

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/17/00

PRAIRIE STATE
LEGAL SERVICES, INC.

415 W. WASHINGTON STREET
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WAUKEGAN, IL 60085

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MICHELLE WETZEL
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PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/17/00 AS SEEN

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Learn
forgiveness
for legal Aid!

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

1.31
NOT SEEN

8/17/00

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Joel - see him in the R
MICHELE NEMO
FOR STATE REPRESENTATIVE - DISTRICT 88
MAKE THE MOST OF YOUR VOTE
PROVEN LEADERSHIP
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POL. ADV. PAID FOR BY THE MICHELE NEMO FOR STATE REP. CAMPAIGN
CONTENT APPROVED BY THE CANDIDATE. DEMOCRAT

TELEPHONE NOT SEEN

8/17/00

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Lockhart
Podesta

Randi Rhodes
~~Podesta~~
talk show
WTHO 3-7
12:00 am
~~George~~

Stewart - Agg -
got to Daley - 832

THE PRESS - 11-21-00
8-17-00

US STOCK MARKET RETURNS: Democrats vs. Republicans

Copied
Ricchetti
Daley
Podesta

PAUL R. BEIRNE
Principal

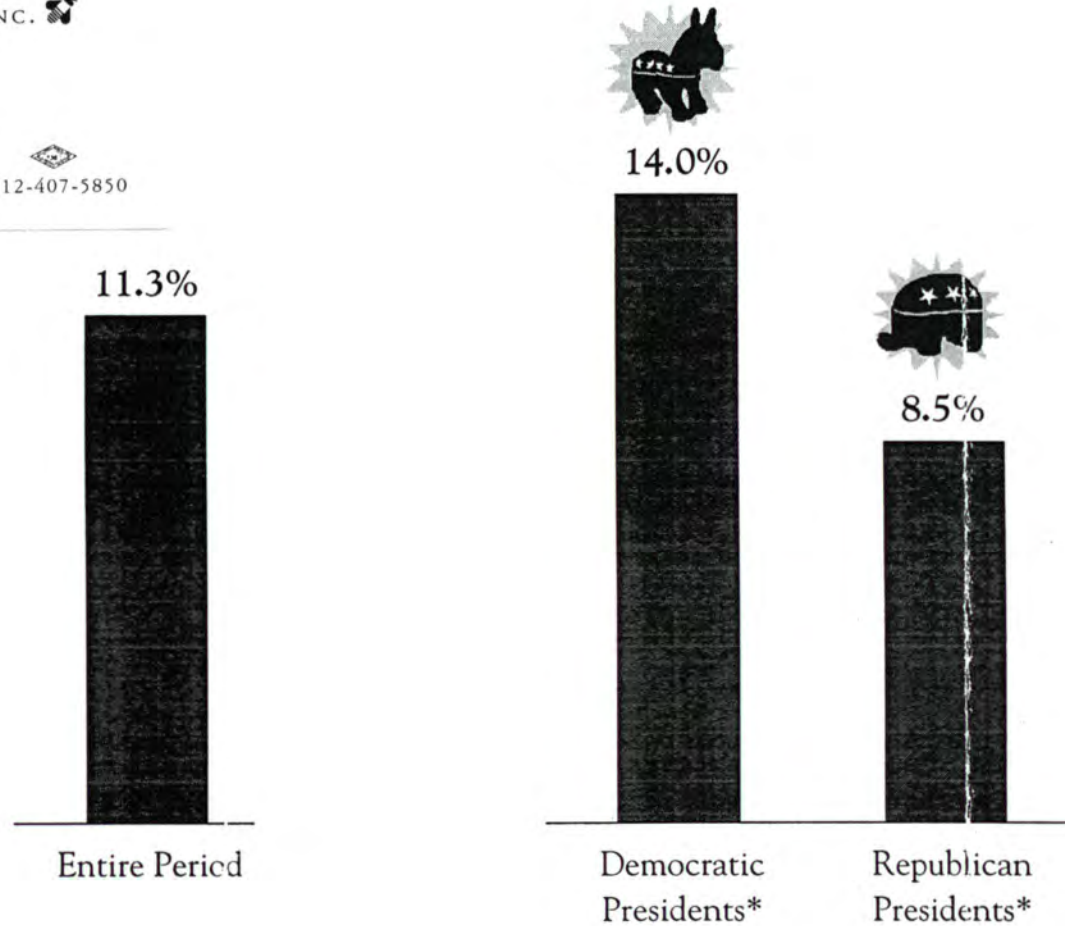
S&P 500 Annualized Return: 1926-99

SANFORD C. BERNSTEIN & CO., INC. 
Investment Research and Management

767 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10153-0185
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WJC HANDWRITING



*Since 1926, Democrats have been in office for 39 years and Republicans have been in office for 35 years.
Source: Standard & Poor's and Sanford C. Bernstein & Co., Inc. (Paul Beirne and Scott Zemachson).

THE WHITE HOUSE 5/27/00

WASHINGTON

5/27/00

NASH

Gila Brown wants to
stay on Holocaust Board
apparently her term
expires 4/15/01 - check it
out - she was w/ me in
'91 - I'm inclined to do -

to

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Nash
Podesta

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Spiering
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AmeriCorps+National Civilian Community Corps



Andrew P. Chambers

LIEUTENANT GENERAL, U.S. ARMY (RET.)

National Director

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1201 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20525

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

5-30-00

PRESIDENT CLINTON

Gov S/Burke

Can we do anything
about this in this session
where? Bc

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

76 Ricchetti

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-29-00

Fyi - ~~But~~
BC

From
Orson Porter
on tape &
the internet



Orson C. Porter
08/22/2000 09:49:06 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Nancy V. Hernreich/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Internet

From today's Chicago Tribune, his honor would love this... He often tells the same story. op

GORE'S INTERNET LINK IS
NOTHING TO JOKE ABOUT

Eric Zorn
August 22, 2000

copied
Ricchetti
Padesta

Everyone seems to know that Democratic presidential candidate Al Gore did not really invent the Internet. And everyone seems to have had a few good laughs because he claimed he did.

Republican candidate George W. Bush provoked half a minute of derisive hoots earlier this month in his convention acceptance speech with a wry reference to Gore having "been there when the Internet was invented" and took a jolly swipe at Gore in an e-mail last winter: "This Internet of yours is a wonderful invention!"

A roster of the commentators who have made scornful or needling allusions to this boast includes some of the columnists I admire most--("Accordingly, when Al Gore invented the Internet..." Eric Zorn column, May 3, 1999)--and even Gore himself has mined it for comic value, saying once, "I was pretty tired when I made that comment because I had been up very late the night before inventing the camcorder."

But what no one seems to know is that Gore never said he invented the Internet. The quote that touched off 17 months and counting of mockery was this remark to a CNN reporter on March 9, 1999: "During my service in the United States Congress, I took the initiative in creating the Internet."

It was an ordinary use of metaphor. We routinely

PHOTO BY
WJC HANDWRITING

8-29-00

speak of politicians building roads, bridges and other structures when we mean that they led the necessary funding and legislative efforts, not that they put on hard hats and spent their days at hard toil.

Obviously a legislator wouldn't and couldn't literally write the codes and protocols to create a sophisticated computer network any more than he would literally put criminals in jail or build a downtown bypass. But he would and could take the political initiative to help make it happen: Speak out. Hold hearings. Write laws.

So, did he? Was Gore a political bystander in the early days of the computer communications revolution, or a leader?

Like a handful of other journalists who've stopped snickering at the jokes long enough to look into this question, I've concluded that he did lead.

In June 1986, back when there were fewer than 5,000 network host sites (there are tens of millions today) available to a comparative handful of knowledgeable users, Gore, then a senator from Tennessee, introduced the Supercomputer Network Study Act in response to fears in the research community that the U.S. was dangerously lagging in this area.

Then in October 1988, Gore introduced the National High-Performance Computer Technology Act. After it died, he reintroduced it in May of the following year. It called for more ambitious funding to improve and expand the connections between universities, libraries and other institutions. Both before and after the act passed in 1991, Gore spoke frequently of "the information superhighway," a phrase he is widely credited with coining and that recalled the key role his late father, also a U.S. senator, played in building (figuratively, of course!) the interstate highway system.

Computer scientist Vinton Cerf, sometimes called "The Father of the Internet," was co-designer of the communications protocol that forms the backbone of the Internet and a pioneer in the academic/military computer networks from which the Internet sprung. In a statement sent to me Monday by MCI WorldCom, where he is now senior vice president of Internet Architecture and Technology, Cerf wrote:

8-29-00

"Gore's support for the research agencies ... helped to shape the development of the NSFNET--a national network with international connections that took up where its predecessor, the ARPANET, left off. ... By the mid-late 1980s, then-Senator Gore had become a visible proponent of NSFNET, which enthusiasm and insight continued and grew with his election to the Vice Presidency. For having seen the potential in these technologies, and for having pursued and argued for legislation and administration support for research in these areas ... I think it is entirely fitting that the Vice President take some credit for helping to create an environment in which [the] Internet could thrive."

There you go. It was "entirely fitting" for him to have noted that he played an important role in boosting this transformational technology at a critical time in history. And those who persist in telling "Internet AI" jokes reveal far more about their own lack of devotion to accuracy than Gore's.

8-29-00

Call Records
62240

Carol:

Were these letters sent?
if not, should they be?

→ 8/2 -

MF

8-30-00

Carol-

Letters went out
to all three on
August 2, 2000.

AK

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-8-00



Judy Steelman <judysteelman@ezclick.net>
07/31/2000 11:06:45 AM

See President

Record Type: Record

To: Nancy V. Hernreich/WHO/EOP

cc: Eugenie Bisulco/WHO/EOP, Mary Morrison/WHO/EOP

Subject: Death of George Alvin Kruse

CLINTON - ARKANSAS

Memo

TO: Nancy Hernreich

FROM: Lynda Dixon

DATE: 7/31/00

RE: Death of George Alvin Kruse

I will send flowers from the President and First Lady.

Please send letters to:

Wife: Jewell Mae Kruse
12573 Samples Road
Benton, AR 72015
(501) 794-0458

Daughter: Jeanee Hutchison
801 Snow Lane
Alexander, AR 72002

Daughter: Janette Green
(Address to Follow)

See obit on page 2.

ALEXANDER -- George Alvin Kruse, 80, of Alexander passed away Sunday, July 30, 2000. He was the owner of Kruse Meat Packing Company and a member of the Arkansas Cattlemen's Association. Mr. Kruse was a member of the Holland Chapel Baptist Church, where he was a Deacon and Sunday School Superintendent. He was preceded in death by his parents, John William and Sophia Marie Ruck Kruse.

Mr. Kruse is survived by his wife, Jewell Mae Kruse of Alexander; two daughters, Janette Green of Little Rock, Jeanee and Ronnie Hutchison of Alexander; two sisters, Eda Fletcher of Benton, Emma Schette of Tulsa, Okla.; four grandchildren, Artie Green, Renee Campbell, Tracie Rich and Joey Hutchison, all of Alexander; five great-grandchildren, Colton and Camille Campbell, Tyler Green, Kruse Rich, and Bethany Hutchison.

Services will be 10 a.m. Wednesday, August 2, 2000, at Holland Chapel Baptist Church with Brother

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Jim Harrell and Brother Kim Hammer officiating. Burial will follow in Pinecrest Memorial Park, under the direction of Ashby Funeral Home. Visitation will be Tuesday from 7-8:30 p.m. at the funeral home



- att1.htm



- header.htm

LEE,

8/30/00

Amy called asked if
this went out, pls.
WRN, this copy
to her.

MYRA

*STAFF SECRETARY

ME

COPY
426968
FORM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 2, 2000

3 letters

Jewell Mae Kruse
12573 Samples Road
Benton, Arkansas 72015

Dear Jewell:

I was saddened by George's death and wanted you to know I'm thinking about you and your family.

George was a good man who gave so much to your community. He will be deeply missed. Hillary and I hope the support of loved ones, along with the memories of your husband's meaningful life, will give you solace during this difficult time.

We'll be keeping you in our prayers.

Sincerely,

Bill

George was no good
to me — I'll never forget
him

000803

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 2, 2000

Jeanee Hutchison
801 Snow Lane
Alexander, Arkansas 72002

Dear Jeanee:

Hillary and I were saddened by your father's death, and we wanted to extend heartfelt condolences to you and your family. We know what a difficult time this must be for you all.

You'll be in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Your father was
a new friend to me -
I'll never forget him.

000803

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 2, 2000

Janette Green
208 Greenfield Drive
Benton, Arkansas 72015

Dear Janette:

I was saddened by your father's death and wanted you to know I'm thinking about you during this difficult time.

Hillary and I send our heartfelt condolences to you and your family, and we'll be keeping you in our prayers.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

I really liked
your father - He was a
real friend to me.

000803



Judy Steelman <judysteelman@ezclick.net>
07/31/2000 05:04:27 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Nancy V. Hernreich/WHO/EOP
cc: Eugenie Bisulco/WHO/EOP, Mary Morrison/WHO/EOP
Subject: Death of George Alvin Kruse - UPDATED - Address for Janette Green and News article

CLINTON - ARKANSAS

Memo

TO: Nancy Hernreich
FROM: Lynda Dixon
DATE: 7/31/00
RE: Death of George Alvin Kruse
I will send flowers from the President and First Lady.

Please send letters to:

Wife: Jewell Mae Kruse
12573 Samples Road
Benton, AR 72015
(501) 794-0458

Daughter: Jeanee Hutchison
801 Snow Lane
Alexander, AR 72002

Daughter: Janette Green
208 Greenfield Drive
Benton, AR 72015

See obit on page 2 and news article on 3 and 4

ALEXANDER -- George Alvin Kruse, 80, of Alexander passed away Sunday, July 30, 2000. He was the owner of Kruse Meat Packing Company and a member of the Arkansas Cattlemen's Association. Mr. Kruse was a member of the Holland Chapel Baptist Church, where he was a Deacon and Sunday School Superintendent. He was preceded in death by his parents, John William and Sophia Marie Ruck Kruse.

Mr. Kruse is survived by his wife, Jewell Mae Kruse of Alexander; two daughters, Janette Green of Little Rock, Jeanee and Ronnie Hutchison of Alexander; two sisters, Eda Fletcher of Benton, Emma Schette of Tulsa, Okla.; four grandchildren, Artie Green, Renee Campbell, Tracie Rich and Joey Hutchison, all of Alexander; five great-grandchildren, Colton and Camille Campbell, Tyler Green, Kruse Rich, and Bethany Hutchison.

Services will be 10 a.m. Wednesday, August 2, 2000, at Holland Chapel Baptist Church with Brother

Jim Harrell and Brother Kim Hammer officiating. Burial will follow in Pinecrest Memorial Park, under the direction of Ashby Funeral Home. Visitation will be Tuesday from 7-8:30 p.m. at the funeral home.

Section: News
Monday, July 31, 2000

Long-time businessman, Kruse, dies at 80

Tim Nuoffer/Courier Managing Editor

ALEXANDER - Long-time Saline County resident and business owner, George Alvin Kruse of Alexander, died Sunday at the age of 80 after a brief illness.

Kruse was the owner of Kruse Meat Packing Co. on Kruse Loop Road, which he founded in 1945, and was active in the business until just weeks before his death.

"At the time he started the business he was working at Finkbeiner's Meat Packing in Little Rock," said Kruse's daughter, Jeanne Hutchison. "But he wanted his own business and started it in a dairy barn." Hutchison remembered her father as an individual who loved his work. "It (work) was his passion," she said. "A few weeks ago he was out in the field at Kruse Meat Packing cutting hay. It amazes me that he had that kind of will-power."

In addition to owning his own business, Kruse was a member of the Cattlemen's Association and a strong supporter of the state Democratic Party.

Hutchison said her father arranged on a couple of occasions to have then Gov. Bill Clinton speak at a function, and that he also had called on former U.S. Senator David Pryor to speak at Holland Chapel Baptist Church in Benton.

"He was always enthusiastic about being the Sunday School Superintendent at his church," Hutchison said. "When he was younger he was called the 'gum man' because he carried gum with him for the kids in the church."

Kruse also served the congregation as a deacon.

Though Kruse built and maintained a successful business and was respected in the industry, tragedy struck in May 1998, when fire destroyed the meat packing facility. "The family talked about not rebuilding," Hutchison said, "but he was determined to rebuild. We did most of the work ourselves, and re-opened in December of 1998. The only difference was that we did not slaughter cattle like we did before the fire."

The company is now a wholesale provider for several large food manufacturers and distributors.

Kruse was preceded in death by his parents, John William and Sophia Marie Ruck Kruse.

Survivors include his wife, Jewell Mae Kruse; two daughters, Janette Green of Little Rock and Jeanne and Ronnie Hutchison of Alexander; two sisters, Eda Fletcher of Benton and Emma Schuette of Tulsa, Okla.; four grandchildren, Artie Green, Renee Campbell, Tracie Rich and Joey Hutchison all of Alexander; and five great-grandchildren, Colton Campbell, Camille Campbell, Tyler Green, Kruse Rich and Bethany Hutchison.

Funeral will be held at 10 a.m., Wednesday at Holland Chapel Baptist Church with the Rev. Jim Harrell and the Rev. Kim Hammer officiating.

Burial will follow at Pinecrest Memorial Park under the direction of Ashby Funeral Home.

Visitation will be Tuesday from 7 to 8:30 p.m. at the funeral home.



- att1.htm



- warning.txt



- warning.txt



- warning.txt

Dear Mr. President,
I'll always treasure

that marvelous
medal of Freedom —

especially the fact that it came from your hand. I
treasure even more that you reacted so quickly and
so positively to the concept that the U.S. should
take the lead within the U.N. in providing a
school lunch every day for every child in the



George McGovern

Ambassador

U.S. Mission to the United Nations Agencies
for Food and Agriculture
Via Vittorio Veneto, 119/A
00187 Rome

8-25-00

August 12, 2000

JPetal

-Fyl-

BC

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

that we get started now. The traditional U.S. percentage of U.N. operations is 25 percent; so if the other countries will come up with \$900 million, that gives us 1.2 billion the first year.

Perhaps some of our billionaire friends, Bill Gates, Warren Buffett, Ted Turner, the Saudi & Kuwait rulers, etc. would respond to a call from you. I would like to see some more money contributed.

Who else should be
copied?
Podesta
~~Burkhardt (Cohen)~~
~~Clerk~~ →

Lisel Lay
Melanne Verveer
Pelia Cohen

will copy after you have
seen.

copied
Podesta
Lay
Verveer
Cohen

605 South Ave
Blountville, Tenn.
59870

George McGovern
Ambassador, U. N. Agencies
Rome

official and personal



President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

8-17-00

Country	Head of Delegation	Arriving	Departing	Speaking	With spouse	Blat?
Afghanistan	HS - Burhanuddin Rabbani			9/8 a.m., 16		
Albania	HS - Rexhep Meidani			9/8 a.m., 7		
Algeria	HS - Abdelaziz Bouteflika	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/6 p.m., 3	Not accompanied	No request
Andorra	HG - Marc Forné Molné			9/8 a.m., 38	Yes	
Angola	HS - José Eduardo dos Santos			9/8 a.m., 22	Unconfirmed	
Antigua and Barbuda	HS - Governor-General James Carlisle			9/8 a.m., 27		
Argentina	HS - Fernando de la Rúa			9/8 a.m., 15		
Armenia	HS - Robert Kocharian	9/5/00	9/8/00	9/7 p.m., 11	No	No request
Australia	HG - John Howard	9/5/00	9/7/00	9/6 a.m., 31	Not likely	No request
Austria	HS - Thomas Klestil	9/5/00	9/9/00	9/6 p.m., 5	Unconfirmed	Requested POTUS
Azerbaijan	HS - Heydar Aliyev ogly Aliyev	9/4/00	9/9/00	9/7 a.m., 15	No	Request POTUS / RCH
Bahamas	HG - Hubert Ingraham			9/8 p.m., 8		
Bahrain	HS - Shaikh Hamad Bin Isa Al-Khalifa	9/5/00	9/10/00	9/8 a.m., 1	No	No request
Bangladesh	HG - Sheikh Hasina	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/6 p.m., 22	Unconfirmed	Request POTUS
Barbados	HG - Owen Arthur			9/6 p.m., 25		
Belarus	HS - Alyaksandr Lukashenko			9/6 p.m., 4		
Belgium	HG - Guy Verhofstadt	9/6/00	9/8/00	9/6 p.m., 28	No	No request
Belize	HG - Sald Musa	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 22	Unconfirmed	No request
Benin	HS - Mathieu Kérékou			9/7 p.m., 9		
Bhutan	HS - King Jigme Singye Wangchuck			9/8 a.m., 20		No request
Bolivia	HS - Hugo Banzer Suárez	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 3	Unconfirmed	No request
Bosnia and Herzegovina	HS - Alija Izetbegovic	9/6/00	9/8/00	9/6 p.m., 14	Unconfirmed	Will request POTUS / MKA
Botswana	HS - Festus Mogae			9/7 a.m., 25		
Brazil	VP - Marco Maciel			9/6 p.m., 29		
Brunei Darussalam	HS - King Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'azzaddin Waddaulah			9/8 a.m., 23	No	No request
Bulgaria	HS - Petur Stoyanov	9/5/00	9/8/00	9/7 p.m., 7	Yes, Anelina Stoyanov	No request
Burkina Faso	HS - Blaise Compaore			9/8 a.m., 21		
Burundi	HS - Major Pierre Buyoya	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 13	Unconfirmed	No request
Cambodia	HG - Samdech Hun Sen			9/8 a.m., 29	Yes, Bun Rany	
Cameroon	HS - Paul Biya	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 15	Unconfirmed	No request
Canada	HG - Jean Chrétien	9/6/00	9/7/00	9/7 p.m., 18	Unconfirmed	No request
Cape Verde	HS - Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 p.m., 4	Unconfirmed	
Central African Republic	HS - Ange-Félix Patassé	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 p.m., 10	Unconfirmed	No request
Chad				9/8 a.m., 12		
Chile	HS - Ricardo Lagos	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/6 a.m., 18	Unconfirmed	Request MKA
China	HS - Jiang Zemin	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 a.m., 24	Unconfirmed	POTUS has confirmed, but not schedule
Colombia	HS - Andrés Pastrana Arango	9/5/00	9/8/00	9/6 p.m., 8	Unconfirmed	Requested POTUS
Comoros	M -			9/8 a.m., 36		No request
Congo	HS - Denis Sassou Nguesso	9/4/00	9/10/00	9/8 a.m., 8	Unconfirmed, but pro	San Jose 01783 refers to requests for M
Costa Rica	HS - Miguel Ángel Rodríguez Echeverría	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 2	Unconfirmed	No request
Cote D'Ivoire	FM - Charles Gomis	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 p.m., 30	Probably will not	No request
Croatia	HS - Stjepan Mesić			9/7 a.m., 9		
Cuba	M -			9/8 p.m., 30		
Cyprus	HS - Glafcos Clerides	9/7/02 or 03/00	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 5	Unconfirmed	Request POTUS and MKA
Czech Republic	HS - Václav Havel	9/7/00	9/10/00	9/8 p.m., 2	Unconfirmed	No request
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	HO - Kim Young Nam staying at the Intercontinental Hotel	9/4/00	9/9/00	9/8 a.m., 10	Unconfirmed	No request

Denmark	HG - Poul Nyrup Rasmussen			9/8 a.m., 31		
Djibouti	HS - Ismail Omar Guelleh	9/4/00	9/14/00	9/7 p.m., 8	Unconfirmed	Requests POTUS and SecState
Dominica	HG - Roosevelt Douglas			9/7 p.m., 24		
Dominican Republic	HS - Leonel Fernández Reyna			9/8 p.m., 17		
Ecuador	HS - Gustavo Noboa Bejarano			9/6 p.m., 9		
Egypt	HS - Mohamed Hosni Mubarak	9/5/00	9/9/00	9/7 a.m., 16	Unconfirmed	No Request
El Salvador	HS - Francisco Guillermo Flores Pérez			9/6 p.m., 15		
Equatorial Guinea	HS - Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo			9/6 a.m., 2		
Eritrea	HS - Isaias Afewerki	9/6/00	Unconfirmed	9/8 p.m., 5	Unconfirmed	No request
Estonia	HS - Lennart Meri	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 p.m., 16	Unconfirmed	
Federated States of Micronesia	HS - Leo Falcam	9/4/00	9/13/00	9/6 a.m., 19		Request for POTUS
Fiji	HG - Mahendra Pal Chaudhry			9/8 a.m., 27	Yes, but only to Hon.	Requested POTUS
Finland	HS - Tarja Halonen			9/7 a.m., 4		
France	HS - Jacques Chirac	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/6 a.m., 14		No request
Gabon	HS - El Hadj Omar Bongo			9/7 a.m., 23	Unlikely	
Gambia	HS - Captain Yahya Jammeh			9/8 a.m., 1		
Georgia	HS - Eduard Shevardnadze			9/7 p.m., 1		
Germany	HG - Gerhard Schröder	9/5/00	9/8/00	9/7 p.m., 37		No request
Ghana	HS - Fll.-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 a.m., 12	Unconfirmed	No request
Greece	HG - Costas Simitis			9/7 a.m., 29	No	
Grenada	HG - Keith Mitchell			9/8 p.m., 9		
Guatemala	HS - Alfonso Portillo Cabrera	9/5/00	9/11/00	9/8 a.m., 3		No request
Guinea	HG - Lamine Sadrine			9/8 p.m., 11	Yes	
Guinea-Bissau				9/8 p.m., 6		
Guyana	HG - Samuel Hinds			9/6 a.m., 25		
Haiti	HS - René Préval			9/7 p.m., 8		
Holy See	PM - Cardinal Angelo Sodano			9/8 a.m., 13	Unconfirmed	
Honduras	HS - Carlos Roberto Flores Facussé	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 17	No	No request
Hungary	HG - Ferenc Mád	9/5/00	9/8/00	9/7 a.m., 32	Unconfirmed	Request to meet
Iceland	HG - David Oddsson			9/8 a.m., 21	Unconfirmed	
India	HG - Atal Behari Vajpayee			9/8 a.m., 33		
Indonesia	HS - K. H. Abdurrahman Wahid	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 11		Requested POTUS
Iraq	VP - Taha Muhyi al-Din Maruf or Taha Yasin Ramadan			9/8 a.m., 28	Unconfirmed	
Ireland	HG - Bertie Ahern	9/5/00	9/8/00	9/6 a.m., 24		No request
Islamic Republic of Iran	HS - Seyed Mohammad Khatami	9/3/00	9/8/00	9/8 p.m., 8	Yes	No request
Israel	HG - Ehud Barak			9/8 a.m., 23	Unconfirmed	
Italy	HG - Giuliano Amato	9/5/00	9/8/00	9/7 a.m., 35		No Request
Jamaica	HG - Percival James Patterson	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 p.m., 23	Unconfirmed	No request
Japan	HG - Yoshiro Mori			9/7 p.m., 20	Unconfirmed	
Jordan	HS - King Abdullah Bin Al Hussein			9/8 a.m., 10		
Kazakhstan	HS - Nureultan Nazarbayev	9/5/00	9/8/00	9/8 p.m., 11		No request
Kenya	HS - Daniel Toroitich arap Moi	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 16	No	No request
Kyrgyzstan	M -			9/7 a.m., 39	Unconfirmed	
Kuwait	FM - Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	9/6/00	9/16/00	9/7 a.m., 1		Requested POTUS / RCH
Laos People's Democratic Republic	OPM - Bounphanang Velachit or Choummali Saigneson or Somsaval Lengsavat			9/7 p.m., 28	Unconfirmed	
Latvia	HS - Valdis Vike-Freibergs	9/3/00	9/8/00	9/8 p.m., 1		No request
Lebanon	HG - Salim El-Hoss	9/12/00	9/18/00	9/7 a.m., 33	No	Request MKA

Lesotho	HG - Pakalima Bethuel Mosisi			9/7 p.m., 22	Unconfirmed	
Liberia	M -			9/7 p.m., 29		
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	CD -	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 38		No request
Liechtenstein	HG - Mario Frick			9/6 a.m., 26	Unconfirmed	
Lithuania	HS - Valdas Adamkus			9/7 a.m., 3		
Luxembourg	HG - Jean-Claude Juncker			9/8 a.m., 34		
Madagascar	HS - Didier Ratsiraka			9/8 a.m., 5		
Malawi	HS - Bakili Muluzi	9/6/00	9/8/00	9/8 a.m., 25		No request
Malaysia	Dep. Prime Minister - Abdullah Badawi	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 a.m., 27	Yes, Mrs. Patricia Sham Muluzi	
Maldives	HS - Mamoun Abdul Gayoom	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 6	Likely	Requests POTUS
Mali	HS - Alpha Oumar Konaré			9/7 a.m., 7	Yes, Mrs. Gayoom	
Malta	HG - Edward Fenech Adami	9/6/00	9/8/00	9/8 a.m., 32		No Request
Marshall Islands	HS - Kessai Note	9/4/00	9/8/00	9/7 p.m., 3	Unconfirmed	No Request
Mauritania	HS - Maouiya Ould Sid' Ahmed Taya			9/7 p.m., 13	Yes, Mrs. Mary Note	
Mauritius	HG - Navinchandra Ramgoolam			9/7 a.m., 28		
Mexico	HS - Ernesto Zedillo	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 9		No request
Monaco	HS - Le Prince Rainier III			9/7 a.m., 5	Unconfirmed	
Mongolia	HS - Natsagiyn Bagabandi			9/6 p.m., 2		
Morocco	HS - Mohammed VI	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 p.m., 2		No request
Mozambique	HS - Joaquim Alberto Chissano	9/5/00	Unconfirmed	9/6 p.m., 10	Unconfirmed	No request
Myanmar	M -			9/7 a.m., 40	Unconfirmed	
Namibia	HS - Sam Nujoma	9/2/00	9/8/00	9/6 a.m., 9		No request
Nauru	VP -			9/7 a.m., 39	Unconfirmed	
Nepal	HG - Girija Prasad Koirala	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 p.m., 21		Requested POTUS
Netherlands	HG - Wim Kok	9/5/00	9/7/00	9/8 p.m., 24	No	No request
New Zealand	HG - Helen Clark	9/8/00	9/13/00	9/6 p.m., 26	No	No request
Nicaragua	HS - Arnoldo Aleman Lacayo	9/5/00	Unconfirmed	9/6 a.m., 4	No	No request
Niger	HS - Tandja Mamadou	9/4/00	9/10/00	9/8 p.m., 3	No	No request
Nigeria	HS - Olusegun Obasanjo			9/8 a.m., 18	Unconfirmed	
Norway	HS - King Harald V			9/7 a.m., 17		
Oman	FM - Yusuf Bin Abdullah	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 33		May request SecState MKA
Pakistan	HG - Gen. Pervez Musharraf			9/6 p.m., 23	No	
Palestine	HRO -			9/6 a.m., 30		
Panama	VP - Arturo (Vallarino) Barzuano	9/4/00	9/8/00	9/6 a.m., 12		No request
Papua New Guinea	HG - Makere Morauta	9/4/00	Unconfirmed	9/8 p.m., 7	Unconfirmed	POTUS/NSC /MKA
Paraguay	HS - Luis Angel González Macchi	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 p.m., 14	Unconfirmed	No request
Peru	HS - Alberto Fujimori Fujimori			9/8 a.m., 8	Unconfirmed	
Philippines	HS - Joseph E. Estrada			9/8 p.m., 4		
Poland	HS - Aleksandr Kwasniewski	9/5/00	9/9/00	9/7 a.m., 2		No request
Portugal	HG - Antonio Guterres	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/6 p.m., 20	Unconfirmed	No request
Qatar	HS - Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 a.m., 22	Unconfirmed	
Republic of Korea	HS - Kim Dae-jung (staying at Waldorf)	5/9/00	9/8/00	9/8 p.m., 13	Unconfirmed	Requested POTUS
Republic of Moldova	HS - Petru Lucinschi			9/7 a.m., 20	Unconfirmed	
Romania	HS - Emil Constantinescu			9/8 a.m., 4		
Russian Federation	HS - Vladimir Putin			9/6 p.m., 16	Yes Mrs. Nadia Con	POTUS has confirmed, but not scheduled
Rwanda	HS - Paul Kagame	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/6 p.m., 18		No request
Saint Kitts and Nevis	HG - Danzil Douglas			9/7 a.m., 34	Unconfirmed	

