

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 11, 1995

Rep. Conyers

endorsement of

Kathleen Lewis

AB/Vicki

www.wclay.com

MR. PRESIDENT:

Rep. Conyers called me a few minutes ago to ask that the attached letter be brought to your attention before the 10:30 am meeting you have scheduled this morning with the Black Caucus. The letter is a strong endorsement of Kathleen M. Lewis for the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

I assume that Conyers may bring this up with you this morning. I have talked with Vicki, who says that Kathleen Lewis is among the candidates we are considering for the Sixth Circuit, though no decisions have been made yet.


Todd Stern

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

ONE HUNDRED FOURTH CONGRESS 7-11-95

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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July 11, 1995

The President
 The White House
 Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to voice my strong support for Kathleen M. Lewis for nomination as judge to United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit. Kathleen is one of Detroit's most successful and respected attorneys, has a base of support in Detroit borne out of years of community activism, is a proud mother, and is in general, an important figure in Detroit. In addition, as an African-American woman from Detroit, Kathleen would help bring a diversity which has been lacking on the Circuit Courts in general, and in the 6th Circuit in particular.

Indeed it is before the very U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit that Kathleen has made her mark as an appellate litigator. In *re Allied Supermarkets, Inc.*, Kathleen, as one of the lead attorneys, prevailed in a major high-profile fraud claim brought by immigrant grocers against a giant supermarket chain. In *Broyde v. Gotham Tower, Inc.*, Kathleen's skill before the court helped uphold a critical principle for the Federal Communications Commission: the federal authority to issue regulations pursuant to law that trump state nuisance claims. Kathleen has also been the attorney of choice to represent Detroit's preeminent legal services organization, the Wayne County Neighborhood Legal Services Corporation (WCNLS). In one critical case that she undertook pro bono, Kathleen was able, on appeal, to achieve reversal of summary judgement against WCNLS and its board of trustees.

Kathleen has also earned her reputation as a leading attorney in the state courts as well. Amazingly, she prevailed in a major 5th Amendment "takings" case involving a local private property zoning classification, cases in which the courts have generally deferred to local zoning boards. She has also led major appellate cases involving civil rights, insurance, catastrophic claims, and funding for criminal defense counsel. The diversity of her litigating background is what makes her career so distinct. Indeed, when I am asked what Kathleen specializes in, I am always at a loss: she specializes in nearly every civil area.

There is no doubt, that Kathleen has inherited her rigorous legal skills, capacity for legal nuance, and sensitivity on social issues from her father, a former U.S. Solicitor General. But few know of the impact Kathleen had on her father, for their relationship was a symbiotic one, particularly when it came to matters of law.

Letter to the President

page 2

July 11, 1995

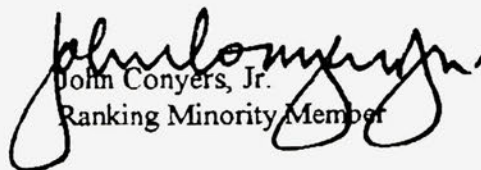
It is lore in Detroit, for instance, that during the famous *Bakke* case, Kathleen debated and challenged her father, Wade McCree, who was then Solicitor General to refine the contours of the argument he had fashioned on behalf of the United States before the United States Supreme Court to read the Constitution to uphold the affirmative action plan of The University of California.

Kathleen is also one of Detroit's leaders on an issue dear to your Administration: children. She served as an active member on the Board of Trustees of Detroit Children's Museum Friends and Children's Hospital of Michigan. She's a leader with the Jack & Jill Clubs of America and other organizations oriented toward meeting the needs of and enriching children. Recently Kathleen became co-chair of the American Bar Association Section of Litigation Task Force on Children.

Few also know the behind-the-scenes role which Kathleen played during the days of student activism on the University of Michigan campus encouraging the University through peaceful means to be more inclusive of minority and women students.

Like Ginger Rogers, she has danced the same dance as her male colleagues only done so dancing backwards and in high-heels. She is a woman with an extraordinary background and an extraordinary future. Your appointment of her to the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit would surely bring a star performer to that court.

Sincerely,


John Conyers, Jr.
Ranking Minority Member

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-11-95

Loan
who is
on charge of putting up
a CDC library -
must be charged with
Cognominity on the
PC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-11-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached Lake/Mikva/Podesta memo on the release of JFK assassination records seeks your approval of an approach for handling disputes between the JFK Assassination Records Review Board, which you appointed to oversee collection and public disclosure of records, and originating agencies. (Originating agencies are expected to recommend postponing release of up to 100,000 documents.)

Pursuant to the Assassination Records Collection Act, the Board must notify the President and originating agencies within 14 days of deciding to release or postpone the release of information. The President then has 30 days in which he can overrule a Board decision.

For practical reasons, the memo proposes that the White House advise the Board and agencies that only the most important disputes be referred here for substantive review.

Counsel's Office will be the point of contact with the Board, and will consult with NSC where national security issues are involved. In discussions with the Board, White House staff have indicated a strong disposition to rule in favor of release, where possible.

Leon concurs in this approach.

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐


Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

ACTIONWASHINGTON
June 27, 1995

95 JUN 27 P12:39

7-11-95

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LARABEE
ABNER MIKVA
JOHN PODESTA

SUBJECT:

JFK Assassination Records Review

White House Counsel and NSC staff met recently with representatives of the President John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Review Board to discuss how to implement the Presidential review called for in legislation enacted in 1992. You appointed the Board to oversee the collection and public disclosure at the National Archives of all records related to the assassination of President Kennedy.

The Assassination Records Collection Act requires the Board to notify originating agencies and the President within 14 days after determining to release or postpone the release of any information. Only the President may overrule the Board's determination, a decision that must be certified to the Board within 30 days after notice to the President. Disclosure can be postponed for no more than 25 years after the Act's enactment unless the President determines that information must remain classified for a longer period.

Beginning at the end of this month, the Board will notify the White House monthly of all determinations to release or to postpone release. The White House can choose to review any decision made by the Board, but it will be a practical impossibility to review the substance of any more than a small percentage of the total. The most important issues, and most likely controversies, will involve cases where the Board recommends release and the originating agency recommends postponement. The Board estimates that originating agencies may recommend postponing the release of up to 100,000 documents.

Given the tight deadlines and potential number of disputed documents, we agreed with the Board that the White House review should concentrate on the disputes that cannot be resolved by the Board and originating agencies. We propose to advise the Board and originating agencies to highlight only the most consequential disputes for substantive review by the White House. We will attempt to resolve these disputes at our level whenever possible,

reserving only the most serious debates for referral to you directly.

The White House Counsel should continue to be the point of contact for the Board and should coordinate with the NSC whenever national security issues are involved. In discussions with the Board, we committed to making our best effort to comply with statutory deadlines, while recognizing that we could quickly be overwhelmed if agencies refer too many disputes to the White House. We also acknowledged a strong disposition to rule in favor of release while remaining open to persuasive arguments for postponement.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the approach outlined in this memo for implementing Presidential review of release determinations by the JFK Assassination Records Review Board and authorize us to inform the Board of these procedures.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Send to Jocelyn ? 7-11-95
for reply ?
yes - cc to
Brophy

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-2004

PUBLIC DOCUMENT

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Albert R. Brown
M.C.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1/11/95

The Honorable William J. Clinton

Mr. Clinton
Need reply
IX



ALBERT R. WYNN
4TH DISTRICT, MARYLAND

COMMITTEE ON BANKING
AND FINANCIAL SERVICES

COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/11/95

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515-2004

July 10, 1995

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you embark on what I believe will be the defining civil rights speech of your presidency, I wanted to share some of my thoughts on the issue of affirmative action and particularly the Small Business Administration's 8(a) program.

As the representative of the 4th Congressional District of Maryland, I represent one of the most ethnically diverse districts in the country and the only totally suburban minority district in the country. It has also been described as a mecca for minority small business growth. This is a distinction my constituents have worked hard to attain and which I now believe is threatened by the anti-affirmative action movement sweeping the country.

Much of the growth in minority small business in my district is directly attributable to the SBA's 8(a) program. This program, currently targeted as a set-aside or preference program by conservatives, has opened the federal procurement process to over 150 small business in my district in 1994 alone.

But despite similar 8(a) success stories across the country, and contrary to Republican hyperbole the fact remains that 97.5% of federal government contracts are still awarded to white males. The realities of discrimination in surety bonding and commercial lending continue to thwart the aspirations of black businesses. Mr. President, we do not live in a color-blind society and the playing field is definitely not level.

I am not unmindful of the fact that the 8(a) program is not a panacea and has been the subject of bipartisan criticism, including my own. However, your Administration is to be commended for restructuring the program so that it fulfilled its original mission of being a business developmental assistance program rather than a business welfare program.

I am also well aware that the Adarand decision will impose much more stringent tests in order for the program to withstand strict constitutional scrutiny. In this regard, I believe an objective industry by industry sociological study will document the continuing adverse affect of discrimination on minority business opportunities. This is particularly true with respect to many capital intensive industries.

There have been suggestions from members of your Administration that you are exploring the idea of either restructuring the program to a "five year or five contracts" program or a class based program available only to economically disadvantaged persons. In my view, both avenues are flawed.

First, absent significant changes in the program's administration, most 8(a) companies have not received their first contract until their third or fourth year. Based upon this track record a limitation of five years or five contracts would provide little benefit to emerging firms.

Second, a class based system flies in the face of history. Without government encouragement via a strong affirmative action program, federal agencies and private sector companies contracting with the federal government have not voluntarily awarded contracts to minorities. To quote the Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich "blacks in this country have to work harder and poor blacks have to work twice as hard." On this matter at least, I agree with the Speaker. This is the reality that justifies a race conscious program consistent with the parameters of Adarand. Moreover, a class based program by definition would be unworkable if one assumes that the participants lacked the basic assets or resources to start a viable business.

While there are many aspects of the affirmative action debate, the African-American community has come to regard affirmative action in economic opportunity as the key to success in America. We understand that private sector job creation through minority business expansion is an essential element of the success equation. As I mentioned above, while the 8(a) program is not a panacea, it has the highest profile and has had the most tangible results in redressing past discrimination and creating upward mobility. Thus, your position on minority access to government contracting will be an important signal of the Administration's commitment to the economic advancement of minorities in America.

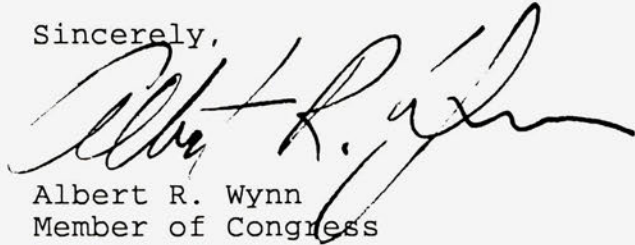
I urge you to first emphasize to the country the history of economic racism from slavery through Jim Crow laws, which denied blacks access to government contracting opportunities. After describing the justification for affirmative action I further urge you to make a clear policy statement expressing your support for the concept as applied to government contracting.

President Clinton
Page 3

This obviously is a delicate matter in the current political climate. However, I believe the majority of Americans are fairminded and want an inclusive society. If they are presented with a strong, clear and forthright discussion of the problems of race and fairness in our society, they will support your decision to maintain affirmative action programs.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Albert R. Wynn", with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Albert R. Wynn
Member of Congress

In America
BOB HERBERT

Bad Meat and Politics

The bacterium *Escherichia coli* 0157:H7 is a nightmare embedded in millions of hamburger patties. Not everyone will become ill from eating meat tainted with *E. coli* 0157, but for those who do — especially children, the elderly, and people with weakened immune systems — the consequences can be catastrophic.

Bloody diarrhea and severe abdominal cramps are the usual first signs of *E. coli* poisoning, which can result in the failure of kidneys and other major organs, blindness, impaired motor skills, cognitive difficulties and death. It is a problem that is growing. *E. coli* poisoning is now the leading cause of acute kidney failure in American children.

There is no cure. Those whose immune systems cannot fight off the effects of the bacteria are doomed.

Consumers are frequently warned (especially during the summer barbecue season) to cook their hamburgers thoroughly as a precaution against *E. coli*. But *E. coli* 0157 micro-organisms are so virulent there can be no guarantee — short of burning a burger to a cinder — that cooking has warded off the danger. And it is known that other food has been “cross-contaminated” by coming into contact with tainted meat.

Dole's 'reform' endangers food safety.

This is a problem that the Federal Government can do something about. *E. coli* 0157 is found in the intestines and fecal matter of cattle. Its journey to the dinner table begins with grotesquely sloppy practices in some of the nation's slaughterhouses and meat-packing plants. Before they are slaughtered the cattle are kept in small holding pens where they often stand in excrement and dirt up to their bellies. They are then moved — with large clumps of filth clinging to their hides — to the slaughter facility, where the killing, tanning and hiding are carried out.

Then the animals are gutted, often by inexperienced, careless workers who allow the fecal matter to spill onto the meat. That is the most common point of contamination. The beef is then ground for hamburgers and the contaminant is spread through-

out the product.

Recent surveys have turned up *E. coli* 0157 in close to 4 percent of the ground beef in supermarkets.

The Department of Agriculture is trying to establish a new meat inspection system that would establish stringent sanitation standards for the meat industry, and would require scientific testing for dangerous bacteria. It would be the first major overhaul in nearly a century.

Standing in the way of this effort, which is guaranteed to prevent illness and save lives, is the Republican majority in Congress, which is slavishly devoted to its benefactors in big business.

Leading the obstructionists is the Senate majority leader, Bob Dole, whose sweeping legislative effort to weaken the Government's ability to protect consumers from corporate wrongdoing (including the distribution of contaminated meat) is due for a vote next week. Mr. Dole has adopted the euphemism “regulatory reform” for his bill. It is, in fact, an all-out assault on food safety regulations and other consumer and environmental protections.

“Last November the American people sent us a message,” said Mr. Dole. “Stop micromanaging our lives through burdensome and costly regulations.”

It is a measure of the cynicism of politicians and the gullibility of the electorate that an election victory can be interpreted by a major national politician — a leading Presidential candidate — as a mandate to thwart protection of the nation's food supply.

Passage of Mr. Dole's legislation, which literally was crafted by industry lawyers and lobbyists, would block implementation of the Agriculture Department's meat safety initiative for two to three years, and probably longer. The House Appropriations Committee has already voted to shelve the new regulations and order the Agriculture Department to negotiate new rules with the meat industry. And there is an effort in the House to block funding for enforcement of the new regulations if, somehow, they manage to see the light of day.

It's not just bad beef that's at issue. Contamination of meat and poultry products sickens five million Americans every year and kills 4,000. Protection against that kind of danger should not be a partisan issue, and should not be put in the hands of the people responsible for the peril.

Chron

he on/cc: Dole
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Sent 7/11/95
cec

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Sarah Rosen

Fax Number: 708-2580

Phone Number: 708-3600

FROM: Todd D. Stern

SUBJECT: Response to Note

DATE: July 11, 1995

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 2

MESSAGE:

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680] From: "Jason S. Goldberg" <GOLDBERG_JS@a1.eop.gov> at Internet 6/30/95 7:3
 PM (9235 bytes: 166 ln)
 o: ;@a1.eop.gov (see end of body) at Internet
 cc: SARAH X. ROSEN at FHCPOST
 1
 subject: President Names Todd Stern Staff Secretary, Caplan DepStaffSe
 ----- Message Contents -----

ext item 1: Text Item

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
 6/30/95

June

PRESIDENT CLINTON NAMES TODD STERN TO BE WHITE HOUSE
 STAFF SECRETARY, PHILLIP CAPLAN DEPUTY STAFF SECRETARY

President Clinton today named White House Deputy
 Staff Secretary Todd Stern to be Assistant to the
 President and Staff Secretary.

Stern will be replaced as Deputy Staff Secretary
 by Special Assistant to the President Philip Caplan, of
 the White House Cabinet Affairs office.

"Todd Stern has done an outstanding job managing
 a substantial information flow and providing important
 counsel. I am confident he will continue to serve with
 distinction as Staff Secretary. Both Todd and Phil
 Caplan are valued members of this Administration and I
 expect they will continue to make important
 contributions in their new roles," the President said.

Todd Stern has served as Deputy Assistant to the

Todd -
 Congratulations!
 Hope all is well and
 you are enjoying it.
 Sarah

Sarah -
 Thanks for
 the note. "Enjoy" isn't
 quite the word, but
 it's interesting & hectic
 & I'm doing fine.
 Hope all is well
 with you.
 Todd

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR
HOUSING, FEDERAL HOUSING COMMISSIONER

95 JUL 5 P4:49

FAX TRANSMISSION

DATE:

June 5, 1995

NUMBER OF PAGES (including this page)

2

TO:

Todd Stern

FROM:

Sarah RosenSpecial Assistant to theAssistant Secretary for Housing

PHONE:

456-2215

PHONE:

202/708-3600

The phone number of this fax machine is (202)708-2580.

