#### THE WHITE HOUSE

#### WASHINGTON

### AGENDA FOR DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL MEETING

June 10, 1993 Roosevelt Room 10:00 - 11:30 a.m.

10:00 a.m. - 10: 10 a.m.

I. Opening Remarks

President Clinton

10:10 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.

II. Legislative and Program Updates

A. HHS

Secretary Shalala

- Head Start reform

B. EPA

Administrator

- Pesticide legislation WHIP-collaboration

Browner

C. Transportation

Secretary Pena

- Relationship of transportation to health care issues
  - Possible changes in drug interdiction policy Coast Guard operations and budget
  - Drug and alcohol testing policy affecting individuals in the U.S. transportation industry

D. Education

Secretary Riley

- Goals 2000
- Direct Lending

10:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.

III. Community Development and Empowerment Discussion

Full Council

11:30 a.m.

IV. Adjournment

### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 9, 1993

### Domestic Policy Council Meeting

Date: June 10, 1993
Location: Cabinet Room
Time: 10:00 a.m.
From: Carol H. Rasco

### I. PURPOSE

You will preside over the first official meeting of the full Domestic Policy Council.

### II. BACKGROUND

While smaller cluster groups of the Domestic Policy Council meet informally on issues of common concern, this is an opportunity to bring all of them together to discuss issues in which their departments all have a stake.

### III. PARTICIPANTS

See attached list (Attachment #1)

### IV. PRESS PLAN

There will be a press pool spray. At this time we are not certain when it will be within the context of the meeting. Your talking points which are attached will be highlighting the fact that the Domestic Policy Council is meeting with a primary agenda of briefing you on the coordinated efforts within community development and empowerment.

### V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS (Attachment #2 - Agenda)

10:00 a.m. to 10:10 a.m.

Opening remarks for ten minutes by you. As agreed upon by you in the meeting this week with Gergen, George and myself, you should use this time to encourage the members of the Council to become stronger spokespersons for the package currently in the Senate with an emphasis on the ultimate product wanted from the conference. 10:10 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.

This time period is set aside for five minute updates by Secretaries who responded to the request for agenda items upon which they wish to brief you and the Council.

- A. HHS by Secretary Shalala (who will then leave to address the Harvard Medical School graduation). She will outline the Head Start review process being put in place.
- B. EPA by Director Browner.

  She will report on the progress toward a major proposal on reform of pesticide legislation.
- C. Transportation by Secretary Pena. He will report on:
  - o relationship of transportation to health care
  - o effect of possible changes in drug interdiction policy on Coast Guard operations and budget
  - o development of mandatory drug and alcohol testing policy affecting 7-8 million individuals in the U.S. transportation industry
- D. Education by Secretary Riley. He will report on:
  - o Goals 2000
  - o Direct lending proposal

10:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.

This time is for a full Council discussion on Community Development and Empowerment. You are to first call on Secretary Cisneros who will make a presentation based on work from a joint working group of the DPC/NEC to date.

After Secretary Cisneros you should call on Attorney General Reno to make remarks on her ideas about community development/empowerment.

You should then try to engage all Council members in the discussion.

At the conclusion of the discussion when it is time to close the meeting, you should encourage the members of the Council who have representation on the Working Group on Community Development and Empowerment to continue their work through that group and if there are Domestic Policy Council members who wish to add representative(s) to the Working Group on Community Development and Empowerment and/or the Working Group on Welfare Reform, they should notify Carol Rasco. Further, all agencies should look carefully at their own policies to see how they might internally add to this development.

11:30 a.m. Adjournment

### VI. REMARKS

(Attachment #3)

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

### TALKING POINTS

# DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL MEETING ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT

June 10, 1993

### TALKING POINTS FOR POOL SPRAY

- \* I'm here for a briefing from the Domestic Policy Council on what we're doing to empower individuals and communities to get ahead.
  - \* I asked for a progress report on:
  - \* my Empowerment Zone plan to create jobs in poor communities, which passed the House last month and is under consideration in the Senate;
  - \* our expanded Earned Income Tax Credit, to make sure that no one in America who works full-time with a family at home has to live in poverty, which is at the heart of my economic plan;
  - \* my pledge to put 100,000 new police on the streets, to make our neighborhoods safe again;
  - \* legislation we will soon propose to create a national network of community development banks; and
  - \* our efforts to work with Congress and the governors on a plan to end welfare as we know it.
- \* Much of this agenda is part of my economic plan, which is all the more reason I hope the Senate will approve it quickly. We need my economic plan if we're going to begin to provide opportunity, inspire responsibility, and restore community in this country.

### Empowerment Zones

### Major Agency Players

Agriculture
Housing and Urban Development
Justice -- Community Policing
Office of Management and Budget
Treasury

### Agencies that have provided support

Council of Economic Advisors Commerce Education Health and Human Services Labor Small Business Administration

### CD Banks

Agriculture Council of Economic Advisors Commerce Housing and Urban Development Office of Management and Budget Treasury

fue: Dec nigo

June 3, 1993

TO: CAROL RASCO

FROM: BILL GALSTON

SUBJ: AGENDA FOR DPC MEETING

Bruce and I talked about the agenda for the June 10 meeting. In addition, at your suggestion I tried to get in touch with Billy Webster, but he's out for the rest of the week celebrating his tenth wedding anniversary.

At any rate, here's what we have for possible inclusion in the agenda:

### 1. Community Empowerment

- o Attorney General Reno wants to discuss her vision of ways in which community-oriented public safety initiatives fit into an integrated social services approach.
- o HUD Secretary Cisneros wants to set forth his ideas for a presidential speech on community empowerment and personal/social responsibility.

### 2. Education

- o Goals 2000 update: continuing difficulties in the House Education and Labor Committee
- o Direct Lending: the challenge in the Senate
- 3. (Possible) announcement of the welfare reform working group
- 4. EPA--report on progress toward major proposal on reform of pesticide legislation [I need to check this with Browner's office in the morning]
- 5. HHS--report on progress of Head Start reform working group [I need to check this with Mary Jo in the morning]

- 6. Transportation--Secretary Pena wants to bring three items to the President's attention
  - o <u>relationship</u> of transportation to health care issues
  - o effect of possible changes in drug interdiction policy on Coast Guard operations and budget
  - o development of mandatory drug and alcohol testing policy affecting 7-8 million individuals in the U.S. transportation industry
  - 7. Query: if the President hasn't received the formal recommendation of the Forest Summit group by next week, should someone be designated to take the lead in giving him an update?

