, one would bring collaboration of the et al. on the part of Belgians and interruption of the bombing by part of NATO.

On April 15 the Pope wrote to Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow. On April 27 he sent a message to the Secretary General of the United Nations, encouraging Mr. Boutwell to intervene personally to negotiate a solution.

The Holy See from the very day of the bombings, as it has always done on similar occasions, prompted Catholic charitable o

5-10-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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Podesta

May 7, 1999

MEMORANDUM

TO: The President
FROM: Mildred C. Alston
SUBJECT: Recent Correspondence

Russ Meeks -- They missed you at Immanuel and prayed for you. We have such a significant part in God's plan. As a Christian, as a church, as a faith community, we must obey and fulfill God's plan. He prays for you daily.

Sec. Bill Cohen was pleased to receive, on loan, Henry Mayer's book, *All on Fire*, and looks forward to reading it.

*Chair
Jennings
must
reply*

Kathy McClanahan sends copy of a letter she received from **Abbey S. Meyers** of the National Organization for Rare Disorders, Inc., regarding application from the father of one of her employees for their Copaxone Medication Assistance Program. When he thinks that Bill Clinton has been trying to do something about health insurance for more than six years and has made no headway, it makes him sick. Comparing your objectives when first elected to the accomplishments that Congress has allowed him to achieve represents a major loss in potential social progress. People like this applicant would not have had to ask for free drugs had he had access to health insurance with prescription drug coverage, or, if he could not afford the premiums, the government should provide it for free.

Bobby G. Newman congratulates you on your marvelous performance as President. Our country is fortunate to have you. He admires you for your stickability through thick and thin. He writes about the need for a U.S. Attorney in the El Dorado area. His son-in-law, **Jeff Rogers**, would be interested in that position. (cc Mark Childress)

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5-10-99

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When did the
Case from?
Better call H. Green
H.C.

WASHINGTON

Senate Republicans examine alternate plans for tax relief

With prospects for significant across-the-board tax cuts this year diminishing, Senate Republicans met behind closed doors Thursday to discuss other options for tax relief. Among the more popular proposals are reducing the capital gains tax, now 20%, and eliminating or scaling back the so-called marriage penalty that causes many two-earner couples to pay more income tax than if they were single.



Reuters

Mack: A chance to share views

No decisions were expected, but Sen. Connie Mack, R-Fla., said it was a chance for Republicans to share their views about what should be in the tax plan. He unveiled legislation that would phase out estate taxes, increase the standard deduction, cut capital gains taxes and make permanent business tax credits that are about to expire.

GOP lawmakers are scouring the budget for ways to offset the costs of tax relief in the early years. They are giving serious consideration to President Clinton's proposals to end several corporate tax shelters.

"We're looking to see where there are opportunities to raise revenue, so we can give the working people a tax cut," Finance Chairman William

Roth, R-Del., said. "We want to give as large a tax cut as we can."

Budget Chairman Pete Domenici, R-N.M., said there would be about \$15 billion available for tax relief in 2000. But others want to push for a 10-year cut of nearly \$800 billion, even if its full impact is delayed until the later years.

In the House, Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer, R-Texas, has asked committee members to submit three tax relief ideas for a tax bill likely to move through the panel in July.

There's little chance of help from Democrats. "I frankly doubt that we are likely to support what they're going to produce," House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, D-Mo., said.

LEGION WANTS TROOPS HOME: The American Legion said President Clinton should withdraw U.S. troops from the Balkans war or clearly define the military mission there. Otherwise, the U.S. commitment threatens to turn into another Vietnam, it said.



By Chuck Robinson, AP

Miller: 'Our troops are not pawns in a chess game.'

"Our troops are not pawns in a chess game. They are our sons and daughters," Legion national commander Harold "Butch" Miller said. He said they should be sent "into harm's way" only after "careful reflection by their commander in chief and the consent of Congress and the American people."

The Legion's executive committee unanimously approved a resolution calling for withdrawal of troops unless certain conditions are met. Among the conditions are a congressional resolution supporting the deployment and a clear exit strategy.

Miller said it's an unprecedented position for the nation's largest veterans organization, which claims 2.9 million members. He

said the group supported the Gulf War and had reservations about the Vietnam buildup but never urged withdrawing from Vietnam.

ENCRYPTION CODES: A federal appeals court has struck down government efforts to restrict export of computer data-scrambling products. The 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals said government regulations that require an export license before encryption codes can be sent overseas violate freedom of expression.

The ruling is a blow to the Clinton administration, which says terrorists and criminals will use the programs to avoid surveillance. Industry officials say encryption is critical to global commerce and the Internet.

The issue likely will wind up in the Supreme Court. The 9th Circuit covers nine Western states and includes Silicon Valley. The 6th Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati is preparing to review a judge's ruling that upheld the regulations.

STEELE TRIAL: Jurors in the Julie Hiatt Steele obstruction of justice trial begin a second day of deliberations today after unexpectedly receiving the case early Thursday. Her lawyers decided not to call any witnesses after three and a half days of prosecution testimony.

Steele, 52, is the only person charged in the Monica Lewinsky sex-and-perjury investigation by Whitewater independent counsel Ken Starr. Steele is accused of obstruction of justice and perjury regarding conversations she and former White House volunteer Kathleen Willey had about Willey's accusation that President Clinton groped her in the Oval Office in November 1993. If convicted, Steele could face 35 years in prison.

Nancy Luque, one of Steele's lawyers, presented the case as one woman's word against another's, and accused Willey of a pattern of lies. "There are only two people who know what happened between Kathleen Willey and Julie Hiatt Steele," Luque said in closing arguments. She said Willey lied to the FBI and to Starr's prosecutors.

But prosecutor Stephen Binhak told jurors that Steele's assertion that she first heard about the Clinton-Willey encounter in March 1997 was "baloney." He reminded the jury of testimony from three former friends of Steele who said she told them of Willey's story before 1997.

Among those attending the trial was Susan McDougal, who last month was acquitted on an obstruction of justice charge brought by Starr. Steele testified on behalf of McDougal, and McDougal said she had hoped to return the favor. "It's much better being on the other side," McDougal said.



AP file photo

Steele: Jury in deliberations

— Tom Squitieri

'FREE AIR TIME': Republicans are crying foul over CNN's decision to allow Vice President Gore to host Thursday's *Larry King Live* show about the Colorado school shootings.

Republican National Committee Chairman Jim Nicholson said there are "serious concerns" about turning the TV show over to the front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination. He said it amounts to "a contribution of free air time to the Gore for President Campaign."

Nicholson urged people to contact King and CNN to demand equal time for Republican presidential candidates and for Bill Bradley, Gore's only challenger for the Democratic nomination.

CNN did not immediately comment on the complaint.

Republican Pat Buchanan resigned from CNN's *Crossfire* show when he launched his presidential bid.

Gore's campaign touted his appearance as taking "time off from running for president to be King" while the host is on vacation.

POW DAY: Two former prisoners of war now in Congress celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Geneva Conventions at a ceremony sponsored by the American Red Cross.



AP

McCain: Former prisoner of war

Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., and Rep. Sam Johnson, R-Texas, contrasted the way they were treated by North Vietnamese captors with the recent treatment of three Army soldiers by Yugoslavia.

"I think our friends in Europe are more attuned to our humanitarian ideals than perhaps the Asian nations are," Johnson said.

McCain said North Vietnam "at one time or another violated most of the conventions," which are international human rights accords intended to ensure that prisoners of war are treated humanely. But he said the North Vietnamese treatment improved after word of their cruelties reached the world. "I'm certain we would have been a lot worse off if there had not been the Geneva Conventions," he said.

The accords have been adopted by 188 countries since 1949.

Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports

5-10-99

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Big Steel's Problems Are Home Grown

Low-Cost U.S. Mills Play a Bigger Role Than Imports in Eroding Profits

By LESLIE WAYNE

WEIRTON, W. Va. — It was a scene that summed up so much about this quintessential steel town, here where the Alleghenies roll seamlessly into Appalachia.

Beneath a handwritten sign saying "Buy America or Bye America," Mark Glyptis, a union boss and proud of it, was counseling two laid-off steelworkers at the union hall. Sunday hams are now available, he told them, but yes, unemployment benefits for Weirton Steel's idled workers were running dry.

As an awkward silence filled the room, Mr. Glyptis broke it with a vague but supportive message to the glum workers: "You guys are great. Don't give up the fight."

What they are fighting for, Mr. Glyptis says, is nothing less than their jobs, their way of life and the fate of the American steel industry. Weirton is still reeling from events that started last year in lands far away — Asia, Russia and Latin America — where economic turmoil and sagging currencies sent cheap steel flooding to American shores, pushing down prices here. For Weirton, this meant dropping its prices, shutting one of the company's two blast furnaces and, even though employees own a healthy chunk of the stock, laying off 1,000 workers — nearly a quarter of the work force — just before Christmas.

Now Weirton's workers, along with those of other big, old-line steel companies, have taken their pain to Washington, going by the bus load to promote a measure that would impose quotas on imported steel and roll back imports to pre-1998 levels. The quota bill passed the House by an overwhelming majority in March, and is before the Senate.

Critics deride this legislation as dangerous, illegal and unnecessary. Not only do they say that it would cost American consumers an estimated \$6 billion, but it would violate world trade agreements and could lead to a trade war. Two weeks ago, the Federal Reserve chairman, Alan Greenspan, waded into the debate, saying such protectionist efforts were both futile and harmful.

For Big Steel, the plea for protection has come periodically for a quarter-century. But, many say, this cry has an increasingly hollow ring. Rather, these companies are at the wrong end of a number of trends, mostly inevitable, mostly unfavorable. More troubling than imports is the competition posed by lower-cost, more efficient American minimill steel companies, which account for nearly half the steel market.

"We no longer need these giant facilities to make steel," said Robert Crandall, a steel expert at the Brookings Institution. "Minimills are building sheet plants and making life miserable for the big guys. We're talking about a long, drawn out endgame for Big Steel."

Yet it is a measure of the enduring power of Big Steel, which is far from disappearing, that so much political effort is being devoted to saving a shrinking industry. After all, today there are only 160,000 steelworkers, compared with 400,000 as recently as 1980. And, in financial weight, steel-making pales in comparison with the technology sector: The stock market value of a single Internet company, Amazon.com, is twice that of the entire steel industry.

In places like Weirton, this changing reality carries painful human costs.

An Industry Divided Against Itself

Big Steel — consisting of integrated steel companies, like Weirton — is

Output from minimills has surged in the 1990's, after the development of a technique called thin-slab casting in 1989. The technique enabled minimills to start making the flat-rolled steel that only big integrated mills like Weirton, LTV Group and Bethlehem Steel could produce before. As a result, minimills, which had a fraction of domestic output when founded in the early 1980's, now account for almost 50 percent of domestic steel output.

The sad irony is that the pain felt in Weirton comes just as the appetite for steel — for the sport utility vehicles, washing machines, shopping malls and office buildings Americans want — is at an all-time high.

By many measures, the American steel industry is doing quite nicely. Driven by the booming economy, American steel consumption reached a record 138 million tons in 1998, up from 96 million tons in 1987.

This means most American steel mills have been running nearly flat out, at up to 95 percent of operating capacity — easily outpacing the rest of manufacturing. And that still is not enough to meet demand.