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I wrote a
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page - can
you pls. figure
out where to
fax it.
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Sent
C. Cleveland

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Secretary Richard Riley

Fax Number: 401-2098

Phone Number: 401-3006

FROM: Todd D. Stern

SUBJECT: Presidential Note

DATE: 07/11/95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

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MESSAGE:

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Đo Sơ. Riêng

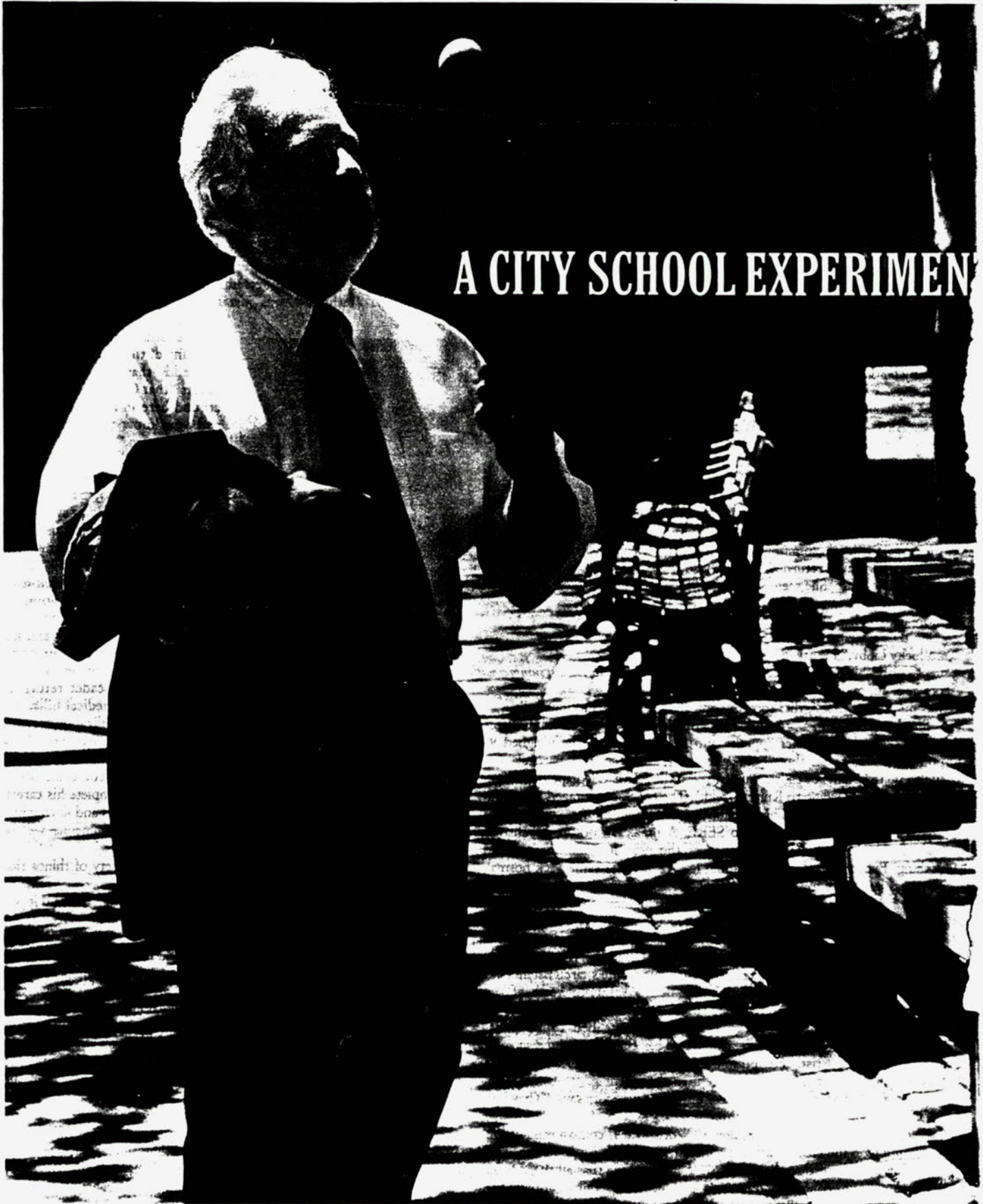
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/10/98

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/10/98

A CITY SCHOOL EXPERIMENT



THAT ACTUALLY WORKS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/10/95

Small is the answer — if there are ample funds and outsized talent. A concrete example is School for the Physical City, where students and teachers are breaking down apathy, bureaucracy and alienation. **By Sara Mosle**

JOSEPH NEWKIRK LOOKED LIKE SPIDERMAN. HE WAS clinging to the cyclone fence surrounding the playground at Intermediate School 70 on West 17th Street in Manhattan. His tie whipped his face in the breeze. Far below, his students egged on their superhero: "You can do it, Mr. Newkirk!" and "You've almost got it now-w-w-w!" The string he was clutching made it look as if he were actually spinning a web. It rose to the top of the fence, slipped down through the bare branches of the tree, dipped and ascended again, and finally halted where the kite had become ensnared in the fire escape of an adjoining building.

Newkirk pulled; the kite wagged its tail. "Oooh! Careful!" cried several kids below. The students had built the kite in Newkirk's middle-school science class at the School for the Physical City, a new public school in its second year in Manhattan, and they didn't want to see their latest test model destroyed. Across the playground, kites of all shapes and sizes floated like clouds above the cement plain. Below, clumps of students shadowed their movements and recorded data on clipboards.

The students, most of them barely teenagers, wore the standard uniforms of stylish urban grunge — baggy jeans, T-shirts, flannel work shirts, baseball caps, boots, sneakers. Their parents had chosen to send them to S.P.C., as it's called, instead of their regular neighborhood schools, as part of a founding citywide "choice" program initiated by Joseph A. Fernandez in 1992, when he was School Chancellor. The students, from mostly lower- and middle-income families, come from all over the city. Although there are slightly more boys than girls, the kids otherwise represent an ideal cross-section of the city's student population. By ideal, I mean

Sara Mosle is a staff writer at The New Yorker and runs an after-school program at P.S. 128.

The City as Classroom Mark Weiss, the principal at S.P.C., with students at a Manhattan playground.

Small Schools



Among educators, Annenberg's name is constantly being evoked, as in 'When Annenberg comes...' and 'When Annenberg gets here...' and 'Now that Annenberg is here.' You'd think Godot had finally arrived.

more integrated: African-Americans, Latinos and whites each constitute somewhat less than a third; the remaining 15 percent or so are Asian. The students could have walked straight out of one of those multicultural Benetton ads.

Newkirk's students were conducting an experiment, and they are part of one too. The School for the Physical City is just one of 50 new public schools that have opened in New York City in the last two years. Fernandez pushed for their creation before being ousted in 1993. They are organized around a variety of themes and pedagogical philosophies. Their unwieldy names announce their missions: the High School for Health Professions and Human Services, El Puente Academy for Peace and Justice, the Kingsborough Academy of Sciences High School. Each of them, though, might be called the Smaller School of Smaller Classes, for that is their chief, shared, revolutionary idea.

Although all of the schools fall under the auspices of the city's central Board of Education, most of these new schools have been given

private dollars. (Already \$8.5 million has been raised from three organizations — Time Warner, the Aaron Diamond Foundation and the Charles Hayden Foundation.) Among educators, Annenberg's name is constantly being invoked, as in "When Annenberg comes..." and "When Annenberg gets here..." and "Now that Annenberg is here." You'd think Godot had finally arrived.

Annenberg's money has provided a desperately needed infusion of hope into the city's beleaguered public school system. But as great as his gift may seem, it's dwarfed by the city's annual \$8 billion education budget and doesn't begin to make up for recent cutbacks. Because of the ongoing fiscal crisis in New York, some \$540 million has been cut from the city's schools in the last year alone, and an additional \$750 million may be slashed even before classes begin in the fall — more than \$1 billion total. All of this comes at a time of steeply rising enrollments. A new demographic bulge, the baby boomers' children, has just entered grade school.

In New York, this influx has been

apart. But because of the city's budget crunch, a capital improvement campaign has essentially been abandoned. Some of the city's neighborhood high schools resemble anonymous factories, with upward of 4,000 students each. Production, one might say, is at a standstill: only half of the city's entering freshmen typically graduate in four years.

Can smaller schools and smaller classes really transform a school system beset by so many other problems? And if they can, are we willing to pay for them? The story of the School for the Physical City is instructive of some of the difficulties inherent in what might be called, for lack of a better term, "school-raising." S.P.C. has already been subject to as many influences — fiscal, parental, political, pedagogical and philanthropic — as the most impressionable adolescent; and, like many new schools, it may be neglected or even abandoned before it's full grown. The story is a little like "Bringing Up Baby," the 30's comedy about raising a leopard, and the plot twists are as frequent. To the extent that all successful schools resemble one another, it's also the story of a school-reform movement.

didn't get out of the car. His wife and daughter got in. Together we drove to his daughter's open-school night at her suburban public high school — a sprawling state-of-the-art facility that lighted up the night sky like Cape Canaveral before a midnight launch. The art rooms alone consist of a drafting area, a pottery studio with full-size kiln, a photo lab and darkroom, and a space set up with easels for painting or drawing.

Mark seemed untroubled by the inequities between his daughter's school and his own. Like a former star quarterback in the sky box, he offered a running commentary on the parent-teacher play-by-play. By 9:30, the family was back home, and by 10 Weiss and his wife were in bed. This was a late night. From the guest room I could hear his daughter tiptoeing around. In a touching reversal of roles, she was trying not to wake her slumbering parents.

Mark, as even his students call him, likes getting to the office early to enjoy a moment of peace and quiet, to make a few phone calls and to get a pot of coffee going for his teachers. They start to stream in around 7 A.M. The School for the Physical City doesn't actually have a physical school in the city — at least not yet. Like most of the new schools, it consists of a few fugitive classrooms inside the leviathan brick hull of I.S. 70 in the Chelsea section of Manhattan. Although S.P.C. will move into a newly renovated building in the fall, it is almost the sole exception among the new schools in having acquired permanent housing.

Finding S.P.C.'s quarters inside the larger building isn't easy. You don't walk "into" the school: its classrooms are scattered across two floors. Mark's office isn't really an office, but a large classroom that also serves as a teachers' lounge, conference room, nurse's office, storage closet, Xerox room, reception area and general place to hang out — a kind of TV room without the TV. Kids camp out on the large sofa installed against one wall. They gos-



The AV Squad Sam Schwartz and a student check out traffic radar equipment.

crucial support from several local nonprofit groups that last year received the first "Annenberg grants." These much-coveted awards come from the philanthropist Walter K. Annenberg, who pledged \$500 million in December 1993 to help reform public school systems nationwide. Over the next five years, New York City will receive some \$50 million, to be matched 2 to 1 by both public and

compounded by a huge increase in immigration. In New York City, for instance, the total number of students in the last two years has topped one million. And the number is expected to rise by some 20,000 students annually well into the 21st century. Overcrowding is rampant, with classes held in hallways, cafeterias, auditoriums, closets and even some lavatories. School facilities, most of them built before the Depression, are falling

MARK WEISS'S TYPICAL school day begins when his digital alarm goes off at 4:48 A.M. Weiss, the principal of S.P.C., gets up and takes his dog for a walk outside his home in Peekskill, N.Y., about an hour's drive north of Manhattan. By 5:25 A.M. he's in his car barreling south on the Henry Hudson Parkway toward S.P.C. in the dark.

At 49, Mark looks a little like Santa Claus in civvies. He has white hair, a white beard, pink cheeks and twinkly eyes. He isn't fat like Santa, but is just as jolly, even so early in the morning. For the previous 24 hours, I'd been shadowing my subject and was feeling a little bleary-eyed. We left the school around 6 the night before and arrived at Weiss's home just before 7:30. He



Habitat for Humanities The round-table size of classes at the School for the Physical City has given hope to teachers like Joel Barsky, whose previous school had 4,000 students.

sip with each other, do their homework, give passing teachers a hard time, chew on their hair. The teachers, for their part, give as good as they get. They sit around a large table that stands at the room's center both literally and metaphorically, where the entire staff gathers to discuss everything from that day's field trip to the direction of the school. If the school can be said to exist in any one place at all it's in this classroom up on the second floor.

IN APRIL 1992 MARK WEISS WAS having lunch with his old friend Sam Schwartz at a Thai restaurant on Ninth Avenue when they came up with the idea for S.P.C.. The two first met at the Nixon Impeachment Coalition in Brooklyn in 1972. "If it weren't for Richard Nixon, this school wouldn't exist today," Schwartz likes to say. Schwartz is perhaps best known to the public as "Gridlock Sam" — he coined the term "gridlock" when he was the city's traffic commissioner in the 80's. He's now the director of the Infrastructure Institute at the Cooper Union for the Advancement of

Science and Art in New York. As he recalled, "I was bemoaning how most of the city's infrastructure professionals" — urban planners, tunnel inspectors, civil engineers — "didn't come from New York City, much less the city's public schools, and I wanted to find a way to interest city kids in their own environment." Mark, not surprisingly, thought of starting a school.

At the time, Weiss was director of instruction and professional development at the Office of Alternative High Schools at the Board of Education. He grew up in Flatbush, attended the neighborhood public schools and went to Brooklyn College in the mid-1960's. He was a student radical. (He met his future wife at an antiwar meeting and still refers, only half-jokingly, to "the revolution.") He began his career in 1967 by returning to teach at his alma mater, Brooklyn Technical High School, and has worked ever since in the city's public schools — as a teacher, a principal, a union delegate, and even a Board of Education bureaucrat.

From 1979 to 1991, Weiss was the

founding principal of Bronx Regional, a small, successful "alternative" high school in the South Bronx for kids who weren't succeeding, for one reason or another, in the city's regular public schools. As Mark later put it: "Sam didn't understand that people like us could start a public school. He thought it was something that only the Board of Ed could do." As the two friends talked, they began to imagine a junior-high and high school that would use the city as an extended classroom for hands-on projects that might motivate kids and become a springboard for introducing more traditional subjects in science, math, history and language arts.

Weiss knew that if they wanted to create a really good school, they'd have to find outside money. Nowhere, perhaps, are public schools more complicated than in how they are financed. They're cobbled together by various scraps of Federal, state, city and philanthropic funds, most of which come with strings attached. Many schools have what's known as "grant writing" committees that send out mass

mailings, which resemble direct-mail campaigns, to raise money. Once pieced together, however, these unrelated programs often don't make any sense, which is one reason why the design of so many public schools — dictated by necessity rather than reason — is so peculiar.

Schwartz approached the New York City Mission Society, the city's oldest charitable organization, which agreed to devise the school's parental-outreach programs. He also teamed up with John Jay Iselin, president of Cooper Union. In many ways, Cooper was the ideal partner. The college was established in 1859 by the industrialist and inventor Peter Cooper to provide educational opportunities for the city's working poor. Today Cooper Union is the only private, tuition-free college of its caliber in the country. It operates on a shoestring and is everything that Weiss and Schwartz hoped their own school would be: rigorous, diverse and, most important, free.

Together, Weiss and his partners applied for and received a "planning grant" from the Fund for New York



Common Ground Joseph Newkirk rubs elbows with students in the principal's office, which is also a teachers' lounge, nurse's office, storage closet and hangout spot.

City Public Education to establish one of its 16 "New Vision" Schools. Founded in 1989, the fund is one of the groups receiving the Annenberg money. It functions a little like a Ouija board — channeling the disparate and mysterious forces of the Board of Ed, the United Federation of Teachers, community organizations, individual educators, foundations and philanthropists into sensible and clearly articulated reforms. "You need an independent group to mediate, to push things, to negotiate hard, to provide some accountability," explained Naomi Barber, the fund's New Visions project director. "People talk to us because we don't have a political stake in being aligned with any particular group. And we bring the private sector to the table."

In July 1992 Weiss went on a weeklong rafting trip on the Green River in Colorado. The trip was hosted by the Harvard Outward Bound Project to bring educational leaders together to discuss school reform. One of the participants was Meg Campbell, co-director of Outward Bound's expeditionary learn-

ing center at Harvard's graduate school of education. The first night there was a torrential downpour. They huddled under their tarps on the banks of the Green River. Out of the dark a National Park Ranger emerged with a message: Outward Bound had won a grant from the New American Schools Development Corporation to create several "expeditionary learning centers" throughout the United States.

Over campfires, the group discussed its plans. "An Outward Bound course is a very accelerated method of finding out a great deal about a person," Campbell recalled. "You find out if they're really workers, or if they just paddle a little bit on top of the water. It told me a lot about Mark's backbone, his patience and tenacity and his remarkable gift of humor." Partly because of what Campbell learned, Outward Bound picked the School for the Physical City as one of its first expeditionary learning centers.

The educators eventually rafted 45 miles down Disaster Falls, Hell's Half Mile and Triplet Falls. But for Weiss, starting his new school was

to be the real River Wild. Its name alone gives one pause. The school's letterhead now reads:

School for the Physical City, An Expeditionary Learning Center, a New Visions/New American Schools Development Corporation Partnership with the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, the Infrastructure Institute at Cooper Union, the New York City Mission Society, New York City Outward Bound, Outward Bound USA, a collaboration of Community School District 2 and the Division of High Schools' Office of Alternative High Schools and Programs.