Logistics/Protocol - Lor1 ×6280
Place Cards-John Scarbone
×2510
AgendaRSVP by Mon. 6/7Coffee (whopays)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL

FROM:

Carol H. Rasco Assistant to the President for

Domestic Policy

SUBJECT:

Council Meeting

This memo shall serve as notification of a meeting of the Domestic Policy Council on Wednesday, June 9, 1993 at 10:00 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room of the White House.

I have attached for you a listing of the current membership of the Domestic Policy Council. I have attempted in the opening months of this administration to schedule a personal appointment with most of you in your office and will continue in that effort. I hope in the meantime that each of you will always feel free to contact me on policy issues you feel need to be considered and/or brought to the attention of the White House.

In establishing the agenda for the June 9 meeting, I am requesting that you share with me any items you would like to have considered for the agenda. Please feel free to call me at 456-2216; my assistant Rosalyn Kelly will be glad to facilitate our conversation if I am not there when you call. You should also feel free to mail/messenger/fax me a note (fax: 456-2878).

I will distribute an agenda for the meeting to each of you by the close of business Friday, June 4, 1993. It would be helpful to have confirmation of your attendance by that time on Friday, June

I look forward to seeing each of you on June 9. Thank you.

Currently proposed membership of the Domestic Policy Council:

President
Vice-President
HHS
Justice
Labor
Veterans
Interior
Education
HUD
Agriculture
Transportation
Commerce
Energy
EPA
OMB

CEA
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy
Assistant to the President for Economic Policy

Assistant to the President and Director of the Office National Service

Drug Director

AIDS Policy Coordinator

Such other officials of executive departments and agencies as the President may from time to time, designate.

DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL Thursday, June 10, 1993 10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m. ATTACHMENT #1

### **COUNCIL MEMBERS**

President
Vice-President
The Honorable Donna Shalala
The Honorable Janet Reno
The Honorable Robert Reich
The Honorable Richard Riley
The Honorable Henry Cisneros
The Honorable Mike Espy
The Honorable Federico Pena
The Honorable Carol Browner
The Honorable Leon Panetta
The Honorable Carol H. Rasco
The Honorable Eli Segal
The Honorable Ira Magaziner

DPC STAFF
William "Bill" Galston
Bruce Reed
Kathi Way
Paul Weinstein
Michael Schmidt
Jose Cerda
Donsia Strong
Rosalyn M. Kelly
Lynn Margherio
Christine Heenan

### DPC SUMMER INTERNS

Swati Agrawal Alfonso Lopez Timothy Fong Mitch McKinney

NEC STAFF Sheryl Cashin

### DESIGNEES FOR COUNCIL MEMBERS

Hershel Gober, Deputy Secretary - Veterans' Affairs Thomas Collier, Chief of Staff - Interior William White, Deputy Secretary Nominee - Energy Jonathan Sallet, Senior Policy Advisor - Commerce Gene Sperling, Deputy Assistant - NEC Joseph Stiglitz, Member CEA

### **OTHERS**

Mack McLarty
David Gergen
Christine Varney
Roy Neel
Maggie Williams

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D. Education

Secretary Riley

- Goals 2000
- Direct Lending

10:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.

III. Community Development and Empowerment Discussion (Attachment #4)

Full Council

11:30 a.m.

IV. Adjournment



# Principles for the President's Community Empowerment Policy

- Recognizes the urgency of community problems
- Acknowledges the constraints of deficit reduction
- Manages existing resources, does not offer massive new programs
- Focuses on things we know work
- Stresses consolidation and coordination
- Sets priorities for resources
- Focuses not on making people into passive recipients or clients, but on reciprocity and citizen responsibilities
- Offers a "third way": not conventional, conservative or liberal

# The Promise and the Peril: America's Communities

# The Promise

,	,		
• ;	The importance of cor	mmunities to national/regional grov	wt
• :	The rise of communit	y-based leadership	
• :	The proven effectiver	ness of integrated approaches	
•	The potential of publi	c/private collaboration	
• :	The demonstrated va	lue of mobility strategies	
•	The interaction of peo	ople from different economic stra	ta
• .	The Clinton reforms:	health, welfare, tax, budget	
· 1. ;	The Peril		
•	Erosion of economic	function	
• • •	Changing face of pov	erty	
•	Intense income and ra	acial segregation	
•	Isolation of neighborh	oods	
• ;	Mismatch of skills and	d job requirements	
• :	Diminished quality of	life: fear of crime	
, • ,	Declining housing opp	portunities	

Diminished confidence in public education

# The Federal Government: Too Often Reinforces Community Decline

- Barriers to self-sufficiency: maintaining a welfare system which provides disincentives to ending dependency
- Unlivable conditions: building public housing that is overly dense, poorly designed and geographically isolated
- The health care crisis: leaving millions of the "working poor" without adequate coverage
- Rise of violent crime: failing to control the proliferation of guns
- Education in distress: placing inadequate focus on the needs of inner city schools
- Pervasive drug abuse: underfunding demand-side prevention and treatment
- Federally owned properties: blighting neighborhoods
- Failure to enforce fair housing laws: reinforcing discriminatory behavior
- Inadequate federal oversight: letting banks, insurance companies and government-sponsored enterprises disinvest
- Lack of coordination and integration: fostering fragmented and complicated federal policies

# Community Empowerment Themes: Values and Management Tools

- A Commitment to Community
- A Commitment to Support Families
- A Commitment to Economic Lift
- A Commitment to Strengthening Individual Responsibility

# **Commitment To Community**

### As A Value

- Fundamentally change the way the federal government does business -- from impediment and obstacle to enabler and catalyst
- Respect "bottom up" planning rather than "top down" requirements
- Encourage comprehensive solutions to local problems; provide incentives and remove disincentives to coordinated action at the local level
- Make programs more flexible and responsive to the needs of people who carry them out and are served by them
- Reduce the burdens of applying for and implementing programs
- Assure citizens a meaningful role in decision-making
- Support efforts to engage the civic values of community, as well as the physical environment