As a result, for the last decade, steel imports have been necessary to fill the gap between what American steelmakers are producing and what Americans consume. Despite the role of foreign steel in last year's short-term price plunge, throughout the 1990's, steel imports accounted for more than 20 percent of the domestic steel market. In fact, American steel companies themselves, including Weirton, buy a quarter of this foreign steel — mainly raw slabs that become finished steel.

American steelmakers have also made enormous strides in increasing productivity and efficiency.

"What steel crisis?" John Reilly, a steel industry consultant at Nathan Associates in Arlington, Va., asked. "There has been some turmoil in the marketplace. But certainly, there is no crisis in the steel industry. The demise of the steel industry is nowhere on the near horizon."

A Future of Doubt For One Steel Town

The mill that stands on Main Street in this town of 22,000 once employed 13,500. Today, it has 4,300 workers, with 780 of them still furloughed.

To Mr. Glyptis, the union boss — who remembers when President Clinton campaigned in Weirton in 1992 promising to protect American steel from foreign "dumping" — steelworkers are now being sacrificed on the altar of globalism and open markets.

"Clinton's not welcome here and neither is Gore," said Mr. Glyptis, whose organization, the Independent

The New York Times

THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1999

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Not only is Mayor Dean Harris concerned about the health of the Weirton Steel mill because of the impact it has on the life and economics of his community, he also earns his paycheck there.

Steelworkers Union, has removed the President's picture from the union hall, leaving a bare spot on the wall. "I'd run them out of town."

Around town, handwritten signs displayed in store windows say "Let's Buy Steel" and "Don't Let Clinton 'Steel' Our Jobs." At Renee's Cafe, at the bottom of a menu featuring homemade cakes, pies and 50-cent hot dogs, is the postscript "Stand Up for Steel!!!"

With Weirton paying up to \$60,000 a year, in a town where a five-bedroom house rents for \$350 a month, employees rarely want to leave.

Aaron Bennett, 25, is a third-generation steelworker, laid off and working as a courtroom magistrate to support his wife and four children on a salary of \$20,000 a year.

"We did everything we needed to do to make our mill the best," Mr. Bennett said. "But this has a lot to do with economics and world affairs."

"Thank You Sen. Rockefeller, Sen. Byrd," read signs outside the union hall, referring to the state's two Democratic United States Senators, John D. Rockefeller 4th and Robert C. Byrd. They are spearheading the Senate quota bill — following Richard A. Gephardt, minority leader from Missouri, who led the House fight.

Senator Byrd, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, also tucked a long-shot rider onto a pending hurricane relief bill to provide \$1 billion in loan guarantees for steelmakers. In Washington, this rider is known as the Weirton Bill.

Either measure could give some much-needed relief to Weirton Steel. But even at the best of times, profits are razor thin. In 1998, the company lost \$6.1 million on revenue of \$1.25 billion, and more losses are expected

this year. Weirton's stock is now at \$2 a share.

The company is so mired in debt from a recent modernization program that nearly every dollar it earns is devoted to interest payments to its debt holders. And like many steelmakers, Weirton cannot take advantage of low interest rates to reduce its borrowing costs because there is virtually no market for steel-industry bonds.

Weirton's situation is especially poignant considering that in 1984, with its former parent company, National Steel, threatening to close the mill, Weirton was bought by its employees for \$386 million in one of America's largest employee stock ownership plans. Today, employees own 24 percent, having sold off chunks in the public markets to raise money.

"Our whole community is on pins and needles," Dean Harris, Weirton's Mayor and a steelworker, said. "If I lose my job, where do I go? How do we take care of the dreams of our children?"

Imports Take A Growing Toll

Although Big Steel has railed against imports for years, last year's surge was particularly significant. Over two months, the price of flat-rolled steel fell to \$250 a ton from more than \$320. "When prices get down to the \$250-a-ton level, the whole industry is losing money," said Richard K. Riederer, Weirton's chief executive.

Still, Big Steel suffered much more than did minimills.

In the 1998 fourth quarter, when the foreign pricing pressures were most severe, the nation's 11 biggest integrated-steel companies were able to sell twice as much steel as the 14 largest minimills — \$5.9 billion in combined revenue, compared with the minimills' \$2.6 billion.

Despite greater sales, the big mills' higher production costs meant they earned less than minimills, which recorded operating profits of \$199 million for the period, compared with \$138 million for big mills.

Since then, steel prices have recovered somewhat, rising last month to around \$290 a ton. This came after the Commerce Department imposed anti-dumping tariffs against Brazil and Japan and negotiated a trade agreement.

Despite these events, Weirton is in a bind.

The company's cash cow is a tin mill accounting for 40 percent of its revenue. Though company executives take comfort that tin is rarely imported and is not made by minimills, the market for tin — mainly for food cans — has stopped growing.

And the bulk of Weirton's output, around 60 percent of revenue, comes from rolled steel, a commodity subject to the vagaries of global pricing.

Weirton is dabbling in new businesses, forming a steel-trading E-commerce Web site, entering joint ventures with overseas mills and inventing new specialty products like steel roofing shingles. But these early efforts have yet to pay off.

"It's not that we haven't done things right," Mark Roach, a Weirton steelworker, said. "We've spent money on modernization. We just can't compete with slave wages. Until recently, we were the largest employer in the state. It's kind of embarrassing to say now Wal-Mart is."

Can Outside Help Forestall the End?

For big integrated mills, it was not supposed to be this way. Over the last decade, to compete globally, the American steel industry pumped \$50 billion into a huge modernization that paid off handsomely — though with a human cost.

Twenty years ago, it took 10 man-hours to produce a ton of steel; today, that is down to under 4. Steel is being produced with fewer than 2 man-hours a ton at minimills, and, remarkably, even at Weirton, too.

With fewer jobs, most workers left at places like Weirton are in their mid-40's.

"We used to have an influx of young bodies," Mr. Harris, Weirton's Mayor, said. "We'd have 20, 25 guys in the hot mill. Now it's 8. You can walk for long periods in the mill and not see anyone."

Yet, even as Weirton and other steel companies lobby in Washington for protection against these trends, some say it may not matter.

"The handwriting is on the wall for the big integrated steel mills," said Daniel T. Griswold, a trade expert at the Cato Institute. "There is nothing that Congress can do about it."

Even Mr. Bennett, the laid-off steelworker, hedged his optimism: "Even if they resolve this thing fast and they call everyone back, it doesn't mean it's over. If I leave this magistrate's job, should I go back? But there really is nothing else around here."

2/2

The New York Times

THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1999

Clinton Urges Japan to Continue Fiscal Reform, Curb Steel Exports

By JEANNE CUMMINGS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—President Clinton warned Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi that Japan must keep a lid on steel exports to the U.S. but didn't make new demands that Japan boost its economy.

Rather, Mr. Clinton went out of his way to encourage Mr. Obuchi to continue on a path of economic reform, urging him to keep up programs to stimulate Japan's weak economy. "I hope that these stimulus measures will remain intact . . . until the economy clearly shows signs of sustained growth," Mr. Clinton said at a friendly joint news conference with Mr. Obuchi. The Japanese leader, he said, "has been very aggressive" in restructuring Japan's economy and banking system and that "he deserves a lot of credit on that."

The two leaders unveiled a package of agreements to deregulate the Japanese economy and give U.S. companies a better chance at selling their products and services in Japan. The agreements, which were expected, covered areas including telecommunications, housing, financial services, distribution and antitrust policy.

Japanese officials have agreed to establish a set of national environmental guidelines that would apply to proposals for building big discount stores. Currently, those guidelines are administered by local governments, which means store operations could face a new set of requirements in each locality. Japan also has agreed to require public participation in zoning regulations, which have been used to restrict the development of large stores.

A host of U.S. companies, including Eastman Kodak Co. and Ford Motor Co., have long complained that they haven't been able to expand sales in Japan because of a web of restrictions that limit distribu-

tion channels. They also argue the Japanese government has been unwilling to enforce antitrust regulations.

As part of the negotiations, Japan agreed to develop a model antitrust program for firms. Officials agreed to study a proposal that would ease the way for private antitrust lawsuits and criminal prosecutions for anticompetitive behavior. While Japan has made similar commitments before without much result, trade officials are more hopeful Japan actually will change its business practices this time because of the critical state of that nation's economy and because of Mr. Obuchi's demonstrated interest in reform.

Still, the most contentious issue remains Japan's export of steel to the U.S. at below-market prices. U.S. businesses and labor leaders have been calling on the Clinton administration for months to limit steel imports. When the Asian economy collapsed in the summer of 1997, so did the price of steel from that region; at the same time, exports from Japan to the U.S. surged.

Mr. Clinton reported the two men had made "progress" on the steel issue but said he warned Mr. Obuchi that he will "take action if levels don't return to precrisis levels on a consistent basis."

However, that warning is less threatening as it sounds. Despite a blip up in March from February, Japanese exports have plunged compared with levels in the fall because U.S. steelmakers are successfully pressing an antidumping case before the Commerce Department. Steel importers have slashed their purchases, because they could face huge penalties.

Deputy U.S. Trade Representative Richard Fisher said steel, cars, and computers are "test cases for Obuchi's commitment to market-driven economics."

U.S. to Unfreeze Bank Accounts of Man Who Owned Target of Attack in Sudan

By DAVID S. CLOUD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Clinton administration said it was unfreezing the U.S. bank accounts of Salah Idris, owner of a pharmaceutical plant in Sudan that was destroyed in a U.S. missile strike last August in retaliation for the embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania.

The action releases more than \$24 million in deposits at Bank of America that were frozen by the Office of Foreign Assets Control, a Treasury Department agency that enforces antiterrorism sanctions. Mr. Idris sued for the release in February.

Lawyers for Mr. Idris said the decision was a tacit acknowledgment that U.S. officials erred when the U.S. alleged that the plant was producing a precursor chemical used in the production of deadly VX nerve gas, and that Osama bin Laden, the Saudi dissident accused in the embassy attacks, was an investor and an associate of Mr. Idris. U.S. cruise missiles struck Mr. Idris's El Shifa pharmaceuticals plant in Khartoum on Aug. 20 last year. The plant was one of several sites the U.S. destroyed after terrorists bombed the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania earlier that month. The bombings claimed 301 lives.

"Today's order . . . effectively removes any suggestion that Mr. Idris has, at any time, maintained a relationship with

Osama bin Laden or any terrorist group or organization," Mr. Idris's lawyers said in a statement.

But administration officials denied that the accounts were unfrozen because the administration had changed its assessment of the plant or Mr. Idris. Rather, officials said, the U.S. didn't want to disclose intelligence it used in targeting the plant, which it would have had to do in connection with the two lawsuits filed by Mr. Idris to gain access to the accounts. Today was the court-ordered deadline for the U.S. to respond to Mr. Idris's suit challenging the freezing of his accounts. His lawyers said talks continue about a possible settlement for damages.

Mr. Idris was the subject of a profile in this newspaper last year that questioned some of the U.S. government's claims about the El Shifa factory.