Saint Lucia	HG - Kenny Anthony			9/7 a.m., 30		
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	HS - Governor-General Charles Antrobus			9/7 p.m., 10		
Samoa	HG - Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi			9/7 p.m., 25		
San Marino	HS - Maria Domenica Michelotti or Gian Marco Marcucci	9/5/00	9/9/00	9/7 a.m., 28		No request
Sao Tome and Principe	HS - Miguel dos Anjos da Cunha Lisboa Trovada	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 p.m., 5	Unconfirmed	No request
Saudi Arabia	CP - Abdullah Bin Abd Al-Aziz Al Saud	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 29	Unconfirmed	POTUS has confirmed, but not scheduled
Senegal	HS - Abdoulaye Wade	9/5/00	Unconfirmed	9/8 p.m., 12	Unconfirmed	No request
Seychelles	VP - James Michel			9/7 a.m., 26	Unconfirmed	
Sierra Leone	HS - Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah	9/5/00	9/9/00	9/7 a.m., 18		No request
Singapore	HG - Goh Chok Tong	9/2/00	Unconfirmed	9/7 a.m., 31	Unconfirmed	No request
Slovakia	HG - Mikulas Dzurinda	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 a.m., 6	Unconfirmed	No request
Slovenia	HG - Mikulas Dzurinda	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 15	Unconfirmed	No request
Solomon Islands	HG - Bartholomew Ulufa'alu			9/8 p.m., 21	Unconfirmed	
South Africa	HS - Thabo Mbeki	9/5/00	9/8/00	9/7 a.m., 19		No request
Spain	HG - José María Aznar	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 p.m., 27	Yes	No request
Sri Lanka	HS - Chandrika Bandaranaike	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 a.m., 11	Unconfirmed	No request
Sudan	HS - Lt. Gen. Omer Hassan Ahmed Al-Bashir			9/6 p.m., 17	Not Started	
Suriname	HS - Ronald Venetiaan (President Designate)	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 8		Request MKA
Swaziland	HS - King Mswati III	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 p.m., 7	Unconfirmed	No request
Sweden	HG - Göran Persson			9/8 a.m., 30	Yes, but not sure which one	
Switzerland	HS - Adolf Ogi	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 p.m., 27		No request
Syrian Arab Republic	FM - Farouk Al-Shara	9/4/00	9/15/00	9/8 a.m., 32	Unconfirmed	No Request
Tajikistan	HS - Emomali Rahmonov	9/2/00	9/7/00	9/8 a.m., 28	Unconfirmed	No request
Thailand	FM - Surin Phitsawan			9/8 a.m., 37	No	Request meeting w/ POTUS
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	HS - Boris Trajkovski	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 20		Request for POTUS
Togo	HS - Le Général Gnassingbé Eyadema			9/7 a.m., 21	Unconfirmed	
Tonga	HG - Prince 'Ulukatala Lavaka Ala	9/5/00	9/8/00	9/8 a.m., 28		No Request
Trinidad and Tobago	HG - Basdeo Pandey			9/7 a.m., 36	Unconfirmed	
Tunisia	HS - Zine El Abidine Ben Ali	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 p.m., 12		TBD
Turkey	HS - Ahmet Necdet Sezer	9/4/00	9/10/00	9/7 p.m., 19	Unconfirmed	No request
Turkmenistan	HS - Saparmurat Niyazov			9/7 a.m., 13	Yes, Semra Sezer	
Uganda	HS - Yoweri Kaguta Museveni			9/8 a.m., 19		
Ukraine	HS - Leonid Kuchma	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 a.m., 10		Requested POTUS, dipnote to USUN 8/23
United Arab Emirates	HD - Shayk Hamad bin Mohammad Al-Shawi			9/8 a.m., 36	Unconfirmed	Request RCH
United Kingdom	HG - Tony Blair	9/6/00	9/7/00	9/7 a.m., 17	No	No request
United Republic of Tanzania	HS - Benjamin Wiliam Mkapa			9/7 p.m., 14	Unconfirmed	
United States	HS - President William Jefferson Clinton	9/8/00	9/9/00	9/8 a.m., 1		
Uruguay	HS - Jorge Batlle Ibañez	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 7	Unconfirmed	Informal request for POTUS
Uzbekistan	HS - Islam Karimov	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 24	No	Requests POTUS
Vanuatu	HG - Barak Sopa Maautamale			9/8 p.m., 10	Unconfirmed	
Venezuela	HS - Hugo Chávez Frías			9/7 a.m., 14		
Vietnam	HS - Tran Duc Luong	9/5/00	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 11		No request
Yemen	HS - Ali Abdullah Saleh	9/4/00	9/10/00	9/8 a.m., 13	Yes, Nguyen Thi Van	No request
Zambia	HS - Frederick Chiluba	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/7 a.m., 8	No	No request
Zimbabwe	HS - Robert G. Mugabe	Unconfirmed	Unconfirmed	9/8 a.m., 12	Unconfirmed	No request
					Probably Yes, Mrs. Grace Mugabe	

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-17-00



Heather L. Davis

08/09/2000 01:09:10 PM



Record Type: Record

To: Laura A. Graham/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Progressive Governance Dinner

Add Tony Blair

----- Forwarded by Heather L. Davis/WHO/EOP on 08/09/2000 01:09 PM -----



Shawn J. Johnson



08/02/2000 04:03

Record Type: Record

To: Heather L. Davis/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

bcc:

Subject: Re: Progressive Governance Dinner 

Blair

President Fernando de la Rúa, Argentina
President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Brazil
Prime Minister Jean Chretien, Canada
President Ricardo Lagos Escobar, Chile
Prime Minister Wim Kok, Netherlands
Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, France
Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, Germany
Prime Minister Costas Simitis, Greece
Prime Minister Giuliano Amato, Italy
Prime Minister Helen Clark, New Zealand
Prime Minister Antonio Guterres, Portugal
Prime Minister Goran Persson, Sweden
President Thabo Mbeki, South Africa
President Bill Clinton, United States of America

love,
Shawn
Heather L. Davis



Heather L. Davis

08/02/2000 03:49:44 PM



Record Type: Record

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81V00

Send to Records?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Q

Wendell ^{AS SEE}
7-31-00
from the school
on Main Street.

Revised
after tornado
BC



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AL FROM

Aug 17, 1900

Dear Mr. President - 8-17-00

Good to visit with you today.
Appropos of our talk, I thought you'd
enjoy a copy of our convention issue of
the New Democrat. Another part of your
living legacy. See you soon. AL

4582352
1988
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8 17-00
From Oval
Outbox
ORM

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
**Thirty-Fourth Republican
National Convention**

held in
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

August 15, 16, 17, 18, 1988

Resulting in the nomination of
GEORGE H.W. BUSH, of Texas, for President

And the nomination of
J. DANFORTH QUAYLE, of Indiana, for Vice President

REPORTED BY ASHER & ASSOCIATES, INC., OFFICIAL REPORTER

Published by the Republican National Committee

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★ SPECIAL DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION ISSUE ★

The Stakes in November and Beyond ★ How to Hold the Vital Center ★ The Compassionate Conservative Challenge

THE NEW DEMOCRAT

VOLUME TWELVE, NUMBERS 4 & 5

SUMMER 2000

\$3.00

Life of the Party

Meet 100 New Democrats Who Are
Changing the Face of American Politics

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Display until November 15, 2000



Five of our 100 to Watch. From left to right, Kentucky State Treasurer Jonathan Miller, Baltimore Mayor Martin O'Malley, Maryland Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, California State Assemblyman Dean Florez, and Wisconsin State Rep. Antonio Riley.

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DLC IDEAS are bold, innovative, and in tune with the times; they promote TRADITIONAL VALUES like opportunity, responsibility, and community; and, most important, they work. Ideas developed or promoted by the DLC and put into action by PRESIDENT CLINTON—an economic strategy of fiscal discipline, expanded trade and investments in people; expanding the earned income tax credit; REPLACING WELFARE with a system of work; REINVENTING GOVERNMENT; community policing; national service—are improving the lives of tens of millions of our fellow citizens.

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THE NEW DEMOCRAT

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Illustration credits

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TEAM EFFORT

This issue's cover story profiling 100 New Democrat rising stars was the most ambitious, difficult, and ultimately rewarding task we've ever taken on. It was a team effort, and we'd like to recognize the contributions of several people whose hard work made it possible.

TND editorial board member Holly Page and Debbie Cox, Anne Rung, Jeff Valenzuela, and John Hasselmann of the Democratic Leadership Council political team played vital roles in the project from start to finish. They helped us compile and refine the list of honorees, draft the questionnaire we asked each honoree to complete, and chase down late-arriving submissions.

Freelance writer and frequent TND contributor Erik Gunn dropped everything on the eve of a family vacation to report and write our 10 full-page profiles. Meanwhile, Joan Carroll of AP/Wide World Photos arranged six photo shoots in six different cities over three days without breaking a sweat.

TND intern Lauren Collins tracked the status of the profiles and accompanying photographs throughout the production cycle, and DLC intern Shira Wakschlag helped her with data entry. DLC staff member Leo Ming, Progressive Policy Institute staff member Amina Osman, and DLC interns Molly Norton, Andrea Yaffe, Chris Coleman, and Steve Knable provided timely help with research, proofreading, and correspondence.

Now for your part of the effort: By filling out and sending us the business reply card enclosed in this issue, you can help us give even more New Democrat rising stars the credit they are due.

This issue marks the return of David Osborne and Peter Plastrik to TND. An excerpt from their new book, *The Reinventor's Fieldbook*, begins on page 45. The pair last wrote for us in our March/April 1998 issue on how Indianapolis public employee unions rose to the challenge of privatization. This time, Osborne and Plastrik tackle the subject of community reparative boards, in which panels of citizen volunteers mete out justice by having vandals, shoplifters, drunk drivers, and other nonviolent low-level offenders repair the damage they have done to their victims and communities.

Service on such boards is a concrete example of community-building public work, the subject of several previous articles by frequent TND contributors Harry Boyte and Nanci Kari. The boards also typify "restorative justice," a new paradigm for crime prevention that DLC and PPI have promoted for years.

♦♦♦

This issue of TND also includes a special supplement, *The Hyde Park Declaration*, a statement of New Democrat principles and a broad national policy agenda for the next decade. It is the collective work of a group of New Democrat elected officials who met at Franklin D. Roosevelt's estate in New York at the DLC's invitation. The manifesto concludes with a partial list of signatories. The complete list will be published at a later date on New Democrats Online, www.ndol.com.

♦♦♦

The next issue of TND will be dated November/December 2000 and released after the fall elections. ♦

LETTERS

Kudos for Field Guide To Internet Policy Debates

To the Editor:

In your last issue, Robert Atkinson and Shane Ham designed a revealing map of the current political divides that shape Internet policy debates (*"Digital Politics," TND, May/June 2000*). This field guide will be even more valuable as new high-tech-related issues emerge.

Given the velocity with which industry is changing — and how fast it is altering other aspects of our society — any tool that measures the political terrain must be adaptable to the changing landscape. For starters, in the section of their article entitled "Ongoing Policy Debates," Atkinson and Ham list some of the most important and difficult issues facing the Internet today. Each issue has to be resolved in a way that allows the Net to continue to grow, or we risk crippling potentially the greatest vehicle for personal fulfillment, civic renewal, and wealth creation we have ever known. Yet the emergence of a more connected "networked world" will create a new maze of issues that are both different from the ones that we are concerned with today and that we can't now predict with any certainty. This is the sustaining value of Atkinson and Ham's metric.

— Christopher G. Caine
 Vice President, Governmental Programs
 IBM Corp.
 Washington, D.C.

entrepreneurs will continue to innovate, and we will surely see new and different issues arise from these developments. As they do, public policy entrepreneurs will just as creatively design various solutions to these challenges. New coalitions between and among individuals, businesses, and government will coalesce around the challenges and their proposed solutions and thereby alter the political dynamics. And this is sure to happen at Net-speed!

Atkinson and Ham allow us not only to gauge the political landscape of an issue, but also to determine where the most sensible and intelligent policy resolution is likely to be found. In a world of rapidly changing political realities, the sooner we can resolve problems, the sooner we can move on to solving the next range of new and emerging issues and harvest the benefits of this incredible era of the Internet and the next phase of the Information Age: the networked world.

— Christopher G. Caine
 Vice President, Governmental Programs
 IBM Corp.
 Washington, D.C.

Gore Had Better Shape Up

To the Editor:

Like many New Democrats, I approached the prospect of Vice President Al Gore leading the Democratic ticket in 2000 with excitement and anticipation. The

Vice President had been an enthusiastic practitioner of Third Way thinking and seemed ready to continue the New Democrat tradition begun by President Clinton.

However, Gore has thoroughly betrayed the New Democrats. In the primaries he ran aggressively to the left, spending most of his campaign proposing new and costly programs in an effort to buy off various party constituencies. Little has changed since the end of the primaries. Gore, who once seemed to be a man of vision, now looks like an old-style liberal, chasing after his party's "base" and ignoring the Reagan Democrats and independent voters who are so critical to the party's future. Regardless of whether Gore wins, I fear that the 2000 election is going to be a terrible debacle for the Democratic Party in general and the New Democrats in particular.

I voted for Gore over Bill Bradley in my state's primary and now I wonder why I bothered. Gore had better shape up or New Democrats like myself are going to ship out.

— Michael J. Berquist
 Pittsburgh

The New Democrat welcomes correspondence from readers. Address type-written letters for publication to: Editor, The New Democrat, 600 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20003. You can also email them to: tnd@dlcpci.org. Include your full name, address, and a daytime telephone number. Letters may be edited for space and style.

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UP FRONT

DLC Leader Roy Romer Tapped To Head Los Angeles Schools

In early June, former Colorado Gov. Roy Romer, 71, agreed to become the superintendent of the Los Angeles Unified School District. At an age at which most public officials contemplate retirement or less demanding ways to stay in public life, Romer instead has taken on what is generally considered to be the most challenging school superintendency in the country.

Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan has described the district as "the most dysfunctional bureaucracy in the history of the world." Romer's predecessor on an interim basis, Ramon Cortines, echoed that sentiment, calling the district "the most dysfunctional" in the nation as he removed himself for consideration for the position full-time. Cortines is well qualified to pass such judgements; he previously served as chief of the politically tempestuous New York and San Francisco school districts.

Romer, the former chairman of the Democratic National Committee and a leader of the Democratic Leadership Council, obviously faces a daunting task. The Los Angeles district spans 707 square miles, enrolls 697,000 students, employs 67,000 adults, and operates 930 schools and other facilities. Its \$7.4 billion annual budget exceeds that of many states and is second among school districts only to New York. Its foibles are well known. Recently, it built a \$200 million school on a site that turned out to be contaminated by toxic chemicals and explosive gas. Elsewhere in the bureaucracy, a recently disclosed paperwork blunder potentially could cost the district \$900 million



for school facilities. The district chewed up and spit out five superintendents between 1990 and 1999.

Why would anyone want this job, especially someone winding up a long and distinguished career in public service? In an interview with *The New York Times*, Romer, who earned a national reputation for his advocacy of school reform in Colorado and his work on various national education panels, said he accepted the job offer because of a "crisis of conscience."

Having preached the gospel of school reform, he said, "Do you go on the street and walk your talk?"

The Los Angeles district has acquired a rare talent in Romer. Hopefully, the system's power brokers will recognize that and give him the room he needs to do his job.

— Andrew Rotherham

Study Applauds Minnesota's Welfare-to-Work Program

Six years ago, Minnesota implemented a forward-looking welfare-to-work program focused on long-

term financial security and stability for its recipients. What sets Minnesota's Family Investment Project apart from most other states' reform schemes is an "earned income disregard" that allow participants to work without fear of losing their welfare benefits.

Recently, the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp. released a study of Minnesota's approach to reform that deserves other states' attention. It found that the program not only boosted participants' self-sufficiency, it also contributed to an impressive increase in marriage rates and equally impressive declines in domestic violence and in reports of children having trouble in school.

Between April 1994 and March 1996, more than 14,000 families in seven Minnesota counties were randomly assigned by lottery to either the Minnesota Family Investment Project or the traditional welfare program. The experimental program allows participants to remain eligible for full welfare benefits until their earned income levels cross above 140 percent of the poverty line. The traditional program immediately begins to phase out benefits as income increases. The experimental program also requires participants to train for jobs and provides up-front subsidies for child care as opposed to reimbursements for expenses. That later provision may sound trifling, but for a single mother with an entry-level job, it may mean the difference between being able to afford to work or not.

According to MDRC, the full-time employment rate for women assigned to the experimental program rose 35 percent. Their earnings increased by 23 percent. Participants also were 21 percent less likely to be solely dependent

on welfare than women enrolled in the traditional welfare program.

Beyond its outstanding financial and employment results, the Minnesota Family Investment Project yielded significant social benefits. Project participants were 38 percent more likely than traditional welfare recipients to get married. Single, urban participants with school-aged children were 18 percent less likely to experience domestic violence. And below-average school performance among their children declined 42 percent.

Marriage rates are up, employment is up, domestic violence is down, and children are doing better at school. So, with results like those, why are other states reluctant to adopt Minnesota's approach to reform?

The answer is that welfare cannot be reformed on the cheap, a point New Democrats have consistently made for more than a decade. The Minnesota Family Investment Project is just that — an investment. The experiment cost the state \$50 million.

States need to decide whether the measure of success in welfare reform is reducing caseloads and cutting costs, or helping the poor find and keep jobs and lead productive, independent lives. If the choice is the latter, the Minnesota program points the way.

— Lauren Collins

Cincinnati School Board Approves Performance-Based Pay for Teachers

Delegates to the National Education Association's annual meeting in July rejected a resolution under which the union would have accepted pay plans based on factors other than longevity and advanced coursework. In fact, by the time the meeting was over the union had voted to strengthen its resolve

against performance-based pay, dealing a setback to NEA President John Chase's lonely campaign to make school improvement his organization's paramount concern.

A year ago, the NEA was seriously considering merging with its longtime rival, the American Federation of Teachers, which historically has been more willing than Chase's union to think outside the box. This September, the AFT's Cincinnati affiliate will get a chance to show how much farther along the reform trail it is compared with the NEA. Teachers in the Ohio city will vote on a performance-based-pay plan unanimously approved by the city school board in May. If approved by the union, the plan would become the first of its kind in the nation.

According to *Education Week*, the new pay scheme would create a five-tiered system of career levels aligned with 16 new teaching standards. Movement along the career path, together with pay increases, would be based on comprehensive assessments overseen by carefully trained administrators and peer teachers. Teachers who perform below par would have a year to improve before their pay was cut. In addition, beginning teachers who fail to move up to the second rung of the career ladder after two years, and those on the second rung who fail to advance to the third level after five years, would be fired.

Some Cincinnati teachers fear that office politics, race, and other non-germane factors will skew the evaluations. But Rick Beck, the AFT local president, predicts that the plan will be approved by the union rank and file.

"What this does is evaluate teachers more

frequently, but in a context of standards that [teachers] had a major role in developing," Beck told *Education Week*.

— Sarah Pendergraft and Tom Mirga

Improving Child Care Quality Through Report Cards

The quantity and quality of child care services has become a big national challenge as two-earner families become the rule rather than the exception and millions of former welfare recipients, most often single mothers, enter the workforce. Public subsidies for child care have been rising steadily for a decade. Yet hardly a week goes by without the press uncovering a horror story about neglect, abuse, or mismanagement in child care centers. Such stories illustrate the need to give parents better information about publicly funded child care providers.

Tennessee made an admirable decision to invest heavily in public subsidies for child care as part of its welfare reform strategy. But far too little was done to provide accountability for the use of these public funds. Tragically, three children died in Memphis in separate incidents in which child care providers left them unattended for hours in unventilated vans. A major investigative series in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* turned up a witches' brew of neglect and mismanagement among child care centers, including companies heavily dependent on public support that paid exorbitant salaries to executives while under-paying and under-training actual child care workers.

These revelations incited Tennessee State Rep. Carol Chumney of Memphis to lead the charge for comprehensive legislation to pro-

Continued on page 48

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CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

This special Democratic National Convention issue of *The New Democrat* marks both an end and a beginning.

Bill Clinton, leader of the New Democrat movement for the last decade, will soon leave office. By almost every measure he will leave his country and the world in much sounder condition than when he assumed the presidency. His living legacy is a robust and growing New Democrat movement at home and an expanding progressive Third Way movement abroad.

The 1992 Democratic National Convention represented a breakthrough for the New Democrats, who were determined to recapture the White House for their party by offering Americans a progressive alternative to Republican conservatism. New Democrats that year sought to redefine their party's approach to governing through bold ideas and reforms such as national service, work-based welfare reform, public charter schools, community policing, fiscal discipline, and expanded trade.

The 1996 convention represented the acceptance of New Democrat principles by the Democratic Party as a whole following years of resistance by the party's liberal wing. The change was best symbolized by former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo's admission during the convention that President Clinton had kept Democrats from treating their New Deal and Great Society accomplishments as museum pieces rather than as the living spirit of innovation.

The 2000 convention represents a challenge and an opportunity for New Democrats, the broader Democratic Party, and Clinton's chosen successor, Vice President Al Gore. The challenge is to keep the spirit of innovation and the political momentum of the last 10 years going strong in the face of some Democrats' desire to turn back the clock. The opportunity is to launch a new progressive agenda suited to the needs of the Information Age, and to build an enduring majority coalition around it.

As Al From notes in this issue, this is no time for Democrats to be complacent (see page 8). "Although we hold the vital center of American politics today," he writes, "we don't own it. We just rent it — and our lease is up for renewal in January 2001."

The Democratic Party's New Democrat course is

being challenged from both the right and the left. On the right, George W. Bush's claim to be a "compassionate conservative" is a direct response to and imitation of the New Democrat movement. Ed Kilgore's article on Bush examines compassionate conservatism and concludes it is more "sizzle" than "steak" (see page 16). Nevertheless, it's a serious political challenge. The GOP National Convention in Philadelphia was carefully staged to persuade a nation leery of the conservative excesses they've seen since 1994 that today's GOP is a "different kind of Republican Party." Meanwhile, in exchange for his fidelity to key conservative positions, conservative activists have given Bush free rein to roam as close to the political center as he wishes.

On the left, a counter-reformation is brewing that accepts some New Democrat tenets but rejects most others, as Will Marshall notes in his piece on the big policy challenges facing Democrats (see page 11). "Many liberals are willing to concede that Clinton's New Democrat innovations — restoring fiscal discipline, ending the old welfare entitlement, putting more cops on the street, and downsizing the federal government — have worked and

The GOP National Convention was carefully staged to persuade a nation leery of the conservative excesses they've seen since 1994 that today's GOP is a "different kind of Republican Party."

therefore revived public confidence in Democrats' ability to govern in the national interest," Marshall writes. "But having shed old political liabilities, they argue, Democrats can now get back to their 'real' agenda: launching big federal spending initiatives that benefit key voting blocs and favored constituencies."

But for all the challenges from the left and right, New Democrats also have a historic opportunity: to lead their

party and country to another decade of real-life accomplishment.

The most important rule for New Democrats is to keep serving as their party's "idea factory": to create a new generation of ideas that address the distinctive challenges of the Information Age and that continue today's unprecedented era of progress and prosperity. As Andrei Cherny's essay on the changing demographics of California shows, rapid economic and social changes call for a new politics and new policies (see page 18).

This issue of *The New Democrat* also includes the latest testament to the intellectual vitality of the New Democrat movement: *The Hyde Park Declaration*. At a May meeting of key New Democrat elected officials held at the New York estate of Franklin D. Roosevelt, President Clinton charged participants with the task of creating a statement of enduring values and new policy ideas to guide New Democrats and the country for the next decade, just as an earlier generation of New Democrats did in their 1990 manifesto, *The New Orleans Declaration*.

The good news for New Democrats gathered in Los Angeles for their party's convention is that their numbers are rising rapidly each year.

The Hyde Park Declaration focuses squarely on the challenges and opportunities associated with the rise of a New Economy and a new set of demographic and political realities: the need to "expand the winner's circle" of Americans with the skills and resources to succeed in the New Economy; the need for high-performance public schools; the possibility of helping working families lift themselves from poverty; the new set of "quality of life" issues associated with urbanization; and much more. If this document proves to be half as influential as its predecessor, which President Clinton called the well-spring of his administration's accomplishments, you will be reading a bit of political history.

Even the best ideas are no stronger than the leaders who articulate them. The good news for New Democrats gathered in Los Angeles for their party's convention is that their numbers are rising rapidly each year.

The New Democrat presence at the convention starts, of course, at the top. Al Gore was a founding member of the Democratic Leadership Council. At every key turning point in the Clinton-Gore administration — the original economic plan; the first deficit-cutting budget; the passage of welfare reform; the balanced-budget agreement; the intervention in Kosovo; and the fights over trade expansion — Gore was a powerful advocate for the New Democrat course. At a gathering of New

Democrats in Baltimore in July, Gore recommitted himself to New Democrat principles. "I've been very clear, since the day I began this campaign, about what I am proposing: an economic policy that's tried and tested, and built on our values," he told the group. "Fiscal discipline as the foundation. A new generation of investments to empower our people and release their potential. No runaway spending; no paybacks for the powerful interests; no budget-busting tax proposals."

Gore is not alone. The House New Democrat Coalition, with 65 members, is the largest organized group in the House and soon could become a majority of the House Democratic Caucus. A Senate New Democrat Coalition was organized this year and already boasts 14 members. Most of the competitive Democratic challengers in both House and Senate races are likely New Democrat coalition members in the future.

Best of all, the New Democrat movement has been rapidly expanding over the last several years to include a young, talented, diverse, and truly national network of state and local elected officials. Chuck Alston's article on the state legislative battles this fall that will determine reapportionment of the U.S. House makes the important point that the conservative movement's most enduring breakthrough in the 1990s was reversing decades of Democratic dominance in state and local politics (see page 14). New Democrats are beginning to match that success, as is evidenced in our cover feature, "100 To Watch."

Our profiles of these 100 New Democrat elected officials — mayors, state legislators, city councilmembers, lieutenant governors, attorneys general, and others — illustrate our movement's strength. Anyone who still believes the old leftist label that New Democrats are a "southern white boys club" or crypto-Republicans will quickly be disabused of that notion after reading these profiles. From every region and representing every racial and ethnic background, these rising stars share a fidelity to enduring Democratic values and an openness to new way of applying them. Their heroes are Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Martin Luther King Jr., and Robert F. Kennedy, but their sights are firmly on the future. Many of these 100 elected officials (and others to be profiled in future issues of *The New Democrat* or on New Democrats Online, www.ndol.org) will soon become governors, congressman, and senators. Perhaps even a future president may be in their ranks. But all of them are vitally contributing to public life today, at the levels of government closest to the people.

The 2000 Democratic National Convention may mark the end of the first New Democrat presidential administration, but the movement led for so long by Bill Clinton is alive and growing. There are still political battles to be fought with the left and the right, and tough decisions to be made on a host of tough issues that will dominate the next decade. But this issue of *The New Democrat* shows we have the intellectual and human capital needed to carry on the cause. ♦

FINISHING THE JOB

We've Begun Our Party's Modernization; Now Let's Complete it

BY AL FROM

This first decade of the 21st century is a crucial period for New Democrats. By the year 2010, we'll know whether our effort to modernize the Democratic Party for the Information Age has succeeded or not.

If we are successful, our modern, ideas-based progressivism will dominate American politics from the White House to the statehouse to the courthouse. The Democratic Party will again be the majority party in our country. And a quarter century after the founding of the Democratic Leadership Council, we'll finally be able to proclaim that all Democrats are, indeed, New Democrats.

But for all we have accomplished over the past 15 years, we still cannot make that last claim.

That's why, with President Clinton, our movement's leader, leaving the White House next January, it is critically important for New Democrats this year to hold steadfastly to the course of progressive reform and modernization that he has set for our party and country. The future of our movement is at stake.

A Strong, Growing Movement

As the 2000 presidential campaign begins in earnest, the New Democrat movement is strong and growing.

For a political movement that did not even exist a decade and a half ago, our political successes have been staggering. New Democrat Bill Clinton is the first Democrat to be elected and re-elected to the White House in six decades. In the last two years, New Democrats have been elected governor in Alabama, Georgia, Iowa, Mississippi, South Carolina, and most significantly in California. Most experts had ceded those states to the Republicans.

In Congress, the House and Senate New Democrat coalitions have emerged as pivotal forces. Across America, a band of young, attractive New Democrats assure that our movement will have a bright future (see page 21). We are the model for and the leader of the international Third Way movement that has brought center-left governments into power throughout Europe and Latin America.

The New Democrat principles of opportunity, respon-

sibility, and community now define the vital center of American politics. Innovative, New Democrat policies implemented by President Clinton have produced the longest period of sustained economic growth in our history, created 22 million new jobs, cut the welfare rolls in half, lowered poverty and teen pregnancy, reduced the crime rate for seven straight years, and streamlined the federal bureaucracy to its smallest size since the Kennedy administration. New Democrat policies have made America a better, safer, more prosperous country.

As we begin the 2000 Democratic National Convention, it's not surprising that President Clinton's performance approval ratings are the highest on record for a second-term president. DLC polls show that on nearly every key issue — fiscal discipline, welfare reform, reducing crime, and streamlining government — President Clinton and the New Democrats occupy the vital, decisive center of American politics.

Two Goals

When we formed the DLC in 1985 to develop a new, modern agenda for our party, we had two goals in mind. First, we hoped a New Democrat candidate would ride that agenda all the way to the White House, ending our party's long losing streak in presidential elections. Second, we hoped our agenda would transform the Democratic Party from top to bottom and help return it to its rightful place as America's majority party.

We still have a long way to go to achieve that second goal. In spite of our winning back the presidency and redefining the national political debate, in the 1990s we lost control of both chambers of Congress, saw our majority of governorships reversed, and witnessed our dominance of state legislatures reduced to near parity with the Republicans. Despite our encouraging gains in the 1998 and 1999 elections, we have yet to forge a new Democratic majority.

That new majority is within our sights. But we will prevail only if our party stays the New Democrat course. Our success is not assured. We face a serious challenge

from the compassionate conservatives on the right, who are trying to claim the vital center by hiding their true conservatism with a veil of compassion. We can expect GOP presidential candidate George W. Bush to continue aping our politics throughout the rest of the campaign. His challenge may be flattering, but it's also serious. If it is not turned back, it could undermine much of what we have achieved.

Pressing Reform Forward

Although we hold the vital center of American politics today, we don't own it. We just rent it — and our lease is up for renewal in January 2001. Nothing is permanent in American politics. Just ask the Republicans, who thought they had a permanent lock on the presidency a decade ago. New Democrats simply can't afford to become complacent.

We need to press forward with New Democrat reforms. Surveys for the DLC conducted by presidential pollster Mark Penn make that quite clear. Three-fifths of all voters, and an even greater proportion of the critically important independent voters, want us to build on the progress of the past seven and a half years, rather than return to the policies of the past.

On defining political questions about the role of government, voters overwhelmingly favor the New Democrat position over the Republican and old Democrat alternatives. A majority of Americans (53 percent) believe government should equip people with tools to solve their own problems, rather than stay out of their lives (30 percent support) or solve problems for them (15 percent). A solid majority (63 percent) believes government should focus on spurring economic growth, rather than stay out of the economy altogether (18 percent) or spend more on social programs (16 percent). And by 78 percent to 17 percent, Americans believe government's proper role is to foster conditions that enable everyone to have a chance to make a higher income, rather than to redistribute wealth.

Indeed, when Penn used a sophisticated computer analysis to test a hypothetical candidate taking New Democrat centrist positions against any and all comers — whether they hold liberal or conservative positions or some combination of the two — the New Democrat won every time. That analysis underscored how important it is for Democratic candidates to capture the center on government and economic issues. Penn's analysis shows that Democrats who move to the left on the role of government or economic issues do so at their own peril.