A public school is the educational equivalent of Grand Central Terminal: all of these lines intersect in the physical place called "school." That Weiss has been able to keep all of the competing interests from colliding and on track is a testament to his fund-raising abilities, his general political savvy and his considerable powers of persuasion. But this elongated title also suggests the difficulty in duplicating S.P.C.'s potential success, which at least partly depends on coming up with the

kind of private resources that Weiss, with his unique talents, has been able to marshal. And even he can't do it all. As Campbell noted: "The tug is between outside demands on Mark's time, in terms of fund-raising and resource mobilization — just being married to all those different partners, all of whom want him to come to their board meetings and their galas — balanced against the knowledge that the school is really about teaching and learning and the students' work."

TWO DAYS BEFORE CLASSES were to begin last fall, Weiss was still having to scare up some furniture and other basic supplies. His nine-person teaching staff had even begun eyeing the 20-foot pile of trash in the school's courtyard — rusted up-turned desks, broken chairs, rotting books — that sat waiting to be hauled off by sanitation officials. It looked like the barricade in the musical of "Les Misérables." His teachers, however, were relatively

Small Schools



unconcerned by the material deprivation, which, after all, is commonplace in the city's schools. For the previous half-hour, they had been debating a far more pressing issue: What to do with Lydia?

The discussion was unusual not least for its occurring at all. In most of the city's public schools, teachers were just returning for the first time since June. Because principals have to wait to see who returns before making final staffing decisions, many teachers don't know whom or even what they will be teaching until weeks after classes have begun. The lucky ones receive computer-generated lists of their students' names and vital statistics: ID numbers, dates of birth, how well they did on the previous year's citywide reading and math tests. But it's usually something of a minor miracle if they have stories to go with any of their new students' faces or names. As one S.P.C. teacher described her old school: "There wouldn't be room keys. There wouldn't be class lists. It would be so disorganized, and it would be October."

At S.P.C., however, teachers seemed to know everything about their students' lives. Like coaches on draft day, they had been swapping students to try to assemble the best teams:

Teacher No. 1: How about trading your three sixth graders for my three seventh graders?

Teacher No. 2: But I can't put Lydia and Joseph together.

No. 1: Lydia was out for two months last year.

No. 2: Her sister ran away and her mother died.

No. 1: O.K. How about Jackie and Justine switch.

No. 2: Then we could put Lydia with Kenya.

No. 1: Also, Forrest's parents want him to have the same teacher.

Teacher No. 3: O.K., I'll take him.

This personal approach is really at the heart of the School for the Physical City. What makes S.P.C. different from so many other public schools in New York is not so much its hands-on curriculum, progressive as it is, but its size, from which everything else follows. In most junior-high and high schools in New York, teachers regularly see

as many as 180 students a day in classes of 34 students, the legal limit. At S.P.C., however, there are fewer than 180 kids in the whole school and no class has more than 20 students.

I know from my own experience teaching for three years at two different public schools in upper Manhattan how important school size and class size are. Both of my elementary schools had more than 1,500 students in facilities originally built for roughly half that many, and I had anywhere from 30 to 34 students in my third- and fourth-grade classes. It seems silly to have to say it, but that's way too many kids. Every once in a while, when a snowstorm would keep half the class at home, I'd get a taste of what teaching might be like at a tony private school. Suddenly, all my difficulties in the classroom would evaporate. I instantly saw how the School for the Physical City could work.

Smaller classes unleash a kind of domino effect of reforms in a school. With fewer students, teachers can devote more time to their lessons. They can give more complicated assignments and spend more time correcting them. They can know students individually and follow their social and academic progress closely, without having to rely on crude, standardized means of assessment. They can communicate more effectively with parents. And, because the school's staff is so small, it can sit around a table, like that in Mark's office, and make decisions about the shape and design of the school, instead of getting caught up in the bureaucracy. Is it any wonder, then, that smaller classes have long been the chief pedagogical tool of most private and parochial schools?

If this all sounds stunningly common-sensical, it is. Yet it took a visionary to see the need for such reforms and to make them happen. The reform movement known as Smaller Schools of Smaller Classes began 20 years ago with one of those incidents that at the time seems like nothing at all but that, one later realizes, was the precipitating event of a revolution.

In the spring of 1974, Anthony Alvarado, then a new, reform-minded superintendent in District 4 in East Harlem, asked a woman named

'Sam didn't understand that people like us could start a public school. He thought it was something that only the Board of Ed could do.'

Deborah Meier if she wanted to start her own school. At the time, Meier was just another schoolteacher frustrated by the system. Alvarado couldn't offer her much, just a few classrooms inside another building. She'd have to recruit her own students. (This was billed as giving parents "choice.") She began unceremoniously with six teachers, one assistant and fewer than 100 students: "I said, 'Let's have smaller classes and put everyone in the classroom,' and I got an answering machine to take care of the office."

At the time, "choice" wasn't the buzzword it is today. It simply provided Alvarado and Meier with a

her 20-20 vision for reform. She explained: "Not only is 20 the maximum workable number of students in a class. It's also the largest workable number of teachers in a school. Ideally, no school should have more than 400 students." Research has since backed up her assumption. A recent study by the American Legislative Exchange Council, an association of state lawmakers, found that a school's size is even more important in determining the performance of students on nationwide tests (like the S.A.T.) than the amount spent per pupil.

Unlike many other school-reform movements, however, in



Aeronautics 101 A course in kite-building got students working out in the field.

certain amount of political cover. If parents didn't like the school, they were free to take their kids elsewhere. In return, Alvarado gave Meier virtual autonomy over curriculum and hiring decisions. Such freedom was against union and Board of Ed rules at the time, but Meier encountered little opposition at first. Frankly, no one cared what she was up to.

Meier's success is now legendary. (She went on to win a MacArthur Award, the so-called "genius grant," for her work in the district.) Central Park East, the school she started, has spawned dozens of similarly small "choice" schools in the city. The essence of her reforms was a single idea, what might be called

which theory dictates practice, Meier's ideas had arisen from years of experience in the classroom. She eventually teamed up with Theodore Sizer, who is the director of the Annenberg Institute for School Reform at Brown University. It's largely because of their association that New York City received the first of the Annenberg money.

She also began to proselytize about her reforms in *Dissent*, the quarterly founded by the late democratic socialist Irving Howe, and in *The Nation*, probably the country's best-known liberal weekly. Weiss remarked: "She has always been interested in education for education's sake. In the 1960's, Debbie was al-

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ready worried about assessment" — that is, improved means of measuring students' academic progress. "In the 1960's, I couldn't have cared less about assessment. Debbie's understanding of the whole tradition from Dewey on has been so important. You need someone like her to frame the issues for the American people."

S.P.C. HAS ACHIEVED ITS smaller classes, as Meier did, largely by putting all of its teachers in the classroom — a reform impossible to duplicate in the city's more overcrowded schools. The overall student-to-teacher ratio in New York is actually close to what it is in a lot of private and parochial schools: about 15 to 1. But many teachers in the city hold what are known as "out of classroom" positions: curriculum coordinators, staff developers, resource or special-ed instructors who provide individual instruction in reading or math.

Mark told me that he would never have started S.P.C. if he hadn't been able to select his own staff. As he put it: "Your teachers are your school." His teachers felt similarly about their principal. As Joel Barsky, a middle-school humanities teacher explained: "School size and all that is important, but Mark is a big part of the success here. A big part. Every teacher who's here chose to be here. That's powerful."

Everyone I spoke to gave credit to the United Federation of Teachers president, Sandra Feldman, for introducing what's now known as the "school-based option," whereby teachers can vote to allow their schools to select their staff, regardless of seniority. The move wasn't popular among much of Feldman's membership, and she had to fight to make it happen. She's eloquent in its defense: "In a small school in which teachers have been working with each other to create something from the

ground up, they really need to have a camaraderie and agreed-upon philosophy of education. And if you create a school where the teachers are truly involved in decision-making, including on personnel issues, that's a trade-off for a straightforward seniority system, which is appropriate and needed in a factory-model system."

S.P.C.'s teachers described the school as a kind of life preserver tossed to them. They were drowning at their former schools. Joel Barsky, for instance, worked for four

nearly 2,000 students each. He said: "When I entered my first day in a classroom, kids were doing somersaults. I consulted a colleague who said, 'If you're teaching 2 to 3 percent of your students, then you are doing well.' I set very high standards; I lowered my standards. I would tell this to people, and they would say: 'So? You're getting a salary, are you not?' So I used to say to these people: 'Yes, but I have not earned my salary. I am forced to accept a salary under false pretenses.' This," he re-

its schedule, is literally a page from Deborah Meier's new book, "The Power of Their Ideas." She writes of Central Park East: "We decided on the simplest of schedules: two hours each day in humanities (art, history, literature, social studies), two hours daily of math and science and one hour of advisory" — meetings in small groups with teachers. S.P.C.'s schedule is similarly divided into two 90-minute periods, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. To the middle of the day, Weiss

were learning in their other subjects. Throughout, kids were learning about the city, its history, and how to improve their physical and social environment. At one point, Sam Schwartz even gave a guest lecture on being an "infrastructure activist."

A typical day in Edi Juricic's middle-school class, for instance, began with students sitting in a semicircle and talking about the chapters they read the night before in "Black Boy" by Richard Wright. Juricic solicited descriptions of the Jim Crow laws described by Wright, and students discussed their effect. He then moved into a discussion of Reconstruction, and of the Supreme Court decision *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Kids talked about how to amend the Constitution. Class ended with kids writing in their journals. The period had been a nice mix of history, literature and the law.

It would be wrong, however, to read too much significance into this interdisciplinary way of doing things. For one, the classes aren't that different from many others I've witnessed. The approach isn't so newfangled. Some teachers, who seemed less comfortable with this method, were a little more traditional.

What was different was the smallness. Kids took notes, wrote stories, kept journals, composed essays — except that now their work received more attention. Discipline problems still arose, but instead of 10 kids disrupting a class of 30, rendering it virtually unteachable, 4 or 5 kids might be snickering in a class of 20. Teachers still struggled, but not as much.

One of the best teachers at S.P.C. is probably Joseph Newkirk, a former mechanical engineer whom Weiss hired on a hunch even though he had no experience in the classroom. In mid-career, Newkirk is one of the five African-American or Guyanese people on staff. He's something of a dapper dresser, given to brightly colored shirts and ties and a brown suede fedora. He has a gray speckled beard, which he



One on One Lisa Jacobson, S.P.C.'s art teacher, works on a mural with Sherman Barr, an eighth grader.

years at Julia Richman, a troubled high school with some 4,000 students that is in the process of being broken up into several of the city's smaller new schools-within-a-school by the Center for Collaborative Education and the Board of Education. He recalled: "The kids were fine. I mean, kids are the same everywhere. The adults were why that school was failing. People had been there 20 years. They were hanging on for dear life. There were teachers there who did nothing. It was unbelievable. I've never seen such despair in children."

Leo Owen, a middle-school math teacher at S.P.C., agreed. Owen immigrated to this country from Guyana in 1983, and became a citizen last year. He has a soft voice, and speaks with a clipped accent. He had taught for nearly 10 years at two different intermediate schools in Brooklyn that had

marked with characteristic understatement, "did not make me very popular with my colleagues."

About the virtues of S.P.C., however, Leo was glad to testify: "I am happy because of Mark. His administrative style is exactly what mine would be. I work to try to make his vision happen. It makes me happy to fulfill it. He comes up and says, 'You're doing a good job.' That makes me happy. I am happy because of my colleagues. I can tell them even when they are rubbing me the wrong way, and they can tell me. I am happy because of the children. I know I am going to be able to do certain things with them. I'm happy because of the parents, who will talk to me about their children, volunteer information about them. For the first time, I feel as though I'm earning my salary."

S.P.C.'s whole structure, from its borrowed space to

has added a few electives: French, poetry and tutorials in English and math. The big blocks of time have allowed teachers to team teach, to take field trips and to conduct long experiments.

Last fall, for instance, the middle school studied "activists," a thematic unit in their humanities classes, which covered everything from the Civil War to the fall of Communism. Students read Frederick Douglass, visited homeless shelters, looked at graffiti around town and then, with the guidance of the arts teacher, Lisa Jacobson, designed their own murals. They painted slogans on wide swaths of butcher paper in the hallways. This in turn became the springboard for a writing assignment in which students composed personal statements about themselves and their own beliefs. No lesson was ever just an isolated exercise, but was integrated with whatever else the kids

rubs when he's thinking, and wide eyes, and the demeanor of someone who has seen it all. For three months, his class built kites as part of a semester-long unit on "Kites in the Wind: How Do They Fly?" Around this ongoing project, Newkirk wove lessons on everything from the molecular content of the atmosphere to the basic principles of aerodynamics to how to write up a formal lab report. Kids built models of their designs. They then field-tested their kites in the school's playground, wrote up what they'd learned and revised their models, building ever bigger and more complex versions.

The day before Christmas vacation last fall, Newkirk's students took their finished projects to Hudson River Park for their maiden flights. They trundled down to the waterfront, dragging their brightly colored kites behind them. Before the flights began, Newkirk gathered his students together to review what they had learned throughout the semester. Kids recited different design principles: "If your kite is narrow, it's easy to get up, but hard to control, but if it's wide, it's hard to get up, and easy to control." They discussed area and aspect ratios. One kid showed me how to determine the kite's height once airborne by calculating the angles with a protractor. Another kid talked knowingly about Bernoulli's principle, which explains the lift produced by a wing having a curved upper surface and flat lower surface. Children's cries filled the park: "Yes, Yes, YES" as one kite finally made it aloft, and "No-o-o-o-o!" as another took a nose dive. All the while, Newkirk ran around, peppering his students with questions: "Try it in the sun. Why would that make a difference?" A kid guessed: "Because the air is warmer?" Newkirk shouted: "Yes! Yes!"

This spring, Newkirk won the prestigious Chancellor's Bright Lights Award for Distinguished Teaching in Mathematics and Science, one of

five handed out citywide. The key to Newkirk's success isn't very mysterious. His methods aren't so different from those of lots of good teachers at S.P.C. and elsewhere: he works extremely hard, and prepares assiduously for class. (He was at the school all hours of the day.) His seemingly endless enthusiasm has made up for his lack of experience. He has the respect of his students and is good at maintaining discipline. And he has made particularly good use of the resources that the partners

thing of a shock. As Mari-
anne Melendez, a middle-
school humanities teacher,
put it: "Some of these kids
are used to being 'lost' in
school — that's the norm —
so they feel like you're com-
ing down hard on them
when you care. No one has
ever asked them for anything
— expected anything from
them — before. So, when
you call on them in class,
they think they're being sin-
gled out. They think you're
constantly in their face.
Some of these kids have dif-
ficulty just expressing them-

of having to wear too many
hats, which they changed
with almost Buster Keaton-
like dexterity. As Weiss, the
son of a former union organ-
izer, said: "All of us work
much harder than we have to.
You have to put in long
hours. You have to spend
your own money. Our obli-
gation isn't the same as a
G.M. worker who's making
money for the boss. I don't
mind if we're exploited a lit-
tle. We're educating working-
class kids."

Still, before big vacations
— Christmas or the February

S.P.C. with the sixth and sev-
enth grades, and then tacked
on a ninth-grade class as well.
The reason, he admits now,
was money: high schools are
given more money for start-
up costs than the city's junior
highs. Consequently, Weiss
was able to wring a few more
badly needed dollars from the
Board of Ed.

Starting a junior high and
high school simultaneously,
however, proved over-
whelming, and Weiss came
to regret the decision. "It
wasn't a sound decision edu-
cationally, but at the time,
we convinced ourselves that
it was. You rationalize be-
cause you need the money."
This year, Weiss added an
eighth grade, but not an-
other high-school class. The
10th grade — last year's 9th
— remains, though its stu-
dents and teachers ex-
pressed a strong sense of
having been abandoned.

One of the most frequent
charges against public school
"choice" is that it's elitist and
that its self-selection process
leaves students who don't
have savvy parents in the
worst public schools. The
middle-school students at
S.P.C. are mostly there be-
cause their parents sought
out the school, but the high-
schoolers were mostly ran-
domly assigned to S.P.C. by
the Board of Ed. Conse-
quently, they didn't neces-
sarily have any particular in-
terest in the school's empha-
sis and many of them, having
languished for eight years in
the city's regular public
schools, were ill prepared for
high-school level work. Yet
for all of the 10th-graders'
difficulties, S.P.C. has still
given them, by any measure, a
better education than they
would have received in the
city's regular high schools.
Their reading scores, for in-
stance, jumped an impressive
10 percent on average in the
first year alone, simply be-
cause the school is giving
them more individual atten-
tion.

Naomi Barber, a project
director of the Fund for New
York City Public Education,
finds the charge of elitism
particularly frustrating. She
explained: "We wanted to



20-20 Vision Deborah Meier pioneered the idea of 20 students per class, 20 teachers per school.

have provided: professors and
computers at Cooper, the
Mission Society's 2,000-acre
campsite in upstate New
York. About Newkirk, Weiss
had his own happy litany: "I
love his spirit; there's just
something about the person
that's intangible. I love his
willingness to grow. I love
that he comes from the back-
ground of so many of the
kids he teaches. I love that
he's successful."