U.S. officials based their argument for bombing El Shifa on a soil sample taken near the factory that, they say, turned up strong evidence of a precursor chemical used to make nerve gas. But other links in their chain of evidence proved weaker. The U.S. claim that the plant was run by the Sudanese government's weapons-making arm, for instance, was based on an assumption by the U.S. that the government would be behind any chemical-weapons plant, U.S. officials later said.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
TUESDAY, MAY 4, 1999

5-10-99

Study
What's this
deal been? /
thought we
were ~~stuffed~~
w/ technology transfer
as a result of ~~armaments~~

copied
Berger
Podeste

Less Than 10% of China's \$300,000 Went to DNC, Report Indicates

by WALTER PINCUS
Washington Post Staff Writer

Of \$300,000 that former Democratic fund-raiser Johnny Chung told federal investigators he got from China's military intelligence chief to help reelect President Clinton in 1996, the FBI has been able to trace only \$20,000 to the Democratic National Committee, the Senate intelligence committee reported yesterday.

"Most of the remaining funds went for [Chung's] personal use, including mortgage payments," a report from the panel said.

Chung, who pleaded guilty last year to illegally contributing \$30,000 to Democrats and has been cooperating with Justice Department investigators, was a central figure in the 1996 fund-raising scandal. He testified to a federal grand jury that he accepted \$300,000 from the Chinese general to support the Democrats in 1996, the Los Angeles Times reported last month. At that time the paper said it believed only \$35,000 actually went into party coffers.

The Senate panel also disclosed that contributions from other Chinese sources were made to "a Republican candidate for state office and a Republican state officeholder" who were otherwise unidentified. In addition, the panel said that intelligence information disclosed that China in 1995 conceived a plan to "influence the U.S. political process favorably toward [Beijing]" that was directed primarily at Congress.

The plan was developed after the president of Taiwan was granted a visa to visit the United States, which Chinese officials regarded as a gesture significantly undermining their position that Taiwan is a renegade province that must return, sooner or later, to mainland control.

Overall, Chung visited the Clinton White House 50 times and donated some \$400,000 to Democratic causes between 1994 and 1996. He is perhaps best known for a much-publicized incident in which he offered the Democratic National Committee a \$50,000 check in exchange for arranging the visit of several Chinese businessmen to an Oval Office radio address. That offer was turned down

but Chung sought Hillary Rodham Clinton's help and eventually the DNC accepted the check.

Chung may have uttered the most famous statement associated with the fund-raising controversy. "I see the White House is like a subway," he said. "You have to put in coins to open gates."

The report also disclosed that law enforcement and intelligence agencies were aware of the activities of Liu Chao-ying, daughter of a top-ranking Chinese general. They did not alert the White House to her

identity when she attended a fund-raiser for Clinton in 1996 with Chung and had her picture taken with the president.

The report found intelligence information "indicating [Chinese] officials provided funds to U.S. political campaigns," but does not identify to whom the contributions went. It does say "no direct evidence" was uncovered of "an actual attempt to influence a particular member of Congress."

Chung's campaign contributions and other information about China's attempts to influence the 1996 U.S. elections at the national, state and local levels were contained at the end of the Senate intelligence panel's 45-page report on the impact on U.S. national security of satellite exports to China.

The committee concluded that technical information transferred during launching of U.S. satellites in China enabled that country to improve its space launch capability. As a result, "U.S. national security interests already may have been harmed if [China] used the transferred information... [or] may be harmed in the future if [China] proliferates missile systems or components that have been improved as a result of the technology transfer."

The committee included 10 recommendations, particularly emphasizing improved monitoring of satellite launches abroad, an area where the panel identified "disturbing shortcomings." Congress has already mandated through legislation and the administration has already begun implementing stricter curbs on satellite launches by transferring the licensing authority from the Commerce to the State Department.

White House officials late yesterday said they had just received the report and would have no immediate comment. One administration official said at first glance the recommendations appeared acceptable.

Staff writer Susan B. Glasser contributed to this report

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1999

5-10-99

The Rogues' Gallery

Imagine what it would sound like if the world's biggest rogues — North Korea's Kim Jong Il, Iraq's Saddam Hussein, Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic and Syria's Hafez al-Assad — had a conference call about Yugoslavia.

Kim: Is everybody on the line?

Saddam: Kim, how are you — you old Scud-maker you!

Kim: Actually, that's what I was calling about. I just saw this report that the Americans had run out of air-launched cruise missiles. Turns out they stopped the production line back in '95. Can you believe that? I have more Scuds than they have cruise missiles. Heck, Saddam, you still have more Scuds buried in the desert than they have cruise missiles. Anyway, I was thinking about launching another missile test over Japan right now, or maybe a probe across the 38th parallel. My people are starving, and every time I rattle my cage the Americans send me more potatoes. Maybe Iraq could take a bite out of Kuwait at the same time and we could "triangulate" Bill Clinton. Boy, would that bring the potatoes!

Saddam: I love it! The last Pentagon strategic review said the U.S. could fight two wars at once — one on the Korean Peninsula and one in the gulf — but it looks to me like they can barely handle one, let alone three.

Kim: Can I put you all on hold? I've got a call coming in from Li Peng in China. (Long pause) I'm back. You're gonna love this. Li is thinking this might be China's moment to seize Taiwan, but he says Zhu Rongji and Jiang Zemin are opposed. Those two are such lackeys. They just want to kiss up to the Americans to get into the World Trade Organization. I've been having trouble with those two myself. They keep me on a short leash. Does Clinton realize how much he needs China to keep Asia quiet right now? The Americans probably hope we haven't noticed that they moved their only aircraft carrier in North Asia — the Roosevelt — over to the coast of Yugoslavia. But we notice everything.

Saddam: The Americans think that nothing is connected and that the world stands still for them. I have a question for brother Slobodan, though: What's it like fighting 19 countries at once? I thought I had the record.

Slobodan: Does anyone else have

turned on your radar they sent a radiation-seeking missile right back down the radar beam and blew you away. You're still doing it, you idiot. NATO pilots never know when I might turn my radar on, so they won't fly below 15,000 feet. They fight like they're Northwest Airlines. And always remember the Jesse Jackson rule: If you can capture just one U.S. pilot, Jackson will pay you a visit within 30 days and shift the whole U.S. focus from its strategic war aims to P.O.W.'s. As soon as Jackson starts mediating, people forget what the war is about and put you on the same moral plane with the U.S. President. Then you're home free. Right, brother Hafez?

Hafez: You're all idiots.

Slobodan, Kim, Saddam: What?

Hafez: How many times have I told you all — being an extremist is not just knowing when to go over the line, but when to duck back behind it. Sure, I leveled a whole town, Hama, when the Muslims there threatened me. But then I rebuilt it. Sure, I'm bleeding the Israelis in Lebanon, but I stop just before they get frustrated enough to bomb me. Saddam, you mistook the world's tolerance for your war against Iran for a green light to invade Kuwait. Slobodan, you mistook the world's tolerance for your war in Bosnia for a green light to ethnically cleanse Kosovo. You're both fighting as though the Soviet Union were going to resupply us all again. It's not. The Russians want cash now. All Primakov ever says to me is "Show me the money." Look where the Russians agreed to be part of the international peace force in Kosovo. It was at this week's G-8 economic meeting! It's all part of a package deal for them.

Oh, you guys are going to win, all right. But win what? Without a deal with the West you'll never be able to rebuild your countries, and you personally will be on the run forever. Your people may hate the Americans now, but as time goes by they will hate you more, and you'll be lucky if you don't live to see it. All you're winning is the right to sleep in a different bed every night for the rest of your lives. Thanks, but I like to sleep at home. □

3-10-99

~~Podesta (family)~~
wondering!
BZ

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5-10-99

3129

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 5, 1999

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99 MAY 5 PM 12:07

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
CAPRICIA MARSHALL

SUBJECT: Your Dinner with Jordanian King Abdallah and Queen Rania

On May 18, you will be hosting a small dinner in honor of Jordan's King Abdallah. We understand the dinner should include a total of about 20 people. The proposed guest list reflects the goal of exposing the new King to individuals involved in areas critical to the future of the Kingdom and its new generation of leaders. At the same time, our objective is to introduce the King to people who can play an important role in ensuring the success of his reign. Finally, we have tried to include people who work in areas that will be of interest to the First Lady in anticipation of her upcoming trip to Jordan. Accordingly, the list includes people from the worlds of business, information, the media, health and archeological preservation.

Proposed List:

His Majesty King Abdallah bin Hussein al-Hashimi and Queen Rania
Vice President and Mrs. Gore
Secretary Albright
Secretary Rubin
Samuel R. and Susan Berger
Father Theodore (Ted) M. Hesburgh (former President of Notre Dame and current member of the Israeli-Palestinian Anti-Incitement Committee)
Dr. Richard D. Klausner and Dr. Cecile Bassen (Dr. Klausner, Director of the National Cancer Institute, provided extraordinary assistance to King Hussein and is about to dedicate a cancer facility in his name.)
Katherine Graham
Sir John Browne (CEO of BP Amoco, which is scheduled to sign an important deal with Jordan)

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Dr. E. Gordon Gee and Dr. Constance B. Gee (Gordon Gee is President of Brown University, which has important archeological programs in Jordan.)
Mr. & Mrs. Steve Case (Case is Chairman and CEO of Online.)
Ken Wollack (and spouse) (President of the National Democratic Institute)
Bruce Riedel (Senior Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs; notetaker)

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the proposed list.

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4780
4
Sunday
8:15 AM

Ms. Carrie,

This fax arrived at our
number Sunday morning. It's
from a person who has called &
sent items to the Upshers office before.
I wasn't sure how to channel it
so I'm sending it to you!

Thanks,

Danah

Danah Shanks
Upshers office

5-10-99

Send to Burkhardt's

Yes

No

May 9, 1999

'99 MAY 10 PM 1:44

Mothers Day

Fax Transmission To: President Clinton
C/o Daniel Ushers Office
From Pamela J. Anderson
12 pages Total

Dear President & Mrs Clinton,
Happy mothers Day!

I am sending you correspondence from 1993
with Sen Senator George Mitchell re: TV Violence
As a mother of 4 precious children I pray
to God in Heaven that you will read these
letters and use them on Monday for your
Conference with the media executives!
I have sent Sen. Mitchell's letters and a letter
I wrote to you in 1995, and an editorial that was
Printed in the Bangor Daily News on Mon. May third!
God Bless You! Sincerely Pamela Anderson

GEORGE J. MITCHELL
MAINE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-1902

October 27, 1993

Mrs. Pamela Anderson
46 High Street
Houlton, Maine 04730

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

My staff in Presque Isle told me that you called to express your concern about television violence. I appreciate hearing from you.

In 1990 Congress passed the Television Violence Act to grant the television industry a three year waiver of antitrust laws to allow collaborative efforts by the industry to find ways to address television violence. The four networks met earlier this year and produced a voluntary system of parental warnings to be broadcast at the networks' discretion for program episodes which may contain violent content. The networks instituted the new labels this fall. The major cable systems have agreed to adopt the same warning labels.

Also as a result of the Television Violence Act, the entertainment community held a one day, industry-wide conference in early August to discuss ways to address television violence. Congress also held hearings recently on the issue, at which Attorney General Reno testified.

In Congress various members have introduced bills to address the issue. The House is looking at possible technological solutions which would give parents the ability to block out channels or programs which they find objectionable for their violent content. Others suggest that the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) issue quarterly "report cards" on television violence, giving television consumers a better sense of the shows and networks which may have potentially objectionable material.