We ended our party's presidential losing streak because, in President Clinton's words, we "made change our friend." We won the battle of ideas and grabbed the mantle of progressive reform. With that formula we defined and captured the vital center.

That formula remains valid today. To retain the White House and build a new political and governing majority,

we need to follow it. We need to keep ahead of the rapid change taking place in our country and the world. We need to keep our politics intellectually dynamic and to hold onto the mantle of reform.

Never Look Back

As Thomas Friedman wrote in his outstanding book, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, in today's modern world, every day is a 100-yard dash — and to keep ahead of the competition, you need to win the race every day. New Democrats need to keep running. We need to leave the Republicans in the dust.

We cannot allow ourselves to be slowed by those in our own party who would like to hold us back.

Despite the opposition of our friends in organized labor, for example, Democrats must continue to push — as President Clinton has — for expanded trade. To become and remain the majority party in the 21st century, Democrats must stand for economic progress, not economic reaction. No amount of labor money will persuade the American people to entrust a protectionist party with national leadership in a world in which they can buy products anywhere in the world with a click of a mouse.

We need to resist the latest effort to divert Democrats from the New Democrat course. It comes not from opposition to reform on any particular issue but from a new political analysis that has gained favor in left-leaning circles. The essence of that analysis, articulated in a new book by Ruy Teixeira and Joel Rogers, is that the swing voters in America are downscale, non-college-educated, working-class whites.

The Teixeira and Rogers analysis has nostalgic appeal to those who would like to return to the glory days of the Industrial Era. But it flies in the face of the changes taking place in this country. It's not that downscale, non-college-educated, working-class whites are an unimportant Democratic constituency. They are very important — and we need their votes.

But such voters are an increasingly smaller part of the electorate. Even the most cursory look at exit-poll data over the past 20 years shows that the electorate is rapidly becoming more affluent, educated, diverse, suburban, "wired," and, perhaps most important, more moderate. The percentage of college graduates in the electorate, for example, rose from 33 percent in 1980 to 45 percent in 1998. In today's knowledge-based and ever more global New Economy, that trend is only going to accelerate.

Today's working Americans are more likely to be wired workers employed in the offices, high-tech firms, or modern manufacturing plants of the New Economy than their Industrial Era predecessors. And they're likely to be more affluent, educated and suburban, too. That holds true even in highly unionized industrial states. New Jersey, for example, has the nation's highest percentage of suburbanites. Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and

Pennsylvania are among America's 17 most suburbanized states.

There's no evidence that non-college educated workers desire a return to the old liberal agenda that Teixeira and Rogers call on Democrats to embrace — an agenda of big government spending programs, redistribution of wealth, and protectionism. In fact, the evidence is overwhelming that they don't. A recent Washington Post poll, for example, found that by 54 percent to 38 percent, voters with a high school education or less favored smaller rather than larger government. Voters with some college favored smaller government by 62 percent to 34 percent. Among whites, the majorities were even greater in both categories.

Those same attitudes are reflected consistently at the polls. In the presidential elections of the 1980s and statewide elections of the 1990s, voters in those five key industrial states consistently rejected candidates who promoted old-style liberalism. Old-style Democrats still tend to dominate these states' Democratic parties, and during the 1990s Democrats battled 1-for-14 in these states' gubernatorial elections; Republicans control the statehouses of all five today. The old politics simply don't work anymore.

President Clinton, in contrast, won all five states in both 1992 and 1996. His New Democrat message appealed both to traditional Democratic constituencies such as union members and residents of inner cities and to more affluent and educated voters and suburbanites (many of whom undoubtedly come from union households). Democrats must attract this latter group of voters in order to win in these states — and they're turned off by old liberal politics.

The political party that understands that America is changing and that stays ahead of change will be the majority party in the first part of the 21st century. The Teixeira-Rogers analysis encourages Democrats to ignore this trend.

The Real Swing Voters

President Clinton's two elections demonstrated that the real swing voters in America today are middle-class, upwardly mobile, well-educated, New Economy workers and soccer moms in the suburbs. Democrats cannot win elections with these voters alone. We need the votes of low-income and working-class voters, too — and we typically get them in most statewide and national elections. But no amount of "consolidating the base" can put us over the top. It's vital for Democrats to win the swing voters or at least compete for them.

That holds true down the ballot as well as in presidential elections. Voters with family incomes above \$50,000 a year made up 49 percent of the electorate in 1998. The pattern is the same in state after state. In gubernatorial and senatorial elections, Democrats who do well among these voters almost always win. Democrats

who do poorly among them almost always lose.

If the 1998 gubernatorial elections in Illinois and Ohio had been limited to voters with family incomes below \$50,000, Democrats would occupy both statehouses today. But in both races, the Republicans swept the over-\$50,000 voters — including the key upper-middle-class voters with family incomes between \$75,000 and \$100,000.

In California, the key to Democratic Gov. Gray Davis' victory in 1998 was his ability to win a majority of voters in every income category. The clearest example of the importance of these middle- and upper-middle-class swing voters came two years ago in Georgia. Both Gov. Roy Barnes and losing Democratic senatorial candidate Michael Coles swept voters with family incomes below \$50,000. But those voters accounted for just 45 percent of the state's total. Barnes won by capturing a majority of the 40 percent of the electorate with family incomes between \$50,000 and \$100,000. Coles, meanwhile, lost those key voters by about 20 percent.

That's why Democrats need to appeal to the electorate as it is, not as it was. We cannot afford to be lured by nostalgia. The political stakes are just too high. The presidential and state elections this year and the gubernatorial and state legislative elections in 2002 could well determine the fate of our party for the rest of the decade.

This year's election will have a critical impact on the congressional and state legislative redistricting that will take place over the next two years. This year in Michigan and Pennsylvania and in 2001 in New Jersey, for example, Democrats can change the redistricting equation by winning one house of each state's legislature. We have a shot at winning back the New Jersey governorship next year, as well. Right now the Republicans control the statehouse and both houses of the legislature in all three states, giving Democrats virtually no say in redistricting. The outcome of redistricting in those three states alone could determine which party controls the U. S. House of Representatives for the balance of the decade.

More than 30 governorships will be up for grabs in 2002. If we do well in those elections, we can reverse the GOP domination of statehouses that has existed since 1994. While that's profoundly important to the voters of each state, it also is likely to have an impact on national politics, as well. The statehouses are the best breeding grounds for the presidency. Three of the last four Democratic presidents, including President Clinton, were governors.

So we need to continue on the New Democrat course. If New Democrats adhere to our core principles and reach for lofty goals, as outlined in *The Hyde Park Declaration* (see special supplement to this issue), we can build a new, lasting progressive majority in America by 2010. We need to get on with it. We have a 100-yard dash to win every day. ♦

Al From is president of the Democratic Leadership Council.

THE SECOND WAVE OF INNOVATION

Democrats Cannot Afford To Revert to Old Habits

BY WILL MARSHALL

During the 1990s, President Clinton and the New Democrats infused their party with new intellectual energy, making it once again the catalyst for progressive reform in America. As Democrats gather in Los Angeles for their national convention, Vice President Al Gore's challenge is twofold: To prevent Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush from appropriating the mantle of reform and to resist pressure from party traditionalists to go back to the pre-Clinton status quo.

Bush is trying to steal a march on the political center. Even before last month's carefully staged pageant of Republican moderation in Philadelphia, the Texas governor had been busy rustling New Democrat themes and ideas. The list of purloined items is long, including the Progressive Policy Institute's proposals for revamping Washington's school-aid programs as well as for digitizing the federal government. Bush has praised Democratic Sen. John Breaux's centrist Medicare reform plan and invoked Democratic Sens. Bob Kerrey and Daniel P. Moynihan in calling for personal savings accounts funded by a portion of the Social Security payroll tax. He has sermonized on government's obligations to help the poor and even chided his fellow Republicans for their reflexive hostility to any expansion of Washington's role in public education.

On closer examination, however, it's clear that Bush has embraced the rhetoric but not the substance of progressive reform. Like Bush, New Democrats demand more accountability from schools and teachers; unlike Bush, New Democrats are willing to invest significantly more to turn around failing schools and help low-income students meet higher standards. Both Bush and New Democrats favor tax credits to help uninsured Americans buy health insurance, but New Democrats do so as part of a comprehensive plan to guarantee everyone access to quality health care. Both support expanding trade, but New Democrats insist that government do more to help working Americans caught in the down-draft of the new global economy.

Where the New Democrat reforms grew out of a long and difficult period of soul-searching and rigorous rethinking, Bush's message seems to have sprung full-grown from his policy advisers in the last two months. It is a clever pastiche of centrist and conservative themes designed mainly to distance the candidate from the GOP right. The silence of the ultraconservative lambs as Bush leads them to rhetorical slaughter suggests that they don't take "compassionate conservatism" very seriously.

The Big Challenges

Still, Bush's version of triangulation signals a new sense of political realism among some Republicans — and a tacit repudiation of the heavy-handed moralizing and strident libertarianism that has characterized the GOP congressional majority since 1994. This means that the 2000 elections will turn less on the usual left-right choices and more on the question of which candidate and which party offers the most credible ideas for grappling pragmatically with the next set of big challenges facing the country.

That's why Democrats cannot afford to revert to old habits. Yet as Bill Clinton prepares to exit the national stage, some on the Democratic left see a chance to regain control of the party's agenda. Many liberals are willing to concede that Clinton's New Democrat innovations — restoring fiscal discipline, ending the old welfare entitlement, putting more cops on the street, and downsizing the federal government — have worked and therefore revived public confidence in Democrats' ability to govern in the national interest. But having shed old political liabilities, they argue, Democrats can now get back to their "real" agenda: launching big federal spending initiatives that benefit key voting blocs and favored constituencies.

The bluntest challenge to the Clinton-Gore agenda, of course, comes from organized labor and left-wing activists opposed to open trade. In a series of showdown votes, labor has put tremendous pressure on congressional Democrats to oppose the trade agenda of a Democratic president presiding over the strongest U.S. economy in modern times. This puts Gore in a tough spot: On the one hand, labor's all-out support will be critical in the battleground states of the Midwest. On the other hand, embracing protectionism would demolish Democrats' hard-won credentials as the party of prosperity. Gore is walking a fine line, agreeing to include labor and environmental standards in future trade negotiations while holding firm on the fundamental issue of support for expanding trade.

Some party strategists worry that disgruntled union members and activists will defect in droves to Green Party candidate Ralph Nader. More likely, Nader's anti-business fanaticism will marginalize his candidacy the more the public is exposed to it. Nonetheless, anxious liberals will counsel Gore to move left to preempt the Nader challenge, a tactic that would only complicate his efforts

to reach out to the independent and mostly centrist voters who ultimately will decide the outcome in November.

The "Second Wave" of Innovation

These political cross-pressures frame the challenge facing Gore and the Democrats in November. Reverting to the old interest-group liberalism would wipe out the enormous political gains of the Clinton-Gore years and yield the political initiative to Bush. Therefore, Democrats must stay on the path of radical centrism that helped to reverse two decades of Democratic futility in presidential elections, even if that means pressing ahead with reforms that discomfit some of the party's most vocal constituencies.

With that in mind, here's an illustrative list of "second wave" New Democrat innovations aimed at the challenges of the new century — ideas that can help Gore articulate a dynamic message of political change, keep his party from backsliding to the status quo in government, and prevent George W. Bush from trespassing on the "vital center."

Make the New Economy Work for All Americans

No Clinton-Gore achievement has been more important than erasing the Democratic Party's image as a "tax and spend" party more concerned with income redistribution than economic growth. Now the Clinton-Gore administration wants to use a healthy chunk of future budget surpluses to pay down the national debt. A swelling chorus of liberal commentators, however, denounce this policy as a return to the "Coolidge economics" of the 1920s.

But Gore is hardly making a fetish of penny-pinching austerity. He and the New Democrats recognize that fiscal discipline is a basic condition for economic success in a world where investment flows to those countries with sound fiscal and monetary policies. Moreover, paying down the debt will lift an enormous burden from our children's shoulders, sustain growth by keeping interest rates down and shifting resources into private investment, and help the United States prepare for the costly challenge of financing the baby boomers' retirement and medical care.

With budget surpluses expected to exceed \$4 trillion over the next decade, there is plenty of room within the constraints of fiscal discipline for major new public investments. PPI, for example, has proposed spending roughly \$1 trillion over the next 10 years to expand access to health insurance, promote higher standards and accountability in our schools, equip working Americans with skills and other new tools of economic success, make work pay for low-income families, and help families of modest means save and invest more. Democrats in 2000 should oppose both Bush's budget-busting tax cuts as well as liberals' demands for more spending at the expense of debt reduction.

Create World-Class Public Schools

Education is far and away the top voter concern in 2000. Bush calls for greater accountability, but — as was the case in Texas — won't pony up the resources to help underperforming schools do their job better. Traditional Democrats favor more spending but often shy from meaningful accountability to avoid offending powerful education groups.

The New Democrat approach links more spending to fundamental reform of our archaic education monopoly based on principles of public school choice, high standards, and accountability for results. Over the education establishment's fierce opposition, New Democrats nurtured the charter school movement, which has mushroomed from only one school in 1992 to 1,700 today. President Clinton has called for voluntary national standards to benchmark student performance, ending social promotion, and testing new teachers to assure subject-matter mastery. The party should also get behind a proposal by New Democrat Sens. Joe Lieberman, Evan Bayh, and Mary Landrieu for a dramatic shift in federal education policy that offers states and local districts more money and flexibility in return for measurable progress in lifting the performance of students from low-income families.

With new research showing that teacher quality is the single most important factor in determining how well students do in school, it's time to get serious about measuring individual teachers' impact on students and paying them according to their classroom performance. Democrats need a tough-minded approach that champions both tougher standards and higher pay for teachers who meet them.

Form a New Social Compact for the New Economy

The 1990s saw a revolution in social policy. Clinton, Gore, and the New Democrats rejected the usual ineffectual tinkering and instead called for "ending welfare as we know it." In a profound conceptual shift, they argued for replacing welfare dependency with a new social compact based on work, mutual responsibility, and family. In policy terms, this meant not only retiring the 61-year-old welfare entitlement, but also significantly expanding tax subsidies, child care, transportation, and other supports for the working poor.

While many traditional liberals predicted a social calamity of unprecedented proportions, the results so far have been promising. With a strong assist from the booming economy, welfare rolls have been cut nearly in half since 1996, most former recipients have found jobs, and a careful evaluation of reform in a Minnesota study found intriguing signs of behavior changes among low-income families: less domestic abuse, more marriages, and greater marital stability. The real crunch, however, looms ahead, as the five-year limit on welfare eligibility nears and as today's tight labor markets inevitably slacken.

If "compassionate conservatism" has a first principle,

it is that voluntary, faith-based organizations invariably deal with social problems better than government. While government should indeed work more closely with the voluntary associations of civil society, private efforts to succor the poor are, in social policy analyst Jim Castelli's words, "a blessing, not a miracle." In other words, the voluntary sector's charitable works are indispensable but insufficient; religious and civic organizations simply lack the capacity to deal with the magnitude of America's human needs by themselves.

New Democrats should insist that Washington give states the resources they need to finish the job of welfare reform, which will require more intensive and expensive efforts to help poor families overcome multiple barriers to work and self-sufficiency. And as Gore has argued, we must turn our attention from poor mothers to the fathers, bringing them into the welfare-to-work system so that they can afford to pay their child support.

Above all, New Democrats' post-welfare social policy ought to have a new organizing principle: making work pay. We should expand the Earned Income Tax Credit and child care support and adapt housing, transportation, and other public assistance policies to the goal of enabling and rewarding work. By tying more generous social support to work in private sector jobs, New Democrats can offer a new guarantee: No American family with a full-time worker will live in poverty.

Expand Access to Health Care

After child poverty, the fact that millions of children and low-income Americans lack health insurance is perhaps our most glaring social defect. Yet Bush and the Republicans offer no plan for achieving universal health care; indeed, they promote medical savings accounts that make health insurance more expensive by giving the young and healthy incentives to abandon larger insurance pools. Democrats old and new agree that we should earmark a chunk of the expected federal budget surpluses for covering people who cannot afford to buy insurance. The rub, however, lies in how to do it.

For much of this century, many American progressives have dreamed of a national health care system based on the European or Canadian models. That dream, however, has foundered on stubborn public resistance to a government monopoly on health care provision. So Democrats have settled on incremental steps, creating Medicare and Medicaid in 1965 and expanding those programs at the margins in the subsequent decades.

In truth, America's \$1.2 trillion health care economy is too complex and dynamic to be managed by some all-knowing central authority. Democrats need a modern approach better suited to our cultural predilection for individual responsibility and for choice and competition over one-size-fits-all solutions. For example, PPI has proposed giving needy families a refundable tax credit to buy private health insurance. Coupled with public rules to protect the sick and provide more reliable infor-

mation about medical outcomes, public support for private insurance will shift power from bureaucrats, doctors, and insurance companies to consumers. It will expand individual choice, spur competition among health care providers, and avoid the bureaucratic price-fixing that breeds inefficiency and stifles innovation.

Modernizing Medicare should be another Democratic priority. The key is to link popular proposals for adding a new Medicare drug benefit to structural reform of the program to allow for more consumer choice and competition. Democrats should follow the lead of Breaux, who has proposed a comprehensive reform that includes prescription drug benefits for all seniors as well as a separate Medicare agency to oversee the competition between private plans and ensure that consumers have the information they need to make sound decisions.

Launch a Second Generation of Environmental Action

National environmental policies, mostly developed in the 1970s, have been remarkably successful in improving the quality of our air and water. But we face a new set of environmental challenges today that cannot be solved with the old strategy of centralized, command-and-control regulation. These challenges include contamination of water from such sources as farm and suburban runoff, loss of open lands, sprawl, and global climate change.

Under the leadership of Vice President Gore, the United States signed the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, which obliges countries to reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases that are likely contributing to climate change. Although the "know-nothing" Republican Senate has refused to ratify the treaty, the United States should begin to exercise leadership and take steps to protect the global environment. But instead of using the old tools of top-down regulation, Democrats should push hard for a modern, market-based approach: a system of tradeable emissions permits that would give factories, power plants, and other sources of air pollution and greenhouse gases a powerful incentive not only to meet but to exceed environmental standards.

Create a New Military Force for a New Global Era

On defense as on domestic issues, Democrats should emphasize the theme of modernization. The defense debate in 2000 should be about more than which party wants to boost military spending the most. Here, congressional Republicans have been especially egregious, raising defense spending even above Pentagon requests. Instead of getting into a bidding war, Gore and the Democrats should call for spending smarter, not just spending more. Specifically, Gore should promise to speed up the "revolution in military affairs" that integrates the new information and communications technologies into our military forces and doctrines.

According to Adm. Bill Owens, former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the architect of the con-

cept, "The revolution in military affairs is a shift from mass to mobility, from attrition warfare to agility, from overwhelming firepower to smart firepower."

Yet after a decade of high-level defense reviews that mostly ratified the status quo, the United States is left with a force structure that can be best described as "Cold War minus." Democrats should argue that bureaucratic inertia and Pentagon turf battles are preventing America from building an Information Age defense suited for 21st century challenges. By insisting that the issue is modernizing U.S. forces, Gore can demonstrate his superior grasp of defense issues, deflect conservative alarms about the "readiness" of our forces, and call public attention to the astonishing magnitude of military pork barrel spending by GOP congressional barons.

Finally, Al Gore and the Democrats in 2000 should confidently reaffirm their party's internationalist tradition. That tradition, which served America and the world so well from World War II on, is under attack from both ends of the political spectrum. With no evil empire to confront, many congressional Republicans seem to be drifting back to their "Fortress America" mentality. They have, for example, opposed NATO's U.S.-led intervention in the Balkans, cut funding for international opera-

tions, and killed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, while demanding more military spending and an enormously costly "comprehensive" missile defense system that rests on unproven technology.

At the same time, today's vertiginous economic changes have sparked a backlash on the left, which has suited up "globalization" for the villain's role in its latest narrative of economic exploitation and injustice. By attacking trade agreements as well as world bodies for economic cooperation, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, the anti-globalist coalition threatens to slam the breaks on the global economy — and perhaps the U.S. economy as well.

As the heirs of FDR, Harry S. Truman, and John F. Kennedy, the Los Angeles Democrats should be unapologetic in defending liberal internationalism against both the neo-isolationists and the neo-protectionists. By virtue of his long experience in international and defense matters, Al Gore is ideally suited to rally America behind a new strategy for progressive internationalism aimed at building a safer, more prosperous, and more democratic world. ♦

Will Marshall is president of the Progressive Policy Institute.

MAPPING THE DEMOCRATS' FORTUNES

State Legislative and Gubernatorial Races Will Influence Control of Congress

BY CHUCK ALSTON

Democrats need to pick up only six seats to take back control of the U.S. House this fall. With a strong national ticket and a few breaks, Dick Gephardt's title could be "Mr. Speaker" come next January.

But even if that scenario unfolds happily for Democrats, the party's joy could be short-lived depending on what happens down the ballot this fall. That is because a handful of key state elections will determine which party is in the driver's seat as states draw new maps for congressional and state legislative districts — the exercise called redistricting that occurs after the first national election of a new decade.

State legislative races are easily overlooked in the excitement of a national election. But their importance to a party's national political fortunes can't be overstated. With few exceptions, redistricting is as partisan as politics gets in most states, with each party seeking to gerrymander districts to maximize its electoral chances. In most states, a party must control the governorship or at least one state legislative chamber to have a say in redistricting. The trifecta of redistricting is to control the gov-

ernorship and both chambers. That's why a decade of Democratic reverses at the state level has jeopardized the party's long-term congressional hopes even if a slim majority is secured this fall.

The State of the States

Democrats now control only 18 governorships, down from 28 following the 1990 elections and 36 after Watergate. Democrats control 51 of the 99 state legislative chambers, down from 71 chambers after 1990 and 82 after Watergate.

Thus, from the lopsided advantage Democrats enjoyed as late as 1992, the parties today are approaching rough parity in the redistricting battle. According to *Congressional Quarterly*, if redistricting occurred today the GOP would exercise sole control over the drawing of 113 U.S. House districts, while the Democrats would exclusively control 144. (The remaining seats would either be drawn jointly, are in states with a single at-large seat, or would be drawn in states with redistricting commis-

sions.) Of course, both sides hope to improve their standing this fall.

These trends should be especially worrisome to Democrats. First, they show that Republicans picked up state legislative seats during the 1990s even though the Democrats drew the maps. Second, even more trouble lies down the road for Democrats because demographic trends are adding congressional seats in the South and West, where the GOP is strong, and taking them away from the Northeast, a Democratic bastion.

Third, the Democratic Party's strength in the South is overstated with respect to redistricting. Despite the party's comeback in the region at the gubernatorial level and continued dominance at the state legislative level, the federal Voting Rights Act limits the party's ability to draw congressional maps that fully maximize its advantages. Creating majority-minority districts removes Democratic voters from adjoining districts, which are then more likely to tilt Republican.

Finally, Democrats have lost ground in states in which a large number of seats are in play.

The last time congressional districts were redrawn, Democrats had trifecta control in New Jersey and at least a piece of the action in Michigan and Pennsylvania. Unless Democrats turn things around in this fall's elections, Republicans will have the trifecta in each of those three states, which have 48 congressional seats combined. Pennsylvania, discussed in greater detail below, is particularly important to Democrats because it is losing seats.

States that will gain House seats include: Arizona (+2); California (+1); Colorado (+1); Florida (+1); Georgia (+2); Nevada (+1); and Texas (+2).

State that will lose seats include: Connecticut (-1); Illinois (-1); Mississippi (-1); New York (-2); Ohio (-1); Oklahoma (-1); Pennsylvania (-2); and Wisconsin (-1).

States to Watch

A handful of states and legislative chambers are commanding the most attention. For example, Texas' U.S. House delegation will grow from 30 seats to 32 seats. Both parties want to protect their incumbents and have a say in where those districts are located. Republicans control the state Senate by a slim one-member margin, 16 to 15, while Democrats control the state House, 78 to 72. It's estimated that total spending by both parties in one state Senate race in East Texas alone ranges from \$4 million to \$8 million.

The Texas Senate is just the most striking example of how a shift in a few legislative seats can have a major impact on congressional redistricting. A swing of just five or fewer legislative seats in each of 29 states could shift party control in 58 state legislative chambers, according to the Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee. Those 29 states elect 366 of the 435 members of the U.S. House.

In Pennsylvania, where two congressional seats will

be lost, Republicans have circulated maps that would give political hell to five of the state's 11 Democratic U.S. House members. Those maps would reduce the number of Democratic-leaning seats by three. Republicans hold the governorship and control the state Senate by a comfortable margin. The battleground is the state House, which the Republicans control (101 seats vs. the Democrats' 100). If Democrats can't gain the upper hand in the state House, they'll be frozen out of redistricting. (It's worth noting that Democrats cut two Republican seats when they controlled redistricting in Pennsylvania following the 1990 election.)

Redistricting makes a difference not only in states in which the parties are losing or gaining congressional seats. In Washington, for example, where the number of congressional seats won't change, mapmaking remains critical because the state has so many marginal seats. A shift of a few thousand votes can easily change partisan control of the state's congressional delegation.

Races that bear close watching are the Michigan House, where Republicans hold a six-seat margin; the Illinois House, which Democrats control 61 seats to 57; the Wisconsin Senate, which Democrats hold by a one-seat margin; and the Washington Senate and Texas House.

One bright spot for Democrats is California, which has 52 congressional districts today and is expected to have 53 after the census is complete. Thanks to Democratic Gov. Gray Davis' 1998 victory and the party's dominance of the state Assembly and Senate, Democrats control the redistricting trifecta. By redrawing the maps, the party hopes to widen its four-seat margin (28 to 24) above and beyond the one-seat pickup. Cut out of power, Republicans are trying to place an initiative on California's ballot asking voters to shift control over redistricting to the state Supreme Court.

Fighting Back

Democrats have sought to professionalize their legislative campaigns through the efforts of the Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee. But reversing the decade-long decline in legislative elections is more than a matter of campaign techniques. It is ultimately about harnessing politics to ideas that meet real-world challenges. It is also about building a new governing majority by expanding the party's legislative base beyond the cities.

A look at a national map of party control of state legislative seats illustrates the Democrats' problem. The party's strength remains largely in the cities, while the growing suburbs are becoming a Republican province.

As more state legislative and congressional districts become suburban, it is imperative that Democrats understand the Clinton-New Democrat formula for breaking through to suburban voters — a formula that has eluded the party's congressional wing. In 1996, President Clinton carried 105 of the 160 suburban congressional districts (defined as a district with 60 percent or more of its

voters in the suburbs). Democratic congressional candidates managed to win only 68 of these districts. Clinton carried 38 congressional districts won by a Republican, while Bob Dole carried only one congressional district won by a Democrat.

Congressional and state legislative candidates should follow the President's example and pay attention to the fundamentals. They need to convey a political message that is pro-growth, pro-education reform, and pro-New Economy; that favors social policies built on mutual re-

sponsibility; that honors values without legislating morality; and that is attentive to quality of life issues such as crime and sprawl. Legislators could do worse than imitate the political formula that broke the Republican lock on the White House. ♦

Chuck Alston is editor in chief of The New Democrat and executive director of the Democratic Leadership Council. Ian Graves provided research assistance for this article.

THE GREAT PRETENDER

Bush Is the Ally, Not the Scourge, of Conservative Ideologues

BY ED KILGORE

In one of the most obvious of his many imitations of Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign, GOP presidential candidate George W. Bush calls himself "a different kind of Republican." This year's GOP National Convention, we were told, would be a "different kind of Republican convention." Indeed, the main purpose of Bush's message of "compassionate conservatism" is to dissociate himself from those espousing traditional conservatism — most notably, the Republican-controlled Congress and hard-right activists.

What's interesting about this tactic is that the Republicans Bush is implicitly repudiating were his most avid supporters from the get-go. Even before the Republican presidential primaries, Bush was endorsed by a majority of Republicans in Congress, including most of its conservative icons. He enjoyed early support from such major Christian right figures as the Rev. Pat Robertson and former Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed. He went out of his way to recruit advisers associated with the Reagan administration rather than his father's. Conservative journalist Robert Novak, an obsessive guardian against any renaissance of Republican centrism, has repeatedly vouched for Bush's conservative orthodoxy on key issues.

Once Sen. John McCain emerged as Bush's main primary rival, the bond between the candidate and the twin towers of the Republican old guard — conservative activists and GOP congressmen — became airtight. In the crucial post-New Hampshire primaries in South Carolina, Michigan, and Virginia, the Bush campaign became as intense a conservative crusade as the Reagan campaigns of 1976 and 1980 or even the Goldwater campaign of 1964. Right-to-lifers, supply-siders, Christian conservatives, the gun lobby, corporate interests, anti-government zealots, and GOP congressional barons supported

Bush with amazing unanimity. Most of all, conservatives exercised an implicit veto power over the GOP vice presidential selection, and Bush fulfilled his side of the deal by picking the relentlessly conservative Dick Cheney. Yet Bush now campaigns as someone who's "different" from his own campaign's shock troops.

He's No Bill Clinton

Some observers have likened conservative support for Bush in 2000 to liberal support for Clinton, a "different kind of Democrat," in 1992. The premise is that today's conservatives, like yesterday's liberals, are willing to support a centrist candidate simply because he might win. But the analogy breaks down at three crucial points.

First, Clinton did not win significant liberal ideological support in 1992 until he cinched the nomination. His original base was the Democratic Leadership Council, his fellow Democratic governors, and Southern Democrats — not the AFL-CIO, the Rainbow Coalition, the House Democratic Caucus, or Americans for Democratic Action, the analogs to the conservative institutions that supported Bush from the start.

Second, Bush's conservative support became most intense precisely at the moment when his electability was most in question: after the New Hampshire primary, when McCain was running well ahead of Bush in general-election trial heats, and when Bush had lost his lead over Al Gore in the polls. Conservatives' support for Bush was ideological, not pragmatic.

Third, for all his rhetoric about being "different," Bush has taken far fewer policy positions at odds with his party's ideological extremists than Clinton did in 1992. Clinton, after all, parted with liberal activists on deficit reduction, trade expansion, welfare reform,

crime, and national defense. To date, Bush's major heresy from conservative orthodoxy is his contention that Washington can play a constructive role in public education. Moreover, he's made enough concessions to backers of public support for private schools to make even that deviation relatively minor.

On the core issue of economic and fiscal policy, Bush is solidly conservative. Early in the campaign, he advocated a tax-cut package that was even larger than that endorsed by House Republicans. (It was so large, in fact, that House Republicans voted down a replica of it during consideration of the federal budget resolution.) Bush's plan was widely hailed in conservative opinion circles as proof that he would not repeat his father's mistake of elevating the goal of fiscal discipline above tax reduction.

Like most conservatives, Bush has largely abandoned the supply-siders' economic argument for across-the-board tax cuts. Instead, he favors the moral argument that surplus revenues should be returned proportionately to taxpayers as a matter of right. He has aggressively drawn attention to the positive impact of across-the-board tax reductions on the working poor, while failing to mention that most benefits would go to high earners. The skewing of benefits to the wealthy is even more evident in Bush's support for repeal of the estate tax and the massive new exclusion he would provide for savings used for private school tuition expenses.

Hot-Button Social Issues

On the hot-button social issues of abortion and guns, Bush's claim to be a "different kind of Republican" is wholly rhetorical.

Early in his campaign, Bush created a stir by suggesting that he would focus on limited abortion restrictions rather than pushing for a constitutional amendment to outlaw abortions generally. But this position reflected a shift in strategy among anti-abortion advocates rather than an abandonment of their cause. This was made plain by immediate statements of support for Bush's comments by Robertson and the chairman of the National Right to Life Committee. Right-to-lifers were exceptionally active in Bush's primary battle against McCain. Not coincidentally, in the heat of that struggle, Bush endorsed the plank in past Republican platforms calling for a human-life amendment to the Constitution. Also, conservatives universally interpreted Bush's pledge to appoint "strict constructionists" to the Supreme Court as a promise to create a bench that would overturn *Roe v. Wade*.

