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Patrick Thomas Thurman
917 Terrace Hills Drive

Home Phone 534-0804
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I. Education

Current Attending the University of Utah. My declared major is Political Science and Finance. Placed on Dean's List 3 times. I am a member of Phi Eta Sigma, the National Honors Society. My expected year of graduation is 2002.

High School Graduated from West High School with Honors in 1995. Member of the National Honors Society and Who's Who Among High School Graduates. My GPA was 3.65.

II. Work Experience

1997-present: Teller and Financial Service Representative for Zions Bank. Duties include conducting various transactions for both personal and business accounts, opening and maintaining various accounts, and constantly looking to expand bank cliental.

1999-present: Assistant manager and swim coach at Northcrest Swimming Club. Work with children ages 5-17, as well as all the members of the swimming club as a coach and lifeguard.

1998-1999: Assistant varsity soccer coach at West High School. Worked with high school aged boys in developing skills in soccer acting as both assistant varsity and head junior varsity coach.

1995: Customer Service Representative at Smiths Food and Drug. Basic duties included bagging groceries and stocking the food shelves.

1994-1995: Delivery boy for McKay, Burton, and Thurman. Spent a year delivering various legal documents as well as extensive filing at the courts.

1992-1994: Lifeguard at Northcrest Swimming Club. Spent three summers working at the pool.

III. Personal

I received my Eagle in the Boy Scouts of America my first year in high school. In high school, I was a four year letterman in swimming and a lettered two years in soccer. I was also a member of the A'cappella choir for 2 years, during which we toured the Pacific Northwest one spring. After graduation, I served a two year mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Tucson, Arizona. After beginning college, I joined the Sigma Chi Fraternity in 1998. In addition to my current jobs, I also serve in my ward's Young Men's Presidency and as an Assistant Boy Scout Leader.

IV. References

Mike Chabries	ph. 451-0979
Lisa Wilkinson	ph. 359-3362
Brent Christensen	ph. 355-4009
Steve Goodrich	ph. 363-7037

Why I Want to be a White House Intern

There are several reasons I am applying to be a White House Intern. What caught my interest was when a friend of mine served as an intern during the Spring Session of 1999. He worked in the Press Secretary's Office and came home with lots of great stories and so many positive things to say about the program. So naturally, I did not want to be left out of the wonderful experiences that my friend had.

Serving as an intern would also fit in well with my major and possible career aspirations. I have a double major in Political Science and Finance. An internship in the White House would certainly add diversity to my studies in the political science field. One of the options that I am looking at as a career is to work as a lobbyist for the financial sector either on a national or state level. Working at the White House would not only give me experience working with others, but I would also be able to see how government really works. There are two ways that things get done in the world; the textbook method and the real-world method. One must first understand the textbook before you can go into the world, but a working knowledge of how things are accomplished is an invaluable asset in this world. By observing how the highest officials in our government go about their jobs and assisting them, I would have better awareness of the political landscape.

Finally, curiosity and intrigue are factors as well in my decision to apply for this internship. I was one of the few that watched the trial of the President. I try to follow political campaigns so I can make an informed decision when election day comes around. Government has always drawn my attention, especially Washington D.C. It is the most powerful city in the world, and I would love to serve and work in the building that houses the most important man in the world.

A Formative Experience in My Life

While I feel that every event in our life has impact in one way or another, one extended experience in high school helped to form and build my character. In high school, I swam on the swim team. I had been swimming for several years, but this experience was unlike anything I had ever done. For one, we had our practices at 5:30 in the morning every school day. In addition, we would lift weights a couple of days a week in the afternoon. I was not too keen on the time and effort required to participate. However, at the State Championships my first year, I saw who was successful and who was not. Physical attributes and popularity meant very little in the swimming pool. Dedication and commitment were most evident in the swimmers who stood on the medal platforms at the end of the championships.

One of My Greatest Accomplishments

Without a doubt, my greatest accomplishment would have to be the successful completion of a two year mission for my church. I spent my two years serving in the American Southwest. While there, I spread the message of my religious beliefs to the people who were searching for something better in their lives. I also spent at least four hours a week doing community service, ranging from volunteer work at elementary schools, boys and girls clubs, and senior citizen centers. What makes this experience so great in my mind is that for two years I was dedicated to serving others, not worrying about myself all the time. While I found that all people are different, we all are looking for a sense of peace and happiness. While not everyone agreed with the message that I shared, I strived to bring some hope into their lives.

Patrick Thurman

Philosophy 101

Homework - Moral Relativism vs. Moral Objectivism

Moral Relativism and Moral Objectivism are two varying ideas of thought relating to the basis for our moral and ethical codes. Both are designed to explain the causes or the reasons for why we believe or do certain things. What holds us to say that one thing is right and another thing is wrong, or what can be defined as right and what can be defined as wrong. The relativist and the objectionist have two contrasting views on the source of such claims.

The relativist is more of a personalist or individualist. Morals are individually dictated based on personal beliefs. This can also be expanded to groups of people who hold the same moral ideas. There is absolutely nothing that is universal to the relativist. Morals are created based upon their own life experience and the individual decides what is right and what is wrong. This may be entirely independent of another, or they may hold some beliefs similar, but this is only coincidental. Additionally, truths that are held by a relativist may only be true for that individual, again, not held universally.

The objectionist is almost that exact opposite in his thinking. Moral principles are universal, that is - what is true for me is true for everyone. There are exceptions, but there are at least some principles that are true for everyone. An objectionist also believes that these principles are independent of one's thinking or life experience. They are true under almost every circumstance. Under the objectionist thinking, one may still have a different moral code than the other. The content of the code does not matter, just the source for the code. One may believe that it is a universal principle that you should not kill, while the other objectionist may believe that it is universal to kill. The key point is that they both believe it is a universal truth that is independent of their mind or life experience.

ANNEMARIE C. VAN DEN BROECK

Apartment 619
2500 Clarendon Blvd.
Arlington, VA 22201
Tel: (703) 875-7559
E Mail: acvanden@holycross.edu

1 Avenue Lamartine
78170 La Celle St. Cloud
FRANCE
Tel: (331) 39-18-13-57
101323.3051@compuserve.com

Objective: To broaden my knowledge and understanding of the American government through working with the Executive Branch while utilizing language, administrative, and research skills.

Education: The College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts
Bachelor of Arts May 1999 Major: History Concentration: International Studies
Dean's List, January 1997 and May 1997

Experience: The American Bar Association - The Coalition for International Justice Washington, DC January 1998 - Present

- Chosen for a highly competitive Academic Intern Program.
- Provide interagency analysis for the Coalition and liaison in The Hague to support Tribunals in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.
- Responsible for extensive computer research on projects such as an International Criminal Trial Management Workshop held in The Hague.
- Provide periodic reports on legal research and Congressional briefings to senior CIJ members.

The Pitney Bowes Company

• Organized and updated the database upon which the various European clients were organized. Paris, France August, 1997

Translator : The College of the Holy Cross

Worcester, MA July-August 1997

• Translated a French five-act play for Professor Edward Isser, Ph.D. This independently-accomplished project will be published.

Procter & Gamble France

Paris, France Summer 1997, Summer 1996

- Worked in the European Legal Department.
- Involved data analysis, trademark updating, and the extensive use of computers.
- Reorganized archival products onto slides and created a program to further classify the material.

Volunteer : The Emmett County Medical Care Facility

Harbor Springs, MI Summer 1995

- Helped chronically-ill patients with activities and outings.
- Assisted with various administrative tasks, such as writing letters and organizing files.

Activities: The Hanify-Howland Memorial Lecture Committee

September 1996-Present

- Selected through a competitive process to assist in the organization of various seminars with prominent speakers.

Model United Nations

September 1996-Present

- Served as delegate in the Human Rights Commission for Chile- 1997 Harvard National Conference.

The Purple Key Society

May 1996-Present

- Selected to help promote service to the College. Organized activities such as Open Houses and blood drives.

Habitat for Humanity

March 1997

- Traveled to Georgia to help build houses in a rural community.

The World Youth Days

Paris, August 1997

- Attended and volunteered at the events held in Paris, which hosted Pope John Paul II and youths from around the world.

Special Skills:

- In-depth knowledge of the European culture. Lived in Madrid and Paris for twenty years.
- Bilingual : Fluent in English and French. Written and spoken Spanish with moderate proficiency.
- Excellent knowledge of Microsoft Word, Works, Excel, IBM AS400, CompuServe, Netscape, Windows 95, Groupwise.

Even throughout many challenges, eighteenth-century Empress Maria Theresa proved to be a successful ruler.

Annemarie van den Broeck
Paper Excerpt

Maria Theresa : Empress Deemed King in the Eyes of Many

Much of history is created by great leaders, especially in the time of political or social turmoil. It is in the midst of such times that an able ruler is able to demonstrate his or her ruling capacities. Every leader faces challenges. This simply comes with the territory. One particular territory, the Habsburg Empire, seems particularly relevant in light of this notion. One must, in this case, look toward the ruler. One must explore the strong, yet sensitive, leader with advanced political opinion. This was a leader confronted with numerous challenges at her young age. Was she a weak, subservient woman? Hardly. She was Maria Theresa, eighteenth-century Habsburg Empress, who had a powerful impact on her Empire.

The Habsburg Empire is one that, especially by the early eighteenth century, truly focused on spreading its power through many lands, such as parts of the Netherlands and Italy. No such power will ever go without controversy, however, as the diversity found within the hereditary lands fostered many difficulties. This is to say that each territory was composed of a wide variety of languages and customs. In light of this, political unity was difficult, if not impossible, to form. Another important factor to raise is that of the nobles, those powerful members of society, who refused to grant cooperation to their leader. An example of such is the Hungarian nobility, always a rebellious threat. Each of these points shall be further raised.

In light of this difficulty, what is a leader to do? Upon the death of Charles V, the Pragmatic Sanction, ensuring a single line of inheritance for the Habsburgs, was intended to foster legal unity for the various domains. When Frederick II of Prussia invaded Silesia, a Habsburg province, the young heir Maria Theresa was faced with the first of many difficulties.

This was a challenge that put the power of the Habsburg Empire into question, and shifted Europe's eyes to this new ruler. Furthermore, given the circumstances left by Charles V, namely an empty treasury and a weak army, any ruler would have difficulty. The fact that Maria Theresa was a woman certainly did not improve the situation. A ruler she was, however. As a ruler, her leadership was inevitably to undergo a substantial amount of controversy, such as issues pertaining to the nobility, the serfs, religion and even her family.

First, who was this woman who stood tall in the midst of a very male-dominated Empire? One could describe the character of Maria Theresa as multi-faceted. She was a woman, a leader, a wife, a hero and a mother. She was aware of the power of each of these roles, and earned much respect on the part of her many subjects. Various letters written to her children illustrate Maria Theresa's values. These are values which greatly influenced her leadership of the Empire.

As both a mother and a leader, she was concerned with morality. The ruler of an Empire should demonstrate not only political leadership, but moral leadership as well. Maria Theresa exemplifies such a leader. In, for instance, her letter to her son Maximilian, Maria Theresa criticizes the Enlightenment, the dominant philosophical movement of the time, "morals have become all too corrupt and frivolous." (Roider 79) It is especially the *philosophes* who lack the integrity and strength she so values. She advises him not to "stray too far from the path of virtue." (Roider, 81) Marie Antoinette, concerned with a highly frivolous way of life at the French Court, receives similar advice on the part of her moralist mother. As a model wife, mother and ruler, Maria Theresa was certainly in an appropriate position to so advise. The upbringing and education of her children was her primary concern, the "first and foremost" (Roider, 76) of her duties. One could say in light of this that Maria Theresa represented the notion of a 'mother-figure monarch.' Education was not only important for her children.

COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS

ONE COLLEGE STREET
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS 01610-2395

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Telephone: (508) 793-2288
Fax: (508) 793-3709

February 21, 1997

Washington Semester Program
Center for Interdisciplinary and
Special Studies
Fenwick 322

To whom it may concern:

I taught Annemarie VandenBroeck in an introductory sociology course in the Spring '96 semester and again in an upper-level course, Structures of Social Inequality, last semester. I work rather closely with many of the students in my classes, especially through individual project meetings and class discussions.

During the introductory course, Annemarie's commitment to learning sociology was evidenced in both her writing projects as well as in her testing. With respect to the latter, she worked diligently at developing focus and fine-tuning her analytical skills. Further, as the semester progressed, she increasingly participated in class discussion; by the end of the semester she was an important and articulate contributor to classroom dynamics. Her semester average in the course was a B.

Last semester in the Inequality course, I had a chance to see Annemarie expand intellectually. Her written work continued to show improvement during the semester, from B to A in both papers and exams. Moreover, Annemarie began to excel in class performance. She offered perceptive observations and applications, raised thought-provoking questions, and synthesized the material. Overall, she displayed a deep understanding of the sociological perspective and a strong facility for applying it to controversial inequality issues. Her final average in the course was B+.

In both my classroom interactions with Annemarie and my meetings outside of class, I have found her to be a responsible student in every respect. I am also impressed with her persistence. For example, in an earlier instance when she was disappointed in her performance, her response was to learn her mistakes, re-group, and try again. It has been rewarding for me to observe her intellectual growth.

Annemarie has spoken to me often of her career goals in the area of political and international affairs. I believe that this interest, combined with her academic talents and personal qualities will serve her well in the Washington Semester Program. I strongly recommend her for acceptance in the program.