The Television Violence Act has prodded the industry to act on its own to address the issue. Further legislation right now may be premature until Congress has had an opportunity to monitor the voluntary steps underway. Many view the warning label initiative to be a good first step, but it has just been implemented and clearly needs some time to be evaluated. Your

Mrs. Pamela Anderson
October 27, 1993
Page 2

views will be helpful as I review the issue and monitor the development of the voluntary initiatives.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

George Mitchell
George J. Mitchell

THOMAS J. ANDERSON, D.M.D.

November 22, 1993

Danielo Anderson
46 High St
Houlton, Maine
04730

Dear Senator Mitchell,

Thank you for your informative letter of response, to my phone call to your Presque Isle office regarding T.V. violence. Your Presque Isle office was most cooperative in helping me contact The Americans for Responsible Television.

After calling this group on three different occasions and asking for additional information, and offering my help and support to them, I have not had any response whatsoever! It makes me wonder if they are just too busy, or lack the management to keep up with the growing interest? None the less I am still very concerned about the issue of T.V. violence, and the overall role of the media, in our society today!

On January 25th I wrote a letter to President Clinton. In the letter I expressed my feelings on forming a National Coalition for "media Excellence", a group to encourage every aspect of the media to stop portraying human beings in the lowest, most ignorant levels of behavior. This coalition would speak of the importance of the media in the information age, to shape, mold and to help create greatness, and excellence in this society today! The coalition would recognize the efforts of

46 High St.

Houlton, ME 04730 • (207) 532-3336

Page 2

THOMAS J. ANDERSON, D.M.D.

the Press, Networks, and all people in the media, that work to use the media to educate, inform and enlighten society! President Clinton did not respond to my letter, but since the time I wrote it, much has been done to bring up the issue of violence on television.

Today is the 30th anniversary of the assassination of President Kennedy. I have watched many documentaries about this day, all, searching for some meaning out of this tragic day. One prominent member of the press, and personal friend of J.F.K. said that the most incredible thing about the moment President Kennedy was shot down, was that through the communication and cooperation of the media, every one in the whole world was informed moments after the tragedy took place. With cooperation of the media in the Information Age we all can meet the challenge to communicate and learn from one another! There are so many wonderful things about all the humans that inhabit this Earth. It would be so beneficial to focus more attention things that will uplift and encourage mankind to be the best we can be!

Senator Mitchell, I am a working mother with four young children. I realize that this time we spend on this Earth is precious! It is so important for myself and my husband to be good positive role models for our family. It would be most helpful if children and adults were given great examples, via the media, of Noble, Honest, positive, and dignified lifestyles! The coalition for media Excellence would bring together all aspects of the media that are interested in these ideas.

46 High

Houlton, ME 04730 • (207) 532-3336

Page 3

THOMAS J. ANDERSON, D.M.D.

As for a my role in this coalition, I would be willing to do whatever I am able to get this idea off the ground! I know very little about forming a coalition, and would need the help and support of those that do! With the help and support of the media, networks, movie business, Senate, and yes even the White House, to name a few, the Coalition for Media Excellence would work for the benefit of all people!

We are so fortunate to live in such a Great Country, with a President that is putting forth his best effort, to serve the people, and to fight for things that will benefit us, and the whole world! With all our efforts, and the help of the media this country and world will only get Better!

If there is anyone you know that would be interested in this idea, please contact me as soon as possible! OR maybe you could encourage President Clinton to form the "President's Council for Media Excellence", and I would be most honored to help him to encourage the media to focus on Greatness!

Thank you Senator Mitchell for your help and interest in this matter. The people of Maine are very fortunate to have you as our Senator!

With best regards,

Pamela Anderson

GEORGE J. MITCHELL
MAINE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-1902

January 6, 1994

Mrs. Pamela Anderson
46 High Street
Houlton, Maine 04730

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

Thank you for writing again, this time to let me know of your efforts to work with other citizens to promote media excellence.

I applaud your efforts to raise public awareness about the enormous benefits, actual and potential, of the media as an informational and educational tool in our society. Americans enjoy one of the most vibrant and broad array of choices of entertainment and information because of the media market in this country, and it's important that more of us recognize that benefit and take advantage of it.

The broad array of media choices reflects the conscious and continuing American consensus on separating expression from governmental control. Unlike most European nations, for instance, we do not have a "national" broadcast network. Many European countries that do, meanwhile, have found that their national networks act as a barrier to the admission of competing private-sector broadcast networks.

The American media has developed under the explicit command of the First Amendment, which prohibits governmental law-making with respect to content. Proposals which seek to interject government into media decisions risk undermining what we have achieved for benefits which are speculative. In general, I believe the American media have treated their constitutionally protected rights in a responsible and appropriate manner.

Together with concerned citizens who have consistently presented their viewpoint on matters of concern to the media, we have a system that is free of government sponsorship or censorship and yet responsive to the public. I believe this system should continue, and it is important that it remain free of government influence.

Mrs. Pamela Anderson
January 6, 1994
Page 2

I understand you have already tried to get in touch with a citizen group involved in this issue, which, unfortunately, has not yet taken advantage of your interest. I would encourage you to keep trying and to explore other avenues of grassroots involvement that link you with other private citizens and groups that share your concern.

I wish you the best of luck.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "George Mitchell". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

George J. Mitchell

April 4, 1995
46 High Street
Houlton, Maine 04730

President Clinton
The White House
Scheduling Office
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing today with an idea for you, Mr. President, and an opportunity for all of us in the country to reflect together on the past 20 years.

On August 5, 1995, the Monte Vista class of 1975 will hold its 20th high school reunion at the Disneyland Hotel in Anaheim, California. This, I believe, will be a unique reunion because in the early 1980's our high school was closed and became the training and stolen goods storage facility for the L.A. County Sheriff's Department. We will all be attending this reunion with mixed emotions as it is difficult to understand how our high school could be transformed from a place of learning to a training ground for law enforcement. Unfortunately, this does reflect the saga of our society today. We beleive this would be a great opportunity to discuss issues on education and would also be relative to the "Stop the Violence" campaign.

As a member of the class of 1975, I would be greatly honored to have you and your family attend. We feel a discussion with you on these issues would serve as a focal point for our nation to understand the meaning of past events and gain direction for the future.

Please inform us at your earliest convenience if you will be able to attend so that proper arrangements may be finalized.

Respectfully yours,

Pamela Anderson
Pamela Anderson

August 19, 1997

Senator George J. Mitchell
Preti-Flaherty-Beliveau and Pachoius Law Firm
433 Congress St. Box 11410
Portland, Maine 04104-7410

Dear Senator Mitchell,

On November 22, 1993, I sent you a letter thanking you for your response to a phone call I made to your Presque Isle office, regarding television violence. The letter which I am enclosing along with your response was sent to President Clinton in November of 1996. I also am enclosing some of the other documents that were sent to the President at that time.

I am still interested in forming a coalition for "Media Excellence", and I have proposed cultural events, to the President and First Family and I have sincerely requested meeting the President and first Family, all of which have been denied by the White House Scheduling office. Senator Mitchell with your experience as a Great Senator, and a personal friend of the President and First Family, I am asking for your assistance, advice and help, as to what other steps I might take in meeting the President and First Family.

Today is President Clinton's 51st. birthday, And I do realize the demands on him are overwhelming, but my sincere feeling is that if he had the chance to read some of the documents, and literature that I have sent to the White House It would be a very special birthday present for him. In my corespondence with Mr Gary Walters, I mentioned that I share the same date of birth as Thomas Jefferson, and I made the request to meet the President on my last birthday when I turned 40, again the White House declined, It really makes me wonder if a common person could ever stand a chance of meeting a President.

Senator Mitchell I also realize that the demands on your time are many, and if you might consider reviewing the documents I am enclosing, you would see that my interest in ancient wisdom, media excellence, and the assistance I have given to Governor Angus King might make me worthy of a chance of meeting the President and First Family, and also meeting you in the not to distant future.

With Great Respect!
Sincerely,


Pamela J. Anderson

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JOHN J. FLAHERTY (1929 - 1995)

September 11, 1997

Ms. Pamela J. Anderson
46 High Street
Houlton, ME 04730

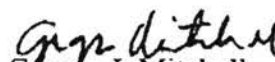
Dear Ms. Anderson:

Thank you for your letter of August 19. I apologize for the delay in this response; however, I have just returned to this office for a brief visit from an extended trip overseas, and so have read your letter for the first time today.

As you may know, at the invitation of the British and Irish Governments, I serve as Chairman of the Peace Talks in Northern Ireland. As a result, I have spent most of the past two years in Northern Ireland. I expect that to continue until the Talks are completed. Thus, I regret that I am not in a position to provide assistance to your effort to meet with the President.

With best wishes for success in your endeavor.

Sincerely,


George J. Mitchell

GJM/ldr

GJMd:\gjm\corres\1997\ande0911.doc

TRYING TIMES

Violence begets violence! This is a fact that we Americans are forced to contemplate in these trying times! The answer lies within us, in our hearts, in our minds. We have many opportunities to make a difference in our own life, and the lives of many others by accepting the responsibility of our actions, and searching for non-violent means to resolve our problems, but in this day and age we are challenged with the images of ignorance in its many forms. Now is our greatest chance to rise above ignorance, and invoke peaceful times for this planet.

Two weekends past, our family, myself, husband and our four children went on a family outing to South Portland, and then on to Boston. The first night of the trip we booked a room in one of Portland's finest hotels, and were told our room would be ready by 4:00. Rushing from the mall we arrived on time expecting our room to be ready at the time promised. Arriving at the front desk we were told that the room was not yet ready. The children were tired from our long journey from Houlton, and ready to unwind in our room. The clerk told me that it shouldn't take too long for the room to be ready. Almost two hours later the room became available, and we were frustrated to say the least! The manager informed me that the reason we were so late in getting our room was that the U.S. Secretary of Defense and the British Defense Minister were late in getting out of the rooms promised to us. It saddened me to think that because of a war a tired family is made to wait, and on the other side of the world in the Balkins a family is made to suffer. Are we humans ever going to live in peace? The manager sensing my frustration offered myself and son something from the bar. As I sat down with my son he sipping his Roy Rogers, and me my Scotch, an image came to me. I pondered that if the world banned all the weapons from use on the planet, and brought the weapons in their many forms, out to a desert somewhere, how high a mountain of weapons and war machines would there be? My guess was that Mt. Everest's view would be blocked by the legacy of war in humanity. The people from era's well into the future would then have a vision of what society was like this gone by era, and they might become aware of how war and violence is not the answer.

P. J. Anderson
46 High St.
Houlton Maine 04730

This Editorial was printed in the Bangor
Daily News on Monday May 3.