# **Commitment To Community**

# **Examples of Management Tools**

## **Supporting Community Solutions**

- Modify existing federal planning requirements to encourage integrated local strategies (all agencies)
- Expand national network of community-based organizations, including community development corporations (HUD, HHS, DOC)
- Leverage philanthropic and other funds for communities (all agencies)
- Enter into partnerships with demonstration communities for comprehensive strategies (all agencies)
- Target National Service on community solutions
- Link national health reform to the needs of local communities (HHS)
- Dispose of federal properties in ways that rebuild communities (HUD, VA, RTC, FDIC)

# Making Communities Attractive Places to Live and Work

- Rebuild community infrastructure (DOT, HUD)
- Rebuild and extend urban parks systems (Interior)

- Clean-up environmentally unsound sites (EPA)
- Integrate urban amenity planning into all federal programs (DOT, HUD)
- Build affordable housing that is safe and secure, dignified and attractive (HUD, VA, Agriculture)
- Use FHA single-family insurance to "greenline" communities (HUD)

## **Rebuilding the Community Economic Base**

- Create comprehensive enterprise zones (Enterprise Board)
- Support community banks and community lending efforts (Community Development Investment Trust)
- Strengthen and enforce the Community Reinvestment Act (OCC, other bank agencies)
- Combat redlining by insurance companies, housing secondary market, other financial institutions (HUD, OCC)
- Improve and expand lending for small businesses and microenterprises (SBA, Commerce, HUD)
- Use military base closures as opportunities to enhance economic development (DOD)

# **COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT FAMILIES**

### As A Value

- Design policies and programs thahat encourage families to provide nurturing home environments
- Eliminate government barriers to family cohesion in laws and regulations
- Strengthen community institutions and supportive services for families
- Provide physical and mental health facilities for families
- Promote active parental involvement in education
- Make parents responsible for financially supporting their children
- Recognize the value of inter-generational ties within families

# COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT FAMILIES

# **Examples of Management Tools**

# Keep Government From Being A Barrier To Family Cohesion

- Reform welfare eligibility requirements to prevent the break up of families (HHS)
- Change income guidelines for public and governmentassisted housing to allow families to live together (HUD)
- Enable working parents to take unpaid family leave without losing their jobs (DOL)
- Improve the quality, affordability, and availability of family housing (HUD)
- Expand inter-generational programs to bring together senior citizens, children, and families (HHS)

## **Maintain Family Responsibility**

- Require all parents to be financially responsible for their children (DOE)
- Prevent family violence and abuse (DOJ, HHS)
- Encourage greater parental involvement in children's education (DOE)

# **Expand Economic Opportunity for Families**

- Increase availability of child care services for working parents (HHS, DOL)
- Expand Head Start and early childhood education efforts (DOE)
- Increase the Earned Income Tax Credit (Treasury)
- Expand home ownership opportunities, especially for low and moderate income families (HUD)
- Design transportation to support family mobility (DOT)

## Increase Family Security and Well-Being

- Expand community policing and prevention programs against crime and substance abuse (DOJ, HHS)
- Increase safety efforts and resident participation in assisted family housing (HUD)
- Improve recreational, and youth development experiences for families (DOI, NEA, NEH)
- Reform health care to ensure that all families have adequate medical coverage (HHS)

## Commitment To Economic Lift

### As A Value

- Design our policies and programs to move people up a ladder of opportunity
- Infuse lifting ideas, not static concepts; the difference between opening a way versus simply maintaining
- Reward self-improvement across life-cycle and income levels; create a continuum of services
- Harness the marketplace, use its rationale
- Invest in human capital by integrating education and training
- Recognize the interwoven economic destinies of metropolitan areas
- Encourage entrepreneurial behavior in programs and communities

# **Commitment To Economic Lift**

# **Examples of Management Tools**

# **Making Work Work**

- Reform welfare to eliminate disincentives to work (HHS)
- Remove barriers to work in other federal programs, including public and assisted housing (HUD)

# Linking Education, Training and Employment

- Develop a comprehensive federal job training and placement system (DOL)
- Require recipients of federal aid to hire disadvantaged youth (DOT, HUD)
- Channel public works and public service employment through community institutions (all agencies)
- Encourage opening of trades to minority youth (DOT, HUD)
- Use federal procurement to expand minority business (all agencies)

# Rebuilding the Metropolitan Economic Base

Encourage metropolitan economic planning to harness new growth sectors for urban jobs (Commerce, HUD, DOT)

Nurture existing sectors of urban economies, including universities, hospitals, utilities, etc. (Commerce, HUD)

Improve mass transit: connect jobs to workers (DOT)

Develop a downtown revitalization program (HUD)

Site federal government facilities in central cities (GSA)

# Commitment To Strengthening Individual Responsibility

### As A Value

- Expect commitment to individual and family selfimprovement
- Design programs that embody balance between rights and responsibilities
- Intervene early in the lives of children and youth
- Raise the level of national dialogue about race: have leaders speak honestly about racial and ethnic divisions
- Confront the ravages of racism in American society
- Attack spatial segregation by race and income; eliminate barriers to equality of opportunity
- Design community development programs to fight crime, drugs, gangs, and anti-social behavior
- Rebuild community institutions that comprise the moral and civic infrastructure
- Reflect the growing diversity of American society

# Commitment To Strengthening Individual Responsibility

# **Examples of Management Tools**

## **Balancing Rights and Responsibilities**

- Link welfare and other federal assistance programs to employment and training (HHS, HUD)
- Provide support for parenting and family skills (HHS)
- Rekindle grassroots leadership and institutions to offer:
  - adolescent programs
  - mentoring programs
  - youth sports activities
  - anti-gang activities
  - training and employment programs (DOJ, HUD)
- Change tenant selection and eviction policies (HUD)
- Expand commitment to resident management (HUD)

# Giving Every Child a Fair Chance

- Extend Head Start program to all eligible participants (HHS)
- Extend the WIC program to all eligible participants (Ag)
- Offering choice in public education (Educ)
- Expand summer school programs for educationally disadvantaged children (Educ)