Sincerely yours,

Susan M. Cunningham

Internship Acceptance Sheet

Name: Anne Cannon

3/9/99

Availability

Spring 1999 Session Dates: January 11 - May 7, 1999

Dates Available (if different than the dates of the Session):

Start Date: Monday, March 29

End Date: Friday, June 11

Schedule

Please complete this section carefully.

Please note that you will be expected to work the days and times you indicate.

Hours Required: minimum of 3 days and 25 hours a week

Hours Available:

Monday:

Tuesday:

Wednesday:

Thursday:

Friday:

9-5pm
9-5pm
9-5pm

↳ UCSD. only allows
students to work
24 hrs. a week

Funding

If you are receiving funding from any source other than your immediate family, (e.g. a public interest grant or scholarship), please inform us below. The White House Counsel's Office will review any potential conflicts of interest with the office where you will be placed.

I am receiving funding:

☐

I am not receiving funding:

☒

Source: _____

Amount: _____

Anne Cannon
Signature

March 1, 1999
Date

Experience

Intern- UCSD Governmental and Community Relations

September 1998-Present

Compiled outreach information for the annual report to the UC Office of the President. Served as a student representative for various functions with the community and elected officials. Active member of the UCSD Chancellor's Organization of Allied Students

Intern- Senator Dede Alpert

October 1997- June 1998

Responded to constituent concerns. Represented Senator Alpert at functions within the community. Helped refine domestic violence legislation in conjunction with community leaders.

Office Assistant- P.D.M. Financial

January 1998- May 1998

Organized files, answered phones, and compiled client data. Generated new clients via phone interviews.

Education

University of California, San Diego

9500 Gilman Drive

La Jolla, CA 92092

BA in Political Science with a minor in Law and Society expected in June 2000

Honors and Activities

-Provosts Honors, Marshall College UCSD

-Rush Counselor, UCSD Panhellenic Association

-Pi Beta Phi Sorority, UCSD

Philanthropy Chair 1997, Social Chair 1998

-Teacher Education Program, Volunteered in local elementary school as a part of community service program in Marshall College, UCSD.

-Sacramento Democratic Society, volunteered during the summer coordinating volunteers for local legislative races.

Skills and Qualifications

*Proficient in Microsoft Word, Excel, Access, and most Macintosh programs

*Limited understanding of written and spoken Spanish

*Comfortable with public speaking

*Basic comprehension of both criminal and civil legal procedure

RESUMÉ

Anne C. Cannon

4068 Avati Drive

San Diego, CA 92117

(619) 270-1551

Personal Statement

by Anne Cannon

Throughout my life many people have asked me where my interest in the the federal government originated and honestly I can not seem to explain it. Ever since I was exposed to class elections in grade school I have been interested in the inner workings of the democratic system. In order to appease my medically inclined parents, however, I tried my hand at the sciences only to be completely lost in the world of protons and neutrons. I always seemed to be pulled back to activities like speech and debate and student government. After graduating high school I was able to declare my major on the first day of college without a second thought. Political Science classes focusing on the Congress and Policy Analysis were one of the main reasons I could make it to class each day, especially when the sun was shining so brightly in San Diego.

During my college career I have been involved in a number of activities and internships at the University of California, San Diego but I feel that the internships that I have participated in have been the most important to my personal enhancement. Last year I was hired as an intern at Senator Dede Alpert's district office in San Diego. At first my duties were mainly routine, writing letters and answering phone calls, but as my tenure increased I was given much more responsibility like handling constituent cases and making presentations to the community on the Senator's behalf. The internship provided me with many opportunities to meet various members of the San Diego community who are instrumental in state government as well as see what it took to be an efficient political leader today.

Currently I am interning at the UCSD Department of Government and Community Relations where I am a student representative of the University. This internship has given me the chance to interact with senior administrators at UCSD while providing them with input to a student's perspective on making our school a better place. This quarter I have been continuing my internship as an executive member of a new student organization created in our office called COAST, the Chancellors Organization of Allied STudents. As a COAST member I represent the student population of UCSD at various community events connected with the University, such as Alumni dinners and Chancellor Associates meetings. I will also be helping to host the various elected officials who visit our campus on a regular basis.

I hope that my Washington D.C. experience will continue to develop my personal and professional experience. For me Washington D. C. will be a living history lesson and I am excited at the prospect of being surrounded by the origins of our government and legal system, especially at the White House. 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. holds some of the most influential members of the federal government and is responsible producing important public policy on a daily basis, this type of action within the executive branch of the federal government would be amazing to observe. I think that I would be an asset to your internship program for my responsibility and organizational skills as well as my passion to grow and learn about United States government.

1) Describe a formative experience in your life.

In my relatively young life the first thing that jumps to mind when asked about a formative experience can only be the moment when I realized that I had "moved" out of my home in Sacramento. This moment did not actually come the first day of college when I moved into the dorms but rather this summer when I left home knowing that I would not be coming back for any great lengths of stay, save for the obligatory holidays. I was now an independent person from my parents and I have been forced to recognize the fact that very soon I will be facing the real world and that my support system that has been with me for over two decades will only be watching from a distance. Since this moment my eyes have been opened as to my future plans and goals which I hope to have solidified by June of 2000.

2) What is one of your greatest accomplishments?

One of the greatest accomplishments in my life happened during my internship with Senator Dede Alpert when I was asked to represent her, by myself, at a formal community affair. In an occupation such as an elected official, each vote counts and the most important aspect of any involvement with the constituency is good representation from the district office. When I was asked by Senator Alpert to attend this dinner and present a signed resolution to a prominent community leader I realized that I had gained an enormous amount of respect in that office and they felt I was mature enough to handle this type of responsibility. For a nineteen year old college student to be given this type of honor is something that I will never forget.

White House Writing Sample

Anne Cannon
December 4, 1998

Term Limits:

The consequences and recommendations after Proposition 140

Over the past decade the implementation of term limits in our country's state and federal legislatures has grown considerably. There are currently 22 states with some form of term limits for their representatives. California has been one of the leading proponents of term limits since 1990 with the passage of Proposition 140 and Proposition 168. These statutes effectively limited the number of terms that state and federal representatives could serve. In 1995 however, the United States Supreme Court ruled in *Thomas v. Arkansas* that limitations on federal representative were unconstitutional because it altered the requirements for representative as stated in the Constitution¹. Proponents claim that term limits will make legislators more accountable to their constituency and less reliant on lobbyists, more commonly known as eliminating the "career politician" from our state legislatures while at the same time creating more opportunities for women and minorities to serve. On the other hand, opponents of term limits argue that there will be less representation to the public's wants and needs and the role of lobbyists will become more powerful. I have found that although term limits has been shown to increase the number of women and minorities in the state legislature it will also drastically decrease the number of legislators who have any experience in public service, this will have negative effects on public programs and institutions that are controlled by the state as well as the overall state population as politicians are held less and less accountable to their constituency.

Proposition 140 was passed in the November 1990 general election by a margin of 52% of the voting public. It limited the number of term for most elected officials to two four-year terms, with the exception of the assembly who is limited to three two-year terms. Legislators are prohibited from sitting out a term and then running for reelection but they are allowed to move within the two houses i.e from the senate to the assembly or vice versa. What many people may or may not have known is that Proposition 140 also effectively limited the expenditures and retirement benefits of elected officials, "...the operating expenses and equipment for the Legislature may not exceed an amount equal to nine hundred and fifty thousand dollars per member for that fiscal year or 80 percent of the amount of money expended for those purposes in the proceeding fiscal year"² and "No other pension or retirement benefit (besides Social

¹ *Thomas v. Arkansas* US Supreme Court 1995

² California State Constitution, Article IV Section 7.5

Security) shall accrue as a result of service in the Legislature, such service not being intended as a career occupation³. Since the passage of Proposition 140 there have been constant legal battle by group representing elected officials to stop its implementation. In March 1998, however, the California Supreme Court held in *Bates v. Jones* that term limits on state representatives is in fact constitutional. The court stated, "Term limits on state officeholders is a neutral candidacy qualification, such as age or residence, which the state certainly has the right to oppose"⁴. Thus term limits are proving to be a staying feature in California State Government.

³ Article IV Section 4.5

⁴ *Bates v. Jones* 1998

California State Senate

STATE CAPITOL
SACRAMENTO, CA 95814
(916) 445-3952
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DISTRICT OFFICE
1557 COLUMBIA STREET
SAN DIEGO, CA 92101
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INTERNET ADDRESS
SENATOR.ALPERT@SEN.CA.GOV

SENATOR
DEDE ALPERT

THIRTY-NINTH SENATORIAL DISTRICT



COMMITTEES
CHAIR, REVENUE AND TAXATION
APPROPRIATIONS
APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE
ON FISCAL OVERSIGHT
EDUCATION
ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
NATURAL RESOURCES AND
WILDLIFE

SELECT COMMITTEES
CHAIR, EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS
AND TEACHER TRAINING
GENETICS AND PUBLIC POLICY
CALIFORNIA'S WINE INDUSTRY
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
CRITICAL THINKING AND PROBLEM
SOLVING IN OUR SCHOOLS
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

November 16, 1998

To Whom It May Concern,

I am writing to offer my recommendation for Ms. Anne C. Cannon for your internship program. She is a truly impressive individual who would contribute a great deal to your program.

As evidenced by her resume, Anne has held a number of positions of great responsibility in her undergraduate career, an extraordinary accomplishment for one so young. In my personal experience with her, Anne was hired as an intern for the fall quarter of her sophomore year of college in 1997. After completing this term, she was then invited to stay on as an intern for the remainder of the year, increasing not only her knowledge of California state government but her responsibilities within my office as well.

As part of her internship, Anne worked on constituent cases ranging from domestic violence to education to vehicle registration. She has dealt in a professional manner with many state agencies and constituents, trying to resolve and assist in constituent problems. For example, Anne was instrumental in working with my staff doing research on legislation revising current domestic violence laws. After meeting with various members of the community, she compiled all of the comments and suggestions into a workable product. Anne has also represented me and my office at various community events throughout the year, sometimes even making speeches on my behalf.

Again, I encourage your strongest consideration of Anne C. Cannon for entrance into your internship program. I believe you will find her to be an asset who will enrich your program while also continuing her personal and professional development. Please feel free to contact me at (619) 645-3090 if I may be able to provide you with additional information.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "DeDe Alpert", written over a horizontal line.

SENATOR DEDE ALPERT
39th District

DA/jj



PROFESSOR ARTHUR LUPIA
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, 0521
TELEPHONE: (619) 534-5799
FAX: (619) 534-7130
E-MAIL: alupia@weber.ucsd.edu
INTERNET: <http://weber.ucsd.edu/~alupia>

9500 GILMAN DRIVE
LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA 92093-0521

January 20, 1999

I write to offer my strongest possible recommendation for the admittance of Anne Cannon to the UCDC program. I have known Anne since September of 1997. Anne has completed one of my courses, has completed an independent study project with me, and is currently enrolled in my voting course. Anne is one of the most impressive students that I have ever encountered in my nine years at UCSD. I rank her in *the top 2%* of her undergraduate cohort. Anne is energetic, intelligent, and innovative. I have seen her excel in a wide range of circumstances including public policy exams, crafting formal arguments, participating in organized debates, understanding microeconomic theory and the strategic components of political interaction, and writing a research on the effect of term limits. She is also well respected by her classmates. She is one of the best students I have ever encountered and I recommend her to you in the strongest possible terms.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Arthur Lupia".

Arthur Lupia

ANDRES LOPEZ

257 Congressional Lane Apt#213* Rockville, MD 20852* (301) 881-4049

OBJECTIVE

To obtain an internship in a professional environment where I can gain public service experience.

EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS MAJOR, SENIOR YEAR GPA 3.571

EXPECTED GRADUATION DATE: 12/99

EXPERIENCE

CHESSIE LISTS, INC.

BROKER ASSISTANT, FROM 1996 TO PRESENT

CONDUCT RESEARCH FOR CLIENT'S POSSIBLE TARGET AUDIENCE

PROVIDE ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT FOR BROKER

ACQUIRED VALUABLE EXPERIENCE WORKING IN DETAILED ORIENTED ENVIRONMENT

AMERICAS TRAVEL SERVICES COMPANY

OUTSIDE SALES, FROM 1995 TO 1996

RECRUITED NEW CLIENTELE AND RESPONSIBLE FOR OUTSIDE SALES

PERFORMED ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES WHEN IN OFFICE

GAINED GOOD INTERACTIVE COMMUNICATIONS SKILLS

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

FLUENT IN SPANISH

COMPUTER SKILLS

PROFICIENT IN WP FOR WINDOWS, MS WORD, AND HAVE EXPERIENCE WORKING WITH DATABASES

AWARDS

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND DEAN'S LIST

NATIONAL DEAN'S LIST

OUTSTANDING ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT FROM OFFICE OF MULTI ETHNIC STUDENTS AT UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

INTERNSHIPS

SENATOR SARBANES (D-MD)

CAPITOL HILL OFFICE, SUMMER 1997

PROVIDED ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT FOR THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS STAFF

HONOR SOCIETIES & SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS

ALPHA LAMBDA DELTA HONOR SOCIETY

GOLDEN KEY NATIONAL HONOR SOCIETY

PHI THETA KAPA HONOR SOCIETY

PI SIGMA ALPHA (ALPHA ZETA CHAPTER) POLITICAL SCIENCE HONOR SOCIETY

MARYLAND STUDENT LEGISLATURE (UMCP CHAPTER CO-CHAIRMAN)

CAMPUS JUDICIAL PROGRAMS (CAMPUS ADVOCATE)

I saw vast poverty while traveling throughout Latin America and was glad that I lived in the United States. However, thousands of Americans live in similar conditions. The schools in their neighborhoods lack resources to provide an adequate learning environment. Many people can't afford health care coverage or send their children to college. Thousands of Americans live below the poverty line or worse, they are homeless. I want to pursue a career in politics to ensure that all Americans obtain the necessary tools to live up to their potential. A White House internship would be the first step toward that path.