Newkirk has done well,
however, partly because the
job has been made manage-
able: not too many kids, not
too many classes. He's had a
principal and colleagues who
have supported him daily in
his classroom and share his
vision for the school. In an
enormous school, Newkirk
— any good teacher — might
have drowned along with the
students.

FOR MANY KIDS, THE INDI-
vidual attention they receive
at S.P.C. comes as some-

selves because they've had
no practice *talking* in class.
Their classes before were so
big, they were literally never,
ever called on."

Reducing class and school
size hasn't solved all of
S.P.C.'s problems. Several
teachers complained about
the lack of supplies. But
thanks largely to the political
clout of its partners, S.P.C.
has now secured itself a reno-
vated plant. The school, de-
signed by Carmi Bee, is five
floors of colorful exposed
pipes, air-conditioning ducts
and industrial-size windows.
It looks a little like the Pom-
pidou Center on the inside,
and the idea behind the de-
sign is similar: to reveal the
building's infrastructure.

But S.P.C. is unusual in
having acquired its own
home; citywide there is a
moratorium on building or
renovating school space.
Even with smaller classes,
nearly all of the teachers
complained of 16-hour days,

break — there was a sense of
everyone staggering toward
the finish line, exhausted, as
after a marathon. And with
everyone busy in the class-
room, one sick teacher could
throw the whole school into
chaos. Meg Campbell of the
Harvard Outward Bound
Project remarked: "I think
everyone, including us, just
underestimated the extent of
the infrastructure that one
has to build to have a school
function — just getting the
pencils ordered! Starting new
schools right now in the
school reform movement is a
very romantic thing to do.
And I think some of us got
caught up in that romanti-
cism."

Mark described teaching in
the city as a continual exer-
cise in "making do." Most
new schools, for instance, be-
gin with the bottom few
grades, and then add a grade a
year, until the school is com-
pleted. Weiss, however, made
a calculated decision to begin

start a 'gifted and talented' program at one school in Harlem. And the director said: 'I don't believe in "gifted and talented."' She thought it was elitist. But it's not as if rich white kids — or even rich black kids — were going there. These were neighborhood kids. All 'gifted and talented' means, really, is academically rigorous. This is something the parents in that community desperately need and want." And indeed this spring, the fund received several thousand applications for a few hundred openings at its "New Vision" schools.

AT OUR LAST INTERVIEW, MARK WEISS TOLD me: "I don't think a story like this should say, 'If he can do it, anyone can.' Some of us can make do with less, but that doesn't mean that everybody can, and then there's a point at which you can't make do." No curriculum, no matter how progressive or traditional, can work in atrociously overcrowded schools, where students are anonymous, teachers have little control over their curricula and principals have virtually no say in how their schools are run. Yet this is precisely the situation in the vast majority of the city's schools. There are some 65,000 teachers in the New York City schools alone. If the system is ever going to work, it's going to have to work for more average talents. There aren't enough superheros to go around.

Unlike so many other school reforms, which depend on the way they're implemented in the classroom, the effort to achieve smaller schools and smaller classes is both measurable and easily replicable. Even a mediocre teacher is more effective in a class of 20 than in a class of 34. Similarly, there's just a limit to the number of students that even the best teacher can have and not regard them as a mob.

An \$8 billion annual education budget may sound like a lot of money, but if you divide that amount by more than a million students, it actually comes to less than \$8,000 a year per pupil — about the nationwide average — for a school system with greater-than-average challenges: poverty, violence and a large pool of immigrant students who are unfamiliar with this country's language and culture. The amount will only shrink as enrollments rise and the budget continues to be slashed. None of the money that has been cut as waste from the central Board of Ed has been redirected to the classroom. The savings have gone solely to alleviate the city's larger budget woes.

Meier, for one, is worried. "It scares me when I look at the closing down of after-school programs, youth centers, summer school. That adds to the work we do. Our schools have always relied on the system to provide certain things. The notion of going out and trying to raise private funds to replace that is terrifying. The entire Annenberg challenge has to raise \$50 million from private foundations and that doesn't leave a lot left over; and the places that get it will likely be the ones who need it least. We'll end up competing against ourselves." Even the Annenberg "challenge" has not produced the outpouring of philanthropy that many people expected. There is just not enough private money out there to replace government spending entirely.

The popular issues in education these days tend to focus on what have been called the "culture wars." It's a testament to Meier and company's seriousness that they have stayed away from such hot-topic debates, which have served only to distract most politicians and education pundits from far more pressing concerns.

Recently New York City was consumed by a two-year debate over the ill-fated Rainbow Curriculum, a 600-page guide put out by the city's Board of Education that encouraged teachers to teach tolerance of all races, cultures and — here's where it got controversial — sexual orientation. "What most people don't realize," Meier explained with some exasperation, "is that there isn't a teacher in the city who reads those curriculum guides that the Board of Ed puts out — much less a 600-page one! But someone calls you up and so you have to take a position on it." It's not that such issues aren't important. What makes them so popular is that debating them costs, and requires, nothing. But they have virtually no impact on the classroom.

Smaller schools and smaller classes do work, but it remains to be seen whether the city and the country are serious enough about education reform to finance them. The city will eventually have to spend some money if it has a prayer of improving its schools: to build more space to relieve the gross overcrowding, to hire more teachers to handle the rise in enrollment, to provide basic supplies. That, or suffer a dysfunctional school system. As Meg Campbell remarked: "There are no economies of scale in education. You can't design a school the way you design a factory. Schools are more like families: having 34 children isn't necessarily the best thing." ■

ANSWERS TO PUZZLES

OF MAY 21, 1995

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**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

07/10/95

LEON PANETTA:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 10, 1995

95 JUL 10 09:04

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHEN NEUWIRTH 
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE ON
RELIGION IN SCHOOLS

Attached is a draft of the directive that you will announce during your speech this Wednesday on religious liberty.

The directive sets forth the extent to which the First Amendment permits and protects religious expression in schools, and directs Secretary Riley to disseminate these principles to all public school districts by the start of the coming school year. The memorandum also directs Secretary Riley to provide guidance to school districts concerning the Administration's interpretation of the Equal Access Act.

You agreed to issue such a directive at a recent Oval Office meeting that included, among others, the Vice President, Secretary Riley and Linda Lader.

The Justice Department has approved the form and content of the attached directive. DOJ has advised us that the principles set forth in the directive reflect settled matters of Constitutional law. Judge Mikva has similarly approved the directive.

The directive also reflects the agreement reached earlier this year by a broad coalition of religious groups, ranging from People for the American Way, the ACLU and the American Jewish Congress on the "left," to the Christian Legal Society and the National Association of Evangelicals -- both of which favor a constitutional amendment on religion -- on the "right."

DRAFT -- FOR DISCUSSION ONLY

July __, 1995

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL**

**SUBJECT: THE FIRST AMENDMENT AND
RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS**

Religious freedom is perhaps the most precious of all American liberties -- called by many our "first freedom." Many of the first European settlers in North America sought refuge from religious persecution in their native countries. Since that time, people of faith and religious institutions have played a central role in the history of this nation. In the First Amendment, our Bill of Rights recognizes the twin pillars of religious liberty: the Constitutional protection for the free exercise of religion, and the Constitutional prohibition on the establishment of religion by the state. Our nation's founders knew that religion helps to give our people the character without which a democracy cannot survive. Our founders also recognized the need for a space of freedom between government and the people -- that the government must not be permitted to coerce the conscience of any individual or group.

In the over 200 years since the First Amendment was included in our Constitution, religion and religious institutions have thrived throughout the United States. In 1993, I was proud to reaffirm the historic place of religion when I signed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which restores a high legal standard to protect the exercise of religion from being inappropriately burdened by government action. In the greatest traditions of American citizenship, a broad coalition of individuals and organizations came together to support the fullest protection for religious practice and expression.

RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

I share the concern and frustration that many Americans feel about situations where the protections accorded by the First Amendment are not recognized or understood. This problem has manifested itself in our nation's public schools. It appears that many school officials, teachers and parents have assumed that religious expression of any type is either inappropriate, or forbidden altogether, in public schools.

As our courts have reaffirmed, however, nothing in the First Amendment converts our public schools into religion-free zones, or requires all religious expression to be left behind at the schoolhouse door. While the government may not use schools to coerce the consciences of our students, or to convey official endorsement of religion, the government's schools also may not discriminate against private religious expression during the school day.

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I have been advised by the Department of Justice and the Department of Education that the First Amendment permits -- and protects -- a greater degree of religious expression in public schools than many Americans may now understand. The Departments of Justice and Education have advised me that, while application may depend upon specific factual contexts and will require careful consideration in particular cases, the following principles are among those that apply to religious expression in our schools:

Student prayer and religious discussion: The Establishment Clause of the First Amendment does not prohibit purely private religious speech by students. Students therefore have the same right to engage in individual or group prayer and religious discussion during the school day as they do to engage in other comparable activity. For example, students may read their Bibles or other scriptures, say grace before meals, and pray before tests to the same extent they may engage in comparable disruptive activities. Local school authorities possess substantial discretion to impose rules of order and other pedagogical restrictions on student activities, but they may not structure or administer such rules to discriminate against religious activity or speech.

Generally, students may pray in a nondisruptive manner when not engaged in school activities or instruction, and subject to the rules that normally pertain in the applicable setting. Specifically, students in informal settings, such as cafeterias and hallways, may pray and discuss their religious views with each other, subject to the same rules of order as apply to other student activities and speech. Students may also speak to, and attempt to persuade, their peers about religious topics just as they do with regard to political topics. School officials, however, should intercede to stop student speech that constitutes harassment aimed at a student or a group of students.

Students may also participate in before or after school events with religious content, such as "see you at the flag pole" gatherings, on the same terms as they may participate in other non-curriculum activities on school premises. School officials, acting in an official capacity, may neither discourage nor encourage participation in such an event.

The right to engage in voluntary prayer or religious discussion free from discrimination does not include the right to have a captive audience listen, or to compel other students to participate. Teachers and school administrators should ensure that no student is in any way coerced to participate in religious activity.

Graduation prayer and baccalaureates: ^{Under current Supreme Court decisions,} School officials may not mandate or organize prayer at graduation, nor organize religious baccalaureate ceremonies. If a school generally opens its facilities to private groups, it must make its facilities available on the same terms to organizers of privately sponsored religious baccalaureate services.

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A school may not extend preferential treatment to baccalaureate ceremonies and may in some instances be obliged to disclaim official endorsement of such ceremonies.

Official neutrality regarding religious activity: Teachers and school administrators, when acting in those capacities, are representatives of the state and are prohibited by the Establishment Clause from soliciting or encouraging religious activity, and from participating in such activity with students. Teachers and administrators also are prohibited from discouraging activity because of its religious content, and from soliciting or encouraging anti-religious activity.

Teaching about religion: Public schools may not provide religious instruction, but they may teach about religion. The history of religion, comparative religion, the Bible (or other scripture)-as-literature, and the role of religion in the history of the United States and other countries all are permissible public school subjects. Similarly, it is permissible to consider religious influences on art, music, literature and social studies.

Public schools may teach about religious holidays, including their religious aspects. Schools may celebrate the secular aspects of holidays but may not observe holidays as religious events or promote such observance by students.

Student assignments: Students may express their beliefs about religion in the form of homework, artwork, and other written and oral assignments free of discrimination based on the religious content of their submissions. Such home and classroom work should be judged by ordinary academic standards of substance and relevance, and against other legitimate pedagogical concerns identified by the school.

Religious literature: Students have a right to distribute religious literature to their schoolmates on the same terms as they are permitted to distribute other literature that is unrelated to school curriculum or activities. Schools may impose the same reasonable time, place, and manner or other constitutional restrictions on distribution of religious literature as they do on non-school literature generally, but they may not single out religious literature for special regulation.

Religious excusals: Subject to applicable state laws, schools enjoy substantial discretion to excuse individual students from lessons that are objectionable to the student or the students' parents on religious or other conscientious grounds. School officials may neither encourage nor discourage students from availing themselves of an excusal option.

Released time: Subject to applicable state laws, schools have the discretion to dismiss students to off-premises religious instruction, provided that schools do not encourage or discourage participation or penalize those who do not attend. Schools may not

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allow religious instruction by outsiders on school premises during the school day.

Teaching values: Though schools must be neutral with respect to religion, they may play an active role with respect to teaching civic values and virtue, and the moral code that holds us together as a community. The fact that some of these values are held also by religions does not make it unlawful to teach them in school.

Student garb: Students may display religious messages on items of clothing to the same extent that they are permitted to display other comparable messages. Religious messages may not be singled out for suppression, but rather are subject to the same rules as generally apply to comparable messages. When wearing particular attire, such as yarmulkes and head scarves, during the school day is part of students' religious practice, schools generally may not prohibit the wearing of such items.

I hereby direct the Secretary of Education, in consultation with the Attorney General, to use appropriate means to ensure that public school districts and school officials in the United States are informed, by the start of the coming school year, of the principles set forth above.

THE EQUAL ACCESS ACT

The Equal Access Act is designed to ensure that, consistent with the First Amendment, student religious activities are accorded the same access to public school facilities as are student secular activities. Based on decisions of the federal courts, as well as its past interpretations of the Act and the positions it has advocated in pending litigation, the Department of Justice has advised me of its position that the Act should be interpreted as providing, among other things, that:

General provisions: Student religious groups at public secondary schools have the same right of access to school facilities as is enjoyed by other comparable student groups. Under the Equal Access Act, a school receiving federal funds that allows one or more student non-curriculum-related clubs to meet on its premises during noninstructional time may not refuse access to student religious groups.

Prayer services and worship exercises covered: A meeting, as defined and protected by the Equal Access Act, may include a prayer service, Bible reading, or other worship exercise.

Equal access to means of publicizing meetings: A school receiving federal funds must allow student groups meeting under the Act to use the school media -- including the public address system, the school newspaper, and the school bulletin board -- to announce their meetings on the same terms as other noncurriculum-related student

DRAFT -- FOR DISCUSSION ONLY

groups are allowed to use the school media. Any policy concerning the use of school media must be applied to all noncurriculum related student groups in a nondiscriminatory matter. Schools, however, may inform students that certain groups are not school sponsored.

Lunch-time and recess covered: A school creates a limited open forum under the Equal Access Act, triggering equal access rights for religious groups, when it allows students to meet during their lunch periods or other noninstructional time during the school day, as well as when it allows students to meet before and after the school day.

I hereby direct the Secretary of Education, in consultation with the Attorney General, to use appropriate means to ensure that public school districts and school officials in the United States are informed, by the start of the coming school year, of these interpretations of the Equal Access Act.

DRAFT 7/10/95 8:30pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN AMERICA
JAMES MADISON HIGH SCHOOL
JULY 12, 1995

95 JUL 10 PG: 04

Last week, at Georgetown University, I had a chance to do something I want to do more often as President -- to have a conversation about the best way for us to move forward as a nation, and resolve the great questions of our time together. I believe we must come together to find a new common ground -- a common ground that honors our diversity and recognizes our similarity, drawing strength from both. That is how we will make the most of what is best in America.

When I ran for President, I said we had to do two things: restore the American Dream, and bring Americans closer together. If I've learned anything over the last two and a half years, as we've worked to help all Americans meet today's new challenges, it's that we cannot restore the American Dream unless we do come together as a people.

Today I want to have a conversation about religion. There is no greater opportunity in America to find common ground -- and rejoice in the strength it brings -- than religion. America is a nation of faith. We were founded by people of faith, searching for a place to express theirs freely. Religion teaches us the values to lead good lives. Religion lends us the strength to triumph over what seem to be the most insurmountable obstacles. And even in our darkest days, religion comforts us with the hope

of better things to come.

But when people feel, as they do today, that their values are under attack, religion can divide us like nothing else. Religion is so important to so many Americans that the potential for fear and distrust to get the best of us is all the greater when we are debating it. That's why, as a new debate over religious liberty looms large on the horizon, I wanted to come to James Madison High School, in Vienna, Virginia.

It's appropriate to come here for many reasons. In Virginia's soil you can find some of the oldest, deepest roots of religious liberty in America. The First Amendment was modeled on Virginia's religious liberty statute, which Thomas Jefferson, a native son, helped to write. No one is more responsible for the Bill of Rights, and the First Amendment, than James Madison. But history isn't the main reason I wanted to come here today. I wanted to come here because the students, teachers, and administrators of James Madison High School honor history with the work you are doing today.

As I said at Georgetown, one of the most important things we can do to bring us closer together is to celebrate the good things Americans are doing. Somewhere in America, somebody has solved every problem you're worried about. Those people don't have the time to attack each other about their problems. They've taken the time to put themselves on the solution-side of their problems.

That's what I've tried to do with regard to religious liberty. I was very proud to sign the Religious Freedom Restoration Act in 1993. This law reaffirmed the great protection the Constitution and the First Amendment gives to religious expression, and it recognizes the historic role people of faith have played in America. Secretary Riley and I have worked hard to ensure that our children have an opportunity to learn the responsibilities and basic values of good citizenship in school.