5-10-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SEAN MALONEY *SM*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) **Lew/Rubin/Sperling Memo on FY99 Surplus and FY00 Appropriations** -- this week Treasury announced a record first-quarter \$116B federal debt pay-down; preliminary data suggest a FY99 surplus of perhaps \$110B or more, much higher than the previous forecast of \$79B; the larger surplus would provide a windfall of sorts for the FY00 appropriations end game; *please see memo for details.*

(B) **Berger Follow-Up Re: Norfolk Military Families' Questions** -- following your meeting with military families in Norfolk last month, you asked Sandy to send the families the written answers NSC prepared for you; Sandy says Bob Bell has sent the information to Admiral Reason and he'll follow up on your behalf; you also asked if there was a way to have food stamp registration done at military bases; Sandy says there's really not, because the program, which the States administer, doesn't contemplate or provide funding for such a service; *cc: Bell, Ibarra, Podesta*

(C) **Shirley Sagawa Memo** on sector friends who've taken Eli Segal, with fundraising; media plan to complement Spence and Peter Hart to c Americorps messages; the anniversary this October, t public schools; announcing public event honoring mor

(D) **Teacher Recruitment On-** April 19 release from the T Need, and How to Get Mor more authority to recruit and hire teachers who do not meet traditional licensure requirements, and to fire teachers whose student perform poorly; the signatories include Bill Bennett and Governors Engler and Ridge.

(E) **Resignation Letter of ACDA Deputy Director Ralph Earle via Sandy** -- Earle retired late last month on the eve of ACDA's merger with State after a long and distinguished

*cc: Bell, Ibarra, Podesta
should we ask
the Governor to
do it? would only
involve some money
to pay for it
maybe not*

*Tab B - pg 1 of cover & Tab B:
Reed / Ibarra / Podesta*

Tab D - pg 1 of cover + Tab D

*Bleed
surely can
endorse? no
something w/?*

5-10-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SEAN MALONEY *SM*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

*Copied
Reed
Ibarra
Podesta*

*cc: Podesta, Williams
Should we ask
the Governor to
do it? would only
involve some money
to pay for
more than 100,000*

Berger Follow-Up Re: Norfolk Military Families' Questions -- following your meeting with military families in Norfolk last month, you asked Sandy to send the families the written answers NSC prepared for you; Sandy says Bob Bell has sent the information to Admiral Reason and he'll follow up on your behalf; you also asked if there was a way to have food stamp registration done at military bases; Sandy says there's really not, because the program, which the States administer, doesn't contemplate or provide funding for such a service; says the best way to help is with the pay raise.

Shirley Sagawa Memo on Americorps Visibility -- details the efforts of your private sector friends who've taken up the cause of Americorps visibility; says Dan Dutko and Eli Segal, with fundraising help from Alan Solomont and others, have developed a \$5M media plan to complement public efforts; they've enlisted pro bono help from Roy Spence and Peter Hart to conduct 9 focus groups around the country to test different Americorps messages; they're organizing their efforts around Americorps' 5th anniversary this October, the plans for which include: nationwide service projects at public schools; announcing the winners of the new Americorps awards program; and a public event honoring more than 100,000 Americorps alumni.

Reed

*Bruce
already
asked? no
something with*

Teacher Recruitment On-Line Manifesto via Bruce Reed -- you asked to see this April 19 release from the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation entitled, "The Teachers We Need, and How to Get More of Them;" it includes proposals to give school principals more authority to recruit and hire teachers who do not meet traditional licensure requirements, and to fire teachers whose student perform poorly; the signatories include Bill Bennett and Governors Engler and Ridge.

Resignation Letter of ACDA Deputy Director Ralph Earle via Sandy -- Earle retired late last month on the eve of ACDA's merger with State after a long and distinguished

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 3, 1999

99 MAY 3 PM 12:06

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER 

SUBJECT: Information You Requested Regarding Military Families Receiving Food Stamps

The memorandum at Tab A provided answers to the questions you were asked by military wives at your meeting in Norfolk, Virginia, on April 2, 1999. You asked in a marginal note if we would send these answers directly to the wives or if Admiral Reason would respond. Bob Bell has forwarded the answers to Admiral Reason to allow him to respond on your behalf.

You also asked if there was any way that someone could go to the bases to qualify people for the food stamp program. Unfortunately, there is not. The food stamp program is administered by the states, and there are no provisions for state representatives to provide tailored services on military installations. If asked, states would argue that federal funding is not based on providing this service. Our best course of action is to continue with your incremental military pay raise plan so that families will no longer need to stand in food stamp lines.

Attachment

Tab A Information Memo of April 8, 1999

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Berger
Podesta

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4-12-99

2515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'99 APR 8 AM 10:15

April 8, 1999

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER (K) *to the President*

SUBJECT:

Information on Issues Raised By Military Family Members in Norfolk, Virginia

On April 2, 1999, you met with wives of deployed military members who asked some heartfelt questions about pay, benefits and operations. Below is background information on their most significant issues.

QUESTION: Several women commented that some military families must endure long separations while also suffering the indignity of qualifying for Food Stamps and the WIC (Women, Infant, Children) public assistance programs because of inadequate pay.

to have anything to do with the answer to have

ANSWER: 1996 Department of Defense report to Congress estimated the number of military members receiving food stamp benefits at 11,900. Of these, approximately 59 percent live on military bases and were eligible because the USDA excludes the value of their in-kind housing from their gross income in determining eligibility. Most of the remainder have larger than average families. Based on a mandate in the 1999 Defense Authorization Act, DOD initiated a new study of food stamp recipients that will be completed next year. Calculated on USDA eligibility guidelines, about 214,148 military-dependent women and children are potentially eligible for WIC in the U.S. An additional 46,658 would be eligible if the WIC program was extended overseas. Your proposed military pay raise will decrease the number of military families eligible for public assistance.

QUESTION: One wife asked if there were any plans to eliminate or reduce commissary benefits.

ANSWER: Commissaries provide an important non-pay compensation and there are no Administration plans to eliminate or reduce them. Congress has, in the past, looked at the commissary benefit for elimination but always opted to protect it.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

4-12-99

QUESTION: Tuition assistance was also a topic of concern for the wives. They wanted to know if less money was available to assist active duty members in furthering their education.

ANSWER: Total funding for the DOD tuition assistance program actually increased in FY99 with over \$135 million available. On October 1, 1998, DOD instituted a uniform tuition assistance policy for all services which leveled the playing field for eligibility and amount of payment. A provision in DOD's legislative program for FY2000 would further expand this program to pay 100 percent of tuition assistance for deployed troops rather than the 75-90 percent now allowed.

QUESTION: Navy wives wanted to know why their husbands stationed on ships in the Balkans theater did not receive hostile fire or hazardous duty pay.

ANSWER: Title 37, Section 310, requires an individual or unit be exposed to hostile fire or explosion of enemy mines to qualify for hostile fire pay. The same law allows for payment of Imminent Danger Pay (IDP) for duty in foreign areas subject to threat of physical harm or imminent danger. DOD is currently assessing the threat danger to Navy units in the Adriatic Sea to determine eligibility for IDP.

QUESTION: A question important to all the wives was on the demanding OPSTEMPO and what the Services are doing to lessen the strain on military personnel and their families?

ANSWER: SECDEF and the Joint Chiefs recognize this as one of their greatest challenges. Their efforts to address the problem have focused on two areas: lowering the tempo and building schedule predictability.

- Lowering the Tempo. Longer and more frequent deployments pose challenges for our forces, especially among "high demand/low density" units such as AWACS, Patriot missile batteries and Combat Search and Rescue. The Global Military Force Policy (GMFP) systematically manages force needs by prioritizing demands and finding alternative means to meet requirements for these forces. Each Service has set metrics with acceptable thresholds to carefully manage these units. Reserve components are being called on to mitigate some of the burden on the most stressed units. As a longer-term solution, the Army and Air Force are reorganizing a portion of their forces

4-12-99

to be tailored for rotational deployments, similar to the approach taken by the Navy and Marine Corps. These Service efforts are complemented by direction from General Shelton in 1998 to reduce joint training exercises 25% over ~~four years~~. Additionally, DOD is implementing a worldwide theater engagement planning process that will improve its ability to allocate military forces to priority engagement requirements while maintaining an operational tempo that is sustainable over the long term.

- Building Predictability. The Services try to build in family time for personnel returning from deployment. They are also cutting back on routine inspections, setting stern limits on the number of days personnel are deployed, and cutting back on weekend training.

The goal of these initiatives is to ultimately improve morale, quality of life and retention.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1999

5-10-99

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SEAN MALONEY *SM*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

*Copied
Reed
Podesta*

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

*cc: [unclear] [unclear]
should we ask
the Governor to
do it? would only
involve [unclear]
to [unclear] [unclear]
[unclear] [unclear]*

Berger Follow-Up Re: Norfolk Military Families' Questions -- following your meeting with military families in Norfolk last month, you asked Sandy to send the families the written answers NSC prepared for you; Sandy says Bob Bell has sent the information to Admiral Reason and he'll follow up on your behalf; you also asked if there was a way to have food stamp registration done at military bases; Sandy says there's really not, because the program, which the States administer, doesn't contemplate or provide funding for such a service; says the best way to help is with the pay raise.

[unclear]

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[unclear]

Teacher Recruitment On-Line Manifesto via Bruce Reed -- you asked to see this April 19 release from the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation entitled, "The Teachers We Need, and How to Get More of Them;" it includes proposals to give school principals more authority to recruit and hire teachers who do not meet traditional licensure requirements, and to fire teachers whose student perform poorly; the signatories include Bill Bennett and Governors Engler and Ridge.

[unclear]

Resignation Letter of ACDA Deputy Director Ralph Earle via Sandy -- Earle retired late last month on the eve of ACDA's merger with State after a long and distinguished

5-10 19

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 5, 1999

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED

SUBJECT: Teacher Recruitment On-line Manifesto

As you indicated on the DPC weekly report from April 23, attached is a copy of the on-line manifesto entitled, "The Teachers We Need, and How to Get More of Them."

On April 19, the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation released, in a press conference and on their website, "a policy statement endorsed by governors, chief state school officers, state board members, prominent education thinkers and analysts, and veteran practitioners, which sets forth principles and policies to guide states as they prepare to hire a teaching force for the 21st century." The manifesto includes proposals to give school principals more authority to recruit and hire teachers who do not meet traditional licensure standards, and to fire teachers whose students perform poorly on assessments. The 52 signatories include William J. Bennett and Governors John Engler and Tom Ridge.

The Teachers We Need and How to Get More of Them

Overview*

U.S. schools aren't producing satisfactory results, and this problem is not likely to be solved until U.S. classrooms are filled with excellent teachers. About this, there seems to be a national consensus. How to get from here to there, however, is the subject of far less agreement. Our purpose is to suggest a more promising path than many policymakers and education reformers are presently following.

The good news is that America is beginning to adopt a powerful, commonsensical strategy for school reform. It is the same approach that almost every successful modern enterprise has adopted to boost performance and productivity: set high standards for results to be achieved, identify clear indicators to measure progress towards those results, and be flexible and pluralistic about the means for reaching those results. This strategy in education is sometimes called "standards-and-accountability." It is a fundamental aspect of the charter school movement, and it undergirds many versions of "systemic reform" as well.

The bad news is that states and policymakers have turned away from this commonsensical approach when trying to increase the pool of well-qualified teachers. Instead of encouraging a results-oriented approach, many states and policymakers are demanding ever more regulation of inputs and processes. Other modern organizations have recognized that regulation of inputs and processes is ineffectual and often destructive. There is no reason to believe that it will be anything other than ineffectual as a strategy for addressing the teacher quality problem.