An internship at the White House would enable me to work for the Democratic Party, which adheres to the values that I strongly believe in. Values such as every person should have an equal opportunity to prosper, not just the wealthy. Every person should have access to our health care system and access to an education. I strongly believe Americans should be paid enough to live a decent life.

I also want to be a White House intern because I strongly agree with the President's programs and political philosophy. I agree with President Clinton's idea of government's role in society. The government of the 21st Century must adjust to meet the needs of a new era, where free market principles are dominant. The government should set the parameters in which the free market must function, but not oppose it. The government must also provide people with the necessary tools to participate and benefit from the free market.

Lastly, I want to be an intern at the White House because the President sets the political agenda and frames the debate on the issues I mentioned above. This internship would provide me with an opportunity to meet people who share similar political beliefs. I would be honored to serve in President Clinton's White House and work with the people who are putting my beliefs into action.

"Do you know how to play?" asked the boy. "What did he say?" I asked the girl next to me, who knew Spanish. I signaled yes, but I didn't, because I had never played the game before.

"Go deep" said the boy. Again, I asked for translation. I ran, stopped and turned around ten yards away. "No, you have to keep running so I can throw the ball." he said frustrated. He threw the ball and I caught it. I tried throwing it back but I couldn't hold the ball.

More kids joined us and we started a game of Football. Six years later, I started on my Junior Varsity High School team as a running back and became a Redskins fan. As I learned the traditions of my new home, I realized that a person must adapt to different environments. One must not fear change, but rather embrace it.

My brother and I are the first to attend College in my family. However, I almost didn't make it. Due to an unexpected event, my family faced financial hardship, which threatened my desire for a college education. I thought my dreams would never become a reality.

I had two choices, give up my aspirations to attend college and work instead. Or work twice as hard and do both. I chose the second option. Working full time while being a full time student is not a simple task. I followed my mother's example and worked hard to achieve my goal. I will graduate in December and enroll in law school next year. A college education is a valuable tool in our Democracy, which requires an educated citizenry. Attaining such an education at all costs is my greatest achievement so far.

Fidel Castro survived nine different U.S. administrations, all of which have tried to undermine his regime. Many people wonder how Castro maintained power, especially since the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the USSR. One reason is the repressive nature of the Cuban government, which has successfully destroyed any form of civil society. Without civil society, people have to depend on the government for their every day needs.

EMERGING BUSINESS COMMUNITY

The U.S.S. R. and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe were Cuba's major trading partners. Cuba would sell them raw materials at higher than market value prices and would purchase finished goods at lower than market value. In other words, the Soviet Union subsidized Cuba's economy, allowing Castro's regime to survive despite the economic sanctions it faced from the United States and other Latin American countries.

Everything changed in 1985 when economic conditions forced the Soviet government to reduce economic aid to Cuba, eventually ending all assistance by the late 80's. All of a sudden the Cuban economy faced a major crisis because the government had to purchase goods at market value and there was no market for its raw materials. The statistics illustrate the dramatic drop in exports, from 5.4 billion pesos in 1989 to 1.1 billion pesos in 1993.¹ Imports also suffered during the same time period, from 8.1 billion pesos in 1989 to 2.0 billion pesos in 1993.²

The Cuban government responded by seeking direct foreign investment to help raise the badly needed revenue. In 1990, President Fidel Castro inaugurated two new hotels in Varadero beach, marking the beginning of joint ventures between the Cuban government and foreign investors. The government provides the workforce and the land while foreign investors provide

the capital, technology and the managerial expertise.

Although the new reforms brought in capital, the government needed further reforms if it wanted to develop the domestic economy. Throughout the 1990's the government legalized the use of the U.S. dollar, allowed partial and limited introduction of market mechanisms in agriculture.³ The most important reform, in terms of a civil society, came in 1994 with the authorization of some forms of self-employment.⁴

For the first time in decades, local Cubans could start small businesses of their own. People opened up small bicycle repair shops, small restaurants known as "paladares", small bicycle taxis and small artisan stands in flea markets. These reforms introduced a new small class of entrepreneurs who can make enough money to be independent of the state. They could develop informal organizations in the different industries in order to collectively deal with common problems instead of turning to the government for help.

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2002

June 8, 1999

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I am writing to recommend Andres Lopez for a White House internship during the fall of 1999. Andres served as an intern in my office during the summer of 1997 and made excellent use of his time to learn as much as possible about the legislative process.

Andres was an important part of the office operation and displayed a quick grasp of the wide variety of tasks assigned to him. He worked closely with my staff and was a very capable research assistant. He approached each assignment with a professional attitude, and his judgement and sense of responsibility impressed all the members of my staff.

I believe Andres would be a positive addition to the White House Intern Program, and I am most pleased to recommend him.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Paul Sarbanes", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Paul S. Sarbanes
United States Senator

PSS/bk



UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

COLLEGE OF BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES ♦ DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Professor Paul S. Herrnson

June 7, 1999

Letter of Recommendation for Andres. H. Lopez

I know Andres H. Lopez very well. He was a student in my honors seminar in congressional elections during the fall 1998 semester. He is a very bright and hardworking student and a fine person. Andy's ultimate goal is to become an attorney and enter the field of politics. I believe that he will be a great success in both and would make an outstanding White House intern.

Andy did an excellent good job in my class. He mastered the course material and was able to combine it with his own areas of interest. His two papers on the 1998 primary and general elections in California's 46th congressional district demonstrated his possession of an analytical mind, ability for creative thought, and fine writing and research skills. Andy used textbooks, newspaper clippings, Federal Election Commission reports, the Internet, and personal interviews with the candidates' staffs to present an outstanding analysis of the campaigns. He explained that Democratic incumbent Loretta Sanchez's victory in a rematch with former Republican Congressman Robert Dornan was partly due to Sanchez's ability to mobilize Hispanic voters, women, and other traditional Democratic constituencies. Dornan's reputation as a radically conservative and obnoxious politician also contributed to the outcome. Andy's analysis was cogent and extremely well written, which is remarkable given that his native language is not English. Andy's two class presentations were excellent. He is a poised and confident speaker, despite the fact that he speaks with a slight Spanish accent.

Andy's performance on campus has earned him many honors. He has been on the Dean's List every semester he was enrolled at the University of Maryland. He has also received an Outstanding Academic Achievement Award from the University's Office of Multiethnic Students, was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, Alpha Lambda Delta, Golden Key National Honor Society, and Pi Sigma Alpha National Political Science Honor Society.

Andy's academic achievements are complemented by his extracurricular activities on and off campus. He was active in the Maryland Student Legislature, a mock legislature modeled after the Maryland General Assembly (our state legislature), and an Advocate in the Campus Judicial Programs, which presents academic dishonest cases to the Student Honor Council. He also interned in the office of U.S. Senator Paul Sarbanes.

Andy has managed to achieve this impressive record while holding down a full-time job at a marketing firm. He is very proud of the fact that he has financed his education himself, including tuition, books, and room and board.

Andy would like to serve as a White House intern. I am extremely confident that he would do an

Summer 1999 Session Interns

LAST	FIRST	DEPARTMENT	START_DATE	LEAVE DATE
Ruckman	Stephen	Staff Secretary	5/17/99	7/23/99
Schwartz	Kevin	Staff Secretary	6/3/99	8/27/99

OK / FILE
[Signature]

AC #398, Campus Center
Amherst College
P.O. Box 5000
Amherst, MA 01002-5000

December 4, 1998

Ms. Alison M. Kolwaite, Director
White House Intern Program
Old Executive Office Building Room 84
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Ms. Kolwaite:

I am writing to apply for a position as a White House Intern for Summer Session I or II, 1999. I am a sophomore at Amherst College and a registered Democrat, with a strong interest in political affairs. My family is active in Washington politics - my mother was in the First Lady's graduating class at Wellesley College and now serves on her informal advisory board, the "Circle of Friends." I myself am considering pursuing a career in the public sector, hopefully in the political arena.

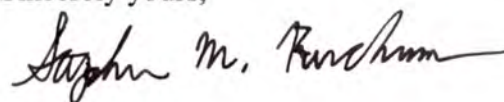
By assisting in and experiencing firsthand the day-to-day business of the President's office, I hope to learn how his affairs are managed. I think I would make a valuable contribution to the White House staff by bringing to it my previous experience in research and in letter and memo writing, my extensive computer skills, my organizational ability, and most importantly, my enthusiasm for Democratic causes.

More important than my job experience, though, is my devotion to helping others. A friend once called me up to ask for some last-minute help with preparing for an exam and asked me before we began studying if I was busy. Although I had just been immersed in a large amount of work for another class that I was far from completing, I replied, "Not any more. Where should we begin?" My willingness to help individuals translates into a willingness to help the political community at large.

I am available for employment between May 17th and August 30th, and so would like to work for Summer Session I or II of 1999, preferably Summer Session II. Attached is a résumé highlighting my work and leadership experience, as well as a statement of intent, essay responses, a writing sample, letters of recommendation, and an unofficial transcript. I hope they adequately demonstrate my dedication to service and competence as a potential intern.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely yours,



Stephen M. Ruckman

SMR: enclosures

STEPHEN MERRILL RUCKMAN

smruckman@amherst.edu

Box #398, Amherst College
Amherst, MA 01002-5000
413-542-4264

7607 Maple Avenue
Chevy Chase, MD 20815
301-951-8432

EDUCATION:

Amherst College, Amherst, MA (1997 - present)

Candidate for Bachelor of Arts with Honors, May 2001, designing a major in Political Philosophy

- Cumulative GPA: A-

Richard Montgomery High School, Rockville, MD (1993 - 1997)

Graduated, June 1997, from the school's International Baccalaureate program

- National Merit Scholar, Maryland Distinguished Scholar, Honor Roll (all four years)
- SAT: 1560

WORK EXPERIENCE:

Office of Senator Mikulski, Washington, DC (July-Aug. 1998)

- *Intern*: Aging Subcommittee. Attended hearings and briefings and reported findings to staff and senator. Wrote numerous constituent letters on behalf of Senator to presidents and CEOs of area universities and health organizations. Conducted research for legislative assistants and staff.

Office of Congressman Steny Hoyer, Washington, DC (Jan. 1998)

- *Intern*: Attended briefings and summarized for staff and senator. Researched issues for legislative assistants.

Law offices of Furey, Doolan, & Abel, Chevy Chase, MD (Aug. 1998)

- *Legal Intern*: Conducted legal research for partners. Delivered legal documents to area courthouses. Served subpoenas. Aided firm with file reorganization.

Global Works, Inc., Ireland (July 1997)

- *Volunteer*: Traveled throughout Ireland doing manual labor and organizational work.

Habitat for Humanity of Northern Virginia, Arlington, VA (June - Aug. 1996)

- *Intern*: Formulated and sent out press releases. Worked on construction sites. Designed logo for affiliate's van. Composed contracts. Performed general clerical work.

LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCE:

Diversity Educators, Amherst College (present)

- *Student Educator*: Promote student awareness on campus about the respect and responsibility required of members of a diverse community.

Amherst College Orchestra, Amherst College (1997 - present)

- *Principal violist*: Lead viola section of orchestra.

Tsrema String Quartet, Amherst College (1997 - present)

- *Founding member, violist*: Established and perform in college's only official string quartet.

National Honor Society, Richard Montgomery H.S. (1995 - 7)

- *President, 1996 - 7*: Responsible for organization and supervision of all Society activities, events, and programs.

Vice President, 1995 - 6: Chairman of the Community Service Committee.

Model United Nations, Richard Montgomery H.S. (1994 - 7)

- *President, 1995 - 7*: Planned and led trips to conferences in Georgetown and out of state.

PERSONAL:

Musical Interests

- Very active in classical music. Violinist/violist since age of three. Founding member of Levine String Quartet, which has performed throughout Washington, DC area. Principal violist of three orchestras.

SKILLS:

Computer Skills

- IBM: WordPerfect, Microsoft Office, Internet applications, Lexis Nexis, Westlaw, Monarch, and CRS.

Statement of Intent

By working as a White House Intern, I wish to demonstrate that I am committed to political progress for our nation. I think the President has been successful in his pursuit of bipartisanship and effective policy-making, and I would like to contribute to the ongoing efforts in this direction. I have already helped to further Democratic causes at the legislative level through work in the offices of Senator Mikulski and Congressman Hoyer, and now want to assist at the executive level. I have a great deal of respect for President Clinton, what he has achieved, and what he continues to achieve, and I would be honored to serve him by serving his administration.

Also, the inner functions of the Executive Office are of great interest to me. Generally, Americans are only able to see the workings of the Executive Office from the outside; I want to be able to see how the White House, and the Executive Office it supports, works from the inside. I think that, in so doing, I will gain valuable experience and skills in the organization of a political office that will help me to have a more complete understanding of Executive Branch function. This understanding will in turn allow me to bring a uniquely informed perspective to future occupations.

A White House Internship will be an opportunity that I will never forget, one that will shape and mature my political understanding, and one that will expose me to a highly intelligent, motivated cross-section of the political community. I hope to some day be an important figure in the political machine, and I think this experience will give me insights into how others have used their individual abilities to contribute to the political process.

Lastly, I think that I will bring attitudes and insights to the office that will prove that I am uniquely qualified to serve as an intern. First, I am very friendly and sociable, and work very well with others. Second, I am dedicated to my work, and committed to producing quality results. Third, I already have significant experience from work in congressional offices that will facilitate my work at the White House.