I want to applaud all of you at James Madison High for getting on the solution-side, and working to find common ground. In 1994, a social studies teacher here developed a new course called "Combatting Intolerance." Over a semester, juniors and seniors study intolerance and prejudice of all kinds, and throughout history. They study racial and ethnic hatreds. And they study religious persecution, from XX to the Holocaust. You seek out other opinions by inviting guest speakers, and you don't avoid difficult subjects.

As you explore prejudice in history, you learn about differences among yourselves. You learn to respect those differences, and you realize how much you can learn from each other because of them. Conversation. Trust. Respect. That's how people of different backgrounds and different beliefs find common ground. You're doing it here at James Madison High School; there's a lesson in it for people all across America; and you should be very proud.

Faith is the bedrock of our common ground. I hope you've learned that too. Our different faiths have taught us, in different ways, the same values: Honesty. Responsibility. Family. Compassion. Charity. Good will. By teaching those values, religion has helped us to work together, for two centuries, for the common good. People, ministers, and teachers of faith have called on us to rise above the cares and troubles of our daily grind to serve the highest aims of humanity. And as a people, we have answered, coming together, struggling together, and prevailing together, to give this country its proudest moments -- in war, in peace, in lean times, and prosperous times.

Our Constitution would not be what it is without the influence of the deeply religious James Madison. Abraham Lincoln, deprived of his faith, would probably have been sore-pressed to lead us through the hour of our greatest peril and deepest division. Imagine the civil rights movement without the faith of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. And each of these men of faith, remember, were men of different faiths.

Our founders understood that the coin of religious freedom has "two sides. So the Constitution protects the free exercise of religion, at the same time that it prohibits state establishment of religion. That careful balance, uniquely American, is the undeniable genius of our First Amendment.

Religious freedom is our "first freedom." That's why it's in the

First Amendment. And today, we are the freest nation in the world when it comes to religion. We have the absolute freedom to enjoy and express our own beliefs. We have the absolute protection that government cannot be used to coerce people's conscience or suppress people's faith. To preserve our religious freedom, we must preserve the careful balance allows it.

That balance has helped us to build the most vibrant and diverse religious culture in the world. There are more than 250,000 houses of worship in America. More people go to church, and more people believe religion is important, than in any other Western nation. At the same time, America is home to more different religions than any other nation. I don't think that's a coincidence. Religion thrives in America precisely because religion is encouraged to grow however it will, and is allowed to grow unfettered by the edicts of government.

But around the globe, that is not always the case. Religious differences continue to split nations asunder, fundamentalist regimes repress religious minorities in God's name, and whole communities are destroyed because of their beliefs. For more than 200 years, oppressed people have been able to look towards America and be heartened by the certain knowledge that religion does not always divide people from each other, or make us enemies. My fellow Americans, let us take a moment to thank God - in whatever manner each of us wants -- for the wisdom of our founders, who created a nation precisely to prevent such things

from ever happening upon these shores.

The legacy of religious freedom has certainly been a precious gift for me. My faith is the source of my greatest strength. Everything I do, everything I believe, has been shaped by it. I gained my faith as a boy; it sustains me as a man. When I am afraid, my faith helps me find courage. When I am unsure, my faith gives me conviction. When I am proud, my faith gently chides me to be humble. And my faith joins me to all of humankind. Faith ties us together. It connects us.

So I am deeply troubled that many Americans today believe their faith is threatened by the very mechanisms designed to protect it. Over the past decade, we have seen cultural tensions rise in America. Some people even say we have a "culture war." Much of this tension stems from a growing concern that religious expression is no longer welcome in the public square. Americans feel that, instead of celebrating their love for God in public, they are being forced to hide their faith behind closed doors. That is wrong.

Many Americans have been denied the freedom to express religion that is theirs by right. That must stop. It is crucial to freedom of religion that government does not dictate or demand specific religious views. But it is equally crucial that government does not prevent the expression of specific religious views. When the First Amendment is invoked as an obstacle to private religious

expression, it is being misused. Religion has a proper place in the public square, because the public square belongs to us all.

It's especially important for parents to feel confident that their children can learn religion. That's why some families have been so frustrated to see their children denied even the most private forms of religious expression in public schools. It has certainly happened. Some students have been prohibited from reading the Bible silently during study hall. Student religious groups haven't been allowed to publicize their meetings in the same way that non-religious groups can. Some students have been prevented from saying grace before lunch. All of this is wrong.

The First Amendment protects religious expression -- it does not convert our public schools into religion-free zones. If a student is told he cannot wear a yarmulke in class, we have an obligation to tell that school: The First Amendment says a student can most definitely wear a yarmulke in class. If a student is told she cannot keep a Bible on her desk, we must tell that school: The First Amendment guarantees her right to keep a Bible on her desk.

Wherever and whenever the religious rights of our children are threatened or suppressed, we must move quickly and decisively to correct it. We want to make it easier and more acceptable for people to express and celebrate their faith.

But to do that, we do not need a constitutional amendment to protect religious expression -- we already have one. We have never changed the First Amendment in all our history. Not one word. With good reason -- it works. The unprecedented religious liberty the First Amendment grants has never been equalled, not over the course of human history, not anywhere in the world.

I understand the frustration of those who have been denied their legitimate rights. I understand the frustration of those who are afraid that the stories they have heard are only the beginning. We must allay their fears. But we must also recognize that even a good faith effort to amend the Constitution can produce unintended -- and unwanted -- consequences. Changing the First Amendment for the first time in history to permit organized prayer will upset the careful balance that protects freedom of religion for all Americans. The First Amendment works so well because it keeps government out of religion -- neither demanding nor denying. That is freedom of religion.

Now just because I believe the First Amendment gets the balance exactly right, doesn't mean I believe it's always understood or applied exactly right. It isn't. But if the problem is that government wrongly denies the religious expression of some students, the answer is not for government to demand specific prayers from all students.

Instead of upsetting the balance embodied by the First Amendment,

what we have to do is make sure that people understand the First Amendment, and apply it the way it's intended. That's the best way to guarantee that religion will preserve its proper place in the public square, and in the hearts and minds of our children.

First of all, the First Amendment doesn't require students to leave their religion behind at the schoolhouse door. It shouldn't. We certainly wouldn't want students to leave the values they learn from religion -- like honesty and sharing and kindness -- behind at the schoolhouse door. Reinforcing those values is an essential part of a school's mission.

Some school officials, teachers, and parents believe the Constitution forbids any religious expression at all in public schools. That is absolutely wrong, and our courts have made it clear that it is wrong. It is also not a good idea. Religion is too important to our history and our heritage for us to keep it out of our schools. Once again: religious expression should not be demanded, but -- as long as it isn't sponsored by school officials and doesn't interfere with other children's rights -- it must not be denied. That's what the First Amendment says.* "

* Students can, and should, be able to pray whenever, wherever, and however they want.

* Students can, and should, say grace before lunch if they want to. They can read the Bible to themselves, and they can keep

one on their desk all day long.

- * Student religious clubs in high school can, and should, be treated just like any other club. They can advertize their meetings, meet on school grounds, and use school facilities under exactly the same rules as any other club.
- * Teachers can, and certainly should, teach the magnificent contributions religion has made to history, to values and knowledge, to music and art, in America and around the world.
- * Students can pray before tests. And many of them should definitely do that -- I know I did from time to time.
- * Students should feel free to express their religion and beliefs in homework, through artwork, and during class presentations.
- * If students can distribute flyers or pamphlets about non-academic subjects to their classmates, they can distribute religious flyers and pamphlets under the same rules.
- * If students can wear t-shirts advertizing sports teams and rock groups, they can wear t-shirts about religion.
- * If certain subjects or courses are objectionable to students or their parents because of their religious beliefs, then

students can be excused.

- * Finally, even though schools cannot advocate specific religious beliefs, as I said earlier, they should teach civic values and virtue. The fact that some of these values are also religious values certainly doesn't mean they can't be taught in school.

All of these forms of religious expression and worship are permitted and protected by the First Amendment. That doesn't change the fact that some students haven't been allowed to express their beliefs in these ways. What we have to do, is work together to help all Americans understand exactly what the First Amendment does: It protects freedom of religion by allowing students to pray, and it protects freedom of religion by preventing schools from telling them how. The First Amendment keeps us all on common ground -- we are allowed to believe and worship as we choose, without the government telling any of us what we can or cannot do.

In that spirit, I am today directing the Secretary of Education and the Attorney General to provide every school district in America, before school starts in the fall, with a detailed explanation of the religious expression permitted in our schools, including all the things I've mentioned today. I hope that parents, students, educators, and religious leaders can use this directive as a starting point. I hope it helps them work

together, to understand their differences, protect students' religious rights, and find common ground.

This past April, a broad coalition of religious and legal groups -- Christian and Jewish, conservative and liberal, Supreme Court advocates and Supreme Court critics -- put themselves on the solution-side of this debate. They produced a document called "Religion in Public Schools: A Joint Statement of Current Law." They put aside deep philosophical differences and said: We all agree on what kind of religious expression the law permits in schools. This is what the law says. And we reaffirm that this is what the law should say. My directive borrows heavily, and gratefully, from their wise and thoughtful statement.

I believe that the successful effort of these men and women to find common ground on a subject that easily could have divided them, is at least as important as the document they produced. I commend them for it. I also want to mention the like-minded effort of over 200 religious and civic leaders who signed the Williamsburg Charter in 1988. The Williamsburg Charter reaffirms the core principles of the First Amendment: We can live together with our deepest differences, and be all the stronger for it. The signers of the Charter are impressive in their own right, and all the more impressive for their differences of opinion. Among them: Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter; Chief Justice Rehnquist and the late Chief Justice Warren Burger; Senator Dole and former Governor Dukakis; William Bennett and Lane Kirkland; Norman Lear

and Phyllis Schlafly; Coretta Scott King and James Dobson.

They wrote: "We who sign this Charter, people of many and various beliefs, pledge ourselves to the enduring precepts of the First Amendment as the cornerstone of the American experiment in liberty under law. We celebrate the genius of the Religious Liberty clauses" of the First Amendment.

Let us resolve this day, to follow their example. Do not allow the discussion of religious liberty in America to divide us. Resist the temptation to demonize those who disagree with you. Prayer, religion, worship -- these are sacred things. Do not profane them by politicizing this debate. Despite our differences, stand firm on common ground.

Remember that arguments can hurt and wound. Reach out to one another with words of respect. Speak with dignity and decency. Remember the lessons of your faith, and realize that the lessons of another's are largely the same. We stand on common ground.

My friends, our founders were wise beyond measure. They built " the greatest, freest nation the world has ever known. Let us honor their legacy. Amidst all our differences, let us come together, and hold fast together. May God bless you all.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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Your Attention, Please

Republicans have a right to their suspicions about President Clinton's calls for an end to harsh partisanship. Mr. Clinton never hesitated to slug them in the eye back when he had the Congressional majority to back him up. But a President without votes on the Hill must placate more often than threaten. So Mr. Clinton's "common-ground" speech at Georgetown University can be read by political realists as an attempt to make a virtue of necessity. The necessity, in Mr. Clinton's case, was created by his party's collapse at the polls in 1994. If 1996 is to be any different for the Democrats — and more to the point, their standard-bearer — Mr. Clinton needs Republican help in establishing himself as a bipartisan leader.

Even allowing for this most cynical reading of the politics of his speech, the President is right on its core ideas. The ills afflicting American society do not flow from the fact that the middle class no longer possesses the moral perfection of, let us say, Jesse Helms and Phil Gramm. Mr. Clinton is closer to the truth when he points up that "middle-class values and strong families" are threatened by a consistent economic battering for which no end is in sight.

Any student of postwar history can grasp Mr. Clinton's point that decent family incomes are crucial to progress in education, health and general social stability. The favored doom-signs of the new Jeremiahs — crime, illegitimacy, drug abuse — flourish in environments of expanding poverty. The

proliferation of middle-class values requires the existence of a middle class that is thriving rather than threatened, prosperous rather than pinched.

Yet there is no relief in sight for the economic squeeze that Mr. Clinton described for students at his alma mater, and that is not simply a matter of the changing global economy. The middle class, while incessantly praised by Beltway orators, has few friends in Washington. Representative Dick Armey and the flat-taxers are pushing new tax schemes that will hit the middle class harder than the wealthy. Corporations are taking as profit money that once got plowed back into higher wages and new jobs. Meanwhile, business and financial-community influence in Washington are at a 50-year peak, and that was true under the deposed Democratic Congressional leadership as well as with the lobbyist-loving Gingrich-Dole team.

Mr. Clinton has spotted a strong issue, but it may not be an easy one to exploit. Senator Bob Dole and Speaker Newt Gingrich are whizzes at stroking the middle-class voters with cultural issues while punishing them economically.

Then there is always the question of how long Mr. Clinton can keep his attention on the important themes he defined at Georgetown. He spoke there of the "obligations imposed on the President." Central among those is the obligation to believe in — and preach about — a few important things for a long time instead of believing in virtually everything for at least a few minutes.

The Next Step in Belfast

The violence that erupted again in Belfast this week was contained and predictable. The Irish Republican Army seemed to encourage a frustrated community to let off steam after the British Government released Pvt. Lee Clegg, who was serving a life sentence for killing an Irish teen-ager. These events should not be allowed to deflect the peace process. All parties — the British and Irish Governments and the loyalist and Republican paramilitary groups — need to find ways to push forward.

One issue stands in the way. The British Government insists that Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, commit itself to decommissioning the arms of the I.R.A. before all-party talks can begin. Decommissioning is essential to a peace settlement, but making it a precondition for all-party talks needlessly holds up the negotiating process.

Hard-liners in the I.R.A. see decommissioning as surrender, and emphasize that they have not surrendered but voluntarily ceased hostilities in the hope of arriving at a political settlement for the Catholic community in the North. The I.R.A.'s mem-

bership must have some confidence that a political framework is in place to insure a fair outcome.

The Irish Government, which has played a constructive role in nudging the peace process along, has encouraged the British Government to take a broader approach. Addressing the Irish Parliament on Tuesday, Prime Minister John Bruton appealed for the inclusion of other issues along with the decommissioning of arms, including release of political prisoners and reform of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, Northern Ireland's Protestant-dominated police force.

At a meeting in Cannes last week, Mr. Bruton suggested to Prime Minister John Major of Britain that officials work together on a wider agenda, perhaps leading to a parallel set of talks to be convened in the fall, involving the two Governments and the two paramilitary organizations.

It is a good suggestion. President Clinton's announcement that he will visit Ireland later this year also provides encouragement to all parties to keep the process going. That is the main challenge now.

Handwritten notes:
1. Chief/Source
This is a theme to push.
Newt

WERE YOU BORN BEFORE 1945?

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
-110195

If you were born before 1945 you are a survivor! Just think about all the changes you have seen during your lifetime.

You were born before television, penicillin, polio shots, Xerox, contact lenses, frisbees and the pill.

You were born before radar, credit cards, split atoms, laser beams and ball point pens. You were born before pantyhose, clothes dryers, dishwashers, electric blankets, air conditioners, drip dry clothes and before man walked on the moon.

You got married first and then lived together. Closets were for clothes and no "coming out of." Bunnys were small rabbits and rabbits were not Volkswagens. Designer jeans were scheming girls named Jean or Jeanne and having a meaningful relationship meant getting along with your cousins.

Fast food was what you ate during Lent and outer space was the back of the movie theater. "Made in Japan" meant junk and the term "making out" referred to how you did on an exam. Pizza, McDonalds, and instant coffee were unheard of.

You were born before househusbands, gay rights, computer dating, dual careers and commuter marriages. You were born before Day Care Centers, Group Therapy and Nursing Homes. Before 1945 you never heard of FM radio, tape decks, electric typewriters, artificial hearts, word processors, yogurt (or low fat) and guys wearing earrings.

You were certainly not before the differences between the sexes was discovered, but you were before the sex change, you made do with what you had. And you were the last generation to think you needed a husband to have a baby.

Time sharing meant togetherness not computer or condominium. A chip was a piece of wood, hardware meant hardware and software wasn't even a word.

You hit the scene when 5 and 10 cent stores sold things for 5 and 10 cents. For a nickel you could buy an ice cream cone, ride a street car, make a phone call, buy a Pepsi, or enough stamps to mail one letter and two post cards. You could buy a new Chevy Coupe for \$600 but who could afford one; a pity too, because gas was only 11 cents a gallon.

In your day smoking was fashionable, grass was mowed and coke was a soft drink. Pot was something you cooked in, rock music was Grandma's Lullaby and AIDS were helpers in the principal's office.

No wonder there is such confusion and such a generation gap today. But, **YOU HAVE SURVIVED.** You have dealt with the changes life brings and adapted to the surroundings of Today. **CONGRATULATIONS,** and may the coming years be fruitful for you!

- reprinted from the Ft. Worth Rotagraph

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MAR 17 1995

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/10/95

To The President
FYI.