Bush's record on gun violence is even more orthodox. His recent announcement of support for voluntary distribution of gun locks and for closing a tiny loophole in gun show background checks should not obscure his consistent advocacy of the bedrock gun-lobby principle that more guns, not fewer guns, is the best way to fight gun violence.

On the broad outlines of domestic policy, Bush has a

habit of advancing at least one positive policy proposal in every area, often a small and symbolic proposal designed to deflect charges of anti-Washington zealotry. But in almost every case — from environmental protection, to Social Security and Medicare, to health insurance availability, to housing and urban policy — Bush has taken positions shared by most congressional Republicans and tolerated by conservative opinion leaders.

On foreign policy and defense issues, Bush has developed a reputation as a responsible internationalist, mainly on the basis of his father's presidential record and the nature of his advisers. Nevertheless, he has embraced two conservative totems in defense policy: increasing defense spending as an end in itself and immediately deploying a missile defense system. More troubling, Bush has endorsed the recent Republican trend towards unilateralism in foreign policy, supporting the Senate's rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and tacitly favoring unilateral abrogation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

The Biggest Mystery

The biggest mystery surrounding Bush's relationship with his conservative friends is not ideological, but temperamental. How independent will he be of such congressional allies as House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (an early Bush supporter) and Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott? One of Clinton's most important contributions since 1995 has been his use of the bully pulpit and the veto threat to rein in the Republican Congress' excesses. Given the strong possibility of continued Republican control of Congress, it's proper to ask whether Bush would curb conservative hubris or become its most prominent pitchman.

Bush has publicly parted ways with the Republican congressional leadership exactly twice since announcing his candidacy. The first time was last fall, when he opposed House GOP efforts to close a federal budget gap by stretching out Earned Income Tax Credit payments to the working poor. This intervention genuinely annoyed House Republicans. But it was defended on policy grounds by such conservative figures as the Heritage Foundation's Robert Rector, and on political grounds by none other than Texas Sen. Phil Gramm. The second time was this past May, when Bush persuaded Senate Republicans to scuttle a House GOP effort to place deadlines on U.S. troop deployments in Kosovo, at the very moment when Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was cracking down on opposition parties. Bush opposed this step not on policy grounds, but as a restraint on his prerogatives as a potential commander in chief.

Much has been made of the Texas governor's record of friendly dealings with Democrats in his home state. But the ability to get along with conservative Texas Democrats in the intimate surroundings of Austin is not a particularly clear indication of how a President Bush

would act in Washington's vastly more polarized atmosphere. Bush certainly would seek to recruit a handful of congressional Democrats to create legislative majorities for Republican legislation, much as House Speaker Newt Gingrich did from time to time. But there's little evidence to suggest that he could or would emulate President Clinton's success in crafting large bipartisan compromises on issues such as the budget, welfare reform, and international trade.

The most important clue Bush has offered about his relationship with the conservative movement and the GOP establishment in Congress is the first critical decision he made as the putative presidential nominee: choosing former Secretary of Defense and Rep. Dick Cheney as his running mate. Despite his mild demeanor and Beltway insider connections, Cheney's record in Congress was decidedly not "compassionate," including votes against funding Head Start, against a ban on "cop killer" bullets, against a waiting period on handgun pur-

chases, and against renewal of the Clean Water Act. He was a fervent supply-sider before the economic theory (long since discredited) became GOP orthodoxy. Cheney uniquely personifies both the conservative ideological impulse and the Republican establishment.

The Cheney selection strengthens the case that Bush is an ally of conservative ideologues, not their scourge. His election could well consolidate the Republican Revolution of 1994 rather than mark a new era of bipartisanship and "compassion." At the very least, with Bush's candidacy relying heavily on positive public assessments of his leadership qualities, his relationship to his friends can and should become a major topic of scrutiny and discussion down the homestretch of the 2000 campaign. ♦

Ed Kilgore is policy director of the Democratic Leadership Council.

THE NEW CALIFORNIA

Demography is Destiny in the Golden State

BY ANDREI CHERNY

Forty years ago, Democrats gathered in Los Angeles to nominate John F. Kennedy as their party's candidate for president. As the young scion of political royalty ascended to the podium of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum to accept the party's nomination and call on Americans to tackle the challenges of the New Frontier, he said that he spoke "facing west on what was once the last frontier. From the lands that stretch three thousand miles behind me, the pioneers of old gave up their safety, their comfort and sometimes their lives to build a new world here in the West."

Forty years later, Democrats return to Los Angeles to nominate another young leader from another political dynasty for president. But they return to a very different California. For while only two miles separate the Memorial Coliseum of 1960 from the Staples Center of 2000, the intervening years have seen California take great strides of transformation. The frontier that Kennedy declared closed has been reopened as new "pioneers" are building a "new world" in the Golden State.

The California of 1960 was a predominantly white state with deep Midwestern roots. Its population was concentrated in Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay Area. The state's economy was dominated by smokestack industries and large-scale businesses in areas such as defense and aerospace. The story of the past 40 years in California — and the likely story of the next 40 years — is

that of decentralization: a diffusion of race, of region, of the economy, and of political loyalties. None of these changes will occur independent of the others; all are linked in cause and consequence. Together they will reshape the political patterns of what will soon be the most dominant state in American history. Most of all, they will require Democrats to think and act in new and untraditional ways.

Flowering of Racial Diversity

There is one form of demographic change that is clear to everyone who looks at California: the flowering of its racial diversity. Sometime this very year, California will become the first of the 48 contiguous states since the 18th century without a white majority.

If the past 40 years have seen awesome change in this area, the next 40 years will see even more. California's population of 35 million people will gain another 24 million people between now and the year 2040. Of these, 600,000 will be white; 800,000 will be black; 5.1 million will be Asian; and 17.4 million will be Hispanic. It is clear that the face of California is changing. But does the color of our skin affect the content of our politics?

The extremes of both of California's political parties have spent much of the 1990s banking on the idea that it does. Each has sought to take advantage of demographic



Farm workers pick lettuce in a field near Modesto, Calif. The tract housing being constructed in the background symbolizes the rapid population growth expected to hit California's Central Valley in the next 40 years.

changes with its own brand of "identity" politics. The Republicans' version played to the perception of white's diminished status with a wedge politics that sought to split off the majority from the minority. The GOP took legitimate concerns about illegal immigration and racial preferences and used them for political gain.

Some Democrats have played their own game of identity politics, stirring up perceptions of victimization and separatist sentiment. Many in the party have come to believe that the rising tide of Hispanic voters will bring with it a resurgent desire for traditional liberalism. But as Hispanics go from being an aggrieved minority to featured players in the political firmament, the radical edge of their politics is dissipating.

Never monolithic or easy to peg in their outlook, Hispanic voters largely reflect concerns similar to those of their white neighbors. While their social conservative streak — especially on abortion — has made them targets for Republican courtship, the real divergence of Hispanics from white voters comes from both a higher demand for government action and a lower tolerance for old thinking. Hispanics are, for instance, even more likely to support tough accountability for failing schools and increased choice in the education system than are whites. California Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante describes the "radical Hispanic" agenda this way: "It's good schools, good jobs, safe neighborhoods, and an equal opportunity."

The New East-West Divide

While California's racial change has generated the most media and political attention, the state is undergoing a series of concurrent transformations that could well end up being even more politically important. One of these is a

shift in where Californians live.

For most of California's history, the most salient division in the state was between Northern and Southern California. The regions' mutual antipathy was played out with the relish of a cross-town sports rivalry. But today, in statewide elections, the division that matters is between East and West. The coastal regions up and down the Pacific are reliably liberal while the interior areas are solidly conservative. This trend has adhered in California for most of the past generation. What worries some Democrats is that the center of gravity in the state is shifting eastward toward the rural Central Valley and suburb-esque Riverside, San Bernadino,

and Orange counties.

Not long ago, most Californians lived in either Los Angeles County or the San Francisco Bay Area. These population centers were also the strongholds of economic and social liberalism in a state with a rich tradition of both. But while California's phenomenal population growth during the 1980s and 1990s touched all major areas of the state, its effect was felt disproportionately in the areas far from the glitter and glamour of California's golden coasts. This is in spite of the go-go economy of the Bay Area's Silicon Valley and the torrent of immigration to Los Angeles — America's modern-day Ellis Island. Today, 48 percent of Californians live in either the San Francisco Bay Area or Los Angeles County and 34 percent live in the state's Central Valley or the counties to the south and east of Los Angeles. If Democrats return to Los Angeles 40 years from now, they will likely find that 39 percent of the state lives in the two main coastal centers while 42 percent lives in the interior regions.

This fundamental shift in the state's population distribution means that Democrats will have to rethink their approach to California's voters. They are no longer able to score victories by racking up the votes in Los Angeles or San Francisco. They will have to appeal to voters in the Central Valley — the most productive farmland in the world and source of a quarter of America's fruits and vegetables. It is, however, an area that is changing and developing as technology and new ways of working encroach on the old traditions of rural life. The Central Valley — evenly split in registration between Democrats and Republicans — is California's swing area. When Democrats can make inroads here, they win. When they are bunkered down along the Pacific coast, they lose.

Democrats will also have to appeal to voters in places such as Riverside County's Rancho Cucamonga — a city established in 1977 that, within the decade, will be larger than Providence, R.I.; Salt Lake City, Utah; or Little Rock, Ark. Rancho Cucamonga is a typical community in the area known as the Inland Empire — an enormous

expanse of suburbs without "urbs." Its voters tend to be more conservative. Indeed, neighboring Orange County was the birthplace of Richard Nixon and ground zero for the Reagan Revolution.

But along with their population growth, these areas are changing. In 1980, when Reagan was first elected president, the Orange County/Inland Empire area was 75 percent white. By 2010, whites will have lost their majority status even here. Already the effects of this change are being felt. Conservative fixture Rep. Robert Dornan was defeated by Loretta Sanchez and other moderate Democrats such as Joe Dunn, Lou Correa, and Tom Umberg have won state legislative offices in previously rock-ribbed Republican bastions.

The Wired Economy

The politics of growing areas such as Orange County, the Inland Empire, and the Central Valley are not changing just because of race ethnicity. They are being transformed as their economies enter the Information Age and as their residents work, shop, and live in new and different ways. It is not surprising that 71 percent of the people of the San Francisco Bay Area report using computers at work. After all, the home of Silicon Valley is known around the world as high-tech holy ground. But it is more surprising to learn that fully 56 percent of residents of the Central Valley use computers at work. This lush farmland is known more for raisins than RAM, more for walnuts than Web sites.

The way Californians work is changing everywhere one turns. In 1999, a study revealed that only 1 in 3 Californians holds what could be considered a traditional 9-to-5 job. Instead, many Californians have become free agents — working as their own boss — or wired workers — working with computers and making decisions for themselves on the job. In a mere 18 month period between 1996 and 1998, the percentage of the workforce consisting of wired workers increased from 51 percent to 57 percent.

According to observer Dudley Buffa, wired workers are "much less likely than conservatives to believe that government has no role and much less likely than liberals to believe that government can solve all problems." This leads them to be more pro-immigration and more anti-affirmative action, more pro-environmental spending and more anti-welfare spending, more pro-charter schools and more anti-vouchers than the California population as a whole. As wired workers are the emerging majority in California — and already are the majority in many swing areas — Democrats will have to pay much more attention to these voters' concerns and attitudes.

If there is one thing that wired workers hate — other than spam or the latest cyber-virus — it is purblind political partisanship. They have a significant predisposition toward problem solving, an overwhelming desire to get results, an antipathy for ideological blinders, and a very

low tolerance for campaign-season attacks. These wired workers have contributed to a precipitous decline in electoral loyalty to either of the two political parties. During the 1990s, the ranks of registered Democrats in California grew by 6 percent. The number of registered Republicans grew by 3 percent. The number of uncommitted independents registered to vote grew by 54 percent.

These independents — often wired workers, often voters in areas such as the Central Valley — hold the balance of political power in California. They strongly supported Republican Pete Wilson over Kathleen Brown for governor in 1994 and helped Democrat Gray Davis trounce Dan Lungren four years later. According to political analyst Mark Baldassare, whose new book *California in the New Millennium* is a treasure trove of detailed analysis, these independents tend to be "young, affluent, highly educated homeowners with suburban residences." While they are now the swing voters, independents will increasingly become a dominant force in California politics. Voters under 35 account for 42 percent of independents as opposed to only a quarter of Democrats and Republicans.

What unites these voters is an indelible streak of centrism and a powerful hostility toward government as usual. While engaged in their communities, they are disengaged from politics and more likely than other Californians to believe that government is run for a "few big interests."

The New Centrism of Decentralization

Always a sprawling, diverse state, California is becoming even more decentralized. The era of a dominant race, dominant regions, dominant workplaces, and dominant political parties is coming to a close. If Democrats return to California 40 years hence, the state will be even more different than it is now — 40 years after the last Los Angeles convention. If Democrats are to continue to win and govern effectively in this new California, they will have to adopt a new set of ideas. Democrats need a new centrism that can pull a diffuse state together in coalitions for progress. This new centrism of decentralization would recognize that a diverse, far-flung, wired, independent-minded state has little patience for top-down solutions, but hungers for initiatives that make the best of this new transformation and give individuals much more power to make choices and decisions for themselves in areas like schools and health care. A powerful idea that like many before it could spread east from a changing California. ♦

Andrei Cherny, a contributing editor to The New Democrat, is the platform director of the Democratic National Committee. His book, The Next Deal, will be published by BasicBooks in December. He lives in Valley Village, Calif.

One Hundred TO WATCH



CHANCES ARE,

you're already quite familiar with the New Democrat movers and shakers on the national stage: the senators, congressmen, governors, and of course, the President and Vice President of the United States.

As proud as we are of those figures' accomplishments, theirs is only part of the New Democrat success story. Across the nation, in statehouses and state government offices, in city halls and council chambers, New Democrats are making a difference in the lives of their fellow Americans. Like their higher-profile colleagues, what sets them apart is their dedication to seeking out modern means to advance the Democratic Party's traditional values of opportunity, responsibility, and community.

It's high time their story was told. In the following pages, we'll introduce you to 100 New Democrats who have made a mark at the state and local levels. Of that group, we've singled out for closer attention 10 New Democrat officeholders, all under age 40, whom we believe you'll be hearing much more about in the years ahead.

This list of honorees is by no means exclusive. In fact, we're certain there are hundreds more New Democrat officeholders just like them. Please fill out the business reply card enclosed in this issue and bring them to our attention so we can tell their stories.

Philip N. Angelides
State Treasurer
California



Background: State government official; business owner.
Proudest accomplishments: Implementing policies that invest the state's investment portfolio and pension funds in economically at-risk communities while achieving market rates of return, and direct that state infrastructure and community-development funds be used to support sustainable growth and community revitalization.

Political figure I admire most: Martin Luther King Jr.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because our party stands for equality of economic opportunity and social justice."

Favorite book: *An American Tragedy* by Theodore Dreiser.

Patrice Arent
State House Assistant Minority Whip
Utah



Background: State legislator; division chief in state attorney general's office; state legislature associate general counsel; private legal practice.

Proudest accomplishment: Sponsoring

Utah's first legislation requiring school districts to create comprehensive emergency plans. These plans must include components for prevention, intervention, and response.

Political figure I admire most: Scott M. Matheson.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because I believe in empowering all people with the tools they need to solve their own problems; supporting important values including individual responsibility, strong families and communities, equal opportunity for every American, and justice; and promoting common sense leadership that cares about future generations."

Favorite books: *The Price of a Dream* by David Bornstein and *Tuesdays With Morrie* by Mitch Albom.

Thurbert Baker
State Attorney General
Georgia



Background: State representative and House floor leader; lawyer.

Proudest accomplishment: Drafting and passing tough anti-crime legislation and laws to combat domestic violence and financial-identity fraud.

Political figure I admire most: Zell Miller.

Why I am a Democrat: "Our party fights for average families by promoting educational and economic opportunities and fighting crime."

Favorite book: *The Squire of Warm Springs* by Theo Lippman Jr.

Sharon Sayles Belton
Mayor
Minneapolis



Background: City Council president and member; parole officer.

Proudest accomplishment: My public safety record. Serious crime in Minneapolis is at a 21 year low.

Political figure I admire most: Nelson Mandela.

Why I am a Democrat: "The traditional Democratic principles of education, hard work, respect, and responsibility mirror the values that have informed my personal and professional life. The Democratic Party shares my desire to ensure that all people have access to the rights and principles set forth in our Constitution."

Favorite books: Anything by Agatha Christie.

Ethan Berkowitz
State Representative
Alaska

Background: Attorney; prosecutor; law enforcement; small business owner.

Proudest accomplishments: Restoring civility to the State House and shepherding restorative justice legislation through the legislature.



Political figure I admire most: Thomas Jefferson.

Why I am a Democrat: "We are the party that requires that social justice accompany economic opportunity."

Favorite book: *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee.

Bill Bradbury
Secretary of State
Oregon



Background: Television journalist; state representative; state Senate president; association executive director.

Proudest accomplishments: The formation of a diverse coalition to address needs of

salmon and the creation of a video documentary that is now in the Museum of Modern Art collection.

Political figure I admire most: Martin Luther King Jr.

Why I am a Democrat: "I believe in the fundamental values of opportunity for all and respect for human rights for everyone."

Favorite book: *Jitterbug Perfume* by Tom Robbins.

Bob Buckhorn
City Councilman
Tampa, Fla.



Background: Special assistant to the mayor of Tampa; association director of governmental affairs.

Proudest accomplishment: Co-chairing Florida's successful 1998 statewide initiative to close the gun-show loophole.

Political figure I admire most: Robert F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "The values of faith and family values, the overriding belief that citizenship is a gift and a duty, and that service to one's country is a privilege are Democratic ideals that withstand the test of time."

Favorite book: *Trinity* by Leon Uris.

Donald T. Cunningham
Mayor
Bethlehem, Pa.

In Bethlehem, Pa., Mayor Donald T. Cunningham, 34, is presiding over an urban rebirth. The youngest mayor in the city's history, he took office two years ago when the city was \$335 million in debt and reeling from the final shutdown of the Bethlehem Steel plant that sprawled over one-sixth of the 20-square-mile city.

The son and grandson of steelworkers, Cunningham did not let nostalgia deter him from declaring flatly during his campaign in the fall of 1997 that the city needed tremendous change. "Our message was clear: We needed to start building a new economy," he says. "As much as steel had defined this community for 125 years, we had to let go and move on."

Cunningham succeeded a popular three-term Republican mayor. Despite the city's union roots, he notes, Democrats haven't had a lock on City Hall. But that's been good for the party, he contends. "Democrats have to work hard and have to present good ideas in a responsible way to win here."

Those good ideas include cutting the city's debt, beefing up its economic development efforts, and creating new jobs. Under Cunningham's leadership, the city has opened two technical centers on the old Bethlehem Steel site that help high-tech startup companies expand their operations, and plans to open a third. His administration has wooed the Norfolk Southern Railroad to build a new freight terminal on former steel mill land, anchoring an urban industrial park. And the city has formed a partnership with the Smithsonian Institution to build a museum in Bethlehem that will chronicle the history of the Industrial Revolution in America and anchor a riverfront tourism and shopping district.

Cunningham pared Bethlehem's debt by \$30 million — nearly 10 percent — in his first year in office. Helped along by the robust economy, he has been able to pass two consecutive budgets with no tax increases. He overcame unions' and environmentalists' opposition to the sale of a money-losing city landfill that was sliding deeper in debt.

Cunningham rejects sole credit for such accomplishments.



He compares himself to "an orchestra leader — somebody's got to wave the baton and get everyone playing their parts." And with his term up in 2002, he says he doesn't fret about re-election. "The best thing we can do for re-election is to govern really well every day."

— Erik Gunn

Cruz M. Bustamante
Lieutenant Governor
California



Background: State Assembly speaker; congressional and state legislative senior staff member; CETA-SYEP director.

Proudest accomplishments: 1997 California welfare reform; re-

duced college fees; sponsored bills that put updated textbooks into state's schools; helped extend health insurance coverage to low-income children; launched both the commission for One California and a breast cancer awareness program.

Political figures I admire most: Pat Brown and Robert F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "Progressive and practical politics can be found in the Democratic Party."

Favorite books: *The Greatest Generation* by Tom Brokaw and *It's All in the Frijoles* by Yolanda Nava.

Robert A. Butkin
State Treasurer
Oklahoma



Background: State assistant attorney general; independent oil producer; community banker.

Proudest accomplishment: Developing the Oklahoma College Savings Plan.

Political figure I most admire: David Boren.

Why I am a Democrat: "Our party gives people the opportunity for better lives, stronger families, and safer communities."

Favorite book: *Truman* by David McCullough.

Jaime Capelo
State Representative
Texas



Background: Corpus Christi, Tex., city councilman; lawyer; teacher.

Proudest accomplishment: Co-sponsoring legislation that established the Texas' Children's Health Insurance Program.

Political figure I most admire: John F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "As a young Mexican-American kid growing up in Corpus Christi, it did not seem possible to attend the best college in the nation. I graduated from Yale University in 1984 only because of the hard-fought victories of many Democrats in civil rights and education during the '60s and '70s. There is only one political party that has consistently worked to make America the land of opportunity for all. Although the battles in education and civil rights continue, the battlefield had broadened and we must fight to improve health care and the economy so that all may share in our country's prosperity. But we must do so in a fiscally responsible manner."

Favorite book: *One Hundred Years of Solitude* by Gabriel Garcia Marquez.

Linda W. Chapin
Clerk of the Courts
Florida

Background: Chairwoman (mayor) Orange County, Fla.; savings and loan vice president.

Proudest accomplishment: During my tenure as county chairwoman, citizens' confidence in local government more than doubled, according to an independent survey by the University of Florida.

Political figure I admire most: Jimmy Carter.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party has been on the right side of history with every issue I've cared about — civil rights, the women's movement, environmentalism, and consumer protection."

Favorite book: *The Soul of Politics* by Jim Wallis.

Ken Cheuvront
State Representative
Arizona



Background: State legislator; association vice president.

Proudest accomplishment: Passing a comprehensive neighborhood revitalization bill.

Political figure I

admire most: Bill Clinton.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party best represents my values. It is a party of inclusiveness and pragmatism."

Favorite book: *A Soldier of a Great War* by Mark Helprin.

Michael B. Coleman
Mayor
Columbus, Ohio



Background: Attorney; Columbus city councilman and council president.

Proudest accomplishment: Working citywide to revitalize neighborhoods and bring families and jobs back into

the heart of Columbus.

Political figures I admire most: Thurgood Marshall and John F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "I believe that our party stands up for every family's right to sit at the table of the American dream."

Favorite book: *Johnny We Hardly Knew Ye* by Kenneth P. O'Donnell.

Kathleen Connell
State Controller
California



Background: Bank owner and executive; founder and chairwoman of the Center for Finance and Real Estate at the University of California-Los Angeles.

Proudest accomplishments: Initiating ag-

gressive audits of MediCal (the state Medicaid program), the state lottery, and schools, which identified more than \$1.5 billion in potential savings. Imple-

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A partial list of signatories of The Hyde Park Declaration appears at the end of the document. The full list will be available at a later date on New Democrats Online, www.ndol.org.

To order additional copies of The Hyde Park Declaration, call the DLC at 1-800-546-0027.

Al From

President

Democratic Leadership Council

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101 TO WATCH?

We hope you enjoyed this issue's feature on 100 New Democrats who have made a mark at the state and local levels. But who did we leave out? We're certain there's hundreds more New Democrat officeholders just like them. Please fill out the form below and mail it to us so we can tell their stories to the rest of the world.

Name _____

Title _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____ Email _____

Referred by: _____

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Favorite book: *Truman* by David McCullough.

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Political figure I admire most: Jimmy Carter.

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Background: Bank owner and executive; founder and chairwoman of the Center for Finance and Real Estate at the University of California-Los Angeles.

Proudest accomplishments: Initiating aggressive audits of MediCal (the state Medicaid program), the state lottery, and schools, which identified more than \$1.5 billion in potential savings. Imple-

THE HYDE PARK DECLARATION

PUBLISHER'S NOTE: Last May, at the invitation of the Democratic Leadership Council, elected officials from across the country met at Franklin D. Roosevelt's estate in Hyde Park, N.Y. Their goal was to begin drafting a statement of New Democrat principles and a broad national policy agenda for the next decade. This manifesto, The Hyde Park Declaration, is the result of their work.

The Hyde Park Declaration has a historic antecedent. At their 1990 annual meeting, held in New Orleans, DLC members — chaired by then-Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas — issued The New Orleans Declaration. That statement of principles became the guiding philosophy of Clinton's 1992 run for the presidency and later that of his presidential administration. The New Orleans Declaration's call for a citizen-government relationship based on the values of opportunity, responsibility, and community subsequently became the main organizing principle of Third Way political movements in Britain and around the world.

"Because of the work done in New Orleans and the fact that the American people gave us a chance two years later to test it, we have proven that ideas matter, and that for the decade of the '90s our ideas were the right ones," President Clinton told the Hyde Park gathering. "They have put the Democratic Party at the vital center of American life."

"Now, I think we have a rare opportunity to identify and move on the big, long-term challenges the country faces in the new century," he continued. "[You have] both the opportunity and the responsibility to put forth a declaration here which will guide our party and should guide our nation for the next 10 years. ... I've done everything I could to turn the ship of state around. Now you've got to make sure that it keeps sailing in the right direction."

A partial list of signatories of The Hyde Park Declaration appears at the end of the document. The full list will be available at a later date on New Democrats Online, www.ndol.org.

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Al From

President

Democratic Leadership Council

A New Politics for a New America

At the beginning of a new century and new millennium we see a nation in the midst of a great transformation.

As modernizers of the American progressive political tradition, we call for a new politics for the next decade to reflect new realities.

These new realities include:

- An information-, technology-driven, and ever more global New Economy that is changing the way Americans work, live, and communicate with each other.
- A population that is rapidly becoming more diverse, more affluent, more educated, more suburban, more “wired,” less political, and more centrist.
- The emergence of a new social structure, in which the “learning class” of well-educated and skilled citizens prospers while those without education and skills are at risk of being left behind.
- The aging of the population, creating new intergenerational tensions over resources for schools, retirement, and health care.
- A generational change in attitudes as the New Deal/World War II generation gives way to the baby boom and GenX generations that are far more skeptical about politics and government, even as they crave a “higher politics” of moral purpose.
- A rapidly changing global environment in which American values and interests are predominant, but in which we face a new series of international challenges based not on a monolithic threat from another superpower, but on regional instability, economic rivalries, ethnic conflicts, rogue states, and terrorism.

Where We Stand

In keeping with our party’s grand tradition, we reaffirm Jefferson’s belief in individual liberty and capacity for self-government. We endorse Jackson’s credo of equal opportunity for all, special privileges for none. We embrace Roosevelt’s thirst for innovation and Kennedy’s summons to civic duty. And we intend to carry on Clinton’s insistence upon new means to achieve progressive ideals.

As New Democrats, we believe in a Third Way that rejects the old left-right debate and affirms America’s basic bargain: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and community of all.

We believe in free enterprise to stimulate economic innovation and growth and in public activism to ensure that everyone can share in America’s prosperity.

We believe that government’s proper role in the New Economy is to equip working Americans with new tools for economic success and security.

We believe in expanding trade and investment because we

must be a party of economic progress, not economic reaction.

We believe that global markets demand global rules and institutions to ensure fair competition and to provide checks and balances on private power.

We believe that fiscal discipline is fundamental to sustained economic growth as well as responsible government.

We believe that a progressive tax system is the only fair way to pay for government.

We believe the Democratic Party’s mission is to expand opportunity, not government.

We believe that education must be America’s great equalizer, and we will not abandon our public schools or tolerate their failure.

We believe that all Americans must have access to health insurance in a system that balances governmental and individual responsibility.

We believe in preventing crime and punishing criminals and that America’s criminal justice system should be rooted in and responsive to the communities it serves.

We believe in a new social compact that requires and rewards work in exchange for public assistance and that ensures that no family with a full-time worker will live in poverty.

We believe that public policies should reinforce marriage, promote family, demand parental responsibility, and discourage out-of-wedlock births.

We believe in shifting the focus of America’s anti-poverty and social insurance programs from transferring wealth to creating wealth.

We believe in replacing top-down bureaucracy with more flexible public institutions that enable citizens and communities to solve their own problems.

We believe government should harness the forces of choice and competition to achieve public goals.

We believe in enhancing the role that civic entrepreneurs, voluntary groups, and religious institutions play in tackling America’s social ills.

We believe in strengthening environmental protection by giving communities the flexibility to tackle new challenges that cannot be solved with top-down mandates.

We believe government must combat discrimination on the basis of race, creed, gender, or sexual orientation; defend civil liberties; and stay out of our private lives.

We believe that the common civic ideals Americans share transcend group differences and forge unity from diversity.

We believe that abortion should be safe, legal, and rare.

We believe in progressive internationalism — the bold exercise of U.S. leadership to foster peace, prosperity, and democracy.

We believe that the United States must maintain a strong, tech-

Our first economic priority must be to keep today’s “long boom” alive through the formula that created it: fiscal discipline, open trade, support for innovation and entrepreneurship, and investment in the knowledge and skills of the workforce.

nologically superior defense to protect our interests and values.

Finally, we believe that American citizenship entails responsibilities as well as rights, and we mean to ask our citizens to give something back to their communities and their country.

A New Agenda for the New Decade

Based on the new realities of American life and on our enduring values as progressives, we present the following agenda for America’s next decade.

MAKING THE NEW ECONOMY WORK FOR ALL AMERICANS

1. Expand the Economy While Expanding the “Winner’s Circle”

Our first economic priority must be to keep today’s “long boom” alive through the formula that created it: fiscal discipline, open trade, support for innovation and entrepreneurship, and investment in the knowledge and skills of the work orce.

Fiscal discipline means not only balanced federal budgets, but action to reduce the national debt and to deal with the obligations associated with the retirement of the baby boom generation.

Open trade is integral to growth because it creates new markets abroad for our goods and services, lowers consumer prices, and spurs innovation. At the same time, we must tap new markets in inner-city and rural neighborhoods at home.

The key to lifting wages and living standards for all Americans is to boost productivity by investing heavily in technology and skills. As the economic rewards of education rise, we must continue to expand access to higher education. We should also stimulate the spread of new technologies and the Internet to every industry, every classroom, and every family. As e-commerce grows, citizens must be empowered to control the use of personal information they disclose online.

As we expand our economy, we must expand the winner’s circle of Americans equipped to benefit from the New Economy. This is the New Deal for economic security in the New Economy: lifelong learning for everyone, portable pensions and health insurance, and new opportunities for working families to save, build financial assets, and become homeowners.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Boost investment in technology and lifelong learning.
- Pay down the national debt.
- Increase the percentage of Americans owning capital assets (including homes) from 50 percent to 75 percent.
- Double the percentage of minority families owning homes.
- Make access to the Internet as common as access to telephones.

- Ensure that all students who make a “B” average or agree to serve their country can afford to go to college.

2. Write New Rules for the Global Economy

The rise of global markets has undermined the ability of national governments to control their own economies. The answer is neither global laissez faire nor protectionism but a Third Way: New international rules and institutions to ensure that globalization goes hand in hand with higher living standards, basic worker rights, and environmental protection.

U.S. leadership is crucial in building a rules-based global trading system as well as international structures that enhance worker rights and the environment without killing trade. For example, instead of restricting trade, we should negotiate specific multilateral accords to deal with specific environmental threats.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Conclude a new round of trade liberalization under the auspices of the World Trade Organization.
- Open the WTO, the World Bank, and International Monetary Fund to wider participation and scrutiny.
- Strengthen the International Labor Organization’s power to enforce core labor rights, including the right of free association.
- Launch a new series of multinational treaties to protect the world environment.