I am confident that I will provide substantive assistance to the Executive Office, and I will serve the Clinton administration proudly and responsibly as a White House Intern.

Essay Responses

- (1) "Describe a formative experience in your life."

Two years ago, I was selected to perform as first violist in a sextet with renowned violinist Isaac Stern for a benefit concert. Toward the end of my high school career, I wondered whether my years of chamber music study had been worthwhile, since I had decided not to pursue music professionally. The opportunity to perform with Stern provided the perfect moment for me to measure the value of my experience. We performed a Brahms Sextet in which the viola begins the entire piece, so I had to anticipate Stern's desired tempo for the piece for it to cohere. At the concert, our voices melded wonderfully, and the performance received a standing ovation. Yet it was not from the applause at the end but from his contented look in my direction after I began the piece that I knew that I had achieved stature as a chamber musician.

- (2) "What is one of your greatest accomplishments?"

As one dedicated to community service, I recently organized a weeklong church mission trip to Rincon, Puerto Rico to do emergency relief work on homes of impoverished families. The church was unable to provide resources of its own for the effort, so I planned and led major fundraising events to obtain thousands of dollars for supplies, travel, and accommodations. I also worked closely with the church's adult leaders to plan the trip, and recruited forty youth from the community to come be a part of the trip's crew. On location in Puerto Rico, I oversaw our crew's construction of one of the homes built for poor families whose previous homes had been ravaged by storms. Within a week, our crew was successfully able to put roofs over the heads of four needy families. My committed desire to aid a needy community was thus made into a reality.

Writing Sample

MORAL CONDUCT IN VIETNAM

The tragedy of the Vietnam War raised many questions about the role of morality in foreign affairs. Most questions centered around the issue of whether or not moral values greatly affected the United States' policy decisions throughout the war, but often neglected is the issue of how great an influence morality had on the soldiers actually carrying out the prescribed policy. Indeed, if one claims, like Schlesinger, that "moral values do have a fundamental role in the conduct of foreign affairs," (Schlesinger, p. 34), one has to consider at what level, for surely policy makers are in a greater position to evaluate the moral aspects of their nation's conduct regarding a foreign conflict than are those engaged in that conflict - the soldiers. In the case of the Vietnam War, two major factors precluded the American soldiers from standing in a position that allowed them to base their conduct on morality. First, the fact that this war was one where the enemy made itself ambiguous prevented the American military from reaching a clear understanding of whom they were meant to destroy, and so they could not act with proper discretion. Second, the general mentality of the American troops involved reflected a blind adherence to superiors and an intense desire to remove any potential enemy threat, even at the cost of civilian lives, implying a lack of insight into the moral implications of actions taken in the field. For these key reasons, Schlesinger's above conclusion, while it may hold with respect to American governmental officials in the Vietnam War, cannot be justified when applied to the conduct of the American soldiers.

The essentially guerrilla complexion of the Vietnam War forced the American military to face, for the first time, the prospect of having to destroy part of the ally to effectively destroy the enemy. Since Vietcong forces often hid in civilian villages, American soldiers had to devise a means of routing them out without inflicting serious harm upon the civilians in the process. Unfortunately, they soon realized that attempting to maintain a moral obligation to their foreign allies, by operating within specified "rules of engagement" to safeguard civilian lives, only kept them from a more thorough destruction of the enemy. As Michael Walzer notes in Just and Unjust Wars, "In any struggle, conventional or unconventional, the rules of war may at some point become a hindrance to the victory." (Walzer, p. 195) The inference drawn by the American soldiers in light of this view was that morality would have to be discarded as a significant consideration for military conduct. This de-emphasis of morality can be seen in the military's propensity for shelling entire villages in which Vietcong guerrilla fighters were suspected of hiding, knowing that civilians would undoubtedly be killed in the process. Preemptive shelling and bombing of questionable villages, Walzer observes, "became American policy quite early in the war," (Walzer, p. 188)....

BARBARA A. MIKULSKI
MARYLAND

COMMITTEES:

APPROPRIATIONS

LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

SUITE 709

HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2003

(202) 224-4654

TTY: (202) 224-5223

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2003

November 20, 1998

Ms. Alison Kolwaite
Director
White House Intern Program
Old Executive Office Building
Room 84
Washington, DC 20502

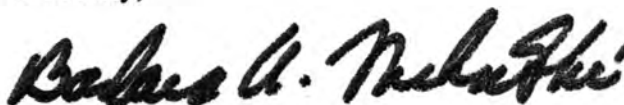
Dear Ms. Kolwaite:

I am writing on behalf of Stephen Ruckman. Steve served as an intern in my office in the Subcommittee on Aging in the Summer of 1998. The Subcommittee on Aging handles senior and health issues. Steve performed a variety of tasks on a daily basis including attending hearings and briefings, drafting correspondence and memos, and researching various health issues. Steve was eager to learn about new issues and was willing to take on any task assigned to him, including clerical duties such as copying, faxing, and running errands. He was interested in the issues and often asked questions about issues and about how or why things work the way they do in the Senate.

Steve has strong writing skills and is able to synthesize a large amount of information and pull out the most important points. Steve attended a number of briefings and hearings, after which he wrote memos summarizing the themes and important points made by the speakers. He also drafted correspondence on various legislative issues which sometimes required him to explain complicated policy issues in easy-to-understand terms. Steve was good at doing this and also improved his writing skills in the process. Steve is resourceful and has strong research skills, whether on the Internet or using the Congressional Research Service.

I strongly recommend Steve for a White House internship. He took an enthusiastic approach to his work and came in each day ready for a new challenge. He has a strong work ethic and worked well on his own with little supervision. This trait was invaluable during the often busy and hectic Senate schedule. If you have any further questions regarding Steve's performance in my office, please feel free to contact David McCallum of my staff.

Sincerely,



Barbara A. Mikulski
United States Senator

BAM:rr



AMHERST COLLEGE

Office of the Dean of Students

December 1, 1998

Ms. Alison M. Kolwaite
Director
White House Intern Program
Old Executive Office Building, Room 84
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Ms. Kolwaite,

I'm writing in support of Stephen M. Ruckman's application for a position as a White House Intern. It's highly unusual for a student to distinguish himself as early as sophomore year at a school such as Amherst, but Steve has done so. He is already seen by faculty here as an exceptionally promising student.

Steve is the only member of his class to have taken an academic overload in every semester he has been here. While the normal course load at Amherst is four course credits per semester, Steve has taken five and a half credits (five full courses plus a course in music performance) each term. His motive for doing so is interest, rather than self-interest, since he cannot accelerate his graduation by taking these overloads. Instead, he does so because his intellectual interests are so broad – encompassing philosophy, law, political science, music and psychology – that only overloads allow him to pursue all the intellectual disciplines he has a serious interest in. And his performance in these overloads has also been exceptional – nearly straight A's each semester.

Steve has also been enormously active on campus, particularly as a very talented musician. He is the principal violinist of our orchestra, as well as the founder of a student string quartet. He is also a member of a student group which does presentations to fellow students on issues of diversity. Although I've known him only since the start of this academic year, I believe I can already say with confidence that he is an exceptionally promising young man, both in academic and non-academic terms. I recommend him to you without reservation.

Sincerely,

Ben Lieber
Dean of Students

KEVIN SCOTT SCHWARTZ

392 Kirkland Mail Center
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 493-1068
email: kschwartz@fas.harvard.edu

Home Address:
55 Georgian Court
East Hills, NY 11576
(516) 621-6487

Education

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, MA

B. A. Honors Degree in Government, expected June 2001. Detur Prize for performing in top 10% of freshman class. John Harvard and Harvard College Scholarships for academic achievement. Dean's List all semesters. Honors grades earned for coursework in the following subjects: American Government, Constitutional Theory, Economics, Statistics, Literature, History, Astronomy, Music. GPA of 4.0 on a scale of 4.0.

ROSLYN HIGH SCHOOL

Roslyn Heights, NY

Class of 1997. Valedictorian, GPA 4.0 on a scale of 4.0. Xerox Award for Excellence in the Humanities and Social Studies. Dartmouth Book Award for Academic and Personal Excellence. Tandy Technology Scholar. National Advanced Placement Scholar. National Merit Scholar Finalist. National Council of Teachers of English Achievement Award in Writing. Robert C. Byrd Honors Scholarship. National Honor Society. James A. Lyons History Award. American Legion National High School Oratorical Contest, 2nd place NYS. United States Institute of Peace National Essay Contest 2nd place NYS. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Essay Contest Winner. Kiwanis French Award.

Experience

OFFICE OF NY HOUSE REPRESENTATIVE

Washington, D.C.

Congressional Intern. Researched and wrote policy memos and briefings for credit card fraud in big business and future energy distribution in the tri-state area to determine the congressman's position. Prepared summary reports for the congressman's review on House floor developments. Responded to constituent communication. Trained in Congressional Research Service.

Summer, 1995, 1996.

HARVARD GLEE CLUB, INC.

Cambridge, MA

Financial Manager. Responsible for day-to-day financial management and long-term planning for the Harvard Glee Club, a sixty-voice men's chorus. Member of Executive Committee responsible for running all logistical aspects of the group. In charge of a budget of \$90,000. Supervise spending budgets for a team of twelve student managers specialized in all aspects of running the group, including national and international tours, CD and ticket sales, publicity, and recordings. Coordinate financial budget with HGC Alumni Foundation.

January 1999-Present.

Sales Manager. In charge of sales for all products of the Harvard Glee Club, Inc, including CDs published by the group, cassette tapes for Glee Club a capella, advertisements, sweatshirts, shingles, and all archival recordings and materials for alumni. Managed November 1998 joint concert with Wellesley College Choir.

January 1998-December 1998.

HARVARD MOCK TRIAL TEAM and PRE-LAW SOCIETY

Cambridge, MA

Governing Board Member. Developed and managed new organization on Harvard campus to promote greater understanding and appreciation for law and the legal profession. Facilitated growth of organization with Dean of Students Office. Edited and published organization newsletter to provide information about law school and various professional opportunities in the law for undergraduate students.

January 1998-Present.

Executive Committee for Pre-Law Society. Generated interest among more than 300 students in panel discussions and advisory meetings for students on women and law, journalism and law, and the road to law school. Planned programs in conjunction with students at Harvard Law School to provide mentorship and public advocacy experience for college students.

January 1998-Present.

Mock Trial Team Captain. Attorney and witness in national college-level tournament. Worked with team of eight students to demonstrate methods of persuasion and argument in courtroom. Educated new members on rules of evidence in criminal and civil proceedings. Coordinated logistical planning with American Mock Trial Association.

October 1997-Present.

THE HARVARD CRIMSON

Cambridge, MA

News Editor. Served as Faculty beat reporter and conducted all interviews with Dean of the Faculty Jeremy Knowles. Covered stories pertaining to developments in tenure for junior and senior faculty members and division of requirements in various academic fields. Wrote daily stories for college activities.

September 1997-Present.

UNDERGRADUATE ADMISSIONS COUNCIL

Cambridge, MA

Regional Representative Coordinator. Established contacts and residence for students visiting Harvard College. Traveled to Harvard Club of Long Island, NY to address admitted students. Participated in phone-a-thons and mailings to prospective and admitted students.

January 1998-Present.

TOWN OF NORTH HEMPSTEAD COMMUNITY SERVICE

Nassau County, NY

Liaison between Roslyn Public Schools and Town. Developed original organization to coordinate efforts of the Town and school district in joint community service endeavors. Generated student interest and directed student participation in various community projects, including flu shots for senior citizens and student interaction with the Nassau County Boces Disability Center.

January 1994-June 1997.

THE HILLTOP BEACON

Roslyn Heights, NY

Editor-in-Chief high school student newspaper. Redesigned and published monthly award-winning newspaper. Managed budget of \$20,000. Supervised, trained, and motivated a team of 40 high school students in layout design and computer skills. Initiated series of workshops to instruct students on news reporting and feature writing in journalism. Columbia Scholastic Press Association National Gold Circle Award. North Shore Journalism Award.

June 1996-June 1997.

FORENSICS SPEECH and DEBATE TEAM

Roslyn Heights, NY

Captain. Headed team of 60 students in weekly competitions of speech and debate. Conducted weekly workshops to educate inexperienced students on various aspects of public speaking and performance. Developed school program for competition in forensics student congress. National Forensics League NYS Champion 1st place Student congress, Finalist Original Oratory, National Finalist Student Congress. Degree of Special Distinction.

June 1996-June 1997.

STUDENT ORIENTATION COMMITTEE

Roslyn Heights, NY

Chairman. Facilitated transition of new students into high school from lower academic levels and students from abroad. Developed buddy system to ease entrance into high school. Organized and ran annual extra-curricular activities fair to generate student interest and participation in school life.

September 1995-June 1997.

ROSLYN COMMUNITY CENTER

Roslyn Heights, NY

Volunteer Tutor. Worked with learning-disabled students in fields of mathematics, science, history, and creative writing for elementary school level assessment tests.

Summer, 1997, 1998.

Skills/Personal

Interests	Vocal Performance – Tenor Soloist in Sydney Town hall with opera singer Willhemenia Fernandez; Piano, Tennis, Basketball.
Languages	proficient in French, can read Hebrew
Computers	IBM PC and Macintosh. Proficient in Word, Excel, Stata, and Pagemaker.