- Expand community-based programs for older children and teenagers (HHS, DOL, Educ)
- Give low-income parents and children access to adequate health services (HHS)

### Reducing Spatial Separation by Race and Income

- Reduce density in public housing developments and implement progressive replacement policies (HUD)
- Enhance the portability of vouchers to increase mobility (HUD)
- Coordinate transportation infrastructure development with regional housing policies (DOT, HUD)
- Negotiate regional accords for sharing housing responsibilities (HUD, DOJ) reward jurisdictions with progressive fair housing records (HUD, DOT)
- Expand testing for rental and mortgage discrimination (HUD, OCC)

### Restoring sanity to America's streets

- Enact tough, sensible gun control laws (DOJ)
- Expand community policin efforts (DOJ, HUD)
- Facilitate community partnerships against crime (DOJ, HUD)
- Emphasize prevention and treatment in anti-drug efforts (DOJ, HHS)
- Establish police mini-stations in distressed communities (DOJ, HUD)

# What This Means for the Reinvention Process

# To Commit to Community:

- Entrust responsibility further down in the federal system
- Challenge communities to innovate and reward excellence in community solutions
- Require timely and constructive responses in community initiatives
- Consolidate planning requirements
- Simplify programs; eliminate complexity and overlap
- Reward communities that succeed with waivers and flexibility
- Establish advisory boards at regional and field offices

### To Commit to Families:

- Revise laws and regulations that are barriers to family cohesion
- Retrain federal personnel in service delivery with greater sensitivity to family issues
- Create interagency task force to evaluate and propose new policies and programs to strengthen families
- Encourage active federal partnership with the private sector to leverage resources for family initiatives

- Increase citizen participation to give advice on family concerns to public employees
- Improve intergovernmental enforcement of child support laws

### To Commit to Economic Lift:

- Review and modify existing federal programs to build in incentives
- Compel cooperation and coordination among key federal agencies
- Train federal personnel and managers in new concepts of entrepreneurial management

# To Commit to Individual Responsibility:

- Devise rewards and sanctions that cross agency lines
- Support community-based efforts on education, public safety and drug abuse
- Link enforcement of community reinvestment, fair lending and fair housing laws in innovative ways



# THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

Carol: This speech embodies

TO:

CAROL RASCO

the themes I will outline in the

FROM:

HENRY G CISNEROS

DATE:

JUNE 3, 1993

presentation correaring community

I have attached a draft speech which I have written for the for the President. It may be helpful to you as you and the White House team match the consistency of our message with practical management of the federal departments. This speech is an attempt to go "from clarity of message to coherence of community deliver after programs."

The speech evolved from the material I presented in the Roosevelt Room some weeks ago. It began as "urban policy" but is now presented as "community-building principles." As you know, we have had an inter-departmental team at work, led by the National Economic Council, to go beyond the enterprise zone and community bank initiatives to larger community-building themes. The speech is centered on concepts of acceptance of responsibility by all those involved in revitalizing America's communities.

While many of us - Gene Sperling, Paul Dimond, and representatives from the domestic Cabinet departments - are working on converting our themes to management ideas, I drew the duty of writing language for a proposed Presidential address. Sometime soon the President will want to outline his concept of urban or community direction and this is an attempt to find language that resonates with the "Clinton - New Democrat - new ideas" message. I may have gone too far in the direction of stressing responsibility as opposed to traditional urban programs, but I am trying to find the balance that rings true for the President and for the country. In any event, I wanted you to have a look at ideas that may be helpful to you in sharpening our message over the next few weeks. I talked to the President about this after our most recent Cabinet meeting and he urged me to keep going on the course I described to him. This speech is one step further on that course.

ATTACHMENT

Today I want to share with you my approach to changing the relationship between the federal government and American communities - our cities, towns and neighborhoods. Why is it important to think about such changes? Well, there are several reasons.

First, because I am committed to improving the way the federal government does its business, to creating a more effective partnership with the American people, and we cannot do it with the same old top-down, centralized system.

Secondly, because our commitment to re-inventing government must go beyond internal redesign of the federal government and must spur re-thinking of how government at all levels serves our people.

Thirdly, because the Congress requires a bi-annual statement of our urban policies and thinking about urban strategy has led me to the community policies I will discuss today. Our large urban areas and big cities are made up of neighborhoods and communities and those cities work best when their neighborhoods and communities are healthy and strong.

And finally, because my observations of the last four months reinforce what I learned as a governor: that our American partnership for building communities works best when it is based on acceptance of shared responsibility.

Responsibility is a complex idea but it is at the heart of the American ethic. From earliest days, the American ethic has been rooted in a sense of responsibility:

- The earliest Americans, Native Americans, felt a sense
  of responsibility for the land and responsibility for how
  the tribe and the family survived in harmony with nature.
- The early settlers and colonists came to these shores acknowledging the responsibility that was implicit

in their quest for freedom and liberty.

- Immigrants arrived with only handfuls of belongings but within decades accepted responsibility for neighborhoods, cities, businesses, schools and enriched the nation's civic institutions.
- Throughout American history, we have been a people guided by clear ideas of responsibility responsibility for building a fair society, responsibility for sharing values with the world.

Cynics may say that a discussion of shared responsibility is a subterfuge to duck a federal leadership role in urban and community policy; but it is not. It is an acknowledgement of the

acknowledgement that government can do for us only that which is based on our own initiative, energy, and responsibility. Let me explain:

- Government can intervene early in the lives of children, but it cannot be in every home to offset the irresponsibility of fathers who do not pay child support.
- Government can invest in neighborhoods, but it cannot muster the resources to offset the irresponsibility of banks and insurance companies who steer their capital away from worthy borrowers.

- Government can spend money on police and crime fighting, but it cannot step-in on every block to offset the irresponsibility of people who abuse their bodies with drugs and, worse, draw others to an addiction by selling drugs.
- Government can invest in the public schools but

  can never reach into every living room and offset

  the irresponsibility of adults who don't stress reading,

  homework, and staying in school.

It is a statement of truth that a new partnership between levels of government, a new partnership between government and private institutions, and a new partnership between the

government and the American people must be rooted in concepts of responsibility. Today I will set forth four themes which will guide our work:

# **COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY**

The first theme is community responsibility. It is rooted in ideas of what we have in common, ties that bind us together.