We conclude that the regulatory strategy being pursued today to boost teacher quality is seriously flawed. Every additional requirement for prospective teachers—every additional pedagogical course, every new hoop or hurdle—will have a predictable and inexorable effect: it will limit the potential supply of teachers by narrowing the pipeline while having no bearing whatever on the quality or effectiveness of those in the pipeline. The regulatory approach is also bound, over time, to undermine the standards-and-accountability strategy for improving schools and raising student achievement.

A better solution to the teacher quality problem is to simplify the entry and hiring process. Get rid of most hoops and hurdles. Instead of requiring a long list of courses and degrees, test future teachers for their knowledge and skills. Allow principals to hire the teachers they need. Focus relentlessly on results, on whether students are learning. This strategy, we are confident, will produce a larger supply of able teachers

* This statement is also available at www.edexcellence.net. For more information, call the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation at 202-223-5452.

and will tie judgments about their fitness and performance to success in the classroom, not to process or impression.

The Problem

We know that better quality teachers make a big difference. We know this from decades of research and from the experience of millions of families. Recent studies in Tennessee, Boston, and Dallas, *inter alia*, find dramatic differences between the performance of youngsters who are assigned the best teachers and those assigned the worst teachers.¹ No matter how well-intentioned it is, school reform will likely falter unless more teachers have the knowledge and skills to help all their students meet high academic standards.

Poor Preparation

Yet many teachers are unready to meet these challenges. According to a recent survey, only one in five teachers feels well prepared to teach to high standards.² The head of Teachers College acknowledges that "The nation has too many weak education schools, with teachers, students and curriculums that are not up to the task at hand."³ Children who face high-stakes tests for promotion and graduation will need instructors with more knowledge and skill than ever before. As many as two million new teachers will need to be hired in the next decade. Yet our present system for recruiting, preparing and deploying them is not up to the dual challenge of quality and quantity. We are not attracting enough of the best and the brightest to teaching, and not retaining enough of the best of those we attract.⁴ A third of U.S. teachers—two thirds in inner cities—report that *their* schools have difficulty keeping good teachers.⁵

Lack of Subject Matter Knowledge

Perhaps the gravest failing of our present arrangement is the many teachers who lack preparation in the subjects that they teach. While most public school teachers are certified by their states, extensive college-level study in the teaching field is not always a prerequisite for subject area certification.⁶ Moreover, teachers are often assigned to courses outside their main teaching field as a cost-saving measure or administrative convenience, because of shortages in advanced subjects such as math and science, or because some schools—such as those in the inner-city—have a high turnover of teachers. "Foreign education ministers who visit me are just stumped when I try to explain this practice," notes Education Secretary Richard Riley. "Their translators simply have no words to describe it."⁷

It appears, for example, that more than half of history teachers have neither majors nor minors in history itself.⁸ More than half of the youngsters studying physics have a teacher who has neither a major nor minor in physics. (Is it any wonder that U.S. high seniors trail the world when it comes to *their* knowledge of physics?) More troubling still, children attending school in poor and urban areas are least likely to find themselves studying with teachers who *did* engage in deep study of their subjects.

Today's regulatory approach to entry into teaching compounds these problems. Because it places low priority on deep subject matter mastery and heavy emphasis on the things that colleges of education specialize in, many teachers get certified without having mastered the content that they are expected to impart to their students.

The Romance of Regulation

For decades, the dominant approach to "quality control" for U.S. teachers has been state regulation of entry into the profession. Requirements vary, but almost everywhere a state license is needed to teach in public schools. To obtain such a license, one must complete a teacher education program approved by the state, which typically imposes a host of requirements on these programs.⁹ Their students are commonly required to take specific courses (or a set number of courses) in pedagogy, child development, the "foundations of education", "classroom diversity", etc.¹⁰ Some states require a minimum college grade point average for entry into the program and many require prospective teachers to pass standardized tests of reading, writing and math skills. It is also common, at some point in the process, to test for knowledge of pedagogy and, sometimes, for knowledge of the subject in which they will be certified (which, as we have seen, may or may not be the subject they end up teaching). In addition, these programs typically require supervised student teaching, which teachers often term the most valuable part of their preparation for the classroom. This approach predictably creates a teacher force that is heavily credentialed in pedagogy, but not in the subject matter they are expected to teach. The regulatory strategy will intensify these trends.

More of the Same

Today, in response to widening concern about teacher quality, most states are tightening the regulatory vise, making it harder to enter teaching by piling on new requirements for certification. On the advice of some highly visible education groups such as the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, these states are also attempting to "professionalize" teacher preparation by raising admissions criteria for training programs and ensuring that these programs are all accredited by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). That organization is currently toughening its own standards

to make accredited programs longer, more demanding, and more focused on avant-garde education ideas and social and political concerns.

Such measures will centralize and standardize the licensure process even more, curbing diversity in the sources and entry paths followed by teachers and shifting authority from local school boards and state agencies to professional education organizations and standards committees. These groups base their standards and procedures for judging teacher fitness on the principle of peer review, not on proven effectiveness with respect to student learning.

It is no surprise that all this is happening. The regulatory route is public education's traditional solution. Even business groups proposing to improve the quality of teaching offer suggestions that partake of the regulatory mindset. Many vested interests are served and established routines are enhanced by more regulation.

Shortcomings of the Regulatory Strategy

The regulatory strategy that states have followed for at least the past generation has failed. The unfortunate results are obvious: able liberal arts graduates avoid teaching, those who endure the process of acquiring pedagogical degrees refer to them as "Mickey Mouse" programs, and over time the problems of supply and quality have been exacerbated. When a strategy fails, it does not make much sense to do the same thing with redoubled effort. Yet that is what many states are now doing.

The present system does not even do a good job of screening out ill-prepared candidates. While some states have exit exams that appraise the skills, knowledge and competence of fledgling teachers, in many others, "quality control" occurs only at the point of entry into a training program, and entry requirements are low. In a state with no exit exam, completing the list of prescribed courses and earning the requisite degree are all that's needed to get one's teaching certificate. Though many jurisdictions now require future *high school* instructors to have majored (or minored) in the subjects that they plan to teach, the content and rigor of their course work are left entirely to the colleges.

Where there are exit exams, these often represent a modest intellectual threshold. Tests given to teaching candidates are commonly pitched at so undemanding a level—and their passing scores are so low—that they do little to deter individuals with limited intellectual prowess and scant subject matter knowledge. In Pennsylvania, for instance, passing scores were for many years set so that about 95 percent of everyone taking the tests passed them.¹¹ Local school boards can then hire whomever they prefer, often for reasons other than their academic qualifications.

Standards Askew

What really makes state regulation of entry into teaching so dysfunctional is not that its standards are low but that it emphasizes the wrong things. The regulatory strategy invariably focuses on "inputs"—courses taken, requirements met, time spent and activities engaged in—rather than results, meaning actual evidence of a teacher's classroom prowess, particularly as gauged by student learning. It judges one's "performance" by the subjective opinions of other teachers and professors. This is the wrong sort of regulation.

Teachers should be evaluated based on the only measure that really matters: whether their pupils are learning. This is not pie in the sky. William Sanders of the University of Tennessee has developed a technique that uses careful statistical analysis to identify the gains that students make during a school year and then estimate the effects of individual teachers on student progress. This "value-added" technique is extremely precise and its results are statistically robust. Originally used only in Tennessee but now spreading to other locales, it allows policymakers, taxpayers, and parents to see for themselves how much teachers are helping students to learn.¹²

The technique has proven to be a powerful tool for evaluating teachers. Sanders finds, for example, that the top 20 percent of teachers boost the scores of low-achieving pupils by 53 percentile points on average, while the bottom 20 percent of teachers produce gains of only 14 percentile points. Researchers in Dallas and Boston have found the same commonsensical link: good teachers significantly boost student achievement, even for the weakest pupils.¹³

Yet few states focus their teacher quality strategies on results. The instruments that states are far likelier to use to assess teaching candidates—input measures, that is—are seriously flawed approximations of how good a teacher one will be. We are struck by the paucity of evidence linking those inputs with actual teacher effectiveness. In a meta-analysis of close to four hundred studies of the effect of various school resources on pupil achievement, very little connection was found between the degrees teachers had earned or the experience they possessed and how much their students learned.¹⁴ Nor is there any evidence that teachers who graduate from NCATE-accredited teacher education programs are more effective than those who do not.¹⁵ Today's regulations, and the additional regulations urged by reformers within the profession, focus on inputs that display little or no relationship to classroom success. This is not education reform. This is the illusion of reform.

Shaky Knowledge Base

The regulatory strategy assumes that good teaching rests on a solid foundation of specialized professional knowledge about pedagogy (and related matters) that is scientifically buttressed by solid research. In reality, however, much of that knowledge base is shaky and conflicted. We should not be surprised that there is no reliable link between pedagogical training and classroom success.

To be sure, the foundation has some sturdy spots. There is a scientific consensus today, for example, about the most effective methods of teaching primary reading to young children.¹⁶ There is strong evidence about the efficacy of such pedagogies as Direct Instruction.¹⁷ Yet much of the surest and best-documented knowledge about education is ignored, even denounced, by many approved teacher education programs, while the lore that they instead impart to new teachers (about favored methods and self-esteem enhancement, for example) has little or no basis in research.¹⁸ Is it any wonder that people mistrust teacher education—or that to rely on it as the exclusive path into U.S. classrooms is to place the next generation of Americans at educational risk? The regulatory approach buttresses an orthodoxy that doesn't work.

The regulatory strategy's reliance on peer review assumes, of course, that good teaching can only be detected via observation by other practitioners. Thus the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards has designed an elaborate method for appraising teacher performance and certifying outstanding teachers. The process is costly and time-intensive. Yet today we have no idea whether the teachers identified as superior by the NBPTS are in fact the best teachers as judged by how much and how well their pupils learn.¹⁹ Here as elsewhere, peer review consists mainly of judging quality by observing inputs and processes, i.e. appraising a teacher's skill in using conventional (and popular) teacher practices.

Discouraging the Best and Brightest

Insofar as there are links between teacher characteristics and classroom effectiveness, the strongest of these involve verbal ability and subject matter knowledge. This has been known since the famed Coleman Report of 1966, when teacher scores on a verbal test were the only school "input" found to have a positive relationship to student achievement.²⁰ In a recent study conducted in Texas, teacher literacy levels were more closely associated with student performance than other inputs.²¹ In an appraisal of Alabama schools, the ACT scores of future teachers were the strongest determinant of student gains.²² These all suggest that recruiting smarter, abler teachers will do more to improve teaching than requiring more or different pre-service training.