3. Create World-Class Public Schools

Now more than ever, quality public education is the key to equal opportunity and upward mobility in America. Yet our neediest children often attend the worst schools. While lifting the performance of all schools, we must place special emphasis on strengthening those institutions serving, and too often failing, low-income students.

To close this achievement and opportunity gap, underperforming public schools need more resources, and above all, real accountability for results. Accountability means ending social promotion, measuring student performance with standards-based assessments, and testing teachers for subject-matter competency.

As we demand accountability, we should ensure that every school has the resources needed to achieve higher standards, including safe and modern physical facilities, well-paid teachers and staff, and opportunities for remedial help after school and during summers. Parents, too, must accept greater responsibility for supporting their children’s education.

We need greater choice, competition, and accountability within the public school system, not a diversion of public funds to private schools that are unaccountable to taxpayers.

With research increasingly showing the critical nature of learning in the early years, we should move toward universal access to pre-kindergarten education.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Turn around every failing public school.
- Make charter schools an option in every state and community.
- Offer every parent a choice of public schools to which to send his or her child.
- Make sure every classroom has well-qualified teachers who know the subjects they teach, and pay teachers more for performance.
- Create a safe, clean, healthy, disciplined learning environment for every student.
- Make pre-kindergarten education universally available.

CREATING A NEW SOCIAL COMPACT FOR THE NEW ECONOMY

1. Help Working Families Lift Themselves from Poverty

In the 1990s, Americans resolved to end welfare dependency and forge a new social compact on the basis of work and reciprocal responsibility. The results so far are encouraging: The welfare rolls have been cut by more than half since 1992 without the social calamities predicted by defenders of the old welfare entitlement. People are more likely than ever to leave welfare for work, and even those still on welfare are four times more likely to be working. But the job of welfare reform will not be done until we help all who can work to find and keep jobs — including absent fathers who must be held responsible for supporting their children.

In the next decade, progressives should embrace an even more ambitious social goal — helping every working family lift itself from poverty. Our new social compact must reinforce work, responsibility, and family. By expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, increasing the supply of affordable child care, reforming tax policies that hurt working families, making sure absent parents live up to their financial obligations, promoting access to home ownership and other wealth-building assets, and refocusing other social policies on the new goal of rewarding work, we can create a new progressive guarantee: No American family with a full-time worker will live in poverty.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Finish the job of welfare reform by moving all recipients who can work into jobs.
- Cut the poverty rate in half.
- Double child support collections and require every father who owes child support to go to work to pay it off.

2. Strengthen America's Families

While the steady reduction in the number of two-parent families of the last 40 years has slowed, more than one-third of our children still live in one- or no-parent families. There is a high correlation between a childhood spent with inadequate parental support and an adulthood spent in poverty or in prison.

To strengthen families, we must redouble efforts to reduce out-of-wedlock pregnancies, make work pay, eliminate tax policies that inadvertently penalize marriage, and require absent fathers to pay child support while offering them new opportunities to find work. Because every child needs the attention of at least one caring and competent adult, we should create an “extended family” of adult volunteer mentors.

Family breakdown is not the only challenge we face. As two-worker families have become the norm, harried parents have less time to spend on their most important job: raising their children. Moreover, parents and schools often find themselves contending with sex- and violence-saturated messages coming from an all-pervasive mass entertainment media.

We should continue public efforts to give parents tools to balance work and family and shield their children from harmful outside influences. For example, we should encourage employers to adopt family-friendly policies and practices such as parental leave, flex-time, and telecommuting. Public officials should speak out about violence in our culture and should press the entertainment media to adopt self-policing codes aimed at protecting children.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Cut the rate of out-of-wedlock births in half.
- Recruit a million mentors for disadvantaged children without two parents.
- Provide affordable after-school programs at every public school.
- Make every workplace “family-friendly.”
- Promote policies that help parents shield their children from violence and sex in entertainment products.

3. Promote Universal Access and Quality in Health Care

That more than 40 million Americans lack health insurance is one of our society's most glaring inequities. Lack of insurance jeopardizes the health of disadvantaged Americans and also imposes high costs on everyone else when the uninsured lack preventive care and get treatment from emergency rooms. Washington provides a tax subsidy for insurance for Americans who get coverage from their employers but offers nothing to workers who don't have job-based coverage.

Markets alone cannot assure universal access to health cover-

Multiethnic democracy requires fighting discrimination against marginalized groups; empowering the disadvantaged to join the economic, political, and cultural mainstream; and respecting diversity while insisting that what we have in common as Americans is more important than how we differ.

age. Government should enable all low-income families to buy health insurance. Individuals must take responsibility for insuring themselves and their families whether or not they qualify for public assistance.

Finally, to help promote higher quality in health care for all Americans, we need reliable information on the quality of health care delivered by health plans and providers; a “patient's bill of rights” that ensures access to medically necessary care; and a system in which private health plans compete on the basis of quality as well as cost.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Reduce the number of uninsured Americans by two-thirds through tax credits, purchasing pools, and other means.
- Create a system of reliable “report cards” on the quality of care delivered by health plans and providers.

4. Strengthen America's Common Civic Culture

The more ethnically and culturally diverse America becomes, the harder we must all work to affirm our common civic culture — the values and democratic institutions we share and that define our national identity as Americans. This means we should resist an “identity politics” that confers rights and entitlements on groups and instead affirm our common rights and responsibilities as citizens.

Multiethnic democracy requires fighting discrimination against marginalized groups; empowering the disadvantaged to join the economic, political, and cultural mainstream; and respecting diversity while insisting that what we have in common as Americans is more important than how we differ.

One way to encourage an ethic of citizenship and mutual obligation is to promote voluntary national service. If expanded to become available to everyone who wants to participate, national service can help turn the strong impulse toward volunteerism among our young people into a major resource in addressing our social problems. It will also help revive a sense of patriotism and national unity at a time when military service is no longer the common experience of young Americans.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Reduce discrimination based on race, gender, national background, religion, age, disability, or sexual orientation.
- Shift the emphasis of affirmative action strategies from group preferences to economic empowerment of all disadvantaged citizens.
- Expand the AmeriCorps national service program so that everyone willing to serve can serve — with 1 million participants enrolled by the end of the decade.

- Promote character education in all public schools.

5. Balance America's Commitments to the Young and the Old

An ever-growing share of the federal budget today consists of automatic transfers from working Americans to retirees. Moreover, the costs of the big entitlements for the elderly — Social Security and Medicare — are growing at rates that will eventually bankrupt them and that could leave little to pay for everything else government does. We can't just spend our way out of the problem; we must find a way to contain future costs. The federal government already spends seven times as much on the elderly as it does on children. To allow that ratio to grow even more imbalanced would be grossly unfair to today's workers and future generations.

In addition, Social Security and Medicare need to be modernized to reflect conditions not envisioned when they were created in the 1930s and the 1960s. Social Security, for example, needs a stronger basic benefit to bolster its critical role in reducing poverty in old age. Medicare needs to offer retirees more choices and a modern benefit package that includes prescription drugs. Such changes, however, will only add to the cost of the programs unless they are accompanied by structural reforms that restrain their growth and limit their claim on the working families whose taxes support the programs.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Honor our commitment to seniors by ensuring the future solvency of Social Security and Medicare.
- Make structural reforms in Social Security and Medicare that slow their future cost growth, modernize benefits (including a prescription drug benefit for Medicare), and give beneficiaries more choice and control over their retirement and health security.
- Create Retirement Savings Accounts to enable low-income Americans to save for their own retirement.

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

1. Performance-Based Government

The strong anti-government sentiments of the early 1990s have subsided, but most Americans still think government is too bureaucratic, too centralized, and too inefficient.

In Washington and around the country, a second round of “reinventing government” initiatives should be launched to transform public agencies into performance-based organizations focused on bottom-line results. Many public services can be delivered on a competitive basis among public and private entities with accountability for results. Public-private partner-

ships should become the rule, not the exception, in delivering services. Civic and voluntary groups, including faith-based organizations, should play a larger role in addressing America's social problems.

When the federal government provides grants to states and localities to perform public services, it should give the broadest possible administrative flexibility while demanding and rewarding specific results. Government information and services at every level should be thoroughly "digitized," enabling citizens to conduct business with public agencies online.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Require public agencies to measure results and publish information on performance.
- Consolidate narrow federal-state grants into broad performance-based grants that offer greater flexibility in return for greater accountability for results.
- Make it possible for citizens to conduct all business with government online.
- Create a chief information officer to drive the digitization of the federal government.

2. Return Politics to the People

At a time when much of the world is emulating American values and institutions, too many Americans have lost confidence in their political system. They are turned off by a partisan debate that often seems to revolve not around opposing philosophies but around contending sets of interest groups. They believe that our current system for financing campaigns gives disproportionate power to wealthy individuals and groups and exerts too much influence over legislative and regulatory outcomes.

The time for piecemeal reform is past. As campaign costs soar at every level, we need to move toward voluntary public financing of all general elections and press broadcasters to donate television time to candidates.

The Internet holds tremendous potential for making campaigns less expensive and more edifying and for engaging Americans directly in electoral politics. We should promote the Internet as a new vehicle for political communication and champion online voting.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Introduce voluntary public financing for all general elections.
- Allow properly regulated voter registration and voting online.
- Implement civic education courses in every public school.

3. Modernize Environmental Policies

National environmental policies, mostly developed in the

1970s, have been remarkably successful in improving the quality of our air and water. But we face a new set of environmental challenges for which the old strategy of centralized, command-and-control regulation is no longer effective.

The old regime of prohibitions and fines levied on polluters is not well equipped to tackle problems such as climate change, contamination of water from such sources as farm and suburban runoff, loss of open lands, and sprawl. Without relaxing our determination to maintain and enforce mandatory national standards for environmental quality, it is time to create more effective, efficient, and flexible ways of achieving those standards.

For example, a system of tradable emissions permits would give factories, power plants, and other sources of air pollution and greenhouse gases a powerful incentive not only to meet but to exceed environmental standards. Decisions about solving local environmental problems should be shifted from Washington to communities, without weakening national standards. Finally, to empower citizens and communities to make sound decisions, government should invest in improving the quality and availability of information about environmental conditions.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Create a domestic emissions trading system to reduce greenhouse gases by 10 percent.
- Promote innovative agreements for community and regional partnerships to achieve national environmental goals and standards through local strategies.
- End government subsidies for sprawl.

PROMOTING PEACE AND SECURITY AT HOME AND ABROAD

1. Make America the "Safest Big Country" in the World

After climbing relentlessly for three decades, crime rates started to fall in the 1990s. Nonetheless, the public remains deeply concerned about the prevalence of gun violence, especially among juveniles, and Americans still avoid public spaces like downtown retail areas, parks, and even sports facilities.

To continue reducing crime, we need to keep policing "smart" and community-friendly, prohibiting unjust and counterproductive tactics such as racial profiling; focus on preventing as well as punishing crime; pay attention to what happens to inmates and their families after sentencing; use mandatory testing and treatment to break the cycle of drugs and crime; and enforce and strengthen laws against unsafe or illegal guns. Moreover, we need a renewed commitment to equal justice for all, and we must reject a false choice between justice and safety.

We are firmly convinced that our party, which is more than ever and must always strive to be a New Democratic Party, has the right values, policy goals, and ideas to represent the new politics our country needs.

Technology can help in many areas: giving police more information on criminal suspects so they do not rely on slipshod, random stop-and-search methods; allowing lower-cost supervision of people on probation or parole; and making it possible to disable and/or trace guns used by unauthorized persons.

Above all, we need to remember that public safety is the ultimate goal of crime policy. Until Americans feel safe enough to walk their neighborhood streets, enjoy public spaces, and send their children to school without fear of violence, we have not achieved public safety.

GOALS FOR 2010

- Reduce violent crime rates another 25 percent.
- Cut the rate of repeat offenses in half.
- Develop and require "smart gun" technology to prevent use of firearms by unauthorized persons and implement sensible gun control measures.
- Ban racial profiling by police but encourage criminal targeting through better information on actual suspects.
- Require in-prison and post-prison drug testing and treatment of all drug offenders.

2. Build a Public Consensus Supporting U.S. Global Leadership

The internationalist outlook that served America and the world so well during the second half of the 20th century is under attack from both ends of the political spectrum. As the left has gravitated toward protectionism, many on the right have reverted to "America First" isolationism. This collapse of the old Cold War consensus threatens America's ability to provide international leadership on both the economic and security fronts.

What's needed is a new foreign and security strategy for a new era. Our leaders should articulate a progressive internationalism based on the new realities of the Information Age: globalization, democracy, American pre-eminence, and the rise of a new array of threats ranging from regional and ethnic conflicts to the spread of missiles and biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons. This approach recognizes the need to revamp, while continuing to rely on, multilateral alliances that advance U.S. values and interests.

A strong, technologically superior defense is the foundation for U.S. global leadership. Yet the United States continues to employ defense strategies, military missions, and force structures left over from the Cold War, creating a defense establishment that is ill-prepared to meet new threats to our security. The United States must speed up the "revolution in military affairs" that uses our technological advantage to project force in many different contingencies involving uncertain and rapidly changing security threats — including terrorism and

information warfare. This also means undertaking a systematic overhaul of the military to create a force that is more flexible, integrated, and efficient.

GOALS FOR 2010

- A clear national policy with bipartisan support that continues U.S. global leadership, adjusts our alliances to new regional threats to peace and security, promotes the spread of political and economic freedom, and outlines where and how we are willing to use force.
- A modernized military equipped to deal with emerging threats to security, such as terrorism, information warfare, weapons of mass destruction, and destabilizing regional conflicts.

Conclusion

The ideas in this *Hyde Park Declaration* are not an exclusive or exhaustive agenda for America in the 21st century. We welcome other ideas based on the enduring values of opportunity, responsibility, and community.

But we do urge our fellow Democrats, and fellow citizens, to take heed of the rapid pace of economic, social, and political change here and abroad; the great potential of new technologies to transform how we live, work, and interact; the inequality of opportunity that will emerge if we do not address it; the dangerous disengagement in public life of our citizenry; and the fresh needs and perspectives of the young people who will succeed us.

This is the wrong time in history for politics as usual: for empty partisanship; for treating citizens simply as members of contending groups; for divisive appeals based on race, religion, ethnicity, or culture; for efforts to encourage voters to focus on narrow self-interest; and for perpetuating the issues and ideologies of an ever-more-distant past.

We are firmly convinced that our party, which is more than ever and must always strive to be a New Democratic Party, has the right values, policy goals, and ideas to represent the new politics our country needs. But we cannot rest. We must continue to embrace change if we are to engage the electorate and offer a governing agenda that can produce positive results. As the squire of Hyde Park, Franklin D. Roosevelt, said, "New conditions impose new requirements on government and those who conduct government."

That is why we best honor the true legacy of FDR not by acting as guardians of the dead letter of past progressive achievements but by living up to the bold, innovative spirit that made those achievements possible. With this Declaration, we affirm our intention to do just that. ■

The Hyde Park Declaration

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United States Senator
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line with the 1988 federal Fair Housing Act.

As civil rights commissioner, Freeman-Wilson, 39, sought not only to represent the interests of people alleging discrimination, but to work with the business community as well. "We were there not only for the citizen who had complaints, but to help businesses comply with the equal opportunity law in the state," she explains.

"We're more alike than different," Freeman-Wilson says. "We want our kids to have access to good education, want our families to be safe, want to be able to make a good living. If you can take that message to people that that's what you're about, they will vote for you no matter what."

— Erik Gunn

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State Representative
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Jane Wood

State Representative
New Hampshire



Karen Freeman-Wilson
State Attorney General
Indiana

She's been a prosecutor, a defense attorney, a community activist, and a judge. Now Karen Freeman-Wilson is Indiana's chief law enforcer. Appointed state attorney general in February to fill the unfinished term of the previous incumbent, the Gary native helped implement drug courts during her tenure as a Gary City Court presiding judge. She directed the Indiana Civil Rights Commission and helped rally support for the passage of state fair housing laws that are in line with the 1988 federal Fair Housing Act.

As civil rights commissioner, Freeman-Wilson, 39, sought not only to represent the interests of people alleging discrimination, but to work with the business community as well. "We were there not only for the citizen who had complaints, but to help businesses comply with the equal opportunity law in the state," she explains.

Freeman-Wilson credits New Democrat Evan Bayh, Indiana's former governor and now one of its two senators in Congress, with leading a Democratic resurgence in the same state that elevated Dan Quayle to national prominence. Bayh, she says, "was able to forge a message that really appealed to many voters — Democratic, Republican, and independent."

"One of the things I go around the state saying often is, 'We're more alike than different,' " Freeman-Wilson says. "We want our kids to have access to good education, want our families to be safe, want to be able to make a good living. If you can take that message to people that that's what you're about, they will vote for you no matter what."

— Erik Gunn

mented electronic filing of income taxes. Led restructuring of the state teachers' retirement system to achieve a fully-funded retirement system and expand benefits for members.

Political figure I admire most: Tom Bradley.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party has consistently demonstrated a commitment to the average working family and to the economic advancement of all. Its solid and unwavering support for women's rights, including the right to choose, is a hallmark of the party."

Favorite book: *Markings* by Dag Hammarskjöld.

Roy Cooper
State Senate Majority Leader
North Carolina



Background: State senator and representative; attorney.

Proudest accomplishment: Pushing through new laws to empower crime victims with constitutional rights, crack down on juvenile crime,

stop predatory lending, and fight school violence.

Political figure I admire most: Harry S. Truman.

Why I am a Democrat: "Our party provides the best hope for strengthening public education, fighting crime, and encouraging economic prosperity."

Favorite book: *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee.

Emily Couric
State Senator
Virginia



Background: Journalist; author.

Proudest accomplishment: Following my 1999 re-election campaign, I won every precinct in a swing district, with 66 percent of the vote overall.

Political figure I admire most: Doug Wilder.

Why I am a Democrat: "I believe that all citizens should have every opportunity to develop their skills and abilities, helping them lead productive and dignified lives. The Democratic Party is the party most dedicated to promoting this opportunity, regardless of any individual's background and life circumstances."

Favorite book: *One Hundred and One Famous Poems*.

Chris Cummiskey
State Senate Assistant Minority Leader
Arizona



Background: Charitable fundraiser; corporate strategic planner.

Proudest accomplishment: My sponsorship and passage of a comprehensive bill aimed at reducing the risk of school violence.

Political figure I admire most: Morris K. Udall.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because, as a party, we are committed to helping provide all citizens with the tools and skills necessary to improve their quality of life."

Favorite book: *Profiles in Courage* by John F. Kennedy.

Wayne K. Curry
County Executive
Prince George's County, Md.



Background: Lawyer.

Proudest accomplishment: Ending 30 years of court-ordered school busing in Prince George's County and negotiating and effecting construction of FedEx Field, the home of the Washington Redskins.

Political figure I admire most: Lyndon B. Johnson.

Why I am a Democrat: "The party represents the best vehicle to advance the dreams of all Americans."

Favorite books: *Parting the Waters* and *Pillar of Fire* by Taylor Branch.

Susan A. Davis
State Assemblywoman
California

Background: San Diego school board president; association executive director; radio producer.

Proudest accomplishment: Sponsoring and winning passage of legislation that grants women enrolled in health maintenance organizations unfettered access to an obstetrician/gynecologist. Improving public education by working to reduce class sizes and by enhancing the quality of teaching and the curriculum.

Political figure I admire most: Golda Meir.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party represents the ideals I believe in, such as improving education, ensuring people have quality health care, protecting civil liberties and choice, and providing an opportunity for those who are struggling to improve their quality of life."

Favorite book: *The Diary of Anne Frank*.

Ryan Deckert
State Representative
Oregon

Background: Association director of development.

Proudest accomplishments: Being the first Democrat ever elected to serve in my district, and co-authoring the bill that created the Oregon Internet Commission.

Political figures I admire most: Tom McCall and John A. Kitzhaber.

Why I am a Democrat: "Democrats will ensure that the New Economy benefits all citizens, not just a select few."

Favorite books: *Liars Club* by Mary Karr and *Catcher in the Rye* by J.D. Salinger.

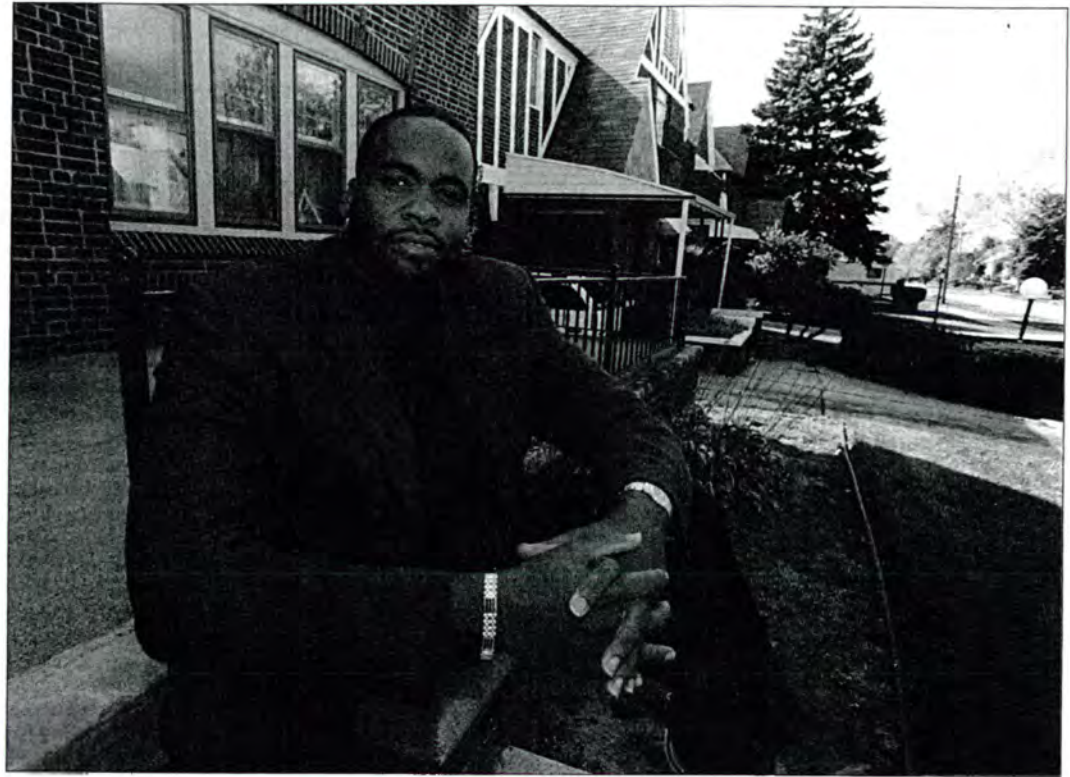
Douglas M. Duncan
Montgomery County Executive
Maryland



Background: Rockville, Md., mayor and councilman; business executive.

Proudest accomplishment: Revitalizing declining urban areas and implementing the nation's first local

earned income tax credit.



Kwame Kilpatrick
State Representative
Michigan

When Michigan State Rep. Kwame Kilpatrick discusses the Democrats' tradition as the "party of inclusion," he's referring not only to matters of race and class. For Kilpatrick, 30, a truly inclusive Democratic Party is one that encourages a broad diversity of policy views.

As an outspoken advocate of charter schools, he has occasionally crossed swords with his party's allies in the union movement, who remain suspicious of the concept. Kilpatrick, whose district is in the heart of Detroit, has also backed legislation aimed at restoring urban brownfields for economic development, allowing businesses greater regulatory flexibility to encourage job growth, and "a lot of different things that the liberal arm of our party does not support."

"I hate the status quo," he says. "I refuse to be part of the status quo. Whether it's traditional Democrat or traditional

Republican, that's something that we have to get away from."

Too often, the rhetoric of the party's liberal spokesmen has struck Kilpatrick as exclusive rather than inclusive. Take charter schools, for instance. "When we take such a vicious stance on an issue like charter schools, we exclude the parents, students, teachers, and people who work in those schools and who have done a very good job," he says. "It's hurting us with voters."

Kilpatrick insists he's not anti-union or anti-teacher. "I was in the union. I taught school for four years in Detroit," he points out. Even unions are partnering with charter schools, and the outcome, he insists, doesn't have to harm public schools. "I think you can support traditional public education and support charter schools."

— Erik Gunn

Political figure I admire most: Harry S. Truman.

Why I am a Democrat: "Democrats believe in helping people and care about families and workers. Democrats stand up for the excluded, the disenfranchised, and the poor. I am committed to these ideals."

Favorite books: Anything by Tom Clancy or J.K. Rowling.

Joseph L. Dunn
State Senator
California



Background: Lawyer.
Proudest accomplishment: Being named legislator of the year during my first year in office by both the California Veterans of Foreign Wars and the California American Legion.

Political figure I admire most: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because I believe that government — the collective political voice of the people — can be a powerful tool for advancing the interests of the people as a whole. Government, however, must remain small, efficient, and responsive lest it become an obstacle instead of a tool."

Favorite book: Anything non-fiction.

Judith H. Dutcher
State Auditor
Minnesota



Background: Minneapolis prosecutor; attorney.

Proudest accomplishment: Forming a task force in 1999 to examine national and state laws regulating the funeral industry. The task

force's work led to changes in Minnesota law, making my state a leader in protecting consumers from unscrupulous funeral industry practices.

Political figure I admire most: Golda Meir.

Why I am a Democrat: "As a former Republican, I changed political parties because the Democratic Party's priorities more accurately reflect my beliefs and values and those of Minnesota's

families. It views diversity of opinion as a strength and encourages inclusion and openness. It encourages dialogue, discussion, and solutions for issues that help all working families."

Favorite books: The Harry Potter series.

Michael F. Easley
State Attorney General
North Carolina

Background: District attorney; association president and legislative chairman.

Proudest accomplishments: Making consumer protection a centerpiece of my administration and North Carolina a safer place to live. Since I took office in 1993, my state's rate of violent crime has declined by more than 15 percent.

Political figure I admire most: Harry S. Truman.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party, as a whole, represents average working families on a wide range of issues such as health care, public education, the soaring costs of prescription medicines, and ensuring that every family can prosper in the New Economy. But our greatest strength is our willingness and ability to reach out and bring people in. Every citizen matters to us and we believe everyone can contribute."

Favorite book: *The Great Santini* by Pat Conroy.

W. A. Drew Edmonson
State Attorney General
Oklahoma

Background: State representative; district attorney.

Proudest accomplishment: Participation in the settlement of the national tobacco lawsuit.

Political figure I admire most: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Why I am a Democrat: "I was born into a Democratic family and participated in Democratic politics. I would not have remained a Democrat had my studies not convinced me what my heart always told me — that the Democratic Party cares about and works for people."

Favorite book: *The Making of the President, 1960* by Theodore White.

Eric D. Fingerhut
State Senator
Ohio

Background: Member of Congress; attorney; senior executive at Cleveland Works, a pioneering, private sector welfare-to-work agency.

Proudest accomplishment: Being part of the one-vote margin that passed the national assault-weapons ban in the U.S. House in 1994.

Political figure I admire most: Robert F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "We are the party of the New Deal and the Marshall Plan — a party that promotes the course of freedom, human dignity, and economic opportunity for all Americans and all citizens of the world."

Elizabeth G. Flores
Mayor
Laredo, Texas

Background: Bank vice president.

Proudest accomplishment: Being elected the city's first woman mayor.

Political figures I admire most: Ann Richards and Kay Bailey Hutchinson.

Why I am a Democrat: "Democrats are people you see in your community, at work, at church, at stores, and at the ballpark. Democrats come from all walks of life, but our shared beliefs and values help shape a strong state and nation where every citizen has a right to succeed."

Favorite books: Nancy Drew mysteries.

Dean Florez
State Assemblyman
California

Background: Municipal finance investment banker; principal of an economic development company.

Proudest accomplishment: Developing an economic development plan for rural California.

Political figure I admire most: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Why I am a Democrat: "I believe in the rights and dignity of working men and women. Democrats best protect and advance these principles."

Favorite book: *Competitive Strategy: Creating and Sustaining Superior Performance* by Michael Porter.

Jack Markell
State Treasurer
Delaware

Delaware State Treasurer Jack Markell entered politics after a decade-long business career with the wireless telephone company Nextel and later with Comcast Corp. But his upbringing was suffused with respect for public service. Markell, 39, was reared in Newark, Del., the son of a University of Delaware professor and a social worker. "I grew up in an environment where helping people was front and center," he says.

That family and professional background gives Markell both a deep appreciation for government's potential to help people and a deep understanding of the best lessons business has to offer the public sector.

Lesson One: It is the economy, stupid. "Economic growth really is fundamental to making all the other kinds of changes that we want to make," Markell says. Economic literacy is also important. To help emphasize that point, Markell's office has sponsored a series of money-management seminars geared toward women.

Lesson Two: Incentives work. "The idea in government that people's pay is essentially independent of their performance is something that needs to change," he says.

Lesson Three: Don't fear failure. "If you look in the business world now, failure is not such a bad thing," Markell notes. "Venture capitalists are interested in backing people who have failed before. Whereas in government, you want to avoid failure at all costs because you're going to have the press and your opponents and the auditors all over you." Government policymakers need room to experiment, he says, "so long as the chances people take don't blow the bank and don't risk people's lives."

Lesson Four: Focus on accountability and results. "Business executives care about getting things done and they care about results," Markell says. "That is something



very important to bring into government as well. We're now known as the party of fiscal prudence. Who would have believed 10 years ago that people would have favored the Democrats for managing the country's economy?"

— Erik Gunn

Tom Flynn
State Senator
Iowa



Background: Association board chairman.

Proudest accomplishment: My service on the board of the National Ready Mix Concrete Association.

Political figure I

admire most: John F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "I believe in opportunity, equality, prosperity, individual responsibility, civic commitment, fiscal responsibility, and a clear vision of the active role of government in the promotion of these values."

Favorite publications: Periodicals on history and current events.

John A. Fritchey
State Representative
Illinois



Background: Assistant state attorney general; lawyer; university adjunct lecturer in political science.

Proudest accomplishment: Serving as a legislator and having the trust of my constituents

to represent them on numerous important issues.

Political figures I admire most: Paul Simon and Jay Byington Bulworth.

Why I am a Democrat: "I believe in the need for and the ability of all Americans to play a role in leading our world into a new era of greater global openness and prosperity. Our party's policies on the workplace, families, and the New Economy are the right tools to achieve this goal."

Favorite book: *The Tao of Pooh* by Benjamin Hoff.

Douglas F. Gansler
State's Attorney for Montgomery County
Maryland

Background: Assistant U.S. attorney; lawyer; law clerk.

Proudest accomplishment: Overseeing the first prosecutor's office in the United States to fully implement a community-prosecution strategy, in which prosecu-



tors are assigned and deployed by geographic neighborhood lines rather than by type of crime.

Political figure I admire most: Robert F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat:

"To borrow Lincoln's phrase, because the Democratic Party 'appeals to the better angels of our nature.'"

Favorite book: *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee.

Jim D. Garner
State House Democratic Leader
Kansas

Background: Law clerk.

Proudest accomplishment: My involvement in creating a Children's Trust Fund by dedicating all of Kansas' share of the national tobacco settlement to programs improving the lives of children.

Political figure I admire most: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Why I am a Democrat: "I share the values of the Democratic Party — a belief in community of which all people can be a part, that our policies must promote equal opportunity for all persons to make the most of their God-given talents and abilities, and an expectation of civic responsibility from all."

Favorite books: *The Book of Mark* from the New Testament and *The Book of Micah* from the Old Testament.

Lauren Beth Gash
State Representative
Illinois



Background: PTA board member; school board liaison for the League of Women Voters; voluntary attorney for a legal-aid services organization.

Proudest accomplishment: My sponsorship

of bills that became laws to protect children, including laws that keep guns safely stored from children, make it easier to track sex offenders, improve child support collection from deadbeat parents, and ensure that children's best interests are paramount in all child custody proceedings.

Political figures I admire most: Paul and Jeanne Simon.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party is the party of inclusion — an advocate for ordinary people whose lives will be better as a result of meaningful policies on such issues as gun safety, real health care reform, and school improvement."

Favorite book: *Angela's Ashes* by Frank McCourt.