That is the spirit of community and America is a nation of communities:

\* Big city neighborhoods where Americans are fighting to reclaim their blocks from drug dealers and youth

gangs are demonstrating the values of community.

- \* Heartland towns where Americans are searching out new economic functions to stem the flow of businesses from their main streets and county squares and to hold on to their young talent are acting on their spirit of community.
- \* Church groups that provide meals and shelter for the homeless, parents who volunteer in their children's schools, neighbors who raise their voices to protest environmental intrusions all are living the American ethic of community.

Community as we define it is more than a physical place.

It is a spiritual place where people accept responsibility for a larger common purpose, for each other.

Community responsibility exists where people work to create safe and decent housing, where they are connected to each other because they share civic bonds. Community responsibility exists where neighbors look out for one another; where schools try to educate; where people working together make crime the exception, not the rule; and where citizens participate and play lead role in decision making. Community responsibility creates places where opportunity is not only on the next block or in the next town and it is not only for those with the "right" skin color, but is just around the corner for everyone.

For too long, we've only been asked "What's in it for me?"

"What do I gain from this government program?" For too long,
we have been told to blame others for the problems that we
confront. But we must all accept responsibility for the challenges
before us. It's time that we all answered a different call: "What
can we do together to build communities of hope for all
Americans?"

While it is true that the idea of community responsibility is fundamentally rooted at the local level, we in the Federal government can do our part and we will:

\* We will respect "bottom up" solutions rather than "top

down" proposals.

- \* We will encourage, reward, and facilitate comprehensive solutions to local problems and then respond effectively.
- \* We will make federal programs more flexible

  and responsive to the needs of people who apply for

  them, carry them out, and are served by them.
- \* We will assure a larger role for communities in our decision-making.

To achieve these ends I am directing the creation of a

Cabinet work group to restructure federal programs to assure

that they more meaningfully contribute to the building of the

spirit of community. Specifically, I have asked the Departments

of Education, Labor, Commerce, Justice, Housing and Urban

Development, Transportation, Health and Human Services, and
the Environmental Protection Agency to work together to:

- Expand the network of community-based organizations with whom we work,
- Cooperate to create successful empowerment zones,
- Reinforce community lending strategies, support
  community development banks, and combat redlining by
  other financially-related institutions,
- Change the way we approach crime fighting to involve
  not only the criminal justice institutions but also the
  agencies that work with children, youth, education and job

training,

- Modify highly compartmentalized federal planning requirements to encourage integrated local plans,
- Leverage philanthropic and other funds for communities, and
- Strengthen community involvement in national service, health care reform, infrastructure investment, and environmental improvement.

These steps represent a start - a start in changing the way
the federal government does business and in improving the odds
for our nation's communities. The federal government can and
must change, because at its very best and most effective it is only

a support system, a floor, a foundation under the powerful building force that is community responsibility.

# **FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY**

Another similarly powerful force is the kind of responsibility that we learn and see in our nation's families. The second theme is family responsibility.

Our first community is our family. The way we are designed as human beings - biologically, socially - the way our creator intended us - we depend on other people. As infants we depend on our families for total sustenance, as children for the essentials

of life, as young adults for guidance and support, across the passages of life for human contact and affection. It is in the nature of the human story and will be so forever. No matter the innovations in technology or medicine, no matter the fashions in life styles or social patterns, we human beings need families, particularly as children. And though families may be composed in varying ways, they always bind people together by blood or law, by commitment and love. And because we need families so badly, in our community endeavors we must do all we can to support them.

One of the fault lines in American politics in recent years has been that which separates those who would use the power of

government to intrude into our most private decisions, on the one hand, from those who would encourage government to set foundations so that individuals can have the full range of choices about their lives on the other. Our attitudes about family issues have been whip-sawed along this same fault line. But I believe it is time we made it clear that government and families must act responsibly so that families can grow strong, so they can support themselves, so they can stay together, so they can lift each family member to his or her full potential.

And I know it is long past time that we eliminate those policies which make it harder for families to stay together.

These things I believe, these things I am certain about,

because of what I live in my own family. It is from my mother and my family that I learned the most profound truth that prepared me for life. It wasn't always easy; I remember some very hard times. But I always knew there was a family who cared for me and with that certainty I faced the world. I needed them and so does every single child living in America today need a family to tell them they are loved when the world seems too much to handle alone.

The concept of family responsibility requires something of all of us.

- It is showing family responsibility for fathers and mothers to support their children financially so they have a chance to learn and succeed no matter what other changes may occur in the parents lives.

- It is demonstrating family responsibility for parents to meet their children's teachers and participate in their education despite the stresses of our complicated work lives.
- It is acting on family responsibility for governments and businesses to find ways to offer day care so that parents can know their children are in trustworthy hands as they work.
- It is being responsible for governments and businesses to build a strong economy so that families can earn a decent income.

I am asking the Cabinet work group to run our government's domestic programs through the strict test of whether they support or weaken family life.

Do our housing policies allow people to improve family income or do they discourage family cohesion?

Are we extending early childhood care so parents can work if they want to without the added pressures of guilt or fear about where they must have leave their children?

Are we training parents for good jobs so that family income is sufficient to meet the monetary needs of growing children?

These are the questions we must ask and they necessarily lead us to the third theme -- Economic Responsibility.

# **ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY**

By economic responsibility I mean a recognition by all of us that the best opportunity program that can be designed is a strongly growing economy and the best support program for individuals that can be provided is a job. That kind of responsibility has been the central focus of my work as President.

I have proposed an economic plan which would invest in our most pressing domestic needs and reduce the drag of the federal deficit on our economy. It is the first step toward building the underpinnings of an economy in which the private sector can invest in plant, equipment, and, most importantly, jobs, with

confidence that our country will be more globally competitive and productive.

All of our efforts must come together to combine to demonstrate our economic responsibility:

- When students prepare themselves with rigor,
- When workers train themselves for new skills at work,
- When teachers challenge their classes after having, updated their own educations,
- When small business owners inform themselves about growth opportunities in the larger economy,
- When corporations explore world trading opportunities, then we are all demonstrating our economic responsibility.