Statement of Intent

My fascination with political life and writing has grown out of my fundamental interest in people. As a sophomore at Harvard College, I have planned my academic, extra-curricular, and community service activities to allow me a broad interaction with many diverse individuals. My time as a Congressional Intern was particularly rewarding because I was able to put into practice the many simulations and discussions from previous political programs in which I participated. The enjoyment and knowledge I gained working as an intern in Congress has motivated me to seek additional experience and familiarity with the Executive Branch of our government by serving as a White House Intern.

For two summers as a Congressional Intern, I researched projects on issues of pending legislation, drafted letters to constituents, attended and evaluated briefings, and submitted reports on these meetings. In particular, I especially enjoyed the opportunity to research credit card fraud in response to constituent concerns. After studying the transcripts of the Congressional Banking and Consumer Affairs Committee, analyzing the voting record of every congressperson on topics related to credit cards, and contacting the 50 largest credit card companies in the nation, I wrote summaries of the practices and policies of each company for my congressman's attention. I was very proud to see the congressman actually using my research and incorporating my analysis into his action on this issue of constituent concern. I hope my experience working in this capacity in Congress will serve as a sound base from which I can use my knowledge and hard work to help in the daily functioning or long-term projects in the White House Office.

I want to serve as a White House Intern in order to enhance my experience and knowledge about the daily functioning of our democracy. Having studied in detail the workings of the Executive Branch at Harvard, I would like to intensify my knowledge and familiarity with the center of operations in this branch by serving as a White House Intern. I enjoy writing letters, evaluating reports, and especially working with other people who share my appreciation for and fascination with our government. Most importantly, I hope that serving as a White House Intern will give me greater experience and knowledge about the Executive Branch that I can bring back to my school and community to motivate others to participate in the workings of our government.

(1) Describe a formative experience in your life.

Whether it is in the classroom, or through my participation in the Congressional Seminars of the Washington Workshops Program and Georgetown University's International Relations Seminar, I have always been fascinated by how our democracy works. My intense one week program with the American Legion Boys State allowed me to experience on a first hand basis the functioning of state and local governments. As elected party chairman, I thrived on the responsibility of writing a platform and gaining electoral support for my fellow party members. While I was not elected Governor, I learned to live with guys from very different backgrounds. The Boys State Program provided me with a grass roots knowledge of our electoral process that I shall carry with me whether as a voter or future candidate to political office. I left Boys State with a deeper insight into the operation of our government and the political system we call a democracy. On a deeper and more emotional level, my week at Boys State gave me a feeling of genuine pride in my American citizenship.

(2) What is one of your greatest accomplishments?

In high school, I was so disappointed that many of my friends were unable to find meaningful volunteer activities in which to participate that I contacted my town's Commissioner for Community Affairs and received approval to start a program that would involve high school students in local volunteer organizations. I met with the mayor of my community, the Town Supervisor, the Superintendent of my school district, and my high school principal so that I could prepare a list of volunteer activities in which students could participate. By the end of its first year of existence, the program I had begun had provided volunteers to service the flu-shot program, work at the local disabilities center, and assist senior citizens in several town-sponsored programs.

Writing Sample

When the founding fathers met in Congress under the auspices of their new Constitution, their first action was to enshrine in the Bill of Rights the most fundamental freedoms to be held by each American citizen through limitations on government. Freedom of religion was the first protection captured in the First Amendment to the Constitution: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." While the First Amendment specifically cites Congress in its declaration, the Supreme Court has since applied freedom of religion to the states through the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. While it is clear that one of the goals of the founding fathers was to prevent the government from establishing a church, case after case in the Supreme Court has focused a central challenging question in the First Amendment: what role should the government play in matters of religion? Dissenting in *Albington School District v. Schempp*, Justice Stewart elevated the gravity of this question by arguing that an "irreconcilable conflict" exists between the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses. Since there does exist an inherent tension between the specific mandates of the religion clauses, I believe the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses should be balanced in interpretation to serve the primary First Amendment interest of protecting religious liberty. In this framework of interpreting the religion clauses, religious liberty will be defined as the individual's right to freedom from government influence, burden, or coercion in matters of religious belief and expression.

Part I of my argument will explore the distinct meaning of the Establishment Clause and the Free Exercise Clause in the context of their different spheres of application. Part II will demonstrate that the inherent conflict between the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses is reconcilable by balancing the implications of each clause on a contextual basis, with protection of religious liberty serving as the ultimate goal of the First Amendment. Finally, Part III will show the Supreme Court application of balancing the clauses to protect religious liberty.

.....

Justice Stewart was correct in asserting that while the religion clauses complement each other in some areas, other spheres of concern leave the clauses in conflict. However, this conflict is not "irreconcilable" because the Court should resolve the tension by consistently balancing the competing interests and degrees of relevance for each clause. Justice Stewart presented the case of federally funding

military chaplains as a “single obvious example” to prove the “irreconcilable conflict” between the religion clauses. He asserted using federal funds for a military chaplain might violate Establishment, but the soldier who is not provided a chaplain would find his free exercise of religion violated. This argument of an “irreconcilable” conflict in the religion clauses loses its force when it is recognized that the government creates its own responsibility by putting citizens in government-run environments, including military outposts. Although providing military chaplains should be questioned under Establishment, this remedy is demanded by Free Exercise because the state is placing citizens in situations where they do not have access to their religious institutions. Thus, balancing the clauses in my framework to protect religious liberty clearly demonstrates the constitutionality of military chaplains because the state does not endorse any religion, but rather remedies a state-imposed religious burden. Moreover, the use of federal funds in this case does not violate the extreme caution against taxes for religion demanded by Madison. Although the funds are directed for a religious purpose, they are used to accommodate a citizen serving his country – not to influence or coerce any religious belief or choice – and thus the soldier’s religious liberty is preserved under this analysis.



KIRKLAND HOUSE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138-7525

February 19, 1999

Alison M. Kolwaite
Director,
White House Intern Program
Room 4
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Kolwaite:

It is a pleasure to recommend Kevin Schwartz for an internship in the White House. His intelligence, commitment to public service, enthusiasm and character make him particularly fit for this position.

I have known Kevin since September, 1998 as an academic advisor for the Government Department. Because I also live in Kirkland House as the resident tutor in Government, I have come to know Kevin very well. I have read a good deal of his written work and have spoken with him a number of times about his academic, professional and personal interests.

I have written many letters of recommendation, for this program and for others. I have been at Harvard for over a decade, first as an undergraduate, then as a graduate student at the Kennedy School, and now as a Ph.D. student. I think it is safe to say that I have never met a student with a more extraordinary academic record than Kevin Schwartz. I say this simply because it is not possible to have one; he holds a perfect 15.00 on Harvard's 15 point grading scale (where an A=15).

It would appear that almost every instructor Kevin has had here has sent in a glowing recommendation to his file at the House Office. These recommendations, signed by teaching fellows and even professors, invariably reflect not only an admiration of his work but a certain affection. They like Kevin, not only because of his enthusiasm for everything he studies, but because of his good cheer, good humor, civility and modesty.

When Kevin takes on a challenge, academic or otherwise, he does so with an intensity that few can match. He takes on every course and every activity as if it were the only thing worth doing. Even more extraordinary than this ability, however, is the number of additional activities Kevin has taken on. He is Financial Manager, member of the Executive Committee and a Tenor singer in the Harvard Glee Club, the oldest college chorus in the country. He was also a featured soloist during the Glee Club's Australian tour. He is also a news editor at the *Harvard Crimson*. He is a member of the Governing Board of the Harvard Mock Trial Team and of the Pre-Law Society; as an attorney on the Mock Trial team, he has won prizes for his abilities to argue, persuade, and even act.

Kevin has been selected to be one of the two representatives from Kirkland House to the Government Department's Undergraduate Affairs Council. He helps shape curricular change for current future undergraduates and also voices student concerns about department course offerings and advising.

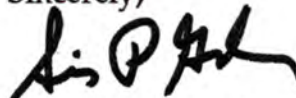
Kevin is also a good citizen. He contributes to our community as a member of Harvard's Undergraduate Admissions Council. He meets with prospective students both here and in Long Island to encourage and advise them. In his own hometown he spent half the summer as a tutor for learning disabled students. During previous summers he had served as an intern for his local congressman.

For most students, just one of these activities and leadership positions might make it impossible to devote enough time to academics. I don't quite understand how it is possible for Kevin to participate so actively in as many extracurricular activities as he does (and win so many honors for them), and have the highest GPA at Harvard College. But it is a fact.

I believe that Kevin's analytical abilities, writing and organizational skills make him an outstanding candidate for your program. He is an extraordinarily hard worker possessed of a phenomenal range of talents. His record speaks for itself. I recommend him without reservation, however, for his decency, his intensity, and his goodness.

Please do not hesitate to contact me at (617) 441-3076 if you have any questions.

Sincerely,



Srinivas P. Gandhi

Resident Tutor in Government



Dmitry Gorenburg
Davis Center for Russian Studies
1737 Cambridge Street
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA 02138

February 21, 1999

Timothy J. Colton
Director

Marshall I. Goldman
Associate Director

Lisbeth L. Tarlow
Associate Director

I am writing to recommend Kevin Schwartz for the White House Internship Program. Kevin was a student this fall in my Sophomore Tutorial seminar on Constitutional Democracy in America at Harvard University. The Sophomore Tutorial in the Government Department, required of all concentrators, is a one-semester course entitled "Constitutional Democracy in America." The course has three main goals: (1) to examine debates about liberal democratic principles and American constitutionalism that are important in themselves and fundamental to further study in any of the major subfields of political science; (2) to teach students to make logical, coherent arguments both in written work and "on their feet" during tutorial meetings; and (3) to develop students' abilities in systematic, intelligent reading and clear, graceful writing. Topics covered in the course include the founding of the United States and the debates concerning the ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, slavery and desegregation in American history, freedom of speech and religion, and the role of government in environmental protection and the maintenance of national security. In addition to several hours of reading each week and mandatory attendance at a weekly two hour seminar, the students write four 5-6 page essays and one 7-10 page final paper.

Kevin was by far the best student in my class. While most students begin the semester with a limited understanding of how to write social science papers, Kevin wrote an excellent first paper that treated a complicated set of readings in a sophisticated manner. His subsequent papers were consistently among the best written I have seen as a teacher. Kevin's writing is always excellently organized and well developed, showing evidence of thoughtful planning and preparation.

Kevin's abilities are not limited to skill with the written word. In class discussion, his contributions often drove the debate. While always willing to answer a question or raise a new point, Kevin showed an awareness of classroom dynamics that was quite unusual for a sophomore. He was very careful to avoid dominating conversation and to give other people a chance to speak, often raising his hand only when it was clear that no one else was ready to comment. In short, in the semester that I have known him Kevin has shown himself to be the kind of student who makes teaching enjoyable.



HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Kathryn W. and Shelby Cullom
Davis Center for Russian Studies

1737 Cambridge Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Tel. (617) 495-4037

Fax (617) 495-8319

daviscrs@fas.harvard.edu

www.fas.harvard.edu/~daviscrs

Kevin's interest in politics reaches outside the classroom. His experiences as a Congressional intern and Harvard Crimson news editor helped to his participation in classroom discussions on controversial political issues such as environmental regulation and affirmative action.



With these factors in mind, I wholeheartedly recommend Kevin for this internship. I think his abilities as a writer and critical thinker, as well as his organization and enthusiasm for politics, will make Kevin an excellent White House Intern.

Sincerely,

Dmitry Gorenburg

Timothy J. Colton
Director

Marshall I. Goldman
Associate Director

Lisbeth L. Tarlow
Associate Director



HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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Attachment C
FOR INTERNAL USE ONLY
Director's Office

Front Office

The logs for mail received from the Staff Secretary and the Oval Office are backed up regularly onto disk. If computers are unavailable, photocopies of documents will be made and used to update these logs once systems become operational.

Statistical reports for the Department of Correspondence will be held until computers are available.

Important documents from the Director of Correspondence will be drafted using stand-alone computers and/or typewriters. If necessary, photocopies will be made of these documents and used to update IQ once it becomes operational.

IQ is used by Director's Office Staff to search for incoming/outgoing mail. If IQ is unavailable, files will be obtained through the Office of Records Management.

If email is unavailable, Director's Office Staff will use telephones, faxes, interoffice mail, Postal Service, and messengers to communicate with Correspondence Staff, Staff Secretary's Office, Oval Office, and outside contacts. For staff information, see the attached office and home phone listings.

Photos

On December 31, 1999, the photo database used by First Lady's Correspondence and Presidential Correspondence will be backed up onto disk. In the event of computer failures, the database will be loaded onto the hard drive of a stand-alone computer. Lithograph requests for the President and First Couple will be handled using this stand-alone computer. Photograph requests will be processed using the Inscribe Machine located in OEOB Room 94 and/or calligraphers. Photocopies of these requests will be made and used to update the photo database at a later date.

Signed photos will be returned to staff via interoffice mail. Signed photos to the general public will be held until IQ becomes operational. Urgent requests will be photocopied, and these copies will be used to update IQ at a later date.

For photo contacts, please see the attached list.

Administrative Concerns

Facilities requests, telephone service requests, etc. will continue to be coordinated through the Director's Office (see attached forms). If computers are unavailable, requests can be made via telephone (x65456), fax (x62993), and in-person to Christina Stacey. If Christina Stacey is

unavailable, please consult the attached list of contacts for administrative concerns. If in doubt, contact White House Operations (x62500).