Andrew E. Manatos
President

March 14, 1995

PERSONAL

The Honorable Leon E. Panetta
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Leon:

The attached might help the President explain his new covenant. It would help him show how universally valid are his points by making reference to the attached quote from a 2,425-year-old source -- Pericles' famous funeral oration.

Such principles, which lifted both Pericles' people and all people into civilization, are still today essential to the elevating of people.

Sincerely,

Andrew E. Manatos

AEM\dcs
Attachment

To Don Bull

Fyi - not bad

BC

PENGUIN CLASSICS



THUCYDIDES
HISTORY OF THE
PELOPONNESIAN WAR



38 'And here is another point. When our work is over, we are in a position to enjoy all kinds of recreation for our spirits. There are various kinds of contests and sacrifices regularly throughout the year; in our own homes we find a beauty and a good taste which delight us every day and which drive away our cares. Then the greatness of our city brings it about that all the good things from all over the world flow in to us, so that to us it seems just as natural to enjoy foreign goods as our own local products.

39 'Then there is a great difference between us and our opponents, in our attitude towards military security. Here are some examples: Our city is open to the world, and we have no periodical deportations in order to prevent people observing or finding out secrets which might be of military advantage to the enemy. This is because we rely, not on secret weapons, but on our own real courage and loyalty. There is a difference, too, in our educational systems. The Spartans, from their earliest boyhood, are submitted to the most laborious training in courage; we pass our lives without all these restrictions, and yet are just as ready to face the same dangers as they are. Here is a proof of this: When the Spartans invade our land, they do not come by themselves, but bring all their allies with them; whereas we, when we launch an attack abroad, do the job by ourselves, and, though fighting on foreign soil, do not often fail to defeat opponents who are fighting for their own hearths and homes. As a matter of fact none of our enemies has ever yet been confronted with our total strength, because we have to divide our attention between our navy and the many missions on which our troops are sent on land. Yet, if our enemies engage a detachment of our forces and defeat it, they give themselves credit for having thrown back our entire army; or, if they lose, they claim that they were beaten by us in full strength. There are certain advantages, I think, in our way of meeting danger voluntarily, with an easy mind, instead of with a laborious training, with natural rather than with state-induced courage. We do not have to spend our time practising to meet sufferings which are still in the future; and when they are actually upon us we show ourselves just as brave as these others who are always in strict training. This is one point in which, I think, our city deserves to be admired. There are also others:

40 'Our love of what is beautiful does not lead to extravagance; our love of the things of the mind does not make us soft. We regard wealth as something to be properly used, rather than as something to boast about. As for poverty, no one need be ashamed to admit it: the real shame is in not taking practical measures to escape from it. Here each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in the affairs of the state as well: even those who are mostly occupied with their own business are extremely well-informed on general politics – this is a peculiarity of ours: we do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say that he has no business here at all. We Athenians, in our own persons, take our decisions on policy or submit them to proper discussions: for we do not think that there is an incompatibility between words and deeds; the worst thing is to rush into action before the consequences have been properly debated. And this is another point where we differ from other people. We are capable at the same time of taking risks and of estimating them beforehand. Others are brave out of ignorance; and, when they stop to think, they begin to fear. But the man who can most truly be accounted brave is he who best knows the meaning of what is sweet in life and of what is terrible, and then goes out undeterred to meet what is to come.

'Again, in questions of general good feeling there is a great contrast between us and most other people. We make friends by doing good to others, not by receiving good from them. This makes our friendship all the more reliable, since we want to keep alive the gratitude of those who are in our debt by showing continued goodwill to them: whereas the feelings of one who owes us something lack the same enthusiasm, since he knows that, when he repays our kindness, it will be more like paying back a debt than giving something spontaneously. We are unique in this. When we do kindnesses to others, we do not do them out of any calculations of profit or loss: we do them without afterthought, relying on our free liberality. Taking everything together then, I declare that our city is an education to Greece, and I declare that in my opinion each single one of our citizens, in all the manifold aspects of life, is able to show himself the rightful lord and owner of his own person, and do this, moreover, with exceptional grace and

Medicare Facts

Much emotion surrounds any discussion of Medicare. People expecting Medicare want it — and no one likes to talk about the fact that it's running out of money.

No one wants to deny benefits to our seniors — but no one wants to impose an impossible tax burden on juniors in the present and coming generations.

The Medicare-cost problem is not going to "go away." It demands sensible economic decisions.

The Health Leadership Council, a Washington-based organization, has summed up the problem in these factual statements that all should note:

- "On April 3 Medicare's trustees issued their annual report, warning that Medicare will go bankrupt in 7 years. From a \$135 billion surplus this year — if no changes are made — the trust fund that pays Medicare hospital expenses and is funded by the Medicare payroll tax, will be depleted and unable to pay benefits by 2000."

- "The trustees also cautioned that the Medicare program covering physician services — called Medicare Part B — is not financially stable. Over the past five years, this program has increased 40 percent per beneficiary. Every seven years, the amount of general taxpayer funds required to cover its growth rate doubles."

- "While many may debate how to best prevent Medicare insolvency, few have challenged the trustees' basic conclusion. Three of the trustees are members of President Clinton's Cabinet — the Secretaries of Treasury, Labor and HHS (Health and Human Services). Two are representatives of the public. The Commissioner of Social Security is a trustee as well."

- "Next year, Medicare's hospital trust fund will begin to spend more each year than it collects. If no changes are made in the current program, this growing gap will have to be made up by Federal income tax revenues — a

total of \$300 billion in additional Federal taxes by 2002 in order to make Part A actuarially sound for the next 25 years."

- "Why is Medicare spending more than it collects in revenue? Contrary to conventional wisdom, the increase in the number of elderly Americans has not been a major factor in increasing medical costs so far. The over 65 population has been growing by less than 3 percent annually since 1965. This number will grow, of course, when the Baby Boomer generation starts to retire."

- "One reason why Medicare is costing more is that Americans are living longer and using benefits longer. In 1935 when beneficiaries retired, on average, retirement benefits would be utilized for only 12.8 years — compared to an average of 17.5 years today."

- "A second reason why the gap between expenditures and available revenue will widen beginning in 1996 is that Medicare program costs are rapidly outpacing premium revenue to pay for them. For example, a couple retiring this year with one worker will collect, on average, \$126,700 more in Medicare benefits *beyond* what they have contributed during their working years."

- "A third reason why Medicare costs are outpacing program revenue is that it is a 30-year-old government program designed for the health care delivery system of 1965. It has not kept pace with the evolution of health care delivery and private health plans. It is designed for a system that no longer typifies American health care — one based on fee-for-service, that rewards volume not quality and prevention, and that provides incentives for inpatient hospitalization not routine physicals by a primary care physician. While the nature of American health care has evolved so dramatically from 30 years ago, Medicare has basically stayed the same."

Emotion and financial obligations sometimes create a poor mix. We need to remember facts as we discuss a "cure" for Medicare's disease.

BOSTON HERALD

6-24-95

Is it good-bye to Foster?

We don't think Dr. Henry Foster deserved to be labelled an "abortionist," and we don't think President Clinton had politics in mind in nominating him for surgeon general. But he shouldn't have been nominated, and we're glad the fight is finally over.

We'll never know what possessed the president to nominate an obstetrician on the heels of the departure of Dr. Joycelyn Elders. He should have chosen anything but — a dermatologist, a pediatrician, anything.

Any obstetrician was bound to drag the divisive abortion question into the political spotlight. The White House should have been prepared to deal with it.

It wasn't. Its fumbling and Foster's seemingly evasive answers over whether he had performed seven or 12 or whatever abortions — the final figure was 39 — was gasoline on the fire, and sealed Foster's fate. A frank admission of that number of abortions at the start, and explanation of why they had been done, probably would have won confirmation.

How can energizing the pro-life forces help Democrats? Holding a political lemon, Clinton has been trying to make lemonade.

Listen to him wail about the "chilling message" of the Senate vote. Nonsense. No pro-life advocate should take any comfort in the vote, and pro-choice advocates will not be chilled. The vote against Foster was a minority, not even close to a majority, and the nomination fell only because of the rule that two-fifths of the Senate can block action on anything.

Some have objected that filibusters shouldn't be mounted against presidential nominations. There's a good argument for that — the orderly continuity of the government requires reasonable speed in voting on nominations. But there's tremendous poetic justice in Foster's case, as Dole noted in listing the many Democratic senators who supported a filibuster against President Reagan's elevation of William H. Rehnquist to chief justice.

There's talk Foster will stick around to work against teenage pregnancy, an effort to

Smellon

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/10/98

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SE
7/10/95

IDEAS TO INCREASE JOBS AND INCENTIVES AND AIDS FOR THE
WORKING PEOPLE TO ACHIEVE A BETTER TOMORROW

1. Utilize the two remaining frontiers to create useful jobs, SPACE and UNDER WATER EXPLORATION. Many people mistakenly thought the space project created an expensive vehicle to ride in space...period. WRONG...many parallel industries benefitted i.e. the world of medicine changed with the ability to monitor cardiac sounds. Manufacturing gained...special protective clothing was developed etc. Large companies were needed to administer the plans, they gave sub contracts to local companies and large companies have greater ability to hire entry level workers and train them into better jobs. As a large facility hires in a community, jobs are created for the 'additions' to life, the beauty shop, the recreational activities, the Avon dealers etc.
2. Create more opportunity for training into entry level positions...utilize and encourage Private Industry to provide education.
 - a) Incentive for more employer paid education (college or technical) tax rebates etc.
 - b) Incentives for employers to work within their community, especially in the areas of high welfare and low income people to develop work skills.

(Examples of a facility now running a successful program to incorporate work skill training along with incentive to remain in school is St. Francis Medical Center in Lynwood)

- c) Continue funding retraining programs like P.I.C. to retrain good workers whose jobs have been displaced either through technology, politics or the economy.

✓ Create SENIOR CONSULTANT/PER DIEM NETWORK to help older, more experienced workers continue working. The law does not allow discrimination in hiring and firing practices but the reality is that insurance practices and benefit managers effectively eliminate the older workers. If seniors could at least obtain work at a rate appreciable to their experience, they could probably afford to pay for their own medical insurance. In any event it would be preferable to being unemployed.

- 4) Make those who obtain student loans more accountable to repay them. After two years of non payment, the account should be turned over to the IRS and treated as unpaid taxes.

5) Develop a VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATION, similiar to Kennedy's PEACE CORPS but more closely aligned with Clinton's plan for working off student loans with volunteer work. This plan would utilize volunteer work before payment. The person enrolled in this program would have a certain fixed amount of volunteer hours that would have to be completed (1,000 hours could equal one year's work and four year's work would be the sign up amount) After the completion of four year's volunteer work that person would be eligible for all the benefits that a veteran in the armed services would be eligible for after four year's enlistment i.e. G.I Bill for schooling, G.I. Bill for Home Loans, use of the V.A. Hospital, use of the veteran's cemetary. The difference would be that this volunteer work could be done in individual increments and a person could be holding down a full time job and work on their off times or a man/woman could be home raising a family and earning volunteer hours when they have spare time. High school students could do volunteer hours and earn part or all of their time before they began college. Individuals, corporations, celebrities etc. could be incuraged to donate money to help fund this plan. Indeed the volunteers could be encouraged to solicit sponsors who would match money for hours volunteered. The sponsors could have the donation tax deductible and the volunteer could earn additional hours by soliciting a sponsor. The program could be state managed.

The end result of this program is to encourage more people to be able to get an education...more people to buy their own home...more people to have medical care..more people to feel involved in providing the means for this success. People will feel that they have earned their benefits, not been given them in a demeaning manner. And large areas of the country will receive aid in a multitude of needy situations ranging from assisting children with A.I.D.S., handicap assistance, teaching English to immagrants who need help, feeding the hungry and shut ins to helping preserve our countryside and clean up our enviroment.

6) Provide an incentive to families to send their children or themselves to college by providing a tax deduction. The amount could be limited by gross income. Stop taxing the employer assisted education reimbursements.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR HAS SEEN
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY 7/10/95

June 12

To: The President
H: KBR

95 JUN 12 P5:02

Use data you may want to
use!

Bob

cc: Brown
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Lyon.

Be

WORKING FOR AMERICA'S WORKFORCE

LIFELONG LEARNING PAYS OFF: A SURVEY OF RECENT RESEARCH

- 85 JUN 12 1995
- "School-to-work"-type programs improve student outcomes. Partnership Academies, which combine high-school education with career-focused training and work experience, have reduced dropout rates among program participants.¹ Even more definite results are available for programs targeted at high-school dropouts, such as the highly successful Center for Employment Training in San Jose.
 - Training of experienced workers has strong economic effects. One recent study concluded that each year of education provided through a Pennsylvania program for displaced workers increased earnings by some 7 percent.² And a recent study of the Job Training Partnership Act found that participation increased the earnings of adult males by 10 percent and the earnings of adult female participants by 15 percent. These earnings gains were one and a half times as large as the costs invested to produce them.³
 - Firm-provided training has positive economic impacts for participants and employers. For workers, a year of training raises wages by about as much as a year of college education.⁴ There is also evidence that firm-provided training leads to productivity gains. A survey of small manufacturing firms in Michigan that received training grants from the state government found that the additional training provided by manufacturing firms significantly raised productivity.⁵ Another study of formal training programs in manufacturing firms found that firms that introduced training in 1983 had productivity growth that was 19 percent faster, on average, than at other firms.⁶

-
- 1 Hayward, Becky, and G. Tallmadge, *Evaluation of Dropout Prevention and Reentry Projects in Vocational Education*, draft final report, Research Triangle Institute, November 1993; and Stern, David, et al., "Benefits and Costs of Dropout Prevention in a Program Combining Academic and Vocational Education: Third-Year Results from Replications of the California Peninsula Academies," *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 1989.
 - 2 Jacobson, Louis, Robert Lalonde, and Daniel G. Sullivan, *The Returns to Classroom Training for Dislocated Workers*, unpublished manuscript, September 1994.
 - 3 Bloom, Howard S., et al., *The National JTPA Study: Overview of Impact, Benefits, and Costs of Title II-A*, Abt Associates, February 1994.
 - 4 Lynch, Lisa, Private Sector Training and the Earnings of Young Workers, *American Economic Review*, Vol. 82, No. 1, 1992.
 - 5 Holzer, Harry et al., "Are Training Subsidies for Firms Effective? The Michigan Experience," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, November 1993.
 - 6 Bartel, Anne, "Productivity Gains from the Implementation of Employee Training Programs," *Industrial Relations*, forthcoming.

- New evidence emphasizes that education and training are important determinants of the speed at which the economy as a whole grows. A large body of literature has shown that countries with the highest levels of education typically grow the fastest.⁷ Even within countries, states and regions with better-educated labor forces grow more rapidly.⁸ A well-educated workforce can raise the productivity of R&D (for example, because new innovations are implemented more quickly), generating the technological improvements that are a crucial ingredient in long-term growth.

7

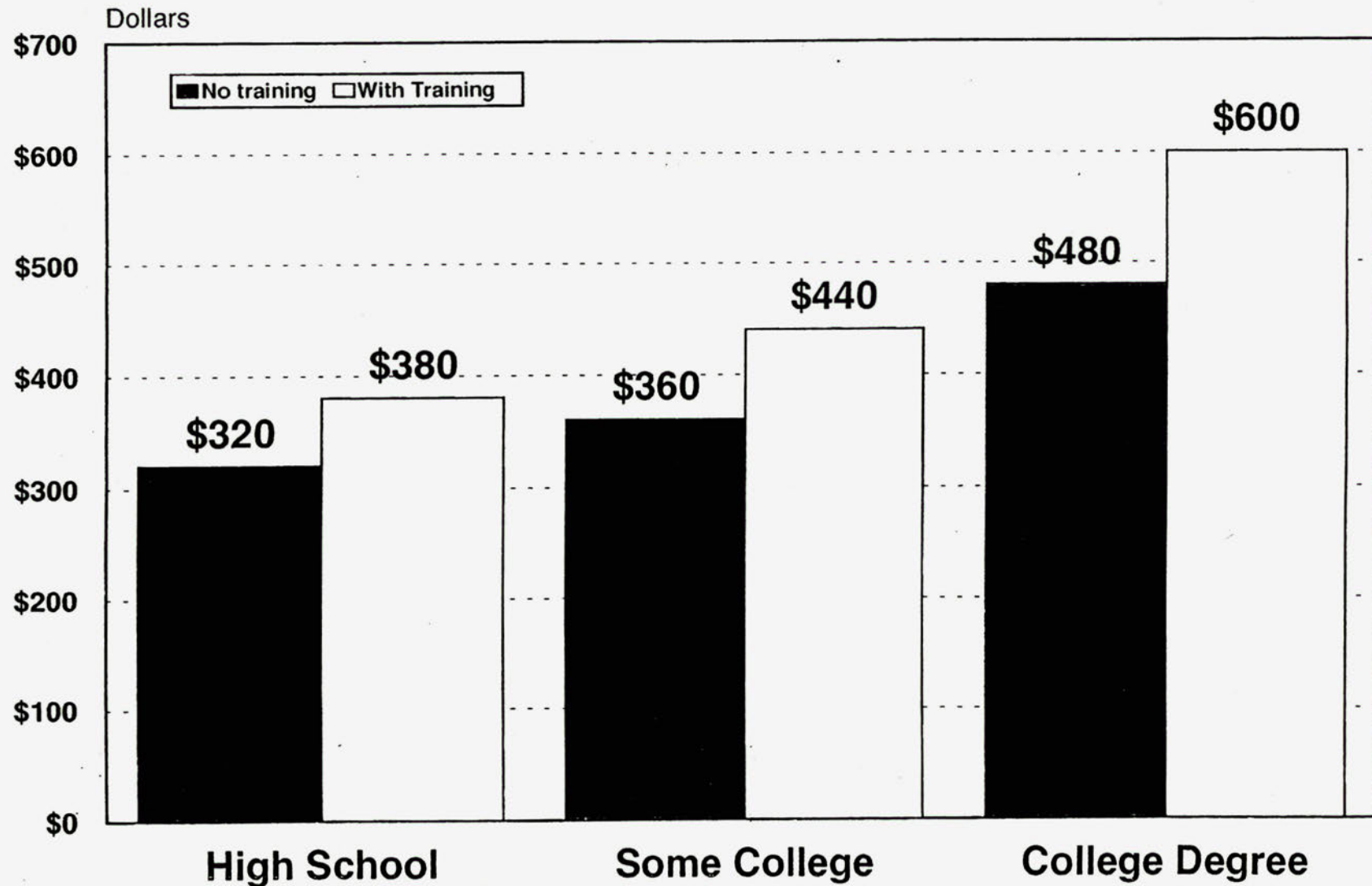
See, for example, Barro, Robert J., "Economic Growth in a Cross Section of Countries," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Volume 106, May 1991; and Mankiw, N. Gregory, David Romer and David Weil, A Contribution to the Empirics of Economic Growth, "Quarterly Journal of Economics", Volume 107, May 1992.