But beyond our more hopeful prospects, economic responsibility also means building an economy that is sufficiently strong to make room for all Americans who want to work.

Let's face the facts, our economy is not doing that today. For too many of our fellow citizens, the American dream is unfulfilled; worse, it seems unattainable. Millions of Americans stand on the sidelines, wondering when their long hours and sacrifice will pay off. After years of hard work, of playing by the rules, they are still renters. Higher education is out of the question for them or their children. They are financially unprepared for retirement. They feel no safety in their neighborhoods. They worry endlessly for their children, who see

gangs, drugs, crime and teenage sex as reasonable alternatives to the lives they now lead.

And for millions more Americans, there is no dream at all. They live in poverty conditions worse than those in any other industrialized nation in the western world. For many, poverty is a life sentence: If you are born poor, you die poor. For others -men, women, and more and more children -- reality is homelessness, a bed is a flattened cardboard box, and warmth is a steam grate or the sheltered alcove of a downtown building. We can do better. We must build an economy that can do better. As I have said, we in the federal government are working to create positive conditions in the national economy, but at the community level we will also be an economic partner. We will infuse into every federal program, into every decision we make, a commitment to economic opportunity.

We will inject into everything we do the dynamic of economic uplift. Our federal resources should be viewed as a platform from which people can aspire to better jobs, better homes, better fortunes.

At its heart, a commitment to economic opportunity is about empowering people so that they can take charge of their lives, become independent and succeed in the mainstream of American life.

I am asking our Cabinet work group to assure that economic

responsibility for the federal government in communities means that we encourage people - not maintain them, that we open the way for people - not carry those who can walk, that we reward self improvement - not stifle it, and that we provide incentives for entrepreneurship - not disincentives.

In concrete terms the Cabinet departments should redraft our programs to:

- Encourage local firms and communities to join together to find competitive niches within which to thrive,
- Reward study, and hard work with pathways to career, entrepreneurial, and learning opportunities for life,
- Reach out to every American with the potential to work

and improve his or her skills,

- Make the spectrum of housing a platform for upward mobility -- from homelessness to shelter, from shelter to independence, from independence to work and self-sufficiency, from self-sufficiency to home-ownership, investment-ownership, or business ownership,
- Build upon local economic generators -- universities, medical centers, to create public and private jobs,
- Invest in infrastructure, research and development,

  public safety and community policing to provide

  the basic foundations on which local firms and communities

  can build their own futures.

This kind of partnership would be real economic responsibility and it would mean not only a better life for millions of Americans today but it would mean better prospects, a better future, hope, for generations to come.

# **INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY**

At the heart of our economic and political system, the great American experience of enterprise and democracy, is the idea of individual rights and responsibilities. The main point of having an economy strong enough to sustain economic liberties is to help guarantee constitutional rights.

Our nation was founded on certain basic rights: equality for all, the right to free speech and expression, the right to live

peacefully. Our social contract is embodied in Thomas Jefferson's principle of "Equal rights for all; special privileges to none."

But the American social contract carries with it responsibilities and it is those responsibilities that are my fourth and final community-building theme: Individual responsibility.

Americans have a right to a decent home, but a responsibility to pay for it and maintain it. We respect the right to a decent education, but also accept the responsibility to study and do something with it. We expect the right to live in a safe neighborhood, but to secure it comes the responsibility to participate in civic activities that promote and ensure safety.

The erosion of this contract of rights and responsibilities has resulted in behaviors that can only be called destructive. How else can we describe the intolerance, the savage crimes, the random violence, the drug use, the child abuse, the fatalism that so frequently assault us from the headlines? Even though our natural tendency is to search frantically for answers from government, most often these destructive acts and attitudes are in the realm of individuals and so we must speak honestly about the responsibilities of individuals.

Among the most destructive individual behavior throughout

American history has been racism. It is destructive because it

denies people equal treatment no matter how hard they work or

access to jobs, denied decent housing in the neighborhoods of their choice, denied a fair chance at a good education. All because of the color of their skin. It is against the law and morally wrong. And we have paid a horrible price for it over the years. Government can do a great deal to prosecute discrimination but it is individuals who must act responsibly.

Other evidence of destructive behaviors include the epidemic of street crime, the wave of armed assaults and murders, increases in rape and sex crimes, the growth of white-collar fraud and financial corruption, and widespread environmental abuses.

The American people understand that what must change are

responsibility. And yet it is the leadership task of government to encourage, to set expectations, to explain, to affirm individual responsibility and sometimes to impose a price for the destructive acts which result when it is eroded.

# We can:

- restore sanity and security to America's streets by
  enacting sensible gun laws, by expanding community
  policing; by facilitating community partnerships against
  crime and drugs,
- we can teach our young people about the rewards of learning and work and commitment to family, service,

and community,

- we can prosecute racial and ethnic discrimination,
   oppose prejudice and intolerance, and celebrate racial
   and ethnic understanding, diversity, and respect,
- we can provide incentives for all learners, workers, and managers who meet high standards of performance, and service in our business endeavors,
- we can educate young people -- at home, in the school,
   in the church and in the community -- about their
   responsibility not to bear or to beget children until
   both parents are prepared to nurture and support
   a family,

- we can end welfare as we know it by linking education, training, and care for children and health to a requirement for all able-bodied persons to work,
- we can compel absent parents to support and to nurture their children,
- we can attack the spatial segregation that concentrates

  the poorest of Americans in modern day urban reservations

  and give people a fighting chance to lift themselves and

  their children,
- we can rebuild community institutions the little leagues, boys and girls scout, and the church teams that teach moral and character building lessons.

These are things that every domestic department can do to assure that the federal government in its public utterances and in its programs transmits a consistent message: that the same value of individual responsibility which has so clearly been the core idea of America's remarkable history is what we stand for today.

## **CONCLUSION**

Today I have set forth four themes which will guide the federal government's community strategies

- Community responsibility
- Family responsibility

- Economic responsibility
- Individual responsibility

I will ask each federal agency that works with communities to assess its programs for how they promote these values. They will work together through our Cabinet work group to change regulations, simplify programs, consolidate categories, and propose changes in laws - all guided by these principles. And when the departments design new programs for communities, they should be drafted with those values as the guiding principles.