Staff Responsibilities

Task	Responsible Staff Member	Target Date
Informing staff about BCCP plan	Christina Stacey	11/1/99-12/30/99
Ordering supplies	Jan Vranich/C. Stacey	11/10/99
Backing up important files	All Users	12/10/99-12/30/99
Updating photo/administrative contact lists	C. Stacey	12/10/99
Backing up/printing hard copies of Staff Secretary and Oval Office logs	J. Vranich/Debbie Bird	12/30/99
Backing up photo database	C. Stacey	12/30/99
Loading photo database to stand-alone computer	C. Stacey	Event Trigger +24 hours
Notifying Steve Horn /IS&T of computer failures	C. Stacey	Event Trigger
Updating IQ	All Staff	To be completed when the system becomes operational

CORRESPONDENCE DEPARTMENT HOME PHONE LISTING

OCTOBER 1999

Director's Office:

Burkhardt, Dan	(202) 331-1889	(Pager 4595)
Cohen, Delia	(202) 667-1998	(Pager 4213)
Vranich, Jan	(703) 524-5710	(Husband's Cell Phone 703-625-3088)
Bird, Debbie	(703) 425-0761	
Stacey, Christina	(202) 547-3348	(Cell Phone 202-256-9176)

Presidential Letters and Messages:

Alexander, Debi	(703) 723-1457	(Pager 4144 and Cell Phone 703-861-8870)
Hudson, Maureen	(301) 587-5720	(Pager 4039)
Hinderliter, Shannon	(703) 769-2860	
Knight, Sarah	(301) 434-8648	
Sisser, Tracy	(301) 897-3485	
Corcoran, John	(202) 575-0098	
Oakman, Jeffrey	(202) 363-1196	
Sagiv, Renee	(703) 978-4216	
Scully, Chris	(202) 342-6316	
Wertman, John	(703) 764-3741	
Wondwossen, Woyneab	(301) 417-9149	

* Sky Page 757-1111 / White House Signal 757-5000

Presidential Support:

Upperman, Eileen	(301) 292-2670	(Pager 4658)
Crable, Lynn	(410) 798-0927	
Baer, Chris	(703) 491-6463	
DeGuzman, Dan	(703) 730-3988	
Rick, Earlene	(301) 843-8807	
Showers, Wendy	(301) 972-8482	
Shumaker, Patty	(703) 331-2159	
Smith, Bernice	(202) 581-3789	
Williams, Patti	(301) 770-7071	

Presidential Messages/Proclamations:

Fowler, Carmen	(703) 820-7327
Dickey, Lana	(202) 726-7769
McCaughey, Eileen	(202) 686-1432

Gift Unit:

Krause, Lori	(703) 351-6250	(Pager 4130)
Kletnick, Amy	(202) 331-3242	
Undlin, Maureen	(202) 544-8948	
Zanlungo, Bob	(703) 575-8392	

Greetings, Comments & Volunteer Office:

VanAuken, Kelley	(703) 522-2428	(Pager 4598 and Cell Phone 202-256-5725)
Cooney, Shivaun	(703) 416-0819	(Pager 4457)
Lightstone, Amanda	(202) 544-6209	(Pager 4049)

Presidential Student Correspondence:

Wood, Debra	(703) 566-0800
Kitchen, Catherine	(703) 979-8070
Strand, Dana	(703) 685-7671
Day, Bryan	(703) 465-5596

Agency Liaison:

Castleman, Helen	(703) 527-1417
Lynch, Ami	(703) 619-6110
Cherba, Mike	(202) 342-6316
Gibbons, Emily	(703) 812-3372
Hankins, Marji	(703) 413-5003

E-mail:

Horn, Steve	(703) 486-7873	(Pager 4027)
Binns, Mary	(703) 256-8713	

Mail Analysis:

Houser, Bob	(703) 369-5915
Roddick, Trudy	(703) 354-4758
Belsky, David	(202) 745-2593
Bohrer, George	(540) 882-3767
Garner, Barbara	(301) 422-1993
Goodwin, Ray	(301) 299-5689
Labrador, Gus	(301) 839-5733
Lee, Sang Won	(703) 619-6110
Lewis, Sharon	(301) 369-2441
Mulvehill, James	(703) 535-6626
Schilling, Elly	(202) 822-8695
Stewart, Annie	(301) 894-2155
Trainor, Gregg	(301) 847-5301**
Weintraub, Philip	(301) 468-1252

**For Gregg Trainor: First dial the relay service number, (202) 855-1000. Give the operator Gregg's phone number and the operator will call him through TTY. TTY will relay what Gregg says and you can respond back.

Special Projects:

Sharp, Michael	(202) 526-8692
Jones, Cyril	(202) 396-6166

Mail Room:

Mendoza, Tony	(410-604-2302)	(Pager 4282)
Reagan, Jim	(540) 635-9828	
Clark, James	(301) 843-0341	
Culbreath, Luc	(301) 248-8277	
Daniels, Hilliard	(301) 856-9077	
Dao, Anne	(703) 690-8542	
Davis, Sam	(703) 221-8849	
Dickens, Barbara	(301) 856-5476	
Ford, Joseph	(301) 559-3107	
Herald, Marilyn	(301) 336-4940	
Johnson, Ernesteen	(202) 546-0522	
Moye, Catherine	(301) 449-4065	
Norwood, Andre	(301) 877-1929	
Prince, Lee	(301) 894-6188	
Reid, Jim	(301) 599-1872	
Tolbert, Edward	(202) 882-2126	
Watts, Beatrice	(301) 568-2559	
Williams, Wendy	(202) 269-2276	

First Lady's Correspondence:

Pushkar, Alice (202) 362-0271

Casey, Kathy (202) 244-0016

Henry, Kim (703) 764-2012

Kaplan, Jody (703) 358-9567

Last Name	First Name	Office	Phone	Fax
Hicks	David	Photo Editing	x66709	x55247
Jacatin	Marilyn	WW Photo Office	x54050	x62883
Lang	Burlee	Volunteer Calligrapher		
McGinn	Debby	Social Office	x66307	x66771
Morrison	Mary	Oval Office Operation	x66610	x62883
Nash	Charles	Records Management	x67245	
Paulus	Rick	Calligraphy	x66322/x62510	
Weintraub	Philip	Mail Analysis	x65927	x69050
Wiener	Lori	Photo Editing	x65031	x55247

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Office of Administration

FACILITY REQUEST

READ INSTRUCTIONS ON BACK BEFORE FILLING OUT THIS FORM

NO: 50666

1. Org. Code

2. Charged To: (GSA Use Only)

I. REQUESTING AGENCY ADMINISTRATIVE COORDINATOR

3. Name

4. Agency

5. Room

6. Phone

II. WORK TO BE PERFORMED FOR

7. Name

8. Agency or acc't to be charged

9. Room

10. Phone

☐ Check if estimate requested

III. WORK ORDERS

☐ See attachments

11. CONSTRUCTION/CARPENTRY

☐ Furniture Repair

☐ Locksmith Services

☐ Other

(Attach sketches of any proposed construction/removal/modification of walls, doors, window, etc.)

12. DESIGN SERVICES

☐ Furniture

☐ Touch-up

☐ Painting

☐ Carpet

☐ Other

13. MOVING

☐ RDS

☐ Furniture

☐ Safes

☐ Other

(Attach copy of this form to EACH item being moved; Indicate specific description and destination of each item or group of items; A completed SF-120 MUST be attached to this form for all items being excessed) (Attach sketch of any new furniture layouts)

14. ELECTRICAL

☐ Outlet

☐ Computer Cable

☐ TV Cable

☐ Other

(Attach sketches of outlet/cable locations, including point of origin and route, if know, and destination)

15. CLEANING

☐ Carpet

☐ Furniture

☐ Drapery

16. OTHER

17. AGENCY AUTHORIZATION/CERTIFICATION

18. DATE

19. FACILITIES AUTHORIZATION

20. DATE

Executive Office of the President

Office of Administration

TELECOMMUNICATIONS SERVICE REQUEST

Send to: Telecommunications Service Office (TSO)
OEOB, Rm. 019 Fax Number (202) 456-9800

TSO MAIN NUMBER X6-6400
For assistance completing this form, call x6-7294.
For technical assistance completing this form, call x6-6400.

Current Date

Requestor's Name (Print)

Agency

Bldg./Room No.

Phone No.

Requested For (Print)

Agency

Bldg./Room No.

Phone No.

Requirements (Briefly describe requirement(s), then check or designate all that apply.)

☐

Install*

☐

Move*

☐

Change

☐

Disconnect

Date Required

*Attach floor plan

ESTIMATE REQUIRED: ☐ Check here if you wish to receive an estimate before the job is started.

QTY	ITEM DESCRIPTION	Y	N	RESTRICTIONS
_____	10 Button Phone Set	☐	☐	Receive incoming calls
_____	20 Button Phone Set	☐	☐	Make outgoing calls
_____	Telephone Line(s)	☐	☐	Make local calls
		☐	☐	Make long distance calls
		☐	☐	Make international calls
Other _____ (Specify)				

CONTACT INFORMATION

Name (Print)

Bldg./Room No.

Phone No.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORIZATION

Name (Signature)

Bldg./Room No.

Phone No.

Date

Name (Print)

FUND MANAGER

Name

Bldg./Room No.

Phone No.

Date

Signature

BAC Code (e.g., 2, 3, 66, etc.)

TSR No.

Administrative Contact Numbers

11/4/1999

Office	Name	Phone	Fax	Location
AT&T	Diane Jamison	x69809		
AT&T	Wanda Green	x69808		
Calligraphy	Rick Paulus	x66322		2FL/EW
Computer Help Desk		x57370		
Conference Center		x67666	x66791	
Courier Receiving		x53332		NEOB G-1
Graphics	Bill McIntosh	x57681	x51155	NEOB 5301
Graphics	Joyce Ford	x53624	x51155	NEOB 5301
GSA/Building Manager		x53154		OEOB 48
GSA/Carpenters		x53568		
GSA/Heat		x53675		
GSA/Janitorial		x53270		
GSA/Movers		x53358		
GSA/Paint Shop		x53227		
GSA/Surplus		x52335		
Mail Messenger OEOB		x57005		OEOB 52
Mail Messenger WW		x52615		
Mess		x71282/1519	(202) 393-1256	OEOB 406
Military Office	Danny Donnelly	x62150	x71204	2FL/EW
Military Office	Ron Wright	x62150	x71204	2FL/EW
Military Office	Sgt. Stanfill	x62150	x71204	2FL/EW
Military Office	James Hill	x62150	x71204	2FL/EW
NEOB Mail Room		x54722		SB-222
Network Support	Dimitrius Reid	x56543		
Network Support		x53370		
Office of Administration	Brooks Scoville	x62015	x61655	OEOB 145
Office of Administration	Kelli McClure	x62861	x61655	OEOB 145
Office of Administration	Cortland Willman	x62009		OEOB 145
RDS		x55250	(202) 610-2027	
RDS	Larry Prince	x55274	(202) 610-2027	
Sign Language Interpreter	John Liipfert	x62500	x66472	OEOB 1
Sign Language Interpreter/Volunteer	Ann Marie Huson	(301) 585-0196		
Staff Secretary	Carol Cleveland	x62702	x62215	2FL/EW

STAFF
SECRETARY
CHRON FILE

March 1, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: TODD STERN

SUBJECT: Staff Secretary's Office -- Goals and Objectives

The basic mission of the Staff Secretary is to manage the flow of paper to and from the President. This mission includes (a) making sure he gets what he needs when he needs it while not overloading him; (b) exercising sound judgment in deciding what should and should not go to the President; (c) disposing of matters that require his signature but not his attention; (d) summarizing material in clear and concise form both to save his time and to sharpen issues for decision; (e) coordinating senior staff comment on decision items; (f) making sure paper going to him is sound in terms of substance, message and form; (h) routing paper back from the President to appropriate staff.

GOAL: Maintain a well-modulated flow of paper to the President.

Objectives:

- Limit amount of paper going to President. Get him what he needs on timely basis, but not more than he needs.
- Give President adequate time to review decisional materials.
- Get decision items with adequate time to properly coordinate senior staff comment.
- Summarize decision and selected information items to save President's time.
- Assure quality of materials going to President.
- Ensure that materials for the President go through our office so that we are able to regulate the flow to his office; make sure that relevant senior staff have an opportunity to comment; and make a final judgment on whether a given item should go to the President at all.

GOAL: Maintain high quality of materials prepared for President.

Objectives:

- Ensure that memos and other materials for the President are first-class -- clear, concise, and sound in terms of both form and substance.

GOAL: Improve quality and timeliness of daily briefing books. Late submission of materials for the briefing book has been a chronic problem since 1993. The result is that the President routinely receives his briefing book late.

Objectives:

- Receive final briefing papers by our 6 pm deadline so that they can be edited or revised, if necessary, and briefing book can be delivered to the Residence by 8 pm every night.
- Receive speeches by the same deadline or earlier so that (a) they can get proper final review and vetting before submission to the President, and (b) the President has an adequate opportunity to review and work on a speech before giving it.

GOAL: Improve quality of trip briefing books.

Objectives:

- Preparation of an overview memo outlining the purpose of a trip and its major events. The President should be informed up front what the purpose and major objectives are for a trip and for each of the major events along the way. This should be a concise, strategic memo.
- Consolidation of the numerous individual background memos the President now receives for trips. It would be more useful and user-friendly for the President to receive a unified memo for any given state he is visiting. This memo would present a political and economic overview and include the salient issues he needs to know -- including relevant Clinton Administration accomplishments, local color, etc. -- for his visit. While such a memo would be an improvement over what he now receives, it would require some additional resources to produce. Thus, before going down this track, we need to discuss further with Chief of Staff's office.

November 24, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: TODD STERN

SUBJECT: Staff Secretary's Office -- Mission, etc.