8

Holtz-Eakin, Douglas, "Solow and the States: Capital Accumulation, Productivity, and Economic Growth," *National Tax Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 4, 1993.

Job Training Pays Off

Median weekly earnings of young workers by educational attainment and training received: 1991



Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. Median weekly earnings of workers aged 25 to 34, in 1991, by training received between 1986 and 1991.

McCurry/Gelatin
GS/ (check) Scott

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/10/95

WORKING DRAFT

June 1, 1995

we need to study these [3] (high level)
#5(1+2) — the kind of thing we need to
do this could be better —

TALKING BACK ADVISORY #3

Speaking of Oklahoma City

Challenging the anti-government, libertarian right world view

Talking Back Advisories are a service to the public interest community. The advisories are a feature of THE CERTAIN TRUMPET PROGRAM, a joint venture of the Advocacy Institute, The Benton Foundation, the Berkeley Media Studies Group, and the Marin Institute. This program seeks to build the media advocacy capacity of progressive groups to challenge effectively the rhetoric of the right, especially the libertarian anti-government right. A fuller description of the program and the role of these advisories is attached.

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Talking About Talking Back Advisories

SUMMARY

George Will was right when he called it "contemptible" to play politics with the disaster in Oklahoma City. But this does not mean that the events in Oklahoma City were merely random, devoid of historic context, precedent or meaning. They didn't just "happen." They will be remembered for what it "means" to people. That collective meaning begins to emerge through media commentary and public opinion polling. We attempt in the following pages to describe this public interpretation of the events and their symbolic and emotive meaning for many Americans.

In particular, we believe that people retain powerful and deeply embedded images of Oklahoma City and of America's communal response to the bombing. These images counter various strategies of the anti-government libertarian right, including anti-government rhetoric, the demonization of government and its workers, and extreme libertarian policy initiatives.

These images also recall for many Americans their deeply held convictions about the ideal of America as a mutually supportive, caring community — not a nation simply of atomized, competing individuals.

Therefore, it is both possible and appropriate for policy advocates on issues ranging from children to the environment to evoke images of the bombing victims and of the rescue, repair, and law enforcement efforts. These images support three affirmative (and interrelated) lessons:

- 1) Government, including the federal government, does essential things for us, and does them well.**
- 2) Government, including the federal government, is not separate from the community; government is us.**
- 3) At its best, America remains a caring community**

Polls make clear that most Americans do not believe that anti-government rhetoric caused or triggered the bombing. But the bombing does seem to have resonated with growing public concerns over speech which demonizes and dehumanizes both government officials and political opponents.

So the images of the bombing may also be invoked to support the following lesson:

- 4) Hate speech must be shunned and challenged by all who care about a democratic, civil society.**

USING THIS ADVISORY

This advisory is designed to enable citizen group spokespersons to speak of the Oklahoma bombing responsibly and effectively in challenging both the broad vision and the narrow policy initiatives of the anti-government libertarian right.

It draws upon multiple sources of insight, including informal discussions with public opinion researchers, media advocacy consultants, and salient published comment — both progressive and conservative.



The advisory is long, but it's structured to encourage browsing, and need not be read from front to back. The quotes and rhetorical suggestions overlap in places, but were included so that users could use or adapt those that fit best their own styles of discourse.



Frame

Each section begins by highlighting an anti-government libertarian frame ("Framing" is the way in which policy advocates seek to characterize public issues) — and a progressive counter-frame which draws strength from the imbedded images of Oklahoma City.

Clear voices

What follows is a brief discussion drawing upon strong quotes from both progressive and conservative commentators which clarify the counter-libertarian frame. These quotes should prove useful for use or adaptation by advocates in speeches or debate.

Speaking of Oklahoma City

Each section concludes with a discussion of appropriate messages which utilize the lessons. Included are sample "responsive chord" questions, both general and issue specific, designed to evoke effectively the embedded images of Oklahoma City.

These questions are identified by the icon: 

For more about framing and responsive chord questions, and the Talking Back Advisories generally, see the Appendix: Talking About Talking Back Advisories.

SECTION ONE: Government, including the federal government, does essential things for us, and does them well.

The Libertarian Frame:

Government is the problem. Government leeches the resources and spirit of the people; wastes our taxes; burdens us with bureaucracy, paperwork, delay, and inefficiency.

The Progressive Frame:

Government is part of the solution. Government not only provides essential services, it provides the infrastructure that enables the community to come together in mutual support.

Clear Voices:

The events in Oklahoma City illuminated the essential role of government in two distinct and powerful ways which support the progressive frame:

First, as the nation's people mourned, they also reflected on the ways in which the victims in the Murrah Building had served their fellow citizens:

Those innocent victims for whom the nation grieves in prayer sessions and mourns by lowering flags everywhere are people who process our old age and veterans benefit checks, who sort out our housing claims, who protect us from violence. They are the people who serve us. People whom we expect to catch the criminals, rescue, and treat the wounded, repair the wreckage and restore domestic tranquillity after a disaster strikes.

Haynes Johnson
Washington Post, 4/23/95

And it was George Bush who most effectively drew the connection between the virulent anti-government rhetoric of the extremist libertarian NRA and the essential service of the government servants who perished in Oklahoma City:

[To the NRA] Your broadside against federal agents deeply offends my own sense of decency and honor; and it offends my concept of service to country...It indirectly slurs a wide array of government officials, who are out there, day and night, laying their lives on the line for all of us.

June 1, 1995

[Of bombing victim Secret Service Agent Al Whicher] He was no Nazi. He was a kind man, a loving parent, a man dedicated to serving his country - and serve it well he did.

George Bush, letter to the NRA,
published in *The New York Times*, 5/11/95

Second, as the nation watched the response to the bombing, it viewed government in effective action, puncturing the libertarian caricature of government:

Americans have felt...great pride in the policemen and firemen who assisted in the rescue efforts, and admiration for the remarkable skill of the law-enforcement agencies in tracking the suspects. It has reminded us that government is not always "the problem," but can be a literal lifesaver in time of need.

David Broder
Washington Post, 4/25/95

Speaking of Oklahoma City:

Much of the libertarian right's policy agenda is grounded in argument and rhetoric challenging the ability of government — especially the federal government — to carry out the tasks assigned to it responsibly and efficiently. In defending the government's role generally, and in particular program areas, it may be useful to evoke the public's embedded images of responsive and efficient government in Oklahoma City.

The above quotes can be used in speeches or debates. They are best when they evoke specific, concrete images. Conservative voices, like George Bush's, are particularly credible in challenging conservative critics. In addition, it may be useful to challenge critics by crafting rhetorical responsive chord questions which evoke positive images of Oklahoma City, such as:

- ◇ Government can't be trusted to do anything right? How would the skilled rescue teams in Oklahoma have been mobilized without government? Where would the bomb experts, building safety engineers, emergency trauma field stations, law enforcement experts, victims' counselors, survivors' social security checks have come from if public servants weren't there to plan, organize, and respond to disaster?
- ◇ What would have happened following the bomb if there had been no city, state, and national mobilization of rescue teams, emergency services, criminal investigation, disaster relief? Sure, there would have been volunteers. But who

would have organized the complex rescue efforts? Who would have helped the helpers?

In defending specific program areas, it may be useful to begin by evoking Oklahoma City; then move to programs under attack, e.g.:

- ◇ Who are these "government bureaucrats" who sit on their tails and do nothing useful for us? The emergency rescue teams flown into Oklahoma City? The FBI agents who arrested McVeigh within 48 hours? The Federal Injury Control Experts from the Centers for Disease Control, who guided the rescue teams? The Social Security and Medicare and Medicaid workers who made sure the survivors got their benefits quickly, without red tape?

[Adding]:

And are the workers who process Medicare claims at 1/8 the cost of private health insurance companies any less efficient? [Fact check needed]

or

And are the law enforcement officials who investigate and prosecute securities frauds, or toxic waste spills, or unsafe and ineffective drugs any less dedicated or efficient — or essential?

SECTION TWO: Government is us.

The Libertarian Frame:

Government, especially the federal government, is separate and alien to the real America: the individual, the family, the community. Government is "them" doing bad things to "us."

The Progressive Frame:

Government and government workers are an integral part of the American community. They are our friends and neighbors; they are all of us together choosing to provide public goods.

Clear Voices:

Much of the political force of the libertarian Contract with America has been drawn from the successful demonizing of government bureaucrats and government-loving liberals — especially those in Washington.

In addition to reminding Americans of the essential nature of the services government performs, the events in Oklahoma City also reminded Americans that government workers are very much like themselves, and very much part of their communities.

They are us, part of the common American community, working men and women with families, who provide for their children in child care centers...

Haynes Johnson.
Washington Post, 4/23/95

The public employee's union, AFSCME, in an advertisement taken several weeks after the bombing, effectively combined the messages that government workers both help us and are part of us:

Friends, Neighbors, Little league coaches and Sunday school teachers. Children, parents, aunts, and uncles. Public employees. That's who died in the Oklahoma City tragedy.

And that's who came to the victims' aid — other public employees. 911 operators. Special disaster teams. Crowd control experts. Search and rescue units, Counselors. Police, fire and medical staffs. And those working day and night to apprehend the terrorists who committed this vile act.

June 1, 1995

Public servants, ordinary citizens, heroes all, responding to the call of duty.

AFSCME advertisement
New York Times, 4/27/95

And Ellen Goodman directly challenged the rhetoric which dehumanizes government workers:

For more than a year, the drumbeat of anti-government rhetoric banged out its monotone rage at faceless bureaucrats—the government—with its hands in our pockets. But as bodies were brought out of the Alfred P. Murrah Building, the drumbeat became a sad roll call of mothers, fathers, wives, husbands, parents, neighbors. And worst of all, the children.

Ellen Goodman
Boston Globe, 4/25/95

Speaking of Oklahoma City:

In attacking government programs and regulations, the libertarian right seeks to characterize government, especially the government "in Washington" as alien, out-of-touch with "normal Americans," bloodless.

The language of the AFSCME ad illustrates the common humanity of both the victims and rescuers in Oklahoma City, contrasting caricature with reality, thereby helping to break down the perceived distance between government workers and the community they serve.

Here are sample responsive chord questions that do the same:

- ◇ Does it help us as a country to divide Americans into Us and Them?
- ◇ Are the only good Americans those who work for themselves or for private business and not those who work for public schools, public hospitals, law enforcement, consumer and environmental protection?
- ◇ Private doctors and nurses and public health service doctors and nurses worked through the nights at the trauma centers in Oklahoma City. Were the private doctors and nurses good citizens, but the public doctors and nurses "government bureaucrats?"

SECTION THREE: At its best, America is a caring community.

The Libertarian Frame:

Children, families, and communities are better off with less government support, and greater reliance upon individual resources and initiative.

The Progressive Frame:

America at its best is a caring community, and we choose to develop responsive government programs, as well as volunteerism, to sustain our mutual obligations to our children, families, and communities.

Clear Voices:

Again, the images of both the victims of the Oklahoma City bombing — especially the children killed and orphaned — and those who came to their assistance evoke, in David Broder's words, "an instinctive focus on children, family, and community" (*Washington Post*, 4/27/95).

From now on, those who speak of this generation's obligations to nurture, care for and educate its children...will likely find that their message resonates.

"Family values" have been a conservative trademark in recent years, but this tragedy puts "family" into a different context, emphasizing not the separateness and autonomy of each set of parents but rather our mutual obligations.

David Broder
Washington Post, 4/27/95

Daniel Yankelovich, one of the nation's leading experts in understanding the public mind, observes that the American public deeply yearns for the restoration of a sense of community, of mutual caring, and mutual support: "Americans like to think of themselves as a caring community."

While libertarian rhetoric may well appeal to people who take their community responsibilities seriously, the rhetoric and policy solutions emanating from libertarian advocates invariably attack public institutions and programs designed to support children, family, and community, in favor of the pursuit of individual self-interest in the marketplace. [Much so-called "regulatory reform," for example, would strip families and children of important health, safety, and environmental protections.]

The libertarian message breaks down the interdependence of government and individual, the base of the beneficent community. The libertarian counter-punch is that the private is always at risk from the public.

The vivid contrast between the solitary acts of the bombers and the community response led several commentators to draw sharp contrast between the libertarian and the progressive vision:

In America today, a spirit of implacable resentment, of revenge-seeking and unbounded selfishness prevails in a national discourse that once was the envy of the rest of mankind. The emphasis in that discourse has shifted from building a common society protecting all Americans to protecting what is "mine" from others, defining "mine" as one pleases.

David Broder
Washington Post, 4/27/95

The fantasy of separateness...allowed human beings to park a truck in front of Elijah and Aaron's day care and leave it to explode.

Donna Britt
Washington Post, 4/25/95

No disaster is worth the shared sense of community that comes in its wake. But it does come.

It takes hundreds of people to construct an office building and only a couple to blow it up. It takes thousands of people to create a sense of community, and only a handful to destroy it. The easiest thing in the world to make is noise.

Ellen Goodman
Boston Globe, 4/25/95

[T]he most stirring ovation at Oklahoma City's memorial service was...for two emergency service workers and a search-and-rescue dog as they walked down the aisle to their seats. In some sense...this bombing made human those demonized as anonymous bureaucrats...

This is a pivotal moment. The honor paid those emergency service workers by their Oklahoma City neighbors suggests a social ethic of solidarity profoundly at odds with the dehumanizing anger of the right.

Editorial
The Nation, 5/15/95

Speaking of Oklahoma City:

Most of us harbor, at one and the same time, inconsistent and conflicting beliefs and feelings. Robert Reich observes that, throughout our history, Americans have held a

vision of America as a uniquely "benevolent community" simultaneously with a vision of America as uniquely benefiting from the strivings of the "triumphant individual."

Libertarian rhetoric seeks to resonate with the vision of individualism in attacking both government support for those in need and government regulation of the marketplace. Progressives can now evoke Oklahoma City images to resonate with the "benevolent community's" need for government support structures and regulation — the means for implementing our mutual obligations.

Several of the above quotes reinforce people's understanding that the pursuit of individual self-interest does not make for community and indeed must be restrained for the benefit of community. The following responsive chord questions seek to do the same:

- ◇ The free market is great at stimulating the production of consumer products and services — to those who can afford them. But how good would the free market have been in saving the trapped victims? Organizing the rescue and support efforts in Oklahoma City?
- ◇ Should the injured children or survivors have been separated out on the basis of who could pay for emergency health services? School breakfasts? The opportunity for higher education?
- ◇ Is it the promise of low taxes, or freedom from regulation, that can make America great again? Or is it rather the instinctive American response to the tragedy and need of others, as in the outpouring of help in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing?
- ◇ Who are the American patriots? Those who take it on themselves to drill with assault weapons and preach hatred of others and of their own government? Or those who reach out to rescue the trapped and injured, provide care, relieve the afflicted, secure our public safety?
- ◇ America's children, including some of those who died or survived in Oklahoma City, are sustained by government subsidized day-care, fed by government-supported school breakfasts and lunches, given healthy birth through the pre-natal support of the federal Medicaid and Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) programs, and have access where there was no access through special education programs for disabled children.
- ◇ Is this a threat to our economic freedom? Or an investment in the future economic freedom of well supported children? Are children, and the programs that support them, the "waste, fraud, and abuse" that our government should eliminate?