Jeff Gombosky
State Representative
Washington

Background: AmeriCorps member; association director; consultant.

Proudest accomplishments: Passage of legislation modernizing the state's community empowerment program. Being named by *The Seattle Times* as one of the best new members of the House. My status as the chamber's youngest member.

Political figure I admire most: Robert F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "The most significant public policy measures that have advanced civil and equal rights, access to medical insurance, expanded educational opportunity, prosperity, and security for middle-class Americans were because of the leadership of Democratic elected officials."

Favorite book: *The Next American Nation* by Michael Lind.

Ron Gonzales
Mayor
San Jose, Calif.

Background: Santa Clara County, Calif., supervisor; Sunnyvale, Calif., mayor and councilman; business executive.

Proudest accomplishments: Initiating affordable housing and scholarship programs for teachers in my first 100 days in office. Taking a regional approach to such problems as housing, traffic congestion, economic growth, environmental protection. Emphasizing performance-based government.

Political figures I admire most: John F. Kennedy and my father, Robert Gonzales.

Why I am a Democrat: "I learned from my father at an early age that one person can make a difference, and that politics and good government are the best ways to improve people's lives. The

Eva Moskowitz
City Councilwoman
New York City

Eva Moskowitz lost her first race for New York's City Council in 1997, but came back last year to win the seat representing Manhattan's Upper East Side. A self-described "constitutional Democrat," her grandmother was an ardent supporter of FDR and her parents opposed the Vietnam War. Despite that background, Moskowitz's strong advocacy of charter schools angered New York's powerful teachers union. It endorsed and worked hard for her GOP opponent, who paradoxically was a former board member of the conservative Manhattan Institute. Moskowitz overcame the union's opposition to win the seat.

"Ideas matter to me," says the former college history professor. "I think they're very relevant to politics, despite the media and the 30-second commercials and the investment in spinning. A lot of old-school politicians said to me, 'That's wrong, people don't care about ideas.'"

Moskowitz, 36, calls herself "a Democrat who's read Adam Smith." Public policy debates, she says, need to be guided by a sound understanding of economic principles. "You need to understand not only the costs of government programs, but you also need to understand when does the market do things better, and in what ways," Moskowitz explains. "Common sense goes a really, really long way when you're looking at public policy. And despite the fact that I have Ph.D., it doesn't really require a Ph.D. to figure out what the right choices are."

Moskowitz includes charter schools among those choices. The typical public school bureaucracy, she explains, is top-heavy and shackled by rules and regulations. Take the simple task of painting a classroom. First, it can take months for the request to be processed. Second, when it happens, the ceiling and upper third of the walls are likely to be left untouched, thanks to contracts that assign that work to different unions.

Charter schools are a worthwhile experiment in cutting through all that red tape, Moskowitz says. "When they get their classrooms painted they'll be able to get the whole

thing painted. They're not going to have to wait three years to get a bulletin board."

Just as important, however, Moskowitz takes a distinctly pragmatic view of the concept. "I'm not ideologically wedded to charter schools," she explains. "I'm wedded to solutions to the educational problems we face."

— Erik Gunn



Democratic Party represents the best opportunity for all Americans, new and old, to dare to dream about a brighter future. We have always been the party of hope for individuals, families, and communities. We have always been the party committed to common purposes like civil rights and public education."

Favorite book: *The Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck.

Phil Gordon
Phoenix City Councilman
Arizona



Background: Chief of staff to the mayor of Phoenix; business president and board chairman.

Proudest accomplishment: In 1998, I created the Maricopa County Slumlord Task Force,

which brought together various segments of our community to draft a strong state legislative proposal to combat the problem of slum rental properties.

Political figure I admire most: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party best represents America's hope for the five core themes that have defined the new progressive politics: opportunity, responsibility, community, democracy, and entrepreneurial government."

Favorite books: *Prayer for a City* by Buzz Bissinger and the Progressive Policy Institute's *Mandate for Change*.

Gregory N. Gray
State Representative
Minnesota

Background: Attorney.

Proudest accomplishment: Enacting into law legislation to reduce the fraud known as "mortgage flipping."

Political figure I admire most: Jimmy Carter.

Why I am a Democrat: "I believe that government can and should play a role in making people's lives better. While personal responsibility should always be encouraged, we need only remember recent troubles in the agricultural community to see that hard work is not always enough. In a global economy where some are unwilling to play by the rules, we need a government that is some-

times willing to intervene and level the playing field."

Favorite books: *All Politics is Local* by Tip O'Neill and *Willie Brown: A Biography* by James Richardson.

Darlene Green
City Comptroller
St. Louis



Background: St. Louis budget director; professional experience in both the public and private sectors.

Proudest accomplishment: Creating the City Homebuyers Incentive Program, which offers

low-interest loans of up to 5 percent of the sale price of a single-family residence.

Why I am a Democrat: "Tradition."

Dan Grossman
State Representative
Colorado



Background: Senior corporate counsel.

Proudest accomplishment: Helping develop a comprehensive legal strategy to foster growth of TeleTech, a Denver-based technology company.

Political figure I admire most: Martin Luther King Jr.

Why I am a Democrat: "The destiny of our democracy will be defined by the character of our citizens. Democrats recognize that government can be a tool to empower our citizens to further the public good."

Favorite book: *Definer of a Nation: Biography of John Marshall* by Jean Smith.

Lars A. Hafner
State Representative
Florida

Background: College associate vice president.

Proudest accomplishment: Starting and building the College University Center at St. Petersburg Junior College, which enables community college students to earn bachelor's and master's degrees.



Political figure I admire most: Lawton Chiles.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because the party has sound, fundamental values and a vision for the new century. We are an inclusive party

seeking the greatest good for all people, committed to personal responsibility and mutual respect."

Favorite book: *The Death of Common Sense* by Philip K. Howard.

Bob Hagedorn
State Representative
Colorado



Background: College instructor; public relations.

Proudest accomplishments: Passage of patient-protection legislation. Raising awareness of the importance of intervention and preven-

tion strategies in criminal justice. Advancing the spread of information technology in both the public and private sectors.

Political figure I admire most: Robert F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "Democrats care about protecting individual rights and liberties, health care for the medically underserved, and patients' rights."

Favorite book: *The Art of War* by Sun Tzu.

Karen Hale
State Senator
Utah

Background: Publisher and editor.

Proudest accomplishment: Realizing the positive effects education and information can have — seeing families benefit from programs and ideas featured in *Parent Express*, the magazine I published and edited.

Political figure I admire most: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Why I am a Democrat: "I'm proud to belong to a party that believes in the obligation and capacity we all have to elevate and educate each other."

Favorite book: *Pride and Prejudice* by Jane Austen.



Martin O'Malley
Mayor
Baltimore

In a race to succeed Baltimore's popular three-term African-American Mayor Kurt Schmoke, Martin O'Malley ran in a field of nearly a score of candidates, including two strong African-American contenders. O'Malley won — not as a wedge candidate, but with a majority of the city's black vote.

Perhaps no one was less surprised than O'Malley. "I've represented an integrated district all eight years I was on the City Council, and I always found people had the same issues," says the 37-year-old O'Malley. "Nobody wants their grandmother to be afraid to walk to the corner store in the neighborhood. Nobody wants their kid to be jumped on the way home from school. Everybody wants their kid to be able to learn in school. Nobody wants their property values to decline. And everybody wants to live in a neighborhood where they pick up the trash."

A former prosecutor and later defense attorney who as a city council member oversaw the city's police department, O'Malley built his campaign on a strong tough-on-crime platform. He was outraged that Baltimore, a city with a heritage of invention and renown as a transportation hub, had in the 1990s become most famous for the television series

Homicide and for the open air drug markets described in the book, *The Corner*.

Voters were outraged, too. O'Malley's campaign spoke to that emotion and cut across racial lines in the process. "The people in the poorest neighborhoods in our city happen to be African-American," he says. "The 300 young people killed on our streets are primarily African-American." Too often, he says, traditional Democrats — and the nation's political leaders in general — "sell people short and put them into a box that's not really relevant today."

"We need to be much more pragmatic, much more entrepreneurial, and much more focused on satisfying the consumer," O'Malley says. "In a world where people can do almost everything over the Internet, in world where people are much more free to make their own decisions, you can't just rely on the old conventions or the old deals."

"People care far less about party labels than they do about what impacts themselves and their families," he adds. "I think we have an opportunity to recognize that."

— Erik Gunn

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Bob Henriquez
State Representative
Florida

Background: Association government affairs coordinator; senior planner for the Hillsborough County Planning and Growth Management Planning Commission.

Proudest accomplishment: My election to the state House.

Political figure I admire most: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because my fundamental belief is that government can have a positive impact on the lives of its citizens. The Democratic Party is more inclusive, progressive, and willing to try new ideas based upon enduring values."

Favorite book: *Invisible Man* by Ralph Ellison

Dario Herrera
County Commissioner
Clark County, Nev.

Background: State assemblyman; advertising executive.

Proudest accomplishment: Founded Project Citizenship, which promotes leadership and citizenship in elementary and high schools.

Political figures I admire most: John F. Kennedy, Bill Clinton, Harry Reid.

Why I am a Democrat: "The party celebrates the values that promote opportunity for all to achieve the American dream, regardless of an individual's background and, as such, represents what it best about the United States."

Favorite book: *Rain of Gold* by Victor Villasenor.

Robert M. Hertzberg
State Assembly Speaker
California

Background: State assemblyman; attorney; author.

Proudest accomplishment: My election as speaker of the state Assembly, which gave me the opportunity to bring together people with different backgrounds and views to work toward the common good.

Political figure I admire most: Harry S. Truman.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because I believe that our democracy should be accessible and responsive to all people. I am convinced that by embracing the pluralistic nature of our society, we, in government can achieve the best results for the people we serve."

Favorite book: *Living Philosophies*, Clifton Fadiman, ed.

Bob Holden
State Treasurer
Missouri



Background: State representative.

Proudest accomplishment: Creation of a tax-exempt college savings program, and a "bank at school" program to encourage school-

children to save money

for college.

Political figure I admire most: Robert F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because I wholeheartedly embrace the ideals Democrats stand for — things such as equal opportunity, inclusion, providing people with opportunities to realize their full potential."

Favorite book: *Truman* by David McCullough.

Scott N. Howell
Senate Democratic Leader
Utah



Background: Technology marketing and sales.

Proudest accomplishment: Witnessing the transformation of my long-time employer, IBM, from a dinosaur to a high-tech dot-com prepared to meet the

challenges of the future.

Political figure I admire most: Harry S. Truman.

Why I am a Democrat: "I believe in people! Democrats promote superior policies for the development of the individual by providing opportunities and responsibilities for people in their communities."

Favorite book: *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* by Thomas L. Friedman.

Sam Hoyt
State Assemblyman
New York



Background: Congressional staff member; professional sports sales and marketing.

Proudest accomplishment: Drafting the state's first comprehensive "smart growth" legislation.

Political figure I admire most: Martin Luther King Jr.

Why I am a Democrat: "After Theodore Roosevelt, we Democrats have been responsible for almost all good public policy and social leadership. The Republicans have almost always been opposed."

Favorite book: *Parting the Waters* by Taylor Branch.

Daniel W. Hynes
State Comptroller
Illinois



Background: Attorney; political director of the 1996 state Clinton-Gore campaign.

Proudest accomplishment: Leading the legislative debate that led to the creation of a state "rainy day" fund.

Political figures I admire most: Martin Luther King Jr. and my father, Tom Hynes.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party has always sought new and innovative solution to the problems of people, while championing the enduring values of fairness, equality, and diversity."

Favorite book: *Making of the President*, 1960 by Theodore White.

Les Ihara Jr.
State Senator
Hawaii



Background: Community development; communication network designer.

Proudest accomplishment: Successful demonstration of a community empowerment model through

Community Work Day Program Inc., a nonprofit group.



Alex Padilla
City Councilman
Los Angeles

Alex Padilla made the leap from engineering to politics when a friend ran for a seat in the California state legislature and needed a campaign manager. The election, and Padilla's subsequent successful run for a seat on the nonpartisan Los Angeles City Council, marked a coming of age for his majority Hispanic community in the northeast San Fernando Valley.

Not long ago, Padilla says, "Whenever there was an open seat, people who had political connections moved in and ran a campaign saying, 'I will take care of you.' Enough was enough. We had increased confidence that people born and raised within the area could be elected to represent the same area. This is our community; we should be controlling our own destiny."

In addition to rejecting such paternalism, Padilla, 27, and his cohorts have also opted for the pragmatic over the ideological. "Ninety percent of my campaign was on fixing pot-

holes and streetlights," he says. "We're a little bit more moderate than the people we were running against who did have the support of the party and institutional groups within the party. It was more reflective of the people who would be casting ballots on Election Day."

This population, made up heavily of immigrants, prizes education above all else as the key to opportunity for their children. They are the new working class — cooks and valet parkers, but also engineers and professionals. And as their own are running for office, they're rewriting the old paternalistic rules.

"Today it's not, 'We'll take care of you,' " Padilla says. "There is a true relationship between the people in the community and those who represent them."

— Erik Gunn

Political figure I admire most: Mohandas K. Gandhi.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because Democrats live by values that foster tolerance, understanding, and success for the whole and everyone in the community, leaving no one out."

Favorite book: *The Paradigm Conspiracy* by Denise Breton and Christopher Largent.

Wendy Jaquet

State House Minority Leader
Idaho



Background: Regional Chamber of Commerce executive director.

Proudest accomplishment: Proposed and passed legislation to preserve agricultural lands through bonding, the transfer of develop-

ment rights, or some combination of both.

Political figure I admire most: Cecil Andrus.

Why I am a Democrat: "Our party provides fairness and justice for all and provides opportunity to achieve their dreams."

Favorite book: *Living a Political Life* by Madeleine Kunin.

Eván H. Jenkins

State Delegate
West Virginia



Background: Association executive director.

Proudest accomplishments: Passage of state Taxpayer's Bill of Rights and enactment of a newborn infant screening program.

Political figure I admire most: Robert C. Byrd.

Why I am a Democrat: "I feel strongly about our party's founding principles and grand tradition. Like Jefferson, I firmly believe in individual liberty and responsibility and Jackson's credo of equal opportunity for all, and special privileges for none. Kennedy's passion for civic duty and public service has also meant a lot to me."

Favorite book: *Undaunted Courage* by Steven Ambrose.

Steven B. Jones

State Representative
Arkansas



Background: Company general manager.

Proudest accomplishment: My selection by the *Memphis Business Journal* as one of the top 40 leaders under 40, and receiving a Distinguished Legislator

Award in the same year.

Political figures I admire most: John F. Kennedy and Bill Clinton.

Why I am a Democrat: "It has historically been the party of opportunity and inclusion."

Favorite book: *Succeeding Against the Odds* by John H. Johnson.

Vera Katz

Mayor
Portland, Ore.



Background: State legislator.

Proudest accomplishments: First woman elected speaker of the state House. Only speaker in state history to serve three consecutive terms. Wrote Oregon's education reform act. Passed comprehensive gun control act.

Political figures I admire most: Robert F. Kennedy and Wayne Morse.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because I believe in inclusiveness and mutual responsibility — that, as a community, we have a responsibility to look out for each other because we value individual rights in seeking the common good."

Favorite book: *An American Tragedy* by Theodore Dreiser.

Rob Kerth

City Councilman
Sacramento, Calif.

Background: Engineer; small business owner.

Proudest accomplishments: Significant infrastructure reinvestment and community development in home district since taking office. Led efforts that yielded financing for two light-rail extensions in the Sacramento Valley

Political figure I admire most: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Why I am a Democrat: "I believe that the government, when motivated and properly lead, can create the foundation for our prosperity, especially for working families, the working poor, and the poor."

Favorite book: *The Last Lion* by William Manchester.

Lynn Kessler

State House Democratic Leader
Washington

Background: Small business owner and manager; association executive director.

Proudest accomplishment: Passage of legislation to retrain dislocated timber and fishing industry workers, and to provide tax incentives for businesses in rural communities.

Political figure I admire most: John F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "The party best reflects fundamental issues upon which our country was founded — freedom and equal justice."

Favorite book: *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee.

Ronald Kirk

Mayor
Dallas

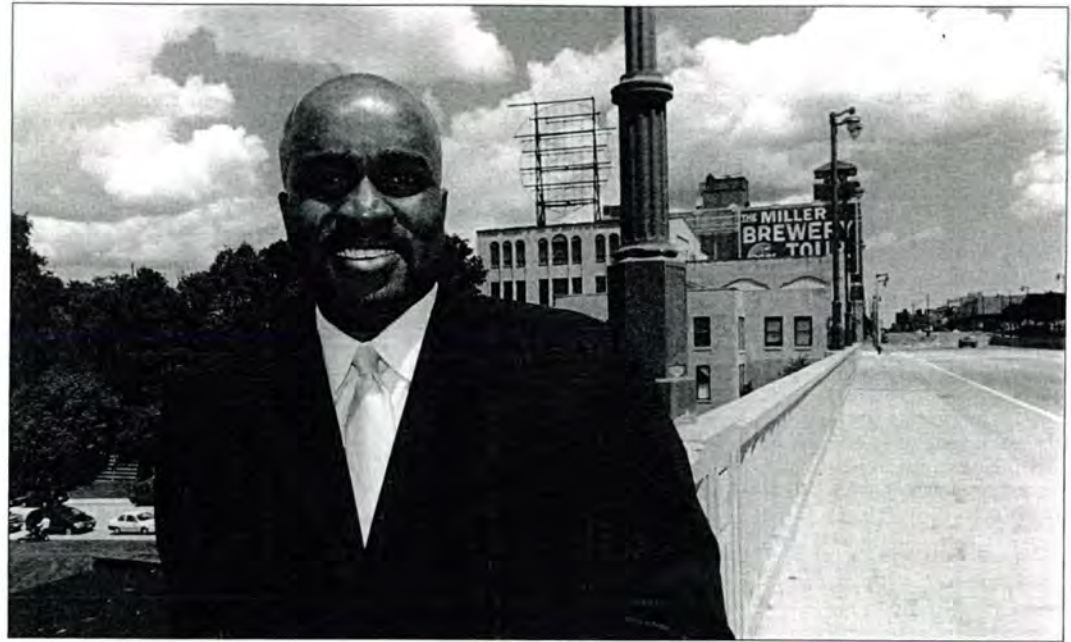
Background: Texas secretary of state; Dallas assistant city attorney; congressional aide.

Proudest accomplishment: My election as the city's first African-American mayor.

Political figures I admire most: Lyndon B. Johnson, Mickey Leland, Lloyd Bentsen, and Ann Richards.

Why I am a Democrat: "Through my parent's efforts in the civil rights movement, I learned at an early age that the Democratic Party was the most inclusive and tolerant party."

Favorite books: Everything from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* to the Harry Potter series.



Antonio Riley

State Representative
Wisconsin

As a Wisconsin state representative, Antonio Riley of Milwaukee has been busy tearing down what his Democratic forebears put up. In 1994 he helped push through legislation to scrap Wisconsin's welfare program — legislation that at first was too radical for Republican Gov. Tommy Thompson — and set the stage for the state's W-2 program that ties public assistance to private sector jobs. Last year he was part of a coalition that ended mandatory busing for desegregation in Milwaukee's public schools.

Some might consider those bold acts for a politician whose constituents are predominantly poor, urban African-Americans. But as Riley explains, the people who elected him know better than most that welfare and busing weren't working.

"About two-thirds of households that I represent receive government aid," says Riley. His own family was on welfare at one point in his childhood, and even Riley briefly was a recipient of general assistance. The experience taught him that welfare "became the jailer of people."

"The old welfare system claimed to value work but didn't value work, claimed to value families but didn't value families," he says.

The same was true with busing, which was costing the Milwaukee Public Schools \$30 million a year. "I believe

wholeheartedly in integration," Riley says. "But there are over 100,000 public school students in Milwaukee. Seventy percent of them are minorities. This is not an integrated school system. So why do we want to continue spending millions of dollars a year for that purpose?" Riley wants to use the money instead to improve both traditional neighborhood schools and charter schools and reduce class sizes.

A former staff employee for Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist, Riley is passionate about the need for new thinking in the Democratic Party. There was a time, he says, when "it was a party that seemed to have too many checks written out to the bank of ideas coming back marked insufficient funds," says the 36-year-old legislator. "You saw the party so often defending what we understood, what we knew, what was."

"The same old values are there," Riley says of the New Democrat movement, "but the means by which we seek to carry out those values, those means are adjusted."

"Instead of a massive welfare state, we now have a work-based system that truly invests in work and in people," he explains. "We have got to get back to the concept that ideas and values matter in politics and public service."

— Erik Gunn

Scott Maddox
Mayor
Tallahassee, Fla.



Background: City commissioner.

Proudest accomplishments: Race relations initiative, downtown development, transportation improvement, citizen open houses, and serving as

president of the Florida League of Cities.

Political figure I admire most: Mallory Horne.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party has a long tradition of protecting working people. I believe in the values of opportunity, community, and responsibility. Democrats appeal to our country's greatest hopes rather than pander to our deepest fears."

Dannel P. Malloy
Mayor
Stamford, Conn.



Background: Assistant district attorney; lawyer; association president and chairman.

Proudest accomplishment: Implementing the state's first citywide preschool education program.

Political figure I admire most: Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party is the one entity that will assure American leadership in a world economy. Democrats have been in the forefront of strong, sustainable public schools systems. Democrats hear the needs of our nation's elderly and will fight to ensure retirement security for all. Democrats have the resources necessary to enable our citizens to prosper in a new world economy. Democrats guarantee a woman's right to choose."

Favorite book: *A Prayer for the City* by Buzz Bissinger.

Jennifer L. Mann
State Representative
Pennsylvania



Background: Business owner.

Proudest accomplishments: Initiated efforts to create playgrounds and green space in Allentown, my hometown. Repaired formerly boarded-up homes

and made them available to first-time home buyers. Renovated a 22,000-seat school district stadium and turned it into a regional facility. Launched an effort to get a neighborhood designated as an historic district.

Political figure I admire most: John F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "Democrats are realists. We recognize the world's imperfections and strive to find solutions to those problems. Democrats stand for inclusion and tolerance, so that everyone can participate in our society and our government to the best of his or her ability. Democrats recognize the significant role that government can play in ensuring that opportunity is available to all, rather than just a select few."

Favorite book: *Robert Kennedy: In His Own Words*.

Barbara Matthews
City Councilwoman
Tracy, Calif.



Background: Member of multiple municipal and regional government commissions.

Proudest accomplishment: Urging the San Joaquin County Board of Supervisors to place a moratorium on guns

shows on public land. While the board was legally unable to cancel the shows, police staffing was greatly increased and several arrests were made.

Political figure I admire most: Dianne Feinstein.

Why I am a Democrat: "I truly believe in the ideals of opportunity and community and have spent my adult life working to make that a reality for my family, friends, and neighbors. Children should feel safe at school, the elderly should be able to stay in their homes and enjoy affordable

health care, and working people should be able to earn a living wage with health benefits to take care of dependents. I was a single mother working full-time to make ends meet and to provide for my children. We are all better off working together."

H. Carl McCall
State Comptroller
New York



Background: Ambassador to the United Nations; commissioner of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey; commissioner of the state division of human rights; state senator; city school board president; bank vice president.

Proudest accomplishment: Serving as president of the New York City Board of Education.

Political figure I admire most: Charles Rangel.

Why I am a Democrat: "Our party is the party of opportunity, the party that believes every American deserves an education, a job, and a chance to make a better future for themselves and our nation. Being a Democrat and working hard to spread the Democratic message of hope and opportunity is the best way to make sure they do."

Favorite book: *Beloved* by Toni Morrison.

Jonathan Miller
State Treasurer
Kentucky



Background: Aide to Vice President Gore; deputy chief of staff of the U.S. Energy Department.

Proudest accomplishment: State legislature's approval of my proposal to create a

pre-paid college tuition savings program.

Political figures I admire most: Al Gore, Joe Lieberman, Martin Luther King Jr.

Why I am a Democrat: "Democrats have traditionally been the party that has represented the interests and values of working families."

Favorite book: *All the Kings Men* by Robert Penn Warren.



Carroll G. Robinson
City Councilman
Houston

Houston City Councilman Carroll G. Robinson sees four keys to success in policy and in politics: fiscal responsibility and accountability; neighborhood protection and revitalization; fighting crime generally and juvenile crime especially; and expanding economic development and opportunity.

Those aren't new ideas. And they don't start in Washington, but in city hall, says Robinson. "The traditional Democratic agenda has always been about helping people empower themselves and be a part of that process," he says. "And local government is at the core of that."

Robinson, 38, believes there is no shame in pursuing small goals that, when added up, have a large positive impact on people's lives. For instance, he fought to secure subsidies for Houston police for the purchase of firearms and other equipment. (Previously, officers were required to bear the entire cost upon graduating from the police academy.)

Robinson also fought to use city cable-television franchise agreements as a means of expanding citizen access to the Internet and, through the Net, to online government services.

"You've got to show people that you're willing to move beyond the status quo," Robinson says. "You've got to be always thinking about commonsense solutions for the ordinary problems in people's everyday lives. The ideology of the day is not left or right. The ideology of the day is commonsense — everyday problem solving. What people are looking for is leadership that's willing to reach out, leaders who are willing to acknowledge that they don't know everything but can pull people together to find common views and common answers and be willing to think outside the box."

— Erik Gunn

Tom Miller
State Attorney General
Iowa

Background: State attorney general; legal-services and private-practice lawyer.

Proudest accomplishments: Tobacco control campaign. Consumer protection activities. Professionalization of attorney general's office.

Political figure I admire most: John F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "I was raised a Democrat, educated a Democrat, and the core beliefs of the Democratic Party are far superior to those of the Republican Party."

Favorite books: Anything by David Halberstam.

Marc Morial
Mayor
New Orleans

Background: State senator; professor of political science.

Proudest accomplishment: Being elected mayor of a major urban city at age 35.



Political figures I admire most: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Robert F. Kennedy, Barbara Jordan.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party values the principles of equity, equality, and inclusiveness on which this nation was founded."

Ed Murray
State Representative
Washington



Background: Seattle City Council staff member.

Proudest accomplishment: With the House evenly divided between both parties, passing a \$2 billion budget unanimously out of the House Capital Budget Committee, which I chair, and then seeing the full House also approve the budget unanimously.

Political figure I admire most: Charles Stewart Parnell.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because of the party's commitment to provide opportunity for all Americans, equality for all Americans, and a voice for those Americans living in the shadows of life."

Favorite book: *The Long Loneliness* by Dorothy Day.

Janet Napolitano
State Attorney General
Arizona



Background: U.S. attorney; lawyer.

Proudest accomplishments: My appointment by the President and confirmation by the Senate to be a U.S. Attorney, and winning my first political race.

Political figures I admire most: Abraham Lincoln, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, Barbara Jordan.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because our party looks at government as a tool that can be used to create opportunity and improve the quality of justice, rather than as some sort of unwanted imposition."

Favorite book: *Lincoln as a Lawyer* by John P. Frank.

Bill Nelson
State Treasurer
Florida



Background: State legislator; U.S. representative.

Proudest accomplishments: Getting refunds for seniors who were cheated by an deceptive insurance scheme, refunds for minorities

who were charged higher premiums because of their race, and cracking down on insurance fraud.

Political figures I admire most: Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, William Wilberforce.

Why I am a Democrat: "To represent, in a balanced and moderate way, all of the people, not just the special interests with extremist views."

Favorite book: The Bible.

Gavin C. Newsom
Board of Supervisors
San Francisco

Background: Business owner.

Proudest accomplishments: Opening the PlumpJack Wine Shop and creating an ambiance of accessibility in which every patron receives friendly, educational service at a bargain. Drafting an initiative, which was passed by voters, that requires all city departments to have a customer service plan detailing how they will provide services in a timely, accessible, and user-friendly manner.

Political figure I admire most: Robert F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because I strive for more individuality, social justice, civil rights, and a strong sense of unity within the community."

Favorite book: *Built to Last* by James Collins and Jerry Porras.

John Norquist
Mayor
Milwaukee

Background: State legislator.

Proudest accomplishments: Keeping budget increases below inflation rate for 12 consecutive years, while delivering high-quality services and adding 200 police officers to the force. Expanding education options for Milwaukee parents through support of private school choice program and reform-oriented public school administration. Being named Public Official of the Year by *Governing* magazine in 1998.

Political figure I admire most: Patrick Lucey.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because the ideals of the Democratic Party are that every American should have the opportunity to be successful in life."

Favorite book: *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* by Jane Jacobs.

Bart Peterson
Mayor
Indianapolis

Background: Chief of staff to Indiana governor; business president; attorney.

Proudest accomplishment: Working with former Gov. Evan Bayh to develop the Indiana Heritage Trust, which purchases land for parks, fish and wildlife areas, and nature preserves.



Laura Ruderman
State Representative
Washington

Laura Ruderman's 10-year commitment to an anti-hunger organization led her first to Washington, D.C., as lobbyist and then to a campaign for the Washington state legislature. Now running hard for re-election, Ruderman, 29, has built a record focusing on education and transportation.

Ruderman, a New York City native, moved to the Seattle area in 1992. She went to work for Microsoft, where she started as an administrative assistant, taught herself hyper-text markup language, and rose to Web site producer in five years.

In addition to her anti-hunger work, Ruderman has been a strong advocate of policies such as "micro-loans" that help poor women start their own businesses. In the legislature, spurred on by her state high-tech industry's need for skilled workers, she helped write legislation that provides grants to community colleges that raise matching funds from local industry to set up technical training programs.

Ruderman represents a swing district that leans Republican. But when voters hear her New Democrat message, she says, they respond positively.

"The Democratic Party has absolutely been growing and changing. The biggest challenge for us is to communicate that to people," says Ruderman. Voters in her district "consider themselves Republicans," she continues, "but when I talk to them and hear what they believe in, they're Democrats. They just haven't caught up with the fact that Democrats now believe what they believe and that the Republican Party is leaving them. They still see us as the tax-and-spend liberal handout party. Our challenge is to communicate to the world that if you believe in social justice, if you believe in equality, if you believe in giving people an opportunity to succeed, you are a Democrat."

— Erik Gunn

Political figure I admire most: Evan Bayh.

Why I am a Democrat: "The party's values of economic growth, fairness, opportunity, and concern for the whole community are the values that shape my political philosophy."

Favorite book: *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* by Robert Caro.

Debra A. Powell
Mayor
East St. Louis, Ill.

Background: City councilwoman; business management.

Proudest accomplishment: Passing legal order for housing standards.

Political figure I admire most: Bill Clinton.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because the Democratic Party puts in motion the principles that our country was founded upon."

Favorite book: *Beloved* by Toni Morrison.

Mark Pryor
State Attorney General
Arkansas

Background: State representative.

Proudest accomplishment: Serving as Arkansas' Attorney General.

Political figure I admire most: My father, David Pryor.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because the Democrats are right on the issues."

Favorite book: The Bible.

Eric Miller Reeves
State Senator
North Carolina



Background: Lawyer.
Proudest accomplishment: Presiding as chairman of the Senate Information Technology and Communications Committee.

Political figure I admire most: Harry S. Truman.

Why I am a Democrat: "Democrats don't leave people behind."

Favorite book: *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee.

T.J. Rooney
State Representative
Pennsylvania

Background: State legislator.

Proudest accomplishment: Leading the charge to force Pennsylvania's Republican majority to face the growing epidemic of gun violence and accidental shootings across America.

Political figure I admire most: Lyndon B. Johnson.

Why I am a Democrat: "Democrats care about working family issues, preserving the environment for future generations, and assuring that all children have an equal opportunity for a quality education."

Favorite book: *All Politics is Local* by Tip O'Neill.

M. Susan Savage
Mayor
Tulsa, Okla.

Background: Mayor's chief of staff; Tulsa Citizen Crime Commission executive director.

Proudest accomplishments: Record job growth. Improvements to neighborhoods, infrastructure, air and water quality.

Political figures I admire most: Franklin D. Roosevelt and my grandfather, Royce Savage.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party is the party of inclusion to all people. Democrats focus on the big picture — economics, environment, and social equity — when developing policy."