This memo sets forth (i) the basic mission of the Staff Secretary; (ii) job descriptions for key personnel; (iii) coordination with other offices -- particularly how the Staff Secretary could be better integrated with the Chief of Staff's office; (iv) tools to get the job done most effectively; (v) meetings; and (vi) the President's legacy.

Basic Mission

The job of the Staff Secretary is to manage the flow of paper to and from the President. This includes (i) making sure he gets what he needs when he needs it while not overloading him; (ii) disposing of matters which require his signature but not his attention; (iii) summarizing material in clear and concise form both to save his time and to sharpen issues for decision; (iv) coordinating senior staff comment on decision items; (v) making sure paper going to him is sound in terms of substance, message and form; (vi) routing paper back from the President to appropriate staff. Since this Office is the last stop before action items (decision memos, Executive Orders, Directives, signing statements, veto messages, correspondence, etc.) go to the President, we also have a "goalie" function -- preventing mistakes that have slipped through other lines of defense.

Job Descriptions

Todd Stern. All paper to and from the President routes through me. I either handle it myself or assign it to one of my deputies, Phil Caplan or Helen Howell. I decide what we're sending to the President and when, circulate significant memos for senior staff comment, write summaries of major decision memos, review and edit signing statements, veto messages, proclamations, important correspondence, etc., and review summaries and other work done by Phil and Helen. I also oversee the offices of the Executive Clerk, Correspondence and Records Management.

Phil Caplan/Helen Howell. Phil and Helen work on the full range of matters that come to our office and have particular responsibility for overseeing preparation of the President's daily and trip briefing books. Phil also does the initial review and edit of personal correspondence and Helen does the same for congressional correspondence.

Coordination with Other Offices

Chief of Staff. The Staff Secretary could be more integrated into the Chief of Staff operation. In past White Houses, under both Presidents Reagan and Bush, the Staff Secretary was formally part of the Chief of Staff's office (as a deputy Chief of Staff or a deputy to the Chief of Staff). While I am not proposing that, the logic of greater integration is clear. The Staff Secretary is in the best position to keep the Chief of Staff (and his deputies) fully briefed and informed on what paper is coming through the pipeline, what paper will require the President's attention, what will require the Chief of Staff's input before going to the President, and what may require further discussion or revision before going to the President.

There are two ways to keep the Chief of Staff briefed in this manner: (i) hire a person in the Chief of Staff's office, recognizing that he or she will be duplicating for the Chief of Staff some of what the Staff Secretary is already doing for the President; or (ii) make the Staff Secretary a more integrated part of the Chief of Staff's operation. I would argue for the latter as a better use of resources, provided that the Chief of Staff controls who the Staff Secretary is and is fully comfortable with having the Staff Secretary act as one of his advisors.

Playing by the Rules. In order for the Staff Secretary to modulate the flow of paper to the President, ensure that paper is ready for the President's review, and give senior advisors an opportunity to comment, paper has to come to us in the first place. There is an eternal temptation in all White Houses for people to hand things directly to the President. But end-runs serve no one. Periodic reminders from the Chief of Staff can help control this.

Briefing Books. Materials for the President's daily briefing book still routinely come in late, delaying our ability to get the book to the President at an appropriate hour -- 8 pm. There is generally no reason why our 6 pm deadline for submitting materials to our Office shouldn't be met. Better discipline is certainly possible; the question is whether the President cares about this or is satisfied with the current state of affairs -- both with regards to timing and content.

Speeches. Speeches too often come to us very late, making meaningful staffing difficult. This may be because the speechwriters get the assignment late. But the result is the same -- inadequate chance for us to review speeches and circulate them. The speechwriters often do some informal circulation of their own before sending speeches to our office, but that isn't a dependable way to make sure all the right people have had an opportunity to comment. The only way to cure this is for speech drafts to come to our office earlier.

Tools

The main tool of the Staff Secretary is information. When I prepare summaries of decision items for the President, I need to capture the state of play on an issue and where advisors stand in an accurate and nuanced manner. The only way to do this is to be included as a matter of course in substantive meetings on matters that require or will require Presidential decision.

Meetings

In my view, the 7:30 am meeting has been very useful; the 8:15 am meeting has not. I would consider a single meeting of only assistants, assuming you feel comfortable that such a gathering would be small enough to function as a real working meeting. If it is deemed useful to have a brief "readout" meeting for deputies at 8:30 am, you could have one of your own deputies chair that. No person, other than the chair of the deputies meeting, would go to both meetings.

The President's Legacy

At a broad, philosophical level, I think President Clinton is most likely to be remembered for having fashioned a "third way" politics based neither on big government, deficit spending solutions, nor on anti-government abdication, but on an engaged government that recognizes its limits while still marshaling its resources to tackle the real problems facing the nation -- a politics in tune with the essential moderation of the American people and one which has, not incidentally, resuscitated the Democrats as a Presidential party.

The contrary, cynical view of the President is that he is an opportunist who veered right in 1995 merely as a tactical maneuver. The extensive discussion by consultants about tactics hasn't helped the President in this regard. But the truth is that in 1992, long before "triangulation," Bill Clinton won the Democratic nomination and the Presidency on an explicit "third way" platform that set him apart from both liberal Democrats and Republicans. In my view, the President's legacy will rise or fall on whether he continues to articulate and implement this third way approach successfully. I see two issues as paramount.

Budget deficit. First, the President must continue progress toward a balanced budget -- including entitlement reform. The President's pivotal decision in his first term was to embrace real deficit reduction, which led to lower interest rates, increased investment and a healthy economy. Continued progress will be tough, but it is important for the economy, for the Democratic Party (which had lost credibility as an economic steward before Bill Clinton came along), and for the President. Making government work while living within our means is central to what the President's third way, vital center governance is all about.

Welfare/Jobs. "Ending welfare as we know it" was one of the President's signature promises in 1992, representing the "responsibility" part of his third-way "opportunity and responsibility" message. His critics on the left and right view his signing of the welfare bill as an expedient capitulation rather than a principled gamble aimed at ending a bankrupt system. It is important for the President's legacy that he fight *not* to roll the bill back but to make it succeed. Now that Republicans can no longer attack us for propping up a failed system, the President should have the moral high ground to lead a national effort to put people -- especially in the cities -- to work. By contrast, large increases in homelessness or child poverty would badly damage his legacy. A spotlight will inevitably be focussed on the effects of ending this historic entitlement.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'98 NOV 24 PM 1:39

November 20, 1998

MEMORANDUM TO ASSISTANTS TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM:  JOHN PODESTA  AND MARIA ECHAVESTE

SUBJECT: MISSION STATEMENTS

Earlier this month, we asked members of the Cabinet to prepare summaries of what they would like to accomplish in their agencies during the next two years. At the beginning of the President's second term, we asked you to prepare similar mission statements outlining the goals and objectives for your departments.

While we do not want to reinvent the wheel, we would like you to review your office's previous work and prepare a short summary of what you would like to accomplish in your departments -- what your revised goals and objectives are -- over the next two years. We know you have been working hard and have accomplished a great deal for this President. We would like this exercise to build upon that work and challenge you to stretch your vision, again. This information will be very helpful to us and we would like to share your thoughts with the President. Please provide your submissions to us by the close of business on Wednesday, December 2.

Kevin S. Moran 11/23/98 01:22:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: CoS Mission Statements Request

November 23, 1998

MEMORANDUM TO ASSISTANTS TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN PODESTA AND MARIA ECHAVESTE

SUBJECT: MISSION STATEMENTS

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Message Sent To:

SEARCH - QUERY
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310614SS DOCUMENT= 1 OF 1

OPID BB
DOCDATE 990712
NAME GENE SPERLING
ORG NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL (NEC)
SUBJECT NEW MARKETS INITIATIVE LEGISLATION
SUBCODE BE003 TR361 FI005 FI010 LE FG006-01
ACTION PRCLIN RPI 990712 C 990715
 RM C 990715
COMMENTS THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

I0601 * End of documents in list. Press ENTER or enter another command.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 12, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE SPERLING

SUBJECT: NEW MARKETS INITIATIVE LEGISLATION

Attached is the material I sent to Sandy Weill for his meeting earlier today with Speaker Hastert. Although I have not yet received a download from their meeting, I thought the following material would give you some idea of what we think we may be willing to and what we would not be willing to incorporate from the American Renewal Act into your New Markets legislation.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 10, 1999

Dear Sandy,

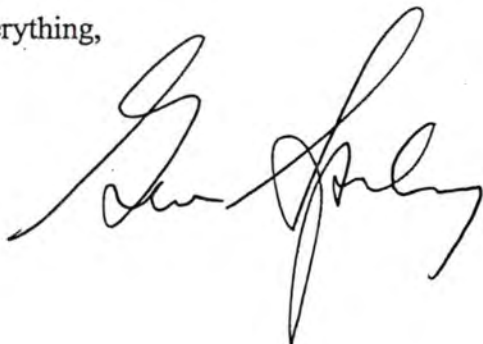
As we discussed yesterday, attached is some information for you about the American Renewal Act in preparation for your meeting with Rep. Hastert this upcoming week. This proposal -- sponsored by Representatives Talent and Watts -- was introduced several years ago and has since been revised many times, but has never gained significant momentum or support. We are seeking bipartisan support for our proposal -- the New Markets Initiative -- to improve conditions in economically distressed areas by providing loan guarantees and tax credit incentives, targeted to low and moderate income communities.

There are several provisions of the Talent-Watts bill that we believe could be incorporated into the New Markets Initiative and would be acceptable elements of a compromise proposal. However, there are some areas, including the zero capital gains tax and what we consider a duplication of the Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community program, that would be unacceptable. I hope you find the attached summary of the major differences that we object to and areas where we are willing to compromise helpful.

Finally, thank you so much for your contribution to and involvement with the President's New Markets trip. Your involvement was critical to validating the entire trip. Furthermore, you should be very proud of what you have done for both the Wall Street Project and the National Academy Foundation. It was very moving to see not only the kids, but also all of the dedicated teachers you have helped inspired

It has been great working with you. We have a chance to do something very meaningful. Let's stay at it.

Thanks for everything,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive style.

THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY RENEWAL ACT

I. Summary of the Bill

The American Community Renewal Act would provide for up to 100 renewal communities designated through a competitive process similar to that of the current Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) Programs. Renewal Communities would be eligible for numerous tax incentives including zero percent capital gains, commercial revitalization tax credits, expensing for small businesses and Brownfields, expansion of the work opportunity tax credit, and family development accounts. Efforts to create a renewal community program have been underway for several years, and the current bill has evolved from several earlier proposals.

The American Renewal Act contains certain provisions that could not be incorporated into the New Markets Initiative without substantially changing the intent and substance of our proposal for a New Markets Initiative. However, there are a number of other provisions that would be acceptable and could be incorporated into our proposal with little difficulty, as outlined herein.

II. Comparison of the American Renewal Act to the New Markets Initiative and the Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community Programs

CAPITAL GAINS OPENING: One of the major differences between the President's proposal and the Talent-Watts proposal is that their proposal includes a provision for a Zero Capital Gains. The American Community Renewal Act is principally an attempt to create an opening for a capital gains tax through a program that would attempt to improve conditions in economically distressed communities. Objections and concerns raised about this bill include the zero percent capital gains provision for the sale of certain business property and assets held for more than 5 years. Eligibility includes a requirement that 35% of employees reside in the Renewal Community.

Because it is a back-end solution, a zero percent capital gains tax is not a logical incentive for investment in distressed economic communities. Potential investors in these areas may not be motivated by a benefit that comes only upon the sale of an investment in an area where investors are unlikely to experience appreciation in property values. There is a much greater need in poor communities for upfront and ongoing incentives to draw investment into such communities.

A zero capital gains for distressed communities could have the perverse and presumably unintended consequence of encouraging more disinvestment in distressed areas as owners might flip businesses and properties to receive this tax benefit. Additional and well-founded concerns about a capital gains tax for investment in distressed communities include:

- **Unintended Windfalls:** Certain business with property in the renewal community could earn large one-time "windfall" profits --- for example, from the sale of property near a site chosen for a large public attractions such as a sports arena -- without making any new investments related to job growth or spurring the local economy.

- **Negative Tax Incentives:** The ability of taxpayers to deduct interest on borrowing while entirely excluding the gains from the sale of some property, can create negative tax rates like those associated with the tax shelters of the 1970s and 1980s. For example, ignoring depreciation, a taxpayer in the top tax bracket would make an after-tax profit even if the return on the investment were as low as 5 percent, generating a 3 percent before-tax loss. The attraction for this tax arbitrage could be expected to result in non-productive investment that does not benefit the targeted area.

DUPLICATION OF THE EMPOWERMENT ZONE AND ENTERPRISE COMMUNITY PROGRAM: There are several areas of the bill that are duplicative of existing programs or other legislative proposals. However, our primary concern is related to the duplication and overlap of this program with our existing Community Empowerment program. The designation of distressed communities that would receive special tax treatment and coordinated assistance from the local government and the private sector, is an almost identical concept to the EZ/EC initiative. The Renewal Community program would use a place-based approach, similar to both NMI and EZ/ECs. The proposal also allows for overlap between designations as a Renewal Community and an EZ/EC, which could be confusing for taxpayers.

The American Renewal Act would use poverty and unemployment rates to target funding in contrast to the New Markets Initiative emphasis on income levels as well as poverty. The criteria for selection as a Renewal Community are more restrictive than requirements for NMI and less restrictive than those for EZ/ECs. The logic behind NMI was that targeting should be relatively broad (approximately 37% of the country is eligible) giving investors more choice and flexibility in determining where to place their funds, thereby making the program more attractive to the private sector. This issue has been argued both ways --- there is also a benefit to more narrow criteria, which assures that funds reach the most distressed areas. The EZ/EC uses a more targeted approach for this reason.