SECTION FOUR: Challenging Hate Speech.

Frame:

Let us be clear about what we mean by "hate speech"—and what we don't:

Hate speech is **not** vigorous political rhetoric:

- expressing outrage at the failure of government policies and programs, or calling passionately for less government;
- criticizing the performance or character of government officials;
- challenging political ideas as unworkable, immoral, foolish, whether on the right or left.

What most Americans instinctively recoil from — and associate with the Oklahoma City bombings, the actual violence of extreme anti-gun control, anti abortion, and anti-environmentalist militants — are:

- The preaching of blind hatred — not of ideas — but of fellow citizens who believe differently — the President, government regulators and law enforcement officials, liberals, environmentalists, feminists, public interest advocates, immigrants, people in poverty, people of color, gays, lesbians;
- The dehumanizing and demonizing labeling of political opponents as un-American, treasonous, alien, peculiar, subversive, "enemies," "health nazis," "jack-booted storm troopers;"
- The promotion of paranoid fantasies about government "tyranny," — that government is no longer subject to electoral or constitutional constraints.

Clear Voices:

For progressive advocates seeking to promote or defend government programs or regulations, the concern is not so much with the rantings of rabid talk show hosts or militia leaders as whether, in E.J. Dionne's words, "mainstream politicians...have stood silently as such attitudes took hold, whether they exploited them and whether, at times, they may even have encouraged them."

[W]hen an event this awful discloses a previously unnoticed level of hatred in the body politic, politicians need to examine their consciences and ask whether their approach to winning battles may be aggravating dark passions.

June 1, 1995

The ultra-right paramilitary groups are motivated by a very basic and very wrong idea: that the democratically elected government of the United States is in fact a "tyranny." ...

Where does the idea that our government is a tyranny come from? ...[W]here does the idea that the government is about to confiscate all the guns come from?...

[O]pponents reach immediately for the most inflammatory rhetoric designed to spread fear that basic American liberties are in danger.

E.J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post, 4/26/95

Such concerns are less easy for conservatives to dismiss when they are voiced by conservatives themselves:

Nothing is wrong with denouncing apostles of hatred, and we are well served by calling for a lowering of voices; incitement to violence is not protected free speech.

William Safire
New York Times, 4/27/95.

Sweeping denunciation of government in a democracy where, after all, the people ultimately rule isn't a healthy thing.

William Kristol, conservative leader and spokesman
quoted in *The New York Times*, 4/27/95

[I]t should be obvious how dangerous it is to use language that tries to drive elected representatives outside the borders of politics.

Unless for the sake of civilized communities we acknowledge some such moral constraints on our political grievances, then we are all justified as vigilantes at any moment of our own choosing.

Editorial
Wall Street Journal, 4/26/95

Not necessarily himself a conservative, but writing for a conservative journal, Gerald Seib wrote:

Many on the political right...deny that the harsh terms in which they have framed the debate over these issues have inflamed the worst instincts of the most frustrated. Yet today it is clearer that, when there's talk of revolution and overthrow, and when government is described as a sinister threat, some Americans don't hear metaphorically. Worse, the tendency in recent years of

June 1, 1995

those on the right to portray those who disagree with them as not only wrong but also evil and even godless encourages overreaction.

Gerald Seib
Wall Street Journal, 4/26/95

Calling upon others to avoid hate speech is not eroding the first amendment or embracing censorship. It is calling upon ourselves and others to enter — not evade — serious political engagement.

We cherish freedom of speech. But we can defend that freedom and still hold accountable leaders who play on fear and hatred. Words matter...

Rush Limbaugh thinks it is cute to refer to people with whose views he disagrees as "feminazis." In a climate of calculated hate for the Other, how can we expect to have the civil discourse that is the mechanism of Madisonian democracy?

Anthony Lewis
New York Times, 4/25/95

A central theme of libertarians is distrust of government officials and programs — a sentiment shared to some degree by critics on the left as well as the right. Criticism of government becomes hate speech only when criticism of government becomes transformed into the demonizing of government:

[Martin Luther] King preached a message of love and reconciliation. The right preaches obsessive slogans of hatred and contempt for "them" — the liberals, the secular humanists, the "tinhorn bureaucrats" who work in federal buildings... Only in the United States do self-described "conservatives" routinely vilify their own government proudly using the language of rebels and traitors... American conservatives are not conservatives at all... that is, defenders of national unity and tradition under the protection of a legitimately strong, lawful state.

Like the Founding Fathers, Lincoln believed that the institutions, though not the personnel, of the federal government had to be venerated, if the country was to survive. He warned of those who have "ever regarded government as their deadliest bane."

Michael Lind
Washington Post, 4/30/95

We will lose...through self destruction, if we continue attacking our government, depreciating the people in it, and diminishing our public institutions. Those devastating scenes we've been experiencing ought to teach a lesson about real national strengths and weaknesses - and remind us, and the world, that outside enemies are not Americans greatest problem. They are within, and with Americans so obsessed by hate that they commit violent acts against the rest of us.

Haynes Johnson
Washington Post, 4/23/95

Americans generally share these views. A *Los Angeles Times* poll, taken shortly after the bombing, showed that two-thirds of those polled agreed with President Clinton's attack on hate speech.

Moreover, Daniel Yankelovich reports that in a recent poll, the great majority of Americans, unsurprisingly, expressed strong feelings about the perceived decline in public morality. What was perhaps surprising was that the concrete illustration of such decline was the lack of respect shown to others who may differ with us.

Speaking of Oklahoma City:

Heated rhetoric which accuses political opponents of causing or contributing to the bombing will be neither fair nor effective. (Polls show few Americans willing to hold conservatives in any way responsible — 20% in the Times-Mirror poll.)

But progressive language can resonate with concerns about extremism and violence. It can challenge conservative opponents to debate issues rather than engaging in *ad hominum* attacks or blanket condemnations of government. And they can do so and avoid accusations of partisan exploitation of Oklahoma City by using the above quotes from conservatives themselves.

Molly Ivins also nicely frames the issue of hate talk versus substantive debate. Advocates can quote or paraphrase here:

Listen to the people who are talking about how to fix what's wrong, not the ones who work themselves into a snit over the problems. Listen to the people who have ideas about how to fix things, not the ones who just blame others.

Molly Ivins,
Fort Worth Star-Telegram, 4/25/95

[Ivins adds, "Hate speech is fertilizer for bombs." That's a powerful bite. Some advocates may feel comfortable taking that further rhetorical step; others not.]

In addition, here are sample responsive chord questions which may also prove useful:

- ◇ Will this be a better country if we call those who disagree with us, "enemies?" "abnormal?" "Thugs?" If we take historic beliefs which have been honorable elements of American political life, and turn them into labels for hate and venom?
- ◇ Honest and vigorous differences are the glory of American public life. But treating those who differ as "Un-American," making them objects of hatred is the gutter of American politics.

- ◇? Treating those who disagree with you as enemies of America may have short term political benefits, but it has great and terrible costs!
- ◇? Thirty percent of Americans—60,000,000 citizens—call themselves "liberal," which means that they believe that decent and responsive government can be part of the solution. Are liberals really enemies of normal Americans? Do they deserve to be targeted as objects of hate and derision?
- ◇? Are we really better off as a country preaching hatred of the President and anyone else who believes that government can be part of the solution?

SAMPLE RHETORIC

One rhetorical method to raise the lessons of Oklahoma City in relation to a particular issue arena is to posit a series of contrasts between those lessons and the message of a libertarian opponent. Following is an example of such rhetoric, challenging the NRA. But it could equally have been applied to the violence-prone, anti-environment Wise Use Movement, and other extreme libertarian groups:

The images of Oklahoma City, especially the powerful images of the rescue and mutual support evoke the portrait of the caring, civil society Americans like to think of as the best that is America.

The NRA, by contrast, has come to serve as the symbol of the atomistic, armed society.

Oklahoma City showed us Americans as community.

The NRA offers us an America of solitary gun owners, holding dark forces at bay.

Oklahoma City stands as a vision of people reaching out to support each other.

The NRA elevates the gun as a lonely defense against a hostile world. "The armed society," sneers the NRA, "is the polite society."

Oklahoma City calls to mind those among us who care.

The NRA conjures up the image of those among us who hate.

The NRA has shown us the way of the gun—if not the bomb—that more violence must be the only response to the threat of violence.

Oklahoma City showed us the way of the civil society, reaching out to prevent future violence in the name of public health and safety and the common good.

Intended or not, the NRA's message is seen to resonate with the hater, the racist, the paranoid, the lawless, among us.

By contrast, the message of Oklahoma City is the residual strength of the decent, the responsive, the peaceful community under law.

APPENDIX: Talking About Talking Back Advisories

If we communicate our vision and politics effectively, we will survive and prosper as a party and as a political movement. But if we forget the future and surrender our language ... our reign will be short indeed.

Frank Luntz, pollster and strategist for the House Republican Conference

What Are Talking Back Advisories?

Talking Back Advisories are designed to help progressive citizen groups more effectively challenge the rhetoric of the right, especially the libertarian/anti-government/radical individualist right. They are a feature of THE CERTAIN TRUMPET PROGRAM which is a partnership of the Advocacy Institute, the Benton Foundation, the Berkeley Media Studies Group and the Marin Institute.

From time to time, as salient issues arise, we'll distribute Talking Back Advisories with analysis of the rhetoric, symbols and arguments surrounding these issues. We'll try to break through the clutter to provide helpful insight as to how these issues are being talked about and how they could be talked about to strategically influence broader policy debate. We'll examine how issues are covered in the press, how they're framed by the right as well as the left, and how they're being heard by the public.

Talking Back Advisories are distributed free of charge to any progressive groups trying to talk back to the right. Copying and redistributing Advisories is not only allowed but encouraged; our interest is only in seeing that they are distributed as widely as possible.

Why Are They Needed?

Primarily because of a lack of resources, progressive groups often find themselves at a disadvantage when confronting the media strategies of their better-funded opposition. Even friendly critics of progressive media strategies have said, with some justification, that progressives:

- although well-intentioned, often spend a great deal of their limited resources talking to each other, rather than talking in a way that will produce change;
- often lack the information about what the public is thinking or how the public is reacting to various arguments and strategies; and
- often allow issues to be framed by their opponents and neglect to seize the language and symbols that could be used to align with core American values and a broader public instead of relying on a relatively narrow core of supporters.

What Is Media Advocacy?

Because Talking Back Advisories are produced primarily for advocates of social change, they are written from a media advocacy perspective. Media advocacy is a movement-building, strategic approach to using mass media to generate pressure for changes in public policy. Media advocacy is generally focused on influencing free, news media instead of relying on paid or public service advertising.

Unlike traditional public interest media strategies that often focus on changing individual behavior, media advocacy focuses on using media to change the public policy environment within which individuals make behavioral decisions.

So, for example, while traditional social marketing uses media to try to convince people to not drink and drive or to not keep a gun in their home, media advocates use media to change policies that will lessen these risks or to expose corporate influences that actually encourage such risks.

A principal component of media advocacy is "framing," or how issues are shaped in the mass media. Mass media tend to frame public interest stories from a personal or individual perspective often obscuring any links to public policy solutions. Media advocates try to frame stories from a public policy perspective. We hope you find Talking Back Advisories to be helpful in framing your issues.

What Are Responsive Chord Questions?

Using media to strike "responsive chords" is the rhetorical form developed and named by media strategist Tony Schwartz (and favored by Schwartz's admirer Frank Luntz, pollster and language advisor to Newt Gingrich).

Responsive chord questions are designed to evoke images and emotions in the listener or reader which lie ready to be awakened.

One of the most famous responsive chord arguments was in a commercial produced by Schwartz for Lyndon Johnson's 1964 presidential campaign. The "Daisy" spot featured a little girl counting as she pulled petals off a daisy. When she reached "nine," her voice was replaced with a countdown followed by a nuclear explosion. As the bomb cloud filled the screen, a quote from a Johnson speech is heard. Johnson's opponent, Barry Goldwater was never mentioned, yet the commercial evoked voters' existing fears of Goldwater as war-mongering and reckless.

By tapping into the existing beliefs and values of the audience, a responsive chord questioner actually invites the audience to participate in the construction of the argument.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1995

Leon:

FYI. Judging from the Presidential comments I've seen during the past two years on this subject, I think we could be in for some serious unhappiness if the Administration took a position contrary to the House bill without having it explicitly cleared by the President.

If you want details on this, let me know.


Todd

IN THE LOOP

Texas Run May Be Next for Energy Deputy

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

Deputy Energy Secretary William H. White has told White House aides that he's going back home to Texas next month to pursue private business opportunities and spend more time with his family.

That's what they all say. But since mid-June, Texas newspapers have been speculating that White, who raised more than \$2 million for Clinton's last campaign, would return to join a crowded field in the race for state Democratic Party chairman. The current occupant, longtime chief Bob Slagle, set off the scramble last month when he said he would not seek reelection.

At the Energy Department, White has taken on some of the agency's biggest problems—straightening out how it contracts for everything from nuclear waste to cafeterias and leading the team that crafted a downsizing plan that DOE officials hope will help thwart the Republican drive to dismantle the place.

White, a wealthy Houston lawyer, has declined to talk about his precise plans, but a source said enigmatically that White also wants to "contribute more to the civic life of his home state." Doesn't take a genius to read between those lines.

Meanwhile, back at the Forrestal Building, Undersecretary Charles B. Curtis is to become acting deputy secretary.

White House Aide Goes Home—Again

■ Talk about spin. White House press secretary Michael McCurry last week was in Abbeville, S.C., where he starred at Mike McCurry Appreciation Day—a Democratic fund-raiser disguised as a tribute to McCurry—and promptly claimed the city as his real home town.

This move follows in the fabled footsteps of former president George Bush, who claimed as a home town any of the various cities he lived in, vacationed in, claimed voting residence in or more than passed through.

McCurry touted Abbeville's virtues and was called "the favorite hometown son made good" by local party officials quoted in South Carolina papers under the headline, "President's press secretary makes a patriotic return to his home town."

McCurry, as he noted last month when the president was visiting California, is actually a native Californian and grew up there. But he spent summers with his grandparents in Abbeville. And the Clinton team needs all the home towns it can claim. Particularly in the South.

Smuggled Chinese Don't Make Hearing

■ It was to have been a dramatic hearing the other day before Rep. Christopher H. Smith's House subcommittee on international operations and human rights. The staunchly antiabortion New Jersey Republican planned to hear testimony June 22 from people who were on the Golden Venture, the

smuggling ship that ran aground on Long Island in June 1993 with 300 Chinese illegal aliens aboard.

The idea was to denounce China's forced sterilization and abortion policies—and the administration's refusal to grant asylum based on opposition to those policies. Two of 13 women detained in Bakersfield and two of the men held in Virginia and Pennsylvania were to tell their stories. This, Smith's folks felt, would be much more dramatic than hearing boring experts testify.

There was some tussling with the Immigration and Naturalization Service over the cost of transporting people and some legal procedures, but everything seemed set.

Then, on the eve of the hearing, the Justice Department came in with a teensy request: The hearing had to be closed and no press. The problem, acting Assistant Attorney General Kent Markus said in a letter, was the Chinese were going to be deported and having them testify in public would give them "an opportunity to establish new grounds" for asylum. They could simply say they feared prosecution in China for publicly opposing the regime, Markus said. Smith's folks, shouting double-cross, were furious.

The hearing went on without the Chinese, but this brouhaha is far from over. The subcommittee has voted to subpoena the Chinese to testify.

Meanwhile, the House has approved legislation to allow Chinese to claim asylum based on the sterilization and abortion claim and an identical Senate version is headed to the floor—and a possible Clinton veto.

Changing Places at Treasury

■ Musical chairs at Treasury. Should Undersecretary for International Affairs Lawrence H. Summers be confirmed as deputy secretary, and should Jeffrey R. Shafer, now assistant secretary for international affairs, replace Summers as undersecretary, then it looks like David Lipton, deputy assistant secretary for Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, moves up to replace Shafer.

More Comings and Goings

■ Jeff Blattner, longtime chief counsel to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) on the Senate Judiciary Committee, is leaving to become a vice president for issues and legislation at Common Cause. Blattner, who worked on fair housing, civil rights and religious freedom legislation, also will be teaching as an adjunct professor at Georgetown University law school.

Ann M. Harkins, former chief counsel at the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on technology and the law and more recently at a public relations firm, is moving to the Justice Department to be a deputy assistant attorney general in the legislative shop.

At the Pentagon, longtime Africa hand Vincent D. Kern II, who has been director of the Africa office, is moving up to be deputy assistant secretary of defense for African affairs, one of the few career civil servants at Defense in the deputy assistant secretary ranks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ANN FLEISCHMAN

FROM: CAROL CLEVELAND *Carol*
Office of the Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: Television for Phil Caplan

We would like to request a television for Phil Caplan's office in the West Wing. Phil has just recently been named the Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Staff Secretary. Please let me know if additional paperwork is required. Thank you.