Favorite book: *Gift from the Sun* by Anne M. Lindburgh.

Adam B. Schiff
State Senator
California

Background: Assistant U.S. attorney.

Proudest accomplishments: Writing legislation guaranteeing each public school student up-to-date textbooks, and guaranteeing patients an independent external review of a health maintenance organization's denials or delays of care.

Political figure I admire most: Winston Churchill.

Why I am Democrat: "Growing up in Boston, in the shadow of John Kennedy, I admired the optimism and idealism of the Democratic Party, and the sense that

public service would make a positive difference in people's lives."

Favorite book: *With Malice Toward None* by Stephen B. Oates.

Kathleen Gilligan Sebelius
State Insurance Commissioner
Kansas



Background: State representative; association executive director; criminal justice work.

Proudest accomplishment: Transforming the office of insurance commissioner into a 21st century regulatory office.

Political figure I admire most: My father, Jack Gilligan.

Why I am a Democrat: "Born a Democrat, raised a Democrat, converted to New Democrat with Bill Clinton in 1988."

Favorite book: *Where the Wild Things Are* by Maurice Sendak.

Rod Smith
State Attorney
Gainesville, Fla.



Background: Attorney; farmer.

Proudest accomplishments: Prosecution of serial killer Danny Rolling. Twice elected chairman of the Florida Juvenile Advisory Board. Named regional

prosecutor of the year by the Capitol Governmental Attorney's Association, and person of the year in law enforcement by *The Gainesville Sun*.

Political figure I admire most: Harry S. Truman.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because I have always believed that the hope of America is in the broadening of opportunity for everyone. I spent nearly 16 years representing the working people of North Florida. I have always felt that the Democratic Party is the best hope for working families."

Favorite books: *Look Homeward, Angel* by Thomas Wolfe and *Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain.

Eliot Spitzer
State Attorney General
New York



Background: District attorney; lawyer.
Proudest accomplishment: Transforming the attorney general's office into a top-tier public interest law firm capable of confronting our most complex

public policy issues.

Political figure I admire most: Daniel P. Moynihan.

Why I am a Democrat: "The Democratic Party believes in opportunity, justice, and equality for all, regardless of race, gender, class or sexual orientation."

Greg Stanton
City Councilman
Phoenix



Background: Lawyer.
Proudest accomplishment: Persuading my colleagues on City Council to support a desert preservation project in my district.

Political figure I admire most: Abraham Lincoln.

Why I am a Democrat: "Democrats best understand that government is not the enemy of the people, but rather can be a positive force for social change. I am proud of the party's history of support for essential policies such as Social Security, civil rights legislation and family medical leave."

Favorite book: *Too Funny to be President* by Morris K. Udall.

Mark Taylor
Lieutenant Governor
Georgia



Background: State senator; transportation executive, community volunteer.

Proudest accomplishment: Sponsorship of the state's HOPE Scholarship and pre-kindergarten programs.

Political figure I admire most: Zell Miller.

Why I am a Democrat: "Democrats are the party of opportunity for every American. They provide citizens with tools to achieve the American dream. They believe in inclusion, not exclusion."

Favorite book: *Corps Values* by Zell Miller.

Michael L. Thurmond
State Labor Commissioner
Georgia



Background: Attorney.
Proudest accomplishment: Being the first African-American to be elected labor commissioner.

Political figure I admire most: Bill Clinton.

Why I am a Democrat: "Ours is the party of inclusion. We offer a progressive, balanced approach to meeting the needs of all Americans and a real opportunity for workers and employers to share the benefits of the New Economy."

Favorite book: *When Work Disappears* by William Julius Wilson.

Kathleen Kennedy Townsend
Lieutenant Governor
Maryland

Background: U.S. deputy assistant attorney general; association founder and executive director; foundation chairwoman.

Proudest accomplishment: Passing the first statewide initiative requiring all high school students to perform community service as a condition to receive a diploma.

Political figures I admire most: George Washington and Golda Meir.

Why I am a Democrat: "Government has a positive role in our society. As its best, government should not do things to citizens or even for them, but rather with them. In order to make democracy work, we must engage all citizens in partnership with government, and we must maintain a fundamental belief in the power of imagination and creativity. It is this openness to imagination and innovation, coupled with a belief that government should serve as a tool of empowerment for its people, that defines why I am a Democrat."

Favorite book: *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* by Edmund Morris.

Jennifer Veiga
State Representative
Colorado



Background: Attorney.
Proudest accomplishment: My work on automobile insurance reform.

Political figure I admire most: Eleanor Roosevelt.

Why I am a Democrat:

"Because the Democratic Party is the party of opportunity, equality and inclusion."

Favorite book: *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee.

Kirk Watson
Mayor
Austin, Texas



Background: Chairman, Texas Air Control Board; lawyer.

Proudest accomplishment: My effort to promote the local economy and to protect the environment through preservation of thousands of acres of green space.

Political figure I admire most: Thomas Jefferson.

Why I am a Democrat: "When the Democratic Party operates at its best, its values and practical approaches better optimize and enhance individual opportunity and celebrate the strength in unity in binding us together as a community."

Favorite book: *Lincoln at Gettysburg* by Gary Wills.

Wellington E. Webb
Mayor
Denver

Background: Denver city auditor; Colorado Department of Regulatory Agencies executive director; U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare regional director; state representative.



Proudest accomplishment: Transforming Denver into one of the most vital central cities in the nation.

Political figures I admire most: Frederick Douglass, Nelson Mandela, John F. Kennedy.

Why I am a Democrat: "I share the DLC's ideals of promoting opportunity for all, demanding responsibility from everyone, and fostering a new sense of community."

Favorite book: *Invisible Man* by Ralph Ellison.

Anthony Williams
Mayor
Washington



Background: Connecticut deputy state controller; U.S. Department of Agriculture chief financial officer; District of Columbia chief financial officer.

Proudest accomplishment: Gaining the confidence of the citizens of the District of

Columbia to elect and join me in rebuilding and revitalizing the city.

Political figure I admire most: Nelson Mandela.

Why I am a Democrat: "I believe in Democratic ideals like active government and the civil rights movement. I also attribute my position as a Democrat to the influence of a strong loving family."

Favorite books: Writings of Shakespeare.

J.D. Williams
State Controller
Idaho

Background: Mayor of Preston, Idaho; prosecuting attorney; state deputy attorney general; attorney; certified government financial manager.

Proudest accomplishment: Becoming chairman of the National Electronic Commerce Coordinating Council, an alliance of state organizations created to promote electronic government in the states.

Political figure I admire most: Abraham Lincoln.

Why I am a Democrat: "It is the party that promotes policies and investments that provide the opportunity for people to better themselves and participate

fully in the American dream."

Favorite book: *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* by Thomas Friedman.

Cory A. Booker
City Councilman
Newark, N.J.



Background: Public-interest lawyer; community association director; Rhodes Scholar.

Proudest accomplishment: Defeating a 16-year incumbent and, at age 29, becoming the

youngest councilman in Newark history.

Political figure I admire most: Mohandas K. Gandhi.

Why I am a Democrat: "Because it is the party that most closely reflects my values on a broad range of issues. The party still has challenges and needs to evolve to face our changing times — but so do I."

Favorite books: *The Prophet* by Kahlil Gibran, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, *The Fire Next Time* by James Baldwin, the poetry of Rainer Maria Rilke, and *The Federalist Papers*, among others.

REPAIRING THE SOCIAL FABRIC

In Vermont, Citizen Panels Decide How Offenders Should Make Amends

BY DAVID OSBORNE AND PETER PLASTRIK

When Linda Stein moved from New York City to Newbury, an idyllic small town in Vermont, she figured she'd seen the last of crime. During the past few years, though, she has spent one evening a month with local lawbreakers.

Stein and other community volunteers meet regularly with adult nonviolent offenders (often drunk drivers) to decide how they should repair the damage they have done to the community. One month, they talked with someone who had driven off without paying for gas he had pumped. "We had him interview the gas station owner to find out how the crime had affected him," Stein says. Then he paid for the gas and wrote an essay about the crime's effects on other people and the potential effect on his life if he were to repeat the crime.

About 30 miles east of Newbury, in Barre, Richard Jenny spends his Wednesday mornings this way. He and several other members of the community reparative board, as the volunteer groups are called, handle two or three cases in a sitting. One, which Jenny calls "the banged-up cow story," involved a young man who, while drunk, drove into a cow that a farmer was taking across a road. The driver was cited by the police, and the farmer presented a claim for payment.

"When the offender came before us," says Jenny, "we asked him what he thought about trying to make

amends to the farmer. He felt the [farmer's] claim was outrageous and that the accident was partly the farmer's fault." The offender didn't seem very flexible about his position, so one of the board members asked if he'd be willing to go with him to talk to the farmer. The meeting occurred several days later, Jenny says, in the farmer's barn — in front of the cow. When the farmer stated his case, he pointed out the injury and said that, as a result, the cow had to be hand milked, which cost extra money. Because the cow was no longer economically feasible to retain, the farmer would have to sell it; and because it was injured, it was less valuable.

Then, says Jenny, the farmer and the offender talked with the community member about the situation. "They talked about how much the farmer was losing in this. Then they negotiated what would be reasonable for the young man, who didn't have a very good job, to pay."

Over in Bennington, Vt., a college town, Ron Cohen remembers an intense case tackled by the board he joined in 1996. A teenage girl with an underage drinking offense came before the group. When given an opportunity to speak, she was unresponsive, Cohen says. "There were probably lots of reasons for this. Most of us were over 40 years old, and we must have looked like 80 to her. All but one of us were men. She was embarrassed and her response sounded surly."

One of the board members, a father of two daughters, pointed a finger at the girl and insisted that she look at board members when she spoke to them. When he pressed the matter and kept pointing his finger at her, she broke into tears. After the girl left the room so the board could discuss what it wanted to do, Cohen complained angrily that she had been mistreated.

The board talked about this for a while. When the girl rejoined the meeting, the finger pointing board member apologized to her, and the board and the offender reached an agreement on her restitution. When the board ended its meeting, the girl was sitting in a hallway waiting to see someone in another office. Cohen remembers what happened next:

"There was one woman on the board, a retired kindergarten teacher. She went up to the girl and said, 'How are you doing?' The kid just nodded her head. Then the woman said, 'You look like you could use a hug.' The kid looked up and all of a

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sudden she just broke — and they hugged each other. And as the rest of us left, we said good luck to her."

Shifting Power Back

Ron Cohen, Linda Stein, Richard Jenny, and hundreds of other volunteers serving on community reparative boards in every county of Vermont are not lawyers or judges or jury members. Cohen is a college professor. Members of his board have included an insurance agent, an artist, a bartender, and a retired motel owner. They are not part of state or local government, yet they are wielding government's power to determine what will happen to criminal offenders. They are part of a radical experiment in criminal justice, launched in 1994, to shift government's power back into the hands of community members. "This is democracy, this is people solving their community's problems," says John Perry, one of the Vermont corrections officials who launched the effort. "I get choked up watching the boards work."

By early 1999, Vermont's reparative boards had seen more than 3,000 low-risk adult offenders who had committed the sorts of petty crimes that make up most of the workload for police, prosecutors, courts, and prisons. These low-level crimes are on citizens' minds because they wreck a community's quality of life, says Perry. "People care about shoplifting, vandalism, disorderly conduct, noise at ... parties, and kids speeding on their streets — because those things happen thousands of times. You worry about murder if that happens in your town. But if there are loud parties every damned Friday night and nothing gets done about it, first you get angry, then you start getting afraid, and then you demand that legislators get tough on crime."

The offenders had been sentenced by a court, after pleading guilty to their crimes. Then, with the offender's approval, the sentence had been suspended so the offender

could work out a "reparative contract" with a community board. This step is a big departure from the traditional model of criminal justice in the United States. Under the centuries old "retributive" model, crime is viewed as a wrong against the government. Justice is adversarial — the state vs. the offender. Once the state has established guilt, its method of balancing the scales of justice is to punish the offender, to exact retribution by taking away something of value, such as the offender's freedom or money. In contrast, the reparative model used in Vermont sees the community as another victim; it achieves justice by having the offender repair the damage.

"Revolving Door" Prisons

Vermont started using this model because the retributive model wasn't working well enough. In 1991, the state's prisons were extremely overcrowded. One of every four sentenced criminals was on the streets because there was no prison space for them — the highest percentage in the country. The crime rate was down, and arrests and convictions had not increased. But the incarceration rate — the percentage of convictions leading to a prison sentence — was up substantially. More people were being sent to jail, with longer sentences, because legislators had responded to public fear of crime by passing tougher laws.

This put impossible pressures on the corrections system. Because it didn't have enough prison space, it became known as a "revolving door." Yet citizens didn't want new prisons built in their communities, and the governor's budget office said too much money was already going to corrections. In short, the public couldn't afford the retribution its elected officials demanded.

Furthermore, sending petty criminals to prison didn't work. When offenders got out, state records showed, they were more likely to commit another crime than if they

had been put on probation in the community.

Faced with these problems, corrections officials started looking for alternatives to prison for offenders who were not real risks to commit serious crimes. They used a series of focus groups and then a scientific survey to ask the public what it thought. The results were a surprise, say John Perry and John Gorczyk, the state corrections commissioner. "They did not want vengeance. They wanted what everyone wants from their children when they violate the contract each family has. They wanted a learning experience to occur."

Vermonters said they wanted nonviolent offenders to be held accountable for their crimes, but not by being sent to prison. Instead, offenders should acknowledge their crime, say they were sorry and mean it, and repair the damage they had done. And, a report on the findings said, Vermonters wanted to participate in the process:

They want IN on the decision-making because they think they can help do a better job. They think the criminal justice system isn't paying much attention to minor crime. They think we ignore the crime that most immediately impacts their lives. ... They don't want that crime ignored, and they are willing to spend time and effort to deal with it, if we let them.

In response, the corrections department started the first community reparative boards. In every case they handle, board members and the offender must agree, in a written contract, how the offender will repair the damage he or she did to the victim and the community. Making a contract usually involves several steps: First, victims tell their story and say what they need to be restored; next, offenders are encouraged to take responsibility for what they did and to understand that their conduct hurt the community's

well-being; and finally, offenders participate in a discussion to decide how to make things right.

This is quite different from the typical sentencing process, in which the offender speaks through an attorney. "In the traditional process," note Vermont corrections officials, "the offender can continue to deny the reality of his offense ... and continue to see himself as the victim of the system. With the reparative board, however, he has to talk about the offense, and when a whole group of his neighbors just doesn't buy his bill of goods, he has to begin to acknowledge the reality of his offense, and at least begin to recognize his responsibility."

Through the boards, Perry says, "the community gets to face its citizens — both the victims and the offenders — and understand the dynamic of crime on the individual level." He describes the potential power of the process.

The community gets an apology, an acknowledgment of a violation of the rules, and a recognition on the part of the offender that he belongs to the social contract. The offender gets to sign the social contract and gets to make amends for his crime. He gets to add value to the community and, more important, he gets to demonstrate that he can add value. As a result, the offender is seen as a positive force. And the community gets to embrace the victim and the offender as members of the society, rather than as pariahs.

By 1999, every court in Vermont was using reparative boards as an alternative to sentencing. There were 41 boards. Early concerns about the program had faded. Originally, criminal justice professionals were skeptical, according to Gorczyk and Perry. "The fundamental criticism of all of these justice professionals was egocentric — how could untrained, mere citizens do the complicated job of justice?" But after four years of experience, "these

criticisms have largely been muted." In 1998, the program not only earned a budget increase, it also won a prestigious Innovations in American Government award from the Ford Foundation.

Positive Effects

The reparative boards are clearly having positive effects. In 85 percent of their cases, according to corrections officials, the offender has reached a contract with the board and then fulfilled it. (In the rest, a contract could not be reached or the offender failed to fulfill the contract; either way, offenders were returned to court for sentencing.) When the department followed up with 154 offenders who had completed the process, it found they had an 8.2 percent recidivism rate after six months, compared to an 11.6 percent rate for those on regular probation. The program also relieves the crunch in the prison system. Based on historical patterns, Perry estimates, as many as half of the offenders sent to the boards might have ended up in prison.

In responses to surveys, about 90 percent of the offenders have expressed satisfaction about the reparative experience. Board members also report that the experience is a positive one for themselves and their communities. "For me, it's personally fulfilling," says Richard Jenny. "It involves working with people, the offenders, so many of whom seem to be young and uneducated, from backgrounds with psychological and social impoverishment."

In some communities, the boards have become far more involved than corrections officials expected. One board negotiated with the local prosecutor to get him to send drunk driving cases to them. It also recruited local businesses to hire offenders so they could pay their restitution. Several boards have created panels to help victims and mentoring processes for offenders after they fulfill their contracts.

Serving on a board changes the

way you think about crime in your community, says Jenny. "It hammers home the fact that people who end up in our courts tend to be the people at the bottom of the social hierarchy. This is painfully evident."

"The experience gives board members a better understanding of things in their community," adds Ron Cohen. He tells the story of a local woman who was guilty of about \$4,000 in welfare fraud. When the board asked her what had happened, Cohen recalls, she said she had three children, one of whom had a chronic illness; she needed very expensive medicine and decided to get the money even though it wasn't legal.

"Then," says Cohen, "she looked at us and said, 'What would you have done?' We looked at each other and said we would have done the same thing. That really affected people's thinking about who was in front of them and why they might have done what they did."

The bottom line for Linda Stein is that the reparative process is building her community. "It helps make offenders more a part of the community," she explains. "I would like to think that offenders who go through the program and succeed feel some caring from the community. And there's actual physical work that has been done for the community; the offenders give back to the community. This makes Newbury a better place to live." ♦

David Osborne and Peter Plastrik are also the co-authors of Banishing Bureaucracy: The Five Strategies for Reinventing Government (Addison-Wesley, 1997), and Osborne is the co-author of Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector (Addison-Wesley, 1992). He is also a partner in the Public Strategies Group, a consulting firm.

Continued from page 5

vide safeguards and real accountability in child care. After a long fight with industry lobbyists, and a successful effort to engage the initially reluctant Sundquist administration in Nashville, Chumney won the day in late June with the enactment of major portions of her legislation. The centerpiece is a requirement for report cards for every child care facility receiving public funds. The reports would simply and clearly inform parents about health and safety conditions; the number, training, and education of staff; programs for child development; accreditation status; and the adequacy of physical facilities. Many states have evaluation programs for child care centers. But thanks to Chumney, Tennessee has one of the first systems based on universal standards and clear, parent-friendly criteria.

— Ed Kilgore

Targeting City Services Through Computer Mapping

One of the wellsprings of the revolution in policing that has helped cut crime rates nationwide this past decade was a brilliant innovation called ComStat. Pioneered by former New York Deputy Police Commissioner Jack Maple, ComStat was a computerized system for displaying, in near "real time," exactly where crimes were occurring. In one fell stroke, ComStat replaced the practice of assessing crime through written after-the-fact reports with a timely picture of public safety in specific neighborhoods. It helped make beat commanders accountable for results; made it vastly easier to target resources; broke down bureaucratic boundaries between various agencies operating in the same areas; and led to proactive policing based on emerging trends. Widely

credited for a major role in New York's big declines in crime, ComStat also helped achieve striking results in other cities such as New Orleans and Newark.

Early this year, Mayor Martin O'Malley of Baltimore decided to bring in Maple and replicate ComStat. But when O'Malley and his staff watched ComStat in action, they had a simple but very important insight: Why stop with policing? Why not use computer mapping to revolutionize other city services as well? That's the idea behind CitiStat, which could do for all city services what ComStat did for community-based policing.

Almost immediately, Baltimore began working on initiatives to map service delivery and the problems city services address, beginning with the public works, health, recreation, and housing departments. The first effort was LeadStat, aimed at targeting older housing and creating a strategy for eradicating lead poisoning in Baltimore. LeadStat contributed immediately to city prosecutions of 29 property owners for lead violations.

Other mapping projects under way include TrashStat, aimed at speeding up trash collections; KidStat, a tracking system for youth recreation programs; and DrugStat, a comprehensive evaluation of drug treatment centers and their effectiveness.

It's clear O'Malley and his administration intend to use the CitiStat model as a comprehensive management tool for Baltimore's government. It makes sense, because CitiStat promotes good government as well as smart, well-informed government. As in policing, neighborhood-based data on other city services can make proactive government possible; can break down bureaucratic boundaries and foster community-based teamwork; and most of all, can be disseminated to news media, community groups, and citizens to cre-

ate neighborhood partnerships and accountable government.

CitiStat bears close watching by state and local governments around the country. It's a great example of "digital government" — using new technologies to revive old-fashioned standards of public service.

— Ed Kilgore

Luring Private School Students Back to Public Education

Charter school critics often complain that they drain resources and students from "real" public schools. It's a bogus argument, because charter schools are as public as traditional schools: They accept all kids and offer tuition-free instruction, and further, are accountable to the public for results.

It also turns out that this argument is dead wrong: There's growing evidence that charter schools are drawing students from private and parochial schools back into the public school system. The latest evidence comes from St. Louis, where about 45 percent of the students in the city's first charter schools are coming from religious and "independent" private schools.

According to a report in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the numbers are surprising even charter school advocates. "I really thought that almost all my students would come from the city system," said Delores Guyton, principal of the Ethel Hedgeman Lyle Academy, a St. Louis charter school. Instead, more than one-third of her students attended private schools last year.

It's all the more reason to rapidly expand charter public schools, which often provide many of the advantages of private schools in a public, secular environment. Given a choice, and the promise of performance, Americans can and will support public education.

— Ed Kilgore

Announcing...

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The Democratic Leadership Council's Online Community

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The screenshot shows the NDOL website layout. Callouts point to various features:

- What's new**: Points to the "New Dem Daily" section.
- Daily commentary**: Points to the "New Dem Daily" section.
- Customize your own e-mail newsletter**: Points to the "Subscribe to the New Dem Daily" form.
- A New Democrat directory**: Points to the "ABOUT NDOL" and "NEW DEM DIRECTORY" links.
- The inside scoop**: Points to the "LEADERS" and "ISSUES" sections.
- Join the network**: Points to the "JOIN DCL" link.
- Discussion forums for thinking Dems**: Points to the "Search" and "Support the DCL" sections.
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New Democrats Online is the shared online home of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) and the community of elected leaders at the forefront of the New Democrat movement. You'll also find the new online home of the DLC's affiliated think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute, at ppionline.org.

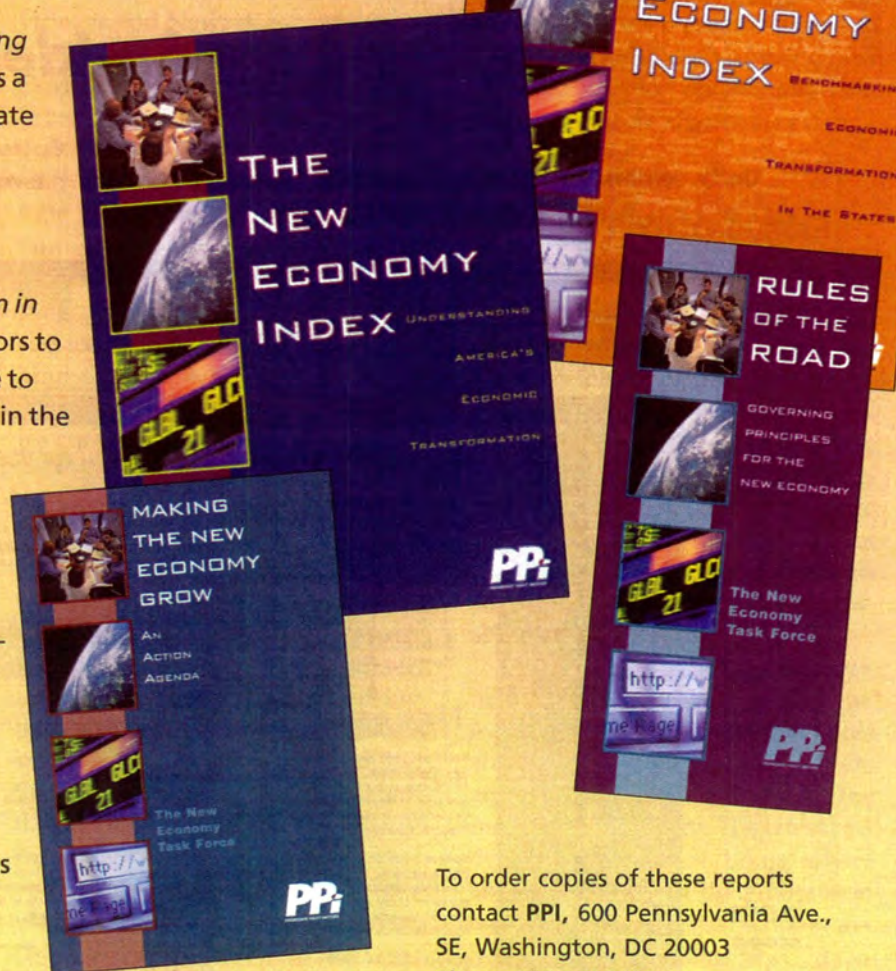
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Forward and Address Correction

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2000

Fellow Americans:

We came to office committed to providing the American people with a cleaner environment, strong public health protections, and a brighter future for their families. We also set out to prove that all these things did not have to come at the expense of economic progress.

Today, as we observe the 30th anniversary of Earth Day, we can say that our effort has been a success. America is now enjoying both the longest economic expansion in history and the cleanest environment in a generation. Since we took office, the American economy has created nearly 21 million new jobs and grown at the fastest rate in more than 30 years. We now have the lowest unemployment rates in 30 years; the lowest poverty rates in 20 years; the lowest African American and Hispanic unemployment rates on record, and the first back-to-back budget surpluses in 42 years.

Meanwhile, more American families are breathing clean air and drinking clean water, American car companies are producing cleaner cars than ever, and we have preserved and restored millions of acres of precious lands across our Nation. And, time and again, we have stood firm against efforts to weaken our environmental laws.

While we have made tremendous progress, many challenges remain: We have work to do in creating economically strong, livable communities by preserving green space, easing traffic congestion, and cleaning up toxic waste and industrial sites. We must develop and adopt cleaner, more efficient forms of energy. And we must continue our efforts to forge international coalitions to fight global warming and expand free and fair trade in ways that advance our commitment to environmental progress.

On the 30th anniversary of Earth Day, we can all look back with pride for what we have accomplished as a Nation. The American people have demonstrated that they are fully and firmly committed to environmental progress, demanding strong protections and wise stewardship, and rejecting efforts to roll back our hard-won gains. Moreover, we have made it clear that a healthy environment and a strong economy go hand in hand. America is indeed well prepared for the challenges that lie ahead. If we continue on our current track, we can confidently predict another 30 years of amazing progress.

Bill Clinton

Al Gore

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Conversations

WINTER 2000

VOL. 10

Sandi Haynes Robertson, Editor

TODAY'S BOARDS: NEW VOICES, NEW VIEWS

Board leadership - Seen by some as the critical financial backbone of an institution and by others as an imposed, but tolerated, system of checks and balances tempering the internal decision making authority of a Chief Executive Officer or Artistic Director. Seen by some as a policymaking infrastructure and still by others as means for public recognition. In fact, at their best, boards serve as vital partners to management, complementing and broadening a company's internal experience and expertise. And as importantly, boards allow for broad public representation, inclusion and involvement in the business affairs of corporate, nonprofit and philanthropic entities alike.

Yet to many capable and interested individuals, being selected for these perceived positions of power has been, and remains, an elusive goal. This has perhaps been most true for women, people of color, young executives and such -- populations not often, or only newly, visible within the prominent business, professional and social ranks from which board leaders have typically been chosen. With nonprofit boards, the traditional expectation of access to funds--one's own or someone else's--has been limiting and intimidating to many. And most view corporate and foundation board selection as subjective, shrouded in secrecy, and therefore all the more unattainable.

Over the last decade, however, the globalization of the consumer marketplace has slowly led to changes in the ways that companies --corporate and nonprofit alike-- do business. Here and there windows of opportunity have opened allowing a few new people to squeeze through and into these top governance positions.

Both corporate and nonprofit institutions are slowly beginning to see the power of board diversity--of all types--and its positive influence on the bottom line. Racial and gender diversity often help to increase a corporation's understanding of previously underserved populations that now represent large targeted consumer markets. Such diversity can also enhance a nonprofit's ability to tap into potentially new donor markets. Age diversity, especially recruiting younger executives, can help keep a company abreast of exciting new technological advances. Geographic diversity can help a philanthropic entity stay in touch with its broad grantee population. And experiential diversity--recruiting nonprofit executives onto corporate boards and vice versa--can enhance the business practices of each by embracing the successful strategies of the other.

Increasingly, forward-looking corporate and nonprofit executives are turning to search firms to help them expand and diversify their board leadership. This issue of **Conversations** spotlights four leaders who, in different ways, are actively impacting the dynamics of today's boards. They are: Dick Robinson, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Scholastic, Inc; Tom Jones, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Global Investment Management and Private Banking Group at Citigroup; Addie Jones, Principal with the Phillips Oppenheim Group; and Albert Siu, the Clifford Spingarn MD Professor of Medicine and Chief of the Division of General Medicine at the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine.

Change is never an effortless process. And introducing change into any institutional structure can impact the culture of the institution, and its decision-making processes in ways that at first may be a bit uncomfortable. However, the benefits usually far outweigh the bumps. Should diversifying one's board therefore be seen as a risky move? Not necessarily. A strategic move? Usually. A worthwhile move? Most certainly. Because with such diversity not only comes new voices, but new vision, and informative, business-enhancing new points of view. ■

MEMORANDUM

To: Ed Rendell

Date: March 9, 2000

From: Leslie Maddin

Re: Chief Executive Officer
Campaign for Public Service

As we discussed, enclosed is a packet of information about the Campaign for Public Service, including the position description, the Rationale and some biographical information on the Heyman family. We have also enclosed in a packet of information about the Phillips Oppenheim Group.

Thank you for your help.

THE CAMPAIGN FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

(working title)

Chief Executive Officer

BACKGROUND

The Campaign for Public Service is being established to undertake the most significant comprehensive look at government service reform in over 100 years. The Campaign's goal is to make government service as attractive and accessible as possible, so that the best and the brightest that the country has to offer will seriously consider service in the federal government sometime during their career. While a few organizations are working on specific aspects of government reform, there is no national organization currently addressing this problem on a broad-scale basis.

The Campaign will work towards reducing, and eventually eliminating, the barriers which preclude our strongest and most talented people from entering government service -- such as financial disparities with other sectors and obstacles raised by civil service regulations. The Campaign will provide focused, spirited, action-oriented leadership in this critically important area by creating and leading a broad-based campaign that focuses on pragmatic reforms. At the same time, the Campaign will generate the public and media support to drive those reforms forward.

The Campaign will include creating innovative strategies, developing applied research on the issues, including leveraging existing research; designing and implementing a legislative agenda based on reasonable priorities; and building partnerships and coalitions in support of reforms. Central to every piece of the campaign is sustained public visibility. The Congress, the Executive Branch, colleges and universities, and the public at large will be focal points of the Campaign's initiatives.

The Campaign, founded by Samuel J. Heyman, will be located in Washington, DC. With committed multi-year funding, it will have an initial annual operating budget of approximately \$4 to \$5 million and a full-time staff of 35 individuals.

BASIC FUNCTION

The Chief Executive Officer will provide the leadership, vision and direction for the Campaign. He/She will assume overall management responsibility for its day-to-day operations and

The Campaign for Public Service

Chief Executive Officer

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activities. Reporting to the Chairman and the Board of Trustees, the CEO will develop and communicate a coherent vision for the Campaign, design programmatic objectives and provide leadership for the staff and Board to implement these programs. The CEO will be the Campaign's primary spokesperson and will be expected to reach out to potential allies, constituents and other external groups to share ideas, leverage people and funds and collaborate on various initiatives. The CEO will work closely with the Board in all aspects of the Campaign's activities and will be responsible for recruiting, motivating and retaining a strong professional staff.