Yet outstanding candidates are often discouraged by the hurdles that the regulatory strategy loves to erect. Burdensome certification requirements deter well-educated and eager individuals who might make

fine teachers but are put off by the cost (in time and money) of completing a conventional preparation program. One college senior writes, "What discourages us most are the restrictive paths to the classroom and the poor reputation of schools of education--and as a result, of teaching itself....It is the certification process, then, and not a lack of interest, that steers us away from teaching."²³ The best and the brightest of young Americans have other career options and will pursue them if the costs of becoming a teacher are too high. In his February 1999 State of American Education speech, U.S. Secretary of Education Richard Riley urged state policymakers to rethink teacher licensing requirements. "Too many potential teachers", he observed, "are turned away because of the cumbersome process that requires them to jump through hoops and lots of them."²⁴

Getting Hired: What You Know vs. Who You Know

What little we know about how those who have been certified actually land a teaching job is troubling. There is accumulating evidence that local school boards show little interest in hiring the most academically qualified applicants.²⁵ Districts often eschew professional recruiting and screening practices. Instead, they frequently prefer to hire their own high school graduates after they have become certified in a local education program, a practice which has been found to contribute to lower students scores on competency and achievement tests.²⁶

Few incentives for great teaching

Once teachers have entered the classroom, the regulatory strategy--like all such regimens--prizes uniformity and conformity. Personnel decisions for public schools are made by central office bureaucrats according to strict rules. Assignments are often based on seniority. Rigid salary schedules mean that teacher pay reflects years of experience and degrees earned rather than any measure of performance, and salaries bear no relationship to marketplace conditions in the teaching field. There are few tangible rewards for good teaching. And, because quality control focuses on the point of entry, and on-the-job teachers are protected by powerful political interests, there are fewer sanctions for bad teaching. As the N.C.T.A.F. itself pointed out in *What Matters Most: Teaching for America's Future*, "hiring and tenure decisions are often disconnected from any clear vision of quality teaching."²⁷

A Common Sense Proposal: Freedom in Return for Results

As Secretary Riley said in February, "We can no longer fiddle around the edges of how we recruit, prepare, retain, and reward America's teachers."²⁸ The time has come to consider radically different policies to boost the quality of teaching in U.S. schools. In the remainder of this paper, we advance a fresh view of how America can acquire more and better teachers in the years ahead.

Holding Schools Accountable

The teaching profession should be deregulated, entry into it should be widened, and personnel decisions should be decentralized to the school level, the teacher's actual workplace. Freeing up those decisions only makes sense, however, when schools are held accountable for their performance--truly accountable, with real consequences for success and failure. The proper incentives are created by results-based accountability systems in which states independently measure pupil achievement, issue public report cards on schools, reward successful schools, and intervene in or use sanctions against failing schools. In private schools today--and in most charter school programs--schools are held accountable by the marketplace while hiring decisions are made at the building level. Public schools, too, should be accountable in this manner.

Power to the Principals

For principals (or other education leaders) to manage their personnel in such a way as to shoulder accountability for school results, they must not only be free to select from a wide range of candidates, they must also have the flexibility to compensate those they hire according to marketplace conditions (and individual performance), and they must be able to remove those who do not produce satisfactory results. Everyone who has studied effective schools attests to the central importance of a cohesive "school team" that shares a common vision, and almost everyone who has studied current teacher personnel systems has witnessed the danger of tying that school team's hands when it comes to deciding who will join (or remain in) it.²⁹

Common sense also argues that teachers of subjects in short supply should be paid more than those in fields that are amply supplied, that teachers working in hard-to-staff schools should be paid more than those working in schools with hundreds of applicants for teaching slots, and that outstanding teachers should be paid more than mediocre ones. Yet today, the typical public school salary schedule (and teachers' union contract) allows for none of these commonsensical practices.

We look forward to the day when great teachers, teachers in scarce fields, and teachers who shoulder difficult challenges, are paid six-figure salaries. But this is not apt to happen so long as mediocre practitioners and superb instructors are harnessed to the same pay scale.

As for the occasional incompetent teacher, the more freedom a school has in initial hiring, the more flexibility it needs with respect to retention. That's common sense, too. Yet today's school systems typically award tenure after a few years of service; thereafter, teachers are almost never dismissed for ineffectiveness. While teachers should be protected from abusive and capricious treatment at the hands of principals, they cannot be protected from losing their jobs for cause. Union contracts often allow veteran teachers to transfer into a school regardless of their instructional prowess, the school's actual needs, or their impact on the school team. Such policies will need to be changed so that principals can be empowered and made accountable.

School-level managers are in the best position to know who teaches well and who teaches badly. They have access to far more significant information than state licensing boards and government agencies. They should be empowered (and if need be trained) to appraise each teacher's singular package of strengths and weaknesses rather than having distant bureaucracies decide who should be on their team. Once hired, teachers should be evaluated based on the only measure that really matters: whether their pupils are learning.

A Market Test

The common sense view acknowledges that there is no "one best system" for preparing and licensing quality teachers. A review of the research on the teacher qualities that affect student outcomes is humbling; lamentably little is known for sure about what makes an effective teacher, when gauged by pupil achievement. This argues against mandating any single path into the profession; education schools certainly ought not monopolize the training of teachers. In any case, teachers regularly report that the best place to learn about good teaching practices is on the job and in the company of other good teachers.

Rather than buttressing an orthodoxy that does not work, the common sense approach embraces pluralism. In a deregulated environment, good teacher education programs will thrive and prosper. Those that do a poor job will not, once they lose the protection that the regulatory monopoly confers on them. Principals should be able to decide for themselves whether to hire teachers who have been trained in certain pedagogical methods and theories.

The popularity of such programs as Teach for America, which places liberal arts graduates without formal education course work in public school classrooms in poor rural communities and inner cities, indicates that the prospect of teaching without first being obliged to spend years in pedagogical study

appeals to some of our brightest college graduates. Over 3,000 people apply for 500 Teach for America slots each year. Since 1994, more than 3,000 veterans of the armed forces have also made the transition from military to classrooms through the Troops to Teachers program.

Alternative certification programs streamline the classroom entry of more prospective teachers. Such programs normally require a bachelor's degree, passage of a competency test, and an intensive (but compressed) regimen of specialized preparation, often undertaken while on the job. They attract talented and enthusiastic individuals into teaching who might otherwise be lost to this calling. Teachers with alternative certification are more likely to have bachelor's degrees in math and science, two fields with chronic shortages of qualified teachers. They are also more likely to be members of minority groups.³⁰ Yet the regulatory strategy would shut down such programs or force them to imitate conventional education programs.

Where personnel decisions have been deregulated, schools rush to hire well-educated persons whether or not they possess standard certification. Private schools routinely employ unlicensed instructors, which tends to increase the proportion of their teachers who graduated from selective colleges and gained academic training.³¹ In New Jersey, the first state to implement a serious alternative certification program, from 23 to 40 percent of teachers now enter the profession through that route.³² The few studies of alternative certification that have been done find that students of such teachers perform at least as well as students of conventionally licensed teachers.³³ In New Jersey, alternative-certification teachers also have lower attrition than traditionally certified teachers during their first year and are as likely to stay in the field over time.³⁴

Not All Regulations Are Bad

Trading accountability for autonomy does not mean sloughing off all regulation. Every child should be able to count on having a teacher who has a solid general education, who possesses deep subject area knowledge, and who has no record of misbehavior. The state has an obligation to ensure that all prospective teachers meet this minimal standard. Thus states should perform background checks on candidates for teaching positions. To boost the likelihood that those who teach our children are themselves well educated, states should require that teaching candidates have at least a bachelor's degree in some academic subject.

States should also ensure subject matter competence. There are two ways to do this: requiring teachers to major in the subjects they teach or requiring them to pass challenging tests of subject matter knowledge. Neither method is perfect. Obliging all teachers to major in the subject they will teach may—regrettably—set the bar too low. At some universities, one can graduate as a history major without learning much of the

history we'd expect a high school history teacher to have mastered. The same is true of other academic majors. And a minor is unlikely to reflect any subject mastery. On the other hand, a prospective teacher who graduates in, say, American studies may have learned ample history or literature to be an outstanding history or English teacher, even though his diploma doesn't actually say "history" or "English".

Such variation in college majors tempts us to embrace testing as a more reliable measure of preparedness to teach. The value of any test, however, hinges on its content, rigor and passing score. Our instinct is to set those cut-offs as high as possible. But since tests are an imperfect gauge of teaching ability, some applicants will fail the test yet possess superior teaching potential. We all know individuals whose other qualities would cause them to be effective with children even if they do poorly on a paper-and-pencil test of knowledge. That is why we are wary of putting all the education eggs in the testing basket or making a certain fixed score an absolute prerequisite to being hired.

Neither academic majors nor subject test scores is a faultless means of assuring that teachers possess the requisite knowledge and will be good at delivering it. But either strategy is superior to today's widespread disregard of subject-matter mastery.

Putting principles into practice

The common sense strategy for improving teacher quality is surprisingly straightforward: states should empower principals to employ teachers as they see fit, and then hold those principals to account for their schools' results. Since every regulation that restricts entry to the profession excludes some potentially good teachers from public education, regulation should be reduced to the bare minimum.

What would state policies look like if based on these assumptions? Four are key.

1) States should develop results-based accountability systems for schools and teachers as well as students.

States should have accountability systems operating at the student, classroom, and building levels. School-level accountability involves measuring pupil achievement and issuing report cards for schools. Such information should be disseminated to students, parents and the public. States should reward successful schools and should have—and use—the authority to reconstitute or otherwise intervene in failing schools. They may also institute market-based accountability via various forms of school choice.³⁵ States must also define the role that school districts will play in these accountability systems.

Principals need accountability, too. Their jobs and salaries ought to be tied to their schools' performance. But they need the information by which to hold their faculty and staff accountable. The state

can help by providing student achievement data, disaggregated by teacher, like those generated by the value-added system that Sanders developed for Tennessee.

2) States should empower school-level administrators with the authority to make personnel decisions.

Authority must accompany accountability. All key personnel decisions (including hiring, promotion, retention, and compensation) should be devolved to schools. Quality control should be the responsibility of school leaders, who have freedom to hire from a wide pool of teaching candidates and pay teachers based on marketplace conditions or individual performance. States should pass whatever legislation is needed to assign all these decisions to the school level.

Teacher tenure ought not be allowed to interfere. Multi-year contracts are far preferable. It must be possible to remove incompetent teachers at reasonable cost and within a reasonable period of time, without sacrificing their right to due process protection against capricious and ad hominem treatment.

States should encourage differential pay so that schools can pay outstanding teachers more. It should also be possible to adjust teacher pay for labor market conditions, subject specialty, and the challenge of working in tough schools. A flexible salary structure would allow paychecks to respond to marketplace signals while creating financial incentives for excellent teaching and practical sanctions for poor teaching.

To work well, this system obviously requires capable principals, education leaders who know how to judge good teaching and are prepared to act on the basis of such evaluations. We're not naïve about the supply of such people in management positions in public education today. But they exist in large numbers in U.S. society and can be drawn into the schools if the incentives are right. Executive training for some current principals will also help them handle this difficult evolution of their role.³⁶

3) States should enforce minimal regulations to ensure that teachers do no harm.

States should perform background checks for all teaching candidates and require prospective teachers to have a bachelor's degree in an academic field. They should also ensure that new teachers are adequately grounded in the subject matter they are expected to teach, either by requiring that they major in the subject(s) that they will teach or by mandating rigorous subject matter examinations. (They may be wise to use both mechanisms and also let principals make exceptions when other compelling evidence is at hand.)

4) States should open more paths into the classroom, encourage diversity and choice among forms of preparation for teaching, and welcome into the profession a larger pool of talented and well-educated people who would like to teach.

Policymakers should take forceful action to eliminate monopoly control and challenge "one best system" attitudes toward teacher preparation. Traditional training programs should be closely scrutinized for their length, cost, burden and value. Is a two year time commitment really necessary, for example? States should publish detailed factual information about individual programs and their graduates, data that outsiders can use to evaluate their effectiveness. Information about the effectiveness of recent graduates (as measured by the value-added achievement scores of their pupils) should be made public; until this is available, institution-specific data should include the placement rate of graduates and the percentage of graduates passing state teacher tests. (Some of this information was mandated by the Higher Education Amendments of 1998.)