I believe we can bring a whole new logic to our community programs. These principles will allow us to make the most of scarce resources in a period of deficit reduction. They will allow

agencies on a scale never attempted before. Properly used they will allow us to reward communities that innovate and to encourage excellence in cooperative solutions. And as we prioritize and identify funds for domestic initiatives over the next few years, they will allow us to build on what we know works.

These are not easy times. But I am certain that our best hope is to acknowledge that we are all in this evolving American experience together and that only by building a new American partnership of community and responsibility can we build the future that our children deserve.

June 5, 1993

TO:

CAROL RASCO

FROM:

BILL GALSTON

SUBJ:

HEAD START REFORM

I thought the attached article might be of interest to you. It contains a lot of common sense about the current status and future prospects of Head Start.

Managing the soon-to-be- announced Head Start advisory commission toward consensus on reform recommendations will be a real challenge. I've been working with Mary Jo's staff to ensure that the commission a broad and diverse group of experts, including people with extensive hands-on experience as managers of Head Start centers.

# New Republic

JUNE 14, 1993

### What works in Head Start?

# Fresh Start

By Douglas J. Besharov

merica's favorite anti-poverty program is Head Start, and no one is a bigger fan than Bill Clinton, who wants to nearly triple its annual financing, from \$2.83 billion in 1993 to \$8.14 billion in 1998. Yet Head Start is in political trouble. Most analysts no longer support its standard claim that "for every dollar we invest today, we'll save three tomorrow." They believe that the gains made by Head Start children disappear—"fade-out"—within two years. The program took a big hit in March, when a report by the Inspector General of the Department of Health and Human Services was leaked. Head Start, it concluded, had fallen drastically short in providing vaccinations, medical tests and health care.

To its credit, the administration—including the president—quickly acknowledged these problems. And it has since made clear that all aspects of the program are open to review. HHS Secretary Donna Shalala told Washington Post editors, "We should not be in the business of just pouring money into the existing program when we know that there are some fundamental problems." Head Start supporters in Congress acknowledge its problems too. As Senator Tom Harkin warned: "I would not want to spend double [on the program] as it is now."

So, everyone wants to improve Head Start. The question is how. Here are some guidelines:

Insist on better management. Head Start began in the 1960s as a series of grants to local anti-poverty and public agencies. Since then it has grown into a sprawling program with almost 2,000 local agencies, which in turn operate about 36,000 classrooms. Head Start's favored status has shielded it from the need to meet ordinary standards of accountability. Grantees are all but guaranteed annual refinancing. Unlike most other federal programs, they are not required to show results before receiving more money; nor do they compete against other agencies that want to provide the same services.

Moreover, Head Start is operated as if it were still a small project. The program is run by some 200 HHS employees, who are responsible for site visits, performance reviews, rule-making and training. As a result, administrators can provide only the loosest management. Although the data are recorded on refunding applications, there is no list of Head Start sites or their enrollments. And even though a recent evaluation suggests that poor attendance has become a serious problem, there is no process for collecting reliable informa-

tion on how many children actually attend classes on an average day. At the very least, Head Start needs an administrative reporting system capable of determining how many children come to class and whether they actually receive vaccinations and other medical services.

Fix the program. Don't just make it more expensive. Clinton's promise of billions of additional dollars let loose a torrent of demands for building renovations new buses and other "quality improvements." One proposal supported by Shalala is to double the salaries of Head Start workers. But this would cost about \$2 billion—without enrolling one additional child. Any cost increase should be judged by whether it makes specific improvements. Is it likely to lessen fade-out? Will it improve medical care?

Give more to Head Start parents, and expect more of them too. As a former National Head Start Association officer put it: "We look back on the poverty of the 1970s as the good old days. Poverty is getting uglier." Today, most Head Start children come from single-parent homes; about 70 percent are on welfare. To give a sense of the problems faced by many Head Start families, consider these statistics collected by a center in Vermont: one-third to two-thirds of its families had substance abuse problems in the home, 40 percent of its mothers had their first child as a teenager and 32 percent of the parents had no high school diploma or GED. How do we respond to these problems? Preschool programs must focus on both the child and the parent.

Although parent involvement has always been an important Head Start goal, few programs were ever given the funds to provide parent-oriented services. Their absence has become more evident as the conditions of poverty have worsened. As one social worker put it, sometimes what a child needs most is "a mother who can cope." Recently, some Head Start programs have stretched their limited funding to provide at least minimal services for parents, including health care and nutrition and literacy classes.

Link Head Start to welfare reform. Clinton has vowed to "end welfare as we know it" by providing "people with the education, training, job placement assistance and child care they need for two years—so that they can break the cycle of dependency. After two years, those who can work will be required to go to work, either in the private sector or in meaningful community-service jobs." The welfare mothers required by Clinton's plan to participate in training or public service jobs will need care for their children. Head Start would be the natural provider, were it not for its limited hours: the average program operates four hours a day, nine months a year. Rather than creating a new child care system, make Head Start full-day, full-year. Expanding Head Start in tandem with welfare reform would be a social welfare "twofer"—more preschool programs for disadvantaged children and expanded job training for their parents.

End Head Start's isolation. When Head Start was established, it was the principal federal child care program for disadvantaged children. Now, however, it is part of a much larger mosaic of preschool services for disadvantaged children—a fact rarely mentioned in the debate

about its future. Between 1987 and 1993, annual federal spending on child care rose from \$3.3 billion to about \$6.5 billion. Only \$2.8 billion of this is for Head Start; the remainder is for other child care programs.

Sadly, having many programs doesn't mean there are many options. Inconsistent administrative rules and requirements make the coordination of services time-consuming and problematic. All this is complicated by Head Start's unique status as a federal demonstration program. Grantees receive funds directly from the federal government, unlike most child care and welfare programs, which receive their funds through the states.

The Head Start community has always opposed integration with the larger child care world, in part because of its roots in the civil rights movement, but also because grantees fear losing their independence. In 1974, as governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter proposed transferring supervision of Head Start to the states; the idea was met with immediate hostility and quickly dropped. But the need for meshing the various child care programs is even greater today. Head Start is no longer a small demonstration program. If financed at the levels the president proposes, it will become more ungainly and out-of-step with local programs. Barring our ability to give Head Start to the states, we at least need a more formal mechanism for local and federal coordination.