FIRST YEAR'S PRIORITIES

The new CEO will give priority to the following during the first year:

- Develop an agenda which includes research priorities, legislative initiatives and collaborations; signal the Campaign's presence by defining projects that will become signature pieces for the organization; create early attention through conferences, seminars, white papers, newsletters, a website, etc.;
- Recognizing that Institute is being created in a Presidential election year, design a timetable that frames the agenda, encourage possible action by this Congress on at least one component of that agenda, and enunciate a full-scale action plan for the next Congress in 2001;
- Create linkages with organizations with compatible agendas; develop working relationships and channels of communication with research partners, colleges and universities, the media and others who can effect the effort to create meaningful change;
- Serve as an articulate and visible spokesperson for the Campaign in order to build positive understanding and acceptance of the mission of the organization;
- Recruit a Board of Trustees; facilitate an effective relationship with the Board, individually and collectively, to bring forth their best ideas and talents in order to accomplish the Campaign's mission;
- Make the Campaign operational: recruit, develop and supervise staff; develop systems including budget, program, research and policy application.

The Campaign for Public Service

Chief Executive Officer

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KEY RESPONSIBILITIES

The new CEO will also:

MANAGEMENT

- Work with a newly recruited senior management team to ensure that there is strong internal communication and coordination among them; ensure that there are well-defined goals, clear responsibilities and levels of accountability for all staff;
- Oversee the financial status of the Campaign; evaluate the budgetary process and make certain that the finance and program activities are well-coordinated; ensure that appropriate and cost-effective structures and technology are in place and that reporting systems to the Board are accurate, timely and complete.

COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

- Develop and build relationships with key members of Congress, Congressional staff, other legislators, the Executive Branch and other agencies that can have an impact on the ability to attract strong people to public service;
- Forge linkages and collaborations with other institutions, grass roots organizations, advocacy groups, think tanks, academia and members of the media who can contribute to the success of the mission;
- Represent the Campaign by articulating its mission and purpose to a broad public, acting as spokesperson for the organization and its activities.

PROGRAM AND PLANNING

- Working with staff and Board, provide a program vision and direction that reflects the mission; prioritize, create and implement a strategic program plan, ensuring that there are demonstrable measures of success to indicate that the Campaign is moving forward;
- Frame position papers and action plans based on research conducted either internally or through linkages with think tanks, academia or other allies; evaluate data and translate from abstraction into concrete action plans;

The Campaign for Public Service

Chief Executive Officer

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- Commission papers, sponsor debates and convene other forums in which positions and strategies can be framed and action plans can be pursued; build consensus and support relating to those issues and strategies both within and outside the organization;
- Monitor key trends and issues that could affect the success of the organization, communicate their implications to the Board with recommended action.

BOARD RELATIONS

- Take a leadership role in recruiting a Board of Trustees and other advisory committees;
- Encourage and promote thoughtful discussion among Board members, finding ways to use effectively their individual expertise to benefit the institution;
- Help the Board think through the impact of relevant issues, and provide it with appropriate research and policy options; implement Board philosophy and policy.

IDEAL EXPERIENCE

The CEO should have the following experience and qualifications:

- Credibility with broad-based constituencies including legislators, business and community leaders, academics and others who can influence the process of entering public service;
- A track record of managing people, operations and fiscal affairs for a successful start-up organization;
- Passion and enthusiasm for public service and a serious commitment to the goals and mission of the Campaign, coupled with the ability to communicate them to a broad public;
- Ability to define and articulate ambitious objectives, motivate people and direct an organization toward common goals;
- An ability to effectively communicate both in writing and verbally, including excellent public speaking skills for both formal and extemporaneous presentations;
- Proven ability to create constructive partnerships with a Board, staff and other allied organizations.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Ideally the individual should be the following:

- Intelligent, creative and resourceful, with the judgment to anticipate and act on events which will advance the mission of the Campaign;
- A person with an unusual breadth of leadership and strong interpersonal skills, who exhibits credibility, diplomacy, trust and integrity, and seriousness of purpose in order to enhance the public presence of Institute;
- An inspiring and charismatic leader with the ability to build consensus, educate and persuade, and represent Institute and its mission to a variety of individuals and groups;
- A well-organized, energetic and decisive individual who can manage effectively in a start-up environment; a self-starter who can influence an organization by means of both strategic problem-solving and implementation skills; someone who has a track record of effectively working with a Board;
- A strategic and global thinker, intellectually curious, with a continuing desire to explore new ideas and approaches; a zest for the issues involved in considering service to the government, and a healthy sense of humor.

Nominations and contact information should be sent to:

Jane Phillips Donaldson
The Phillips Oppenheim Group
521 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1802
New York, New York 10175
Phone: 212/ 953-1770
Fax: 212/ 953-1775
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Or

Leslie Maddin
The Phillips Oppenheim Group
3107 44th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016
Phone: 202/ 237-1136
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THE CAMPAIGN FOR PUBLIC SERVICE (working title)
Washington, DC

Rationale

The Campaign for Public Service is based on the simple premise that national policy makers are ready and willing to consider sweeping, yet pragmatic reform of the public service. Americans desperately want to be proud of their democracy again, and public service provides an issue that allows policy makers to act on that desire in a tangible, nonpartisan way.

The Campaign for Public Service is also based on the belief that today's public revulsion toward all things political presents an enormous opportunity for renaissance. Twenty-five years ago, for example, the Watergate scandal forged the most productive period of federal reform in nearly 100 years, including passage of the Government in the Sunshine Act, the Inspector General Act, Federal Advisory Committee Act, the Civil Service Reform Act, and significant amendments in the Freedom of Information Act. It also produced the Ethics in Government Act, which has played its own role in the current scandal through its provisions for the appointment of independent counsels, as well as a presidential campaign based on the notion that the nation deserved a government as good as its people.

Whether this current period will produce a similar, hopefully a bit more focused, agenda of reform is largely dependent upon the readiness of outside groups to generate the research, pragmatic ideas, and opinion leadership for action. We cannot expect Congress or the presidency to do it alone. The federal government has spent the better part of a decade disinvesting in its own capacity to design the needed reforms, whether by cutting the General Accounting Office virtually in half, reducing congressional and presidential staffs, or dismantling the Offices of Management and Budget and Personnel Management as sources of policy advice. It is not clear that Congress or the president could generate an agenda for reform if they wanted to. The spirit may be willing, but the body is weak.

This is why the Campaign for Public Service cannot focus solely on opinion leadership. It must also worry about developing both an agenda of pragmatic reforms that Congress and the president can use to fashion one or more legislative initiatives, and with generating the timely, applied research that will simultaneously justify the initiatives and make the case for reform among opinion leaders in Washington and key centers of interest around the country.

If done well, the Campaign for Public Service can become the fulcrum for creating the most significant reform of the public service in one hundred years. It would do so by giving policy makers a clear, coherent inventory of pragmatic, common sense reforms, while generating the public and media support to drive those reforms forward.

Components of the Campaign

The Campaign for Public Service would involve four components, each one intimately related to the other: applied research, pragmatic ideas, coalition building, and opinion leadership.

1. Applied Research

By itself, research will not move Congress or the president to act. But designed to define the nature of the public service problem, it can be an essential gateway to media coverage and legislative interest. Central to such a research program would be a series of carefully staggered projects to address the following four questions:

- (1) What is the current state of the public service, and how has it decayed in recent years?
- (2) What constitutes public service today, and how have careers changed?
- (3) What is keeping America's best and brightest from making the commitment to public service?
- (4) What do the private and nonprofit sectors tell us about how to improve the current public service?

Answered in a series of easily accessible reports to the Congress and the president presented at key intervals during the project, these four research questions will provide the basis for both framing the public service issue as a national concern and supporting the reform proposals developed through the idea-generation activity discussed below.

Two of the needed research projects are already well underway. The first will be completed by the summer of 1999, and will update the 1988 Volcker Commission report with an assessment of how far the nation has come and how far it needs to go.

Tentatively titled *The State of the Public Service, 1999: The Volcker Commission Revisited*, the report will be designed to help the media and opinion leaders understand the urgent need for action. Released at a tenth year reunion of the Volcker Commission, the report will help the Campaign for Public Service claim the high ground in what should be a bipartisan debate. Paul Volcker and Walter Mondale have already indicated a willingness to participate.

The second project will be completed by the early fall of 1999, and involve a detailed analysis of recent surveys of young Americans, asking why the best and brightest are so reluctant to serve. Tentatively titled *Dismissing Government: Why America's Best and Brightest Don't Want to Serve*, the report will also examine a systematic survey of 1,000 of America's top public servants on how their careers have progressed over the last thirty years.

Still other projects will include a detailed survey of what Americans of all ages think about public service, analysis of how the media covers the public service issue, and a series of student dialogues about their own views of the future.

This kind of research is essential to the ultimate success of the Campaign. Grounded in solid knowledge about where the current system is broken and how it can be fixed, the Campaign will give Congress and the president ample support for forward movement on reform, while giving the Campaign legitimacy as based on knowledge, not ideology.

2. Ideas for Pragmatic Action

There is no shortage of available ideas for public service reform. From full-scale constitutional reform to minor tinkering with the civil service regulations, scholars and activists have compiled a long list of possibilities. But like so many other reform efforts, the ideas have not been sorted by impact and knitted together into an appealing package of pragmatic action. The project will examine six areas of concern for renewing the public service:

- (1) Recruiting America's best and brightest *early* in career, including ways to make public service more attractive, pay more competitive, debt burdens less onerous, pensions more portable, and the chance to accomplish something worthwhile more visible.

- (2) Recruiting America's best and brightest *later* in career, including ways to reduce the barriers to service embedded in the presidential appointments process, make the civil service more responsive to contemporary career patterns, reward government employees for performance, and remove poor performers more quickly.
- (3) Creating a government in which public servants can make a difference, including ways to make public service more meaningful by reducing the distance between the top and bottom of government, renewing the now-moribund Senior Executive Service, and reducing unnecessary politicization of key public service posts.
- (4) Promoting high performance government, including ways to protect the core competencies of government, encourage competition where appropriate, provide support and recognition for public servants who produce government goods and services under contracts, grants, and mandates, and improve long-range workforce planning in government.
- (5) Establishing new expectations for those who deliver public services in government's shadow, including ways to assure that those who work for government under contracts, grants, and mandates receive the acknowledgment and accept the obligations of public service broadly defined.
- (6) Rebuilding public confidence in the public service, including ways that Congress, the president, and the media can better acknowledge high performance when it occurs, and fix poor performance when it happens.

Each one of these areas should generate pragmatic proposals for reform that will be summarized in a series of sharp "white papers" on reforms. Written in clear language with simple reasons for each proposal, these white papers could ultimately form the basis for a multi-titled legislative proposal. Although the Campaign cannot maintain its edge if it is saddled with endless task forces and committees, the white papers could be endorsed by small groups of advisers with particular persuasiveness in a given area. By being strategic in the selection of endorsers, distillations of these white papers could form the basis of op-eds and paid "advertorials" in leading publications such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Wall Street Journal*, as well as trade publications such as the *National Journal*, the *Hill*, and *Roll Call*.

As with the applied research agenda, the development of clear, pragmatic options for Congress and the president is essential to ultimate success. It is impossible to overestimate the value of such an idea-generation effort for the project's overall credibility. It is one thing to demand action, quite another to give policy makers a solid agenda of pragmatic reforms that can be easily enacted into law.

3. Coalition Building

Part of increasing the visibility of public service as an issue is to bring together coalitions in support of reform. Traditionally, public service reform has been the second most important issue for just about every interest group. Almost everyone believes in public service until they have to give up their pet issue in support. Luckily, building left-right coalitions around public service reform is likely to be relatively easy. One can easily imagine a host of ordinarily ornery organizations coming together around the issue. Toward that end, the Campaign for Public Service would seek to build a series of coalitions that would come together to endorse both the need for reform and specific proposals.

Consider five coalitions that would advance the general goals of the campaign:

- (1) Public policy, law, and business school deans and university presidents. The great advantage in organizing professional schools in support of this campaign is that the schools have great local prestige. Assuming that Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neil was right in arguing that all politics is local, the Campaign for Public Service must make sure that its materials are disseminated both through national outlets in Washington *and* through local networks of key educators.
- (2) Corporate leaders. One cannot make an issue of public service without gaining the active and credible endorsement of America's leading corporations. For starters, those corporations must be part of a change in public opinion toward public service. Creating a senior advisory group of corporate leaders is also essential for making clear that "C+" is not good enough for government work, a common argument made during the 1980s by the Reagan administration.
- (3) Public interest groups, left and right, Democratic and Republican. It is naive to assume that public service will ever become the number one issue for the Sierra Club or Taxpayers Union, but the issue can become more visible for

both. Pulling together a collection of religious, civil rights, taxpayer, environment, and good government groups in support of public service reform is essential for making clear that this is an issue for everyone. To the extent these groups can be linked at the local level with the coalition of educators, all the better.

- (4) Youth-serving organizations such as the YMCA, 4-H, and Rock the Vote. It is absolutely essential that young Americans be given a voice in this debate. They have the moral high ground and the most compelling face to present to Congress and the media. Moreover, the notion that the Campaign for Public Service is ultimately about giving young Americans their chance to make a difference, just as past generations had their chance, is one of the most powerful public education messages that can be issued.
- (5) Former officer holders, both elective and appointive, impeccably bipartisan. Such a collection can be particularly effective in the legislative endgame at legitimizing action on contentious issues.

Creating and maintaining these coalitions is no small task. So is the effort to maintain a distinguished advisory group at the very top of the Campaign. Experience suggests that such a coalition-building effort is well worth the cost in time, money, and energy.

4. Opinion Leadership

Central to every piece of the Campaign is sustained public visibility. Some of this visibility will come through free media coverage of Campaign events. Every report, every white paper, every coalition meeting provides an opportunity for generating press visibility. Part of holding that visibility, of course, is credible, coverage-worthy research, pragmatic, new ideas, surprising new coalitions of strange bedfellows, and a reputation for sharpness and pragmatism.

Some of this visibility will come through op-eds and ongoing outreach by the Campaign's advisory board and its senior staff. That means having the staff capacity to draft op-eds, speeches, and letters on behalf of the Campaign's leadership. That may also mean creating a speaker's bureau of Campaign allies who are willing to address key events and meetings and testify before Congress.

Finally, some of this visibility will come through paid advertising. When properly targeted, paid advertising *can* make a difference. The key is to pick targets wisely, time the advertising for key points in the Campaign, and craft a core message that resonates with policy makers. One can imagine, for example, advertisements that highlight the fact that today's civil service system was designed for an era when people rode horses to work, worked forty years in the same job, and churned butter when they got home at the end of the day.

Effective advertising does not mean just newspapers and magazines anymore, of course. It also involves some level of presence on the Internet, and access to age-specific outlets such as MTV, VH1, FM-radio, and college newspapers. The point here is that opinion leadership is a much more sophisticated business today, involving targeting, a clear and simple message, and a readiness to invest at key points in a debate. Sometimes that will mean a timely advertisement in *Roll Call* or the *Hill*; other times a radio spot designed to educate the public in the state or district of a key member or swing vote.

Whatever the vehicle, it is essential that the Campaign for Public Service articulate an affirmative message. It would be easy, for example, to build public support for reform by using a corruption or incompetence message--for example, "isn't it time to clean up government?" The American public is certainly willing to believe the worst about government. But to adopt such an approach is to undermine one of the most important goals of this entire effort: *to restore public respect for those who choose to become public servants*. Everything we do must be guided by the notion that this is a time for renaissance, not recrimination.

The Heyman Family

Mr. Heyman is Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of GAF Corporation and the publicly held, International Specialty Products, a Fortune 1000, NYSE listed Company. Mr. Heyman acquired control of GAF in a 1983 proxy contest, characterized by Barron's as "one of the most striking achievements in the annals of corporate finance."

Under Mr. Heyman's leadership, GAF as a public company, increased shareholder values over a five year period by more than \$1.5 billion, a 7-fold increase. In 1989, Mr. Heyman led a management-buyout of GAF and shareholder values in the private company have increased substantially since that time.

A graduate of Yale University and Harvard Law School, Mr. Heyman began his career as a lawyer for the United States Justice Department and later served as an Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Connecticut. He left Government service in 1968 to take over his family's Connecticut-based real estate development business and subsequently built Heyman Properties into a leading commercial real estate development firm with operations throughout the United States.

Mr. Heyman's community activities include membership on the Boards of Benjamin Cardoso School of Law/Yeshiva University, Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy/Duke University, Whitney Museum of American Art, and the Dean's Advisory Board/Harvard Law School.

Mr. Heyman and his wife, Ronnie Feuerstein Heyman have numerous community and philanthropic interests, including the establishment of The Samuel & Ronnie Heyman Center on Corporate Governance at Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, Yeshiva University; The Heyman Center for Ethics & Governance, Sanford Institute, Duke University; and The Heyman Dining Room at B'nai B'rith Hillel, The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life.

Mrs. Heyman, an alumna of Radcliffe College and Yale Law School, is a member of GAF's Board of Directors, serves as counsel for Heyman Properties and also plays an active role in a broad spectrum of communal, educational, and humanitarian endeavors. Mrs. Heyman is a member of the National Council for the Arts (NEA) in Washington, D.C., having been appointed by the President in 1996 to a four year term, Trustee of Barnard College, Ramaz School, Yeshiva University, and Cardozo Law School, and is a member of the Executive Committee of the International Directors' Council of the Guggenheim Museum and the Collectors' Committee of the National Gallery, Washington, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Heyman have an extensive contemporary art collection, and were ranked among the top 10 collectors in the world by ArtNews magazine, Summer, 1998.

Mr. and Mrs. Heyman have four children:

Lazarus S., (26) Duke University, B.A.. 1994, Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, Yeshiva University, J.D. 1997. Larry is an executive at Heyman Properties, Westport, CT.

Eleanor S., (23) Barnard College, Columbia University, 1996. Proposals Department, Sotheby's, New York, NY.

Jennifer L., (20) Ramaz Upper School, New York, NY, 1996. Third year student at Yale College, New Haven, CT.

Elizabeth D., (17) Senior at Riverdale Country Day School, New York, NY.

**We have the
experience to**

- Understand the unique culture and mission of client's not-for-profit organization
- Make client's needs and the job qualifications coincide
- Know when a candidate is right for the position
- Help client and candidate negotiate mutually beneficial terms
- Help create a positive working relationship between successful candidate and client

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THE PHILLIPS OPPENHEIM GROUP

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Executive Search Consultants for the Not-for-Profit Community

The Phillips Oppenheim Group helps not-for-profit organizations identify and recruit talented people. Our mission is to provide the not-for-profit community with the same outstanding service, broad reach and creativity that business enterprises have long enjoyed when recruiting new talent.

We offer our clients three benefits that distinguish our firm. First, we primarily serve nonprofit groups. Our commitment to the not-for-profit community means our client's search needs are not secondary to those of corporations.

Second, our clients benefit from the extensive nationwide network of contacts and candidates from both the private and public sectors. Because we have experience in both sectors, we can identify the most attractive candidates—not just the obvious ones—for a particular position.

Third, all searches are managed by a team of principals who actively participate in every step of the process.

Our Practice

The Phillips Oppenheim Group primarily serves not-for-profit organizations, domestic and international, in a diverse range of fields:

- advocacy/public policy
- community and economic development
- corporate and not-for-profit boards
- education
- environment
- health care
- human and social services
- philanthropy/foundations
- visual and performing arts

We have recruited talented professionals for a full spectrum of positions within organizations, including chief executives, financial and administrative officers, marketing and communications professionals, development officers, and program officers as well as board members and trustees.

We place a strong emphasis on developing contacts among people of color and women, and are actively committed to helping organizations use the search process to become more racially and culturally diverse. Our search experience also enables us to identify candidates from the business world nationwide who desire to transfer their skills and experience to nonprofit management

We work with clients of all sizes and in various stages of development, including organizations in startup or undergoing institutional change. We are also experienced at working with search committees and multiple decision makers..

How We Work

The Phillips Oppenheim Group seeks out people who find work in the not-for-profit sector challenging and rewarding and who can position their organizations strategically and financially for the demanding years ahead.

Each search has its own strategy, timetable and action plan. We are committed to developing a slate of the most attractive candidates within an appropriate period of time. We work closely with our client to ensure that the needs of the organization and the qualifications for the position are clearly articulated and congruent. We use resources that extend well beyond traditional, mainstream recruiting networks to uncover candidates who not only fit the job description we and our client jointly design, but who also share the organization's values and will thrive within its culture. We add strength to the process by assembling a team of talented colleagues with specific expertise to work together on all searches.

We interview the most qualified candidates to assess their appropriateness and to stimulate their interest in the position—and present to our client the top five or six candidates. Once the finalists are selected, we check their references thoroughly. We then help negotiate compensation and other arrangements with the objective of helping our client and the top candidate craft an agreement that is satisfactory to both. We remain available to our client during the first year to facilitate the transition to a positive relationship with the successful candidate.

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NAFSA: Association of International Educators
Nathan Cummings Foundation
National Building Museum
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National Charities Information Bureau
National Foundation for Facial
Reconstruction
National Health Museum
National Helpers Network
National Institute for Integrated Family Services
National Jazz Museum
Nature Conservancy
New American Schools
New Israel Fund
New York City Partnership and
Chamber of Commerce
New York Hospital-Cornell Medical
Center
New York Law School
New York Philharmonic
New York Urban Coalition

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PolicyLink
Public Allies

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Riverdale Country School
Rockefeller Foundation
Rockefeller University
Roland Park Country School

Save the Children
Scholastic, Inc.
Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art
Southern New England Telecommunications
Southern Regional Council
Spence School
Staller Center for the Arts at SUNY
Survivors of the Shoah Visual History
Foundation

Thirteen/WNET
Tom's of Maine
Emily Hall Tremain Foundation

UJA-Federation of New York
United Church of Christ Insurance
Board
University of Iowa Museum
Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone

Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds
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Arts
Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological
Research
Wharton School of the University of
Pennsylvania
Whitney Museum of American Art
WNYC
World War II Memorial Foundation

YMCA of Greater New York

Zero to Three

THE PHILLIPS OPPENHEIM GROUP

SELECTED CLIENT LIST

Acoustiguide
 Actor's Fund of America
 Africa-America Institute
 Alexander Graham Bell Association for the Deaf
 Allegheny Policy Council for Youth & Workforce Development
 Alliance for Young Artists & Writers, Inc.
 ALS Association
 American Association of University Women
 American Civil Liberties Union Foundation
 American Field Service
 American Foundation for AIDS Research (AmFAR)
 American Institute for Managing Diversity
 American Red Cross
 American Red Cross in Greater New York
 Asia Society
 Aspen Institute
 Association of American Publishers
 Association of Junior Leagues, Intl.
 AT&T Foundation

 Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation
 Breast Cancer Research Foundation
 Brooklyn Kindergarten Society
 Brooklyn Public Library
 Kathleen Price Bryan Family Fund
 Bryn Mawr School
 Pearl S. Buck Foundation

 CARE
 Catalyst
 Center for Addiction and Substance Abuse (CASA)

Center for Arts and Culture
 Center for Community Change
 Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA)
 Chess In The Schools
 Citicorp, Citibank Not for Profit
 City Harvest
 Edna McConnell Clark Foundation
 Collegiate School
 Community Foundation of Greater New Haven
 Community Research Initiative on AIDS (CRIA)
 Congregation Rodeph Sholom
 Consumer's Union
 Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art
 Coro
 Corporation for National and Community Service
 Council on Accreditation of Services for Families and Children, Inc.
 Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education

 Development Fund
 The Dibner Fund
 Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative
 Doris Duke Charitable Foundation

 Thomas Alva Edison Preservation Foundation
 Duke Ellington School of the Arts

 Fairfield County Community Foundation
 Fashion Institute of Technology
 Ford Foundation
 French American Foundation
 Frey Foundation
 Fund for Peace

Gay Men's Health Crisis
 Girls Incorporated of New York City
 Greater Hartford Arts Council
 Greenwich House, Inc.
 Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum

 Harlem Churches for Community Improvement
 Helen Keller International
 Hetrick-Martin Institute
 Hole in the Wall Gang Camp Fund
 Hope Community Inc.
 Howard County Community Health Foundation
 Howard University

 Independent Television Service
 Institute of International Education
 International Fund for Animal Welfare
 International Peace Academy
 International Rescue Committee
 International Trademark Association
 Inwood House

 Jewelers Vigilance Committee, Inc.
 Jewish Board of Family and Children's Services
 Jewish Foundation for the Education of Women
 Jewish Museum
 Jobs for Youth
 W. Alton Jones Foundation

 LEAD International Inc.
 Lighthouse International
 Literacy Volunteers of New York City

 MacArthur Foundation
 Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation

DEBRA Y. OPPENHEIM

Debra Oppenheim, who has been in the executive search business since 1976, is a co-founder with Jane Phillips Donaldson of The Phillips Oppenheim Group. The firm, founded in April 1991, conducts executive search assignments for a variety of not-for-profit institutions and organizations. Before starting Phillips Oppenheim, Debra was a partner at Nordeman Grimm, one of the country's larger executive search firms. While there, she managed a variety of assignments in the private sector across a broad spectrum of industries and corporations. She also directed a major part of the firm's not-for-profit practice, working in areas of health and human services, performing arts, and cultural institutions. Previously, Debra worked for three other search firms: Billington, Fox & Ellis, Canny Bowen, and SpencerStuart.

Debra, who attended the University of Maryland, lived and worked in London and Frankfurt, where she was a founding partner of a relocation services firm. She is on the National Resource Committee of Girls, Inc., on the Advisory Board of Catalyst and a member of the Financial Women's Association and ArtTable.

JANE PHILLIPS DONALDSON

Jane Phillips Donaldson has more than 20 years of experience with nonprofit organizations. In 1986, she developed a free lance consulting practice specializing in executive search for nonprofit organizations, particularly large foundations. She also worked with small foundations and social action oriented nonprofits. One of her priorities has been to attract minorities to nonprofit work.

Previously she spent over ten years in university administration as Dean of Admissions at Wesleyan University and as founding Director of Admissions and Placement at the Yale School of Management. In the early 80's, she managed Bruce Morrison's first successful campaign for the United States Congress and raised over \$1 million for the subsequent campaign.

Jane holds undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of Illinois. She has served as a director of the MacDowell Colony, the APT Foundation and the Financial Services Fellowship Program for minorities.

REBECCA KLEIN

Rebecca Klein has combined search experience with the arts during her professional career. Prior to joining the Phillips Oppenheim Group in June, 1993, she spent seven years as a senior research associate with SpencerStuart, one of the oldest and largest international executive search firms. She participated in a wide variety of assignments serving clients in both the public and private sectors, including such not-for-profits as cultural institutions, health organizations and public broadcasting services.

Previously, Rebecca spent nine years as a free-lance theatrical Stage Manager. She stage managed productions across the United States and overseas ranging from theater to dance and opera. Her experience includes work with the New York Shakespeare Festival, the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles, the Yale Repertory Theater and the Santa Fe Opera.

Rebecca is a cum laude graduate of Brandeis University.

SANDI HAYNES ROBERTSON

Sandi Robertson brings to The Phillips Oppenheim Group over eight years experience with nonprofit arts institutions. Her professional background includes extensive responsibility for fundraising, marketing, corporate sponsorships, program development, and special event planning.

Sandi spent four and a half years in development at the Dance Theater of Harlem (DTH), an international cultural institution, whose operations include a professional ballet company, an accredited dance school and various arts/education programs. As Development Director, Sandi was responsible for defining and implementing DTH's annual and capital campaigns. Prior to this, Sandi served as Director of Multicultural Programs for The Arts and Business Council, designing and implementing programs which strengthened the links between New York City's culturally-diverse corporate and arts communities.

Sandi holds a Bachelors Degree in Public Policy from Duke University and an MBA with a specialization in Arts Management from the State University of New York at Binghamton.

LIZA PARKER

Liza Parker joined The Phillips Oppenheim Group in January, 1994. Previously, Liza served as Chief Operating Officer of the AT&T Foundation where her responsibilities included financial management, strategic planning, administration, personnel and communications. Liza held two other positions at AT&T, one as Director of Public Relations for AT&T in New York City, the other as Director of the AT&T InfoQuest Center, AT&T's science and technology museum. Prior to joining AT&T, Liza was Director of Operations and Planning at the 92nd Street Y, a multiservice cultural center in New York City.

Liza is a graduate of Phillips Andover, Ohio Wesleyan University and Columbia University Business School's Institute for Not-For-Profit Management.

LESLIE MADDIN

Leslie Maddin has a 20-year career in executive search and senior-level recruitment. From 1979 to 1992, she was a Principal with SpencerStuart, a leading international executive search firm. She managed a general recruiting practice, concentrating on financial institutions, real estate and not-for-profit organizations.

In November 1992, Leslie took a leave of absence to work on the Clinton/Gore Presidential Transition team, where she was responsible for identifying leading candidates for sub-cabinet positions. She then served as the lead Search Manager in the White House, Office of Presidential Personnel, responsible for identifying and selecting political appointees to the Department of the Treasury and related financial institutions.

Immediately prior to joining The Phillips Oppenheim Group, Leslie served as the White House Liaison and Deputy to the Chief of Staff at the U.S. Department of the Treasury. She was the liaison between the Treasury and the White House with respect to the political appointment process, including the identification and selection of all political appointees in the Department of the Treasury, all related financial agencies such as the Federal Reserve Board and the multilateral development banks, as well as all related Presidential and Secretarial Boards and Commissions.

A graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, Leslie is a founding member of the Trustees Council of Penn Women where she is currently serving as a member of its Executive Steering Committee.

ADELAIDE JONES

Adelaide Jones has over fifteen years of experience in counseling, training, program design and administration. She spent ten years at Harvard University as an administrator where she designed and ran the first Career Services Office at the John F. Kennedy School of Government. She then served as the Director of Admissions for the graduate program in International Law at the Harvard Law School.

Addie has been an Associate, on a project basis, with the Phillips Oppenheim Group since September, 1992. She has also worked as an Associate with Lee Hecht Harrison, a major national career development and career management firm, conducting career transition seminars for both small and large scale employee reductions in the work force.

Addie has raised money for the United Negro College Fund and worked for the Massachusetts state government in the social services area.

LAUREN I. GUMBS

Lauren Gumbs joined the Phillips Oppenheim Group in February 1998. Previously, she served as Deputy Director of the Sara Lee Foundation and Community Relations Manager of Sara Lee Corporation where she was responsible for administering the Corporation's philanthropic programs, including the Foundation's grants and awards programs and corporate community relations programs that supported Sara Lee's commitment to social responsibility.

Prior to joining Sara Lee, Lauren was Assistant Vice President of Philanthropic Programs at Merrill Lynch where she implemented the corporation's and the Merrill Lynch Foundation's grants and community relations programs, managed employee volunteerism and fundraising efforts, and advised Merrill Lynch's senior management and regional offices nationwide on community relations issues.

Lauren is a cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Rutgers University and holds a Master's Degree in intercultural communication from Arizona State University.

ANNE COYLE

Anne Coyle has over twelve years of experience in business, government and the nonprofit world. Prior to joining the Phillips Oppenheim Group in early 1998, she was the Manager of Advanced and Professional Degree Recruiting for McKinsey & Co., a premier international management consulting firm. From 1992 to 1996, she directed MBA admissions at Cornell University's Johnson Graduate School of Management.

Anne's government experience includes state, local and federal positions. In Washington, she was a presidential management intern, a regulatory lobbyist for an association of state agencies, and a legislative lobbyist for an executive branch oversight board. In New York, she worked for Mayor Koch's Office of Budget and Personnel.

Anne earned a Bachelor's Degree in Biological Anthropology from Harvard College and a Masters in Public Administration from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.



RUFUS L. EDMISTEN
SECRETARY OF STATE
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
THE CAPITOL
RALEIGH, N.C. 27611

July 21, 2000

Mr. President,

I'm the token Democrat
in this pack of Republicans.
Please don't think I have
gone to the dark side.

A handwritten signature, likely of Rufus L. Edmisten, written in cursive.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-8-00

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