States should expand the pool of talented teaching candidates by allowing individuals who have not attended schools of education to teach, provided that they meet the minimum standards outlined above. States should encourage programs that provide compressed basic training for prospective teachers. States should also attract outstanding college graduates to the profession by using financial incentives such as scholarships, loan forgiveness programs and signing bonuses.

Conclusion

For too long, policymakers have focused overmuch on training teachers and not enough on recruiting them. They have tackled the quality problem by increasing regulation and expanding pedagogical requirements, even though this approach shrinks the pool of candidates while having scant effect on their quality. Forty years of experience suggests that this strategy is a failure. It cannot work. Indeed, it has compounded today's dual crisis of teacher quality and quantity.

We offer something different. States that reduce barriers to entry will find not only that their applicant pool is larger but also that it includes many more talented candidates. Turning our back on excessive and ill-conceived regulations and focussing instead on student outcomes is the key. To attract and keep the best teachers, states must also be willing to pay strong teachers well—and to muster the necessary resources to do this.

Raising the quality of the U.S. teaching force is an urgent priority today and some policymakers have begun to signal their receptivity to change. In his February 1999 State of American Education speech, for example, Secretary Riley proclaimed, "We must make sweeping efforts to make teaching a first-class profession. And, then, we must hold schools accountable for results."³⁷ He later added, "What else can we do? We can create rigorous alternative paths to give many more Americans the opportunity to become a teacher."³⁸ We agree.

¹Sanders, William L. and Rivers, Joan C., "Cumulative and Residual Effects of Teachers on Future Student Academic Achievement," 1996; Heather Jordan, Robert Mendro, & Dash Weerasinghe, "Teacher Effects on Longitudinal Student Achievement," 1997; and Boston Public Schools, "High School Restructuring," March 9, 1998. These research studies were all cited in Kati Haycock, "Good Teaching Matters a Lot," *Thinking K-16*, A Publication of The Education Trust, 3 No. 2 (1998).

²National Center for Education Statistics, *Teacher Quality: A Report on the Preparation and Qualifications of Public School Teachers*, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, January 1999), iii.

³Arthur Levine, "Dueling Goals for Education", *The New York Times*, April 7, 1999, A23

⁴Although teacher "literacy" levels mirror those of other college graduates, that's not actually saying much; more than forty percent of teachers scored below "level 4" on the 1992 National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS), a national assessment of prose literacy, document literacy and quantitative literacy among adult Americans. For the study, a random sample of U.S. adults were surveyed and based on their performance on a set of literacy tasks, were graded as level one through level five. Individuals scoring at level 4, for example, display the ability to state in writing an argument made in a lengthy newspaper article (prose literacy), use a schedule to determine which bus to take in a given situation (document literacy) and use an eligibility pamphlet to calculate how much money a couple would receive as supplemental security income (quantitative literacy). More than forty percent of teachers (and of the general population) scored below this level on the national assessment. Barbra A. Bruschi and Richard J. Coley, *How Teachers Compare: The Prose, Document, and Quantitative Skills of America's Teachers*, (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1999).

⁵Carol A. Langdon, "The Fifth Phi Delta Kappa Poll of Teachers' Attitudes Toward The Public Schools", *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 80, No. 8, April 1999, p. 615.

⁶Teacher certification and teacher licensure are used interchangeably throughout this essay.

⁷Richard W. Riley, U.S. Secretary of Education, "New Challenges, A New Resolve: Moving American Education Into the 21st Century," Sixth Annual State of American Education Speech, Long Beach, California, February 16, 1999.

⁸Diane Ravitch, "Lesson Plan for Teachers," *Washington Post*, August 10, 1998. These numbers can be difficult to pin down since the NCES sometimes includes teachers who major in history education as having majored in history.

⁹To be sure, not all teachers pass through conventional teacher training programs. Some obtain temporary or emergency licenses that allow them to teach before they have completed all of the normal requirements for certification. These are normally issued when districts have urgent needs for teachers that they say they cannot meet with conventional candidates. Some states also offer alternative certification routes which allow liberal arts graduates, military retirees and others to teach without having to complete a full-length teacher education program. Often, however, the "alternative" programs simply defer the conventional requirements; the individual may begin teaching but may not continue without taking the standard courses, etc. In any case, the intensified regulatory approach outlined in the text would curb the use of alternative programs unless they conform closely to the model of conventional programs.

¹⁰The number of required units varies from 6 semester units in Texas to 36 in some states. C. Emily Feistritzer and David T. Chester, *Alternative Teacher Certification: A State-by-State Analysis 1998-99*, (Washington, DC: National Center for Education Information, 1998).

¹¹Teaching candidates needed to answer correctly only a quarter of the questions in the reading section of the National Teacher Exam in order to pass it. For a decade, the state set no minimum scores at all in chemistry and physics; every applicant who took one of these tests passed. Robert P. Strauss, "Teacher Preparation and Selection: A Case Study of Pennsylvania," Thomas B. Fordham Foundation Volume on Teacher Quality (forthcoming).

¹²Organizing an education system on the basis of student achievement requires better measures of student achievement than most states have today (in particular, annual assessments of students in every grade), though a number of jurisdictions are moving in that direction. Implementing the principles of this "manifesto" will mean more such movement. We also recognize, of course, that student test scores can never be a full or perfect measure of teacher effectiveness; teachers add many valuable things to students that cannot be captured by any test.

¹³Kati Haycock, "Good Teaching Matters a Lot," *Thinking K-16*, A Publication of The Education Trust, 3 No. 2 (1998).

¹⁴Eric A. Hanushek, "Assessing the Effects of School Resources on Student Performance: An Update," *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, Summer 1997, vol. 19 no. 2, 141-164.

¹⁵Dale Ballou and Michael Podgursky, "The Case Against Teacher Certification," *The Public Interest*, Summer 1998, 17-29.

¹⁶Louisa Cook Moats and G. Reid Lyon, "Wanted: Teachers with Knowledge of Language," *Topics in Language Disorders*, February 1996.

¹⁷Some teachers object to "D.I." methods, but the evidence indicates that they're effective. See American Institutes for Research, *An Educators' Guide to Schoolwide Reform* (Washington, DC: Educational Research Service, 1999) 4, C12-C18 and Debra Viadero, "A Direct Challenge," *Education Week*, March 17, 1999 pp. 41-43.

¹⁸William Damon, *Greater Expectations* (New York: Free Press, 1995).

¹⁹The NBPTS reports that a study examining the effectiveness of its standards is underway.

- ²⁰Christopher S. Jencks, "The Coleman Report and the Conventional Wisdom," in *On Equality of Educational Opportunity*, Frederick Mosteller and Daniel P. Moynihan, editors (New York: Random House, 1972) 101.
- ²¹Ronald F. Ferguson, "Can Schools Narrow the Black-White Test Score Gap?" in *The Black-White Test Score Gap*, Christopher Jencks and Meredith Phillips, editors (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1998).
- ²²Ronald F. Ferguson and Helen F. Ladd, "How and Why Money Matters: An Analysis of Alabama Schools," in *Holding Schools Accountable: Performance Based Reform in Education* (Brookings Institution: Washington, DC, 1996).
- ²³Elizabeth Greenspan, "No Thanks," *Teacher Magazine*, April 1999.
- ²⁴Richard W. Riley, U.S. Secretary of Education, "New Challenges, A New Resolve: Moving American Education Into the 21st Century," Sixth Annual State of American Education Speech, Long Beach, California, February 16, 1999.
- ²⁵See Dale Ballou, "Do Public Schools Hire the Best Applicants," *Quarterly Review of Economics*, February 1996, 97-134 and Dale Ballou and Michael Podgursky, "Recruiting Smarter Teachers," *Journal of Human Resources*, Winter 1995, 326-338.
- ²⁶See Robert P. Strauss, Lori Bowes, Mindy Marks, and Mark Plesko, "Improving Teacher Preparation and Selection: Lessons from the Pennsylvania Experience," *Economics of Education Review*, forthcoming.
- ²⁷National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, *What Matters Most: Teaching for America's Future*, New York: National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, September 1996) 14.
- ²⁸Richard W. Riley, U.S. Secretary of Education, "New Challenges, A New Resolve: Moving American Education Into the 21st Century," Sixth Annual State of American Education Speech, Long Beach, California, February 16, 1999.
- ²⁹The importance of the power to remove teachers is emphasized by the most mainstream research in the field. Gordon Cawelti, former Executive Director of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, concludes in a recent study of what makes schools effective: "A school seeking a turnaround in student performance must seek out teachers who want to work in such an environment. A school must also be able to remove teachers who are unwilling to commit the energy and dedication needed to make sure that a productive and challenging education is provided to all children who attend. This policy issue must not be overlooked. Without committed teachers, you are unlikely to raise student achievement significantly." Gordon Cawelti, *Portraits of Six Benchmark Schools: Diverse Approaches to Improving Student Achievement*, (Arlington, Va.: Educational Research Service, 1999), 64-65.
- ³⁰Jianping Shen, "Has the Alternative Certification Policy Materialized Its Promise? A Comparison Between Traditionally and Alternately Certified Teachers in Public Schools," *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 19 (3) 1997, 276-283.
- ³¹Dale Ballou and Michael Podgursky, "Teacher Training and Licensure" Thomas B. Fordham Foundation volume on Teacher Quality (forthcoming), 13.
- ³²Dale Ballou and Michael Podgursky, Thomas B. Fordham Foundation volume on Teacher Quality (forthcoming), 13.
- ³³Stephen D. Goebel, Karl Ronacher, and Kathryn S. Sanchez, *An Evaluation of HISD's Alternative Certification Program of the Academic Year: 1988-1989*. Houston: Houston Independent School District Department of Research and Evaluation, 1989. ERIC Document No. 322103. Susan Barnes, James Salmon, and William Wale, "Alternative Teacher Certification in Texas," presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, March 1989. ERIC Document No. 307316.
- ³⁴Ellen Schech, director, alternate route program, New Jersey Board of Education, in "No Thanks," *Teacher Magazine*, April 1999.
- ³⁵How extensive a school choice policy will be is determined primarily by state laws and constitutions—and of course by politics. The more choice the better—including, where possible, private schools—is the view of most signers of this manifesto. Some signers, however, believe that publicly-funded choice should extend only to publicly-accountable schools
- ³⁶Many signers of this manifesto are concerned that today's school administrators—at the building and central office levels alike—often lack the necessary skills and experience to make sensitive personnel decisions based on student performance and other indicators of effectiveness. A state moving in the direction mapped by this manifesto would probably be wise to include this type of in-service training for its current principals, superintendents, etc.
- ³⁷Richard W. Riley, U.S. Secretary of Education, "New Challenges, A New Resolve: Moving American Education Into the 21st Century," Sixth Annual State of American Education Speech, Long Beach, California, February 16, 1999.
- ³⁸Richard W. Riley, U.S. Secretary of Education, "New Challenges, A New Resolve: Moving American Education Into the 21st Century," Sixth Annual State of American Education Speech, Long Beach, California, February 16, 1999.

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