Don't rush expansion. Clinton has proposed giving Head Start grantees an additional \$16 billion between now and 1998. Unless there is a sound plan for expansion, this money could hurt the program as much as it could help it. Ed Zigler, one of Head Start's founders, cautions, "We started Head Start too quickly. We started it too big, and we have ever since been playing catch up with the quality issue."

Start is still having trouble absorbing Bush-era increases. According to the Inspector General, during the three 1990-91 increases, which totaled \$425 million, 13 percent of grantees were unable to spend all of their funds: more than half of these had trouble finding and renovating facilities, around 50 percent had difficulty finding qualified staff and more than 25 percent were unable to locate eligible children. As a result, they served 6 percent fewer children than had been financed. During the next wave of Bush increases, which added \$502 million, 25 percent of grantees did not even apply for grants.

The pitfalls of overly rapid expansion were made clear this year. Clinton's proposal in his now-extinct stimulus bill to spend \$500 million for new summer programs sent Head Start offices into a planning frenzy. Even before the bill failed in the Senate, it became apparent that many grantees would have difficulty switching to a year-round schedule. Some did not have the use of their classrooms over the summer and were having trouble finding alternate facilities. The bigger problem, however, was in getting workers and children to participate, as many already had summer plans.

One senator's office received a call from a Head Start staffer who reported that, in a misguided attempt to carry out the summer program, her center issued the following statement: 1) Staff unwilling to work through the mid-July end date will be immediately terminated.

2) Unemployment benefits for those who quit in response to this threat will be contested. 3) Four-year-olds who do not enroll in the summer session will not receive a certificate of completion. 4) Three-year-olds who do not enroll for the summer session will automatically be put on the bottom of the waiting list for the next year. 5) Children with plans to spend the summer outside the center's area (for example, by visiting with the other parent, a grandparent or other relatives) must delay the visit until after the summer session.

Old hands like Zigler foresaw stories like these showing up in newspapers across the country. The director of a large, inner-city program summed up these fears when he said that the summer money "could kill Head Start. In the time we have, there is no way we can spend that money to create a viable summer program."

Preschool programs. no matter how well-run can do only so much to combat poor prenatal care, inadequate nutrition. lack of suitable role models and dangerous neighborhoods. Making the grandiose claim that Head Start can cure poverty sets it up for an inevitable fall. Properly redesigned and administered, though, it could form the base for a more comprehensive effort to help underprivileged children. Given the oversimplification that permeates public debate over the program, it won't be easy for elected politicians to adopt a critical—but supportive—approach. But if they don't, it's hard to see how Head Start will ever live up to the high hopes of the American people for an anti-poverty program that actually works.

DOUGLAS J. BESHAROV is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

Carol Pasco

RECOMMENDED BY:

CONTACT:

Carol Rasco

Carol Rasco - x2216

SCHEDULÉ PROPOSAL Date: 5/25/93 ACCEPT REGRET PENDING TO: Marcia L. Hale Assistant to the President and Director 3 MAY 25 A9: 17 of Scheduling and Advance FROM: Carol H. Rasco, Assistant to President for Domestic Policy REQUEST: First Meeting of the Domestic Policy Council PURPOSE: Members of the Domestic Policy Council to date have been meeting in small groups on various topics like Welfare Reform, Community Empowerment and of course many have met frequently on Health Care Reform. time to bring the full group together for discussion of Domestic Policy overall. I believe it is absolutely critical that the President attend this first meeting for its entirety. **BACKGROUND:** None **PREVIOUS** 10 as discussed PARTICIPATION: None DATE AND TIME: 🖋 at 10:00 a.m. DURATION: One hour to one and a half hours LOCATION: Roosevelt Room PARTICIPANTS: Attached list and staff of the Domestic Policy Council **OUTLINE OF EVENTS:** An agenda will be prepared by the close of business Friday, June 4. The agenda is being prepared in consultation with Domestic Policy Council members. will probably focus primarily on community empowerment. REMARKS REQUIRED: A full briefing will be prepared by Carol Rasco for the President. The President will preside over the meeting. MEDIA: We can do a pool spray if the Communications Office wishes to do so. FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: No VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: Has been invited SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: No

#### ATTACHMENT I

Currently proposed membership of the Domestic Policy Council:

President Vice-President HHS Justice Labor Veterans Interior Education HUD Agriculture Transportation Commerce Energy **EPA** OMB CEA

Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy
Assistant to the President for Economic Policy
Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of National
Service
Drug Director

Drug Director AIDS Policy Coordinator

Such other officials of executive departments and agencies as the President may from time to time, designate.

cc: Mack McLarty Mark Gearan Roy Neel

### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL

FROM:

Carol H. Rasco, Assistant to the President for

٠,

Domestic Policy

SUBJECT:

Council Meeting

This memo shall serve as notification of a meeting of the Domestic Policy Council on Wednesday, June 9, 1993 at 10:00 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room of the White House.

I have attached for you a listing of the current membership of the Domestic Policy Council. I have attempted in the opening months of this administration to schedule a personal appointment with most of you in your office and will continue in that effort. I hope in the meantime that each of you will always feel free to contact me on policy issues you feel need to be considered and/or brought to the attention of the White House.

In establishing the agenda for the June 9 meeting, I am requesting that you share with me any items you would like to have considered for the agenda. Please feel free to call me at 456-2216; my assistant Rosalyn Kelly will be glad to facilitate our conversation if I am not there when you call. You should also feel free to mail/messenger/fax me a note (fax: 456-2878).

I will distribute an agenda for the meeting to each of you by the close of business Friday, June 4, 1993. It would be helpful to have confirmation of your attendance by that time on Friday, June 4.

I look forward to seeing each of you on June 9. Thank you.

Currently proposed membership of the Domestic Policy Council:

President Vice-President HHS Justice Labor Veterans Interior Education HUD Agriculture Transportation Commerce Energy **EPA OMB** CEA Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy Assistant to the President for Economic Policy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office National Service Drug Director AIDS Policy Coordinator

Such other officials of executive departments and agencies as the President may from time to time, designate.