III. Areas for Agreement and Compromise

While we have problems with some of provisions of the American Renewal Act, the following items are ones that we could certainly discuss and we could accept several of these items into a potential compromise. A major unresolved issue is how this initiative would be paid for. Obviously this would play into the larger Social Security/Medicare/Tax Cut issues debate, but if an agreement on this initiative could be reached I am hopeful we could find a way to fund it.

- **Family Development Accounts:** Some aspects of the Family Development Account (FDA) proposal mirror the Administration's Individual Development Account proposal. Although, the FDA proposal outlined in this bill would involve a matching program administered by HUD, it requires resources that HUD does not have at this time.
- **Brownfields Expensing:** Renewal communities would benefit from Brownfields expensing. Expensing for small business and Brownfields was provided for in the Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997. The provision in the American Renewal Community Act is actually a more limited version of the Administration's budget proposal to make Brownfields expensing permanent.

- **Commercial Revitalization Tax Credit:** The American Renewal Act includes a commercial revitalization tax credit for projects located in Renewal Communities. Project based tax credits have been used successfully for low-income housing where State Housing Agencies have been able to monitor and administer the program. However it would be difficult for Treasury to monitor credits for commercial properties, as there are no similar state or local entities equipped to provide oversight. Treasury has also raised a concern that a commercial revitalization credit could result in negative effective tax rates and cause investors to make purely tax-motivated decisions in order to shelter other income from higher taxes.
- **The Work Opportunity Tax Credit:** H.R. 815 would expand the existing law to include Renewal Community residents who work in Renewal Community businesses. The bill would also provide a different tax credit rate and maximum on wages, resulting in a more generous credit for the new target group in the second year of employment. Renewal Community youth, even those who work outside of community, would be eligible for the same treatment available to youth under the EZ program which requires that substantially all of the employees' services be provided in the EZ.
- **Transfer of HUD-Owned Property:** The proposal for American Renewal communities requires the transfer of any HUD-owned property to the local government. HUD and OMB have raised strong objections to this provision which requires HUD to transfer to the local government any substandard multifamily property, or any vacant single family property that is located in a Renewal Community. HUD contends that the FHA single family and multifamily insurance programs depend upon the process of sales of property to reduce costs of the insurance programs. In addition, because there is no limit on the sales prices (for example not greater than the cost recovery basis) there is the potential for fraud and abuse by the local government, which would be the beneficiary of real estate at no cost which could then be sold at a higher price.
- **Charitable Choices:** The proposal includes a provision for charitable choices that allow religious organizations be treated in the same manner as other non-profit organizations.
- **Expensing Provisions:** The bill includes expensing provisions for certain qualified Renewal Community Businesses as well as for Brownfields expensing. Expensing is already available for small businesses; however this Act would increase the phase-out range. In addition it would provide an additional \$35,000 per year of expensing for depreciable property. The proposed bill would also extend the period for Brownfields expensing that is currently available. (See description above).

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310605SS DOCUMENT= 1 OF 1

OPID SR
DOCDATE 990712
NAME CHARLES C. RUFF
ORG WHITE HOUSE COUNSEL
SUBJECT RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PROTECTION ACT
SUBCODE RM LE HU010 HU020 FG006-04 FG006-21
ACTION PRCLIN RPA 990712 DECISION MEMO C 990714
 RM C 990817
COMMENTS JUL 13 99 MEMO FROM SEAN MALONEY TO THE POTUS ALSO ATTACHED
 / THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

I0601 * End of documents in list. Press ENTER or enter another command.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 13, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SEAN MALONEY 

SUBJECT: The Religious Liberty Protection Act

This Chuck Ruff memo seeks your guidance on whether to support Rep. Nadler's amendment in the House to limit the scope of the proposed Religious Liberty Protection Act (RLPA). *The rule approved late today in committee will permit a vote on the amendment as early as Wednesday.*

Background. The RLPA seeks to revive the constitutionally defective Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993, which you signed. It would require federal, state and local governments to demonstrate a compelling interest when seeking to enforce laws against those who claim a significant burden on their religious beliefs. Unlike in 1993, however, it is now apparent that such legislation will conflict with certain civil rights laws, especially those protecting gays and lesbians (*e.g.*, a fair housing law that prohibits discrimination on the basis of marital status or sexual orientation). The bill is less likely to affect laws barring discrimination based on gender or race, because, unlike in the gay/lesbian context, courts have widely held that race/gender measures further a compelling interest. Nadler's amendment, which is unlikely to pass, would limit the bill's religious protections to small employers, in the case of employment claims, and small landlords, in the case of housing claims. The amendment has divided civil rights and religious groups, but it's largely symbolic because state and local laws often exempt small businesses, and courts rarely find a burden on religion in large-business cases. A deal may be possible in the Senate, where Hatch has urged compromise and Kennedy wants a resolution.

Views. *DPC/OPL* think it's best to support Nadler's goals as the bill moves to the Senate without explicitly supporting Nadler's amendment. *DPC* would express support for the underlying bill, while urging clarification of civil rights protections. *OPL* reports that religious groups would consider support for Nadler's amendment a betrayal, while gays and lesbians would strongly applaud it. *LegAffs* and *Counsel* think you should support the Nadler amendment. *Chuck* thinks that greater certainty about the bill's impact on civil rights laws is needed and resolving the issue in the House would aid Senate passage. While recognizing the strong feelings of religious groups, *Chuck* thinks silence on Nadler would undermine nascent protections for gays and lesbians and send the wrong message.

Options. Chuck presents these 4 options, but only options 2 and 3 have real support:

- Option 1 (Oppose Nadler -- no one recommends): ____
- Option 2 (Support Nadler; support compromise -- LegAff/Counsel recommend): ____
- Option 3 (Silence on Nadler; support compromise -- DPC/OPL recommend): ____
- Option 4 (Support Nadler; raise possibility of a veto -- no one recommends): ____

Discuss Further: ____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'99 JUL 12 PM4:18

July 12, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHARLES F.C. RUFF 

SUBJECT: RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PROTECTION ACT

We seek your guidance regarding the position that the Administration should take on the Religious Liberty Protection Act (RLPA), which is expected to come to the House floor on Wednesday. In particular, the question is whether we should support an amendment to be offered by Congressman Nadler to exempt certain civil rights claims from the bill.

I. Background

You were a strong supporter of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) when it became law in 1993. RFRA provided that the federal, state and local governments must have a compelling interest when they seek to enforce any law against an individual that substantially burdens his or her religious beliefs. RFRA became necessary in 1990 when the Supreme Court, in Employment Division v. Smith, abandoned the compelling interest test in applying the Free Exercise Clause. There was broad bipartisan support for RFRA, and it was applauded by all members of the religious community. However, the Supreme Court struck down most portions of RFRA in City of Boerne v. Flores on the grounds that Congress was improperly attempting to enact its own interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. RLPA is an effort to re-enact RFRA in a constitutional form.

II. The Civil Rights Controversy

There was little controversy surrounding the passage of RFRA. Since its passage, however, there have been a number of cases involving conflicts between religious freedom and the civil rights laws. These cases have arisen under state constitutions or RFRA itself before it was struck down. For example, a number of courts have held that a landlord can assert a religious claim as a defense to a fair housing law that prohibits discrimination against unmarried couples.

While we cannot be certain how courts would rule if RLPA is enacted in its current form, a fair prediction is the following: 1) religious claims would not be a defense to state and local civil rights laws barring discrimination based on race or gender; the

courts have recognized that these laws further a compelling interest; 2) courts would sometimes recognize religious claims as a defense to fair housing and fair employment laws that bar discrimination based on marital status, sexual orientation, and pregnancy; the courts are divided on whether these laws further a compelling interest; and 3) courts are less likely to recognize any defense if the employer or landlord is a large business; courts generally do not view restrictions on the actions of large businesses as a burden on religious freedom.

Gay and lesbian groups are particularly concerned about the possibility that RLPA could negate their limited success to date in persuading states and cities to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation in employment and housing. Their fear is reinforced by the express statements of some groups on the religious right who are seeking this very result. In fact, we can assume that some of these groups would use a newly enacted RLPA in a public campaign to limit the effectiveness of gay rights laws and ordinances.

The religious coalition argues that there should be no exception for any category of laws or individuals. At least some in the coalition feel deeply that small landlords and employers should be able to discriminate against gays, lesbians and unmarried persons. On the other hand, people in the civil rights community as well as some members of the religious community take the position that a person who has decided to engage in a business activity must be willing to accept some limitations on their freedom to choose with whom they will deal.

III. A Possible Resolution

This difficult conflict between religious liberty and civil rights claims is not easy to resolve. The religious coalition is somewhat split on the issue. More conservative members, such as the Christian Legal Society, are flatly opposed to an exception. Others, such as the Catholic Conference, are open to one. White House staff have met with groups on both sides to encourage them to find some kind of resolution. So far, the religious coalition has formally maintained a unified position in opposition to an exception.

The Texas legislature recently enacted its own RFRA, signed by Governor Bush, which exempted most civil rights claims. However, Texas has no laws protecting gay rights, and the exemption was less controversial.

Congressman Nadler, whose district includes many constituents on both sides of the issue, tried to reach a compromise in the House by proposing that the protections of the bill would be limited to small employers, in the case of employment claims, and small landlords, in the case of housing claims. His amendment was rejected by voice vote, but it was clear most Democrats supported it and the Republicans, led by Congressman Canady, opposed it. On the other hand, Senator Hatch, who will sponsor the Senate version of RLPA, has publicly encouraged the civil rights coalition and the religious

coalition to find a way to resolve their differences. Senator Kennedy, who cosponsored the bill last year, has signaled that he will not support the bill without some resolution.

We remain hopeful that a compromise will be reached at some point. However, it is likely that a compromise, if one occurs at all, will happen in the Senate. Consequently, we may be faced with the question of whether to support Nadler's amendment on the House floor and whether to express support for the bill in the likely event that the Nadler amendment is defeated. As a practical matter, the Nadler amendment will change the result in only a few cases. It exempts large employers and landlords, but courts usually do not find there is a burden on religion in those situations. It could allow a small landlord or employer to discriminate, e.g., on the basis of sexual orientation, but state and local laws usually exempt very small businesses in any event. Nevertheless, the issue is important symbolically, and we can expect that some members of the religious right will portray the amendment as a choice between religious freedom and rights for gays and lesbians.

You and the religious groups opposed exceptions to the RFRA in 1993. For example, one of the few controversial issues at that time was an effort by Senator Reid to exempt prisoners from the bill's coverage. You and the religious coalition opposed Reid's amendment on the grounds that everyone should be entitled to protection of his or her religious liberty. White House staff in the past have also suggested that we would not support any exceptions. Consequently, the religious coalition is likely to view your support for a civil rights exception as abandoning your position. On the other hand, since the enactment of RFRA there have been a number of court cases that show there is a real threat to civil rights laws protecting gays and lesbians. These legal developments provide some justification for a change in your position.

IV. Options and Recommendations

Our options are the following:

- 1) oppose the Nadler amendment;
- 2) support the Nadler amendment, if it is made in order by the Rules Committee, but indicate support for the goals of the bill in the likely event that the Nadler amendment is defeated; we would also state that we want to work with all parties to ensure Senate passage;
- 3) remain silent on the Nadler amendment but express a desire to reach a compromise eventually to ensure passage;
- 4) support the Nadler amendment and leave open the possibility of a veto if no civil rights exception is eventually included in the bill.

DPC recommends that the Administration wait until after Rep. Nadler's amendment is made in order by the Rules Committee before making any statement. In the event that the amendment is made in order, DPC suggests that the Statement of Administration policy sent on the day of the vote include language such as the following: "The Administration supports the Religious Liberty Protection Act. In addition, the Administration also supports efforts to clarify civil rights protections and looks forward to working with Congress to resolve this important issue."

OPL's position is as follows: Two important constituencies within OPL are strongly divided on this issue. The religious coalition is as broad based as it is possible to get within that community and is united in opposition to a civil rights carve out. They have made it clear that they will view your support of a carve out as betrayal. Gay rights groups and the ACLU, however, equally strongly support a carve out which Rep. Nadler hopes to offer. Senator Hatch is already working on a compromise in the Senate. It is a battle that will be characterized as "religious rights" versus "gay rights." The best outcome at this point would be for the Nadler amendment or its equivalent to fail in the Rules Committee. Absent that, OPL would recommend supporting the bill, remaining silent on the amendment, and working for a compromise in the Senate.

Legislative Affairs recommends that we support the Nadler amendment if he gets to offer it. Otherwise, we should indicate in the SAP that we have some concerns about unintended consequences but that we expect them to be resolved before the legislation comes to the President.

White House Counsel recommends that we adopt Option 2: support the Nadler amendment if Rules permits it to be offered and work to secure a compromise in the Senate. Support for the amendment would rest on two grounds: 1) recent developments in the courts lead us to conclude that greater certainty about the impact of the bill on the civil rights laws is needed; and 2) resolving this issue will facilitate speedy passage in the Senate. Recognizing the strong feelings of the religious community, Counsel is more concerned that silence on the Nadler amendment will send a message that this Administration does not support the efforts of the gay and lesbian community to secure protection under the civil rights laws and will undermine those efforts in the states.

_____ Option 1: Oppose Nadler Amendment

_____ Option 2: Support Nadler Amendment; work for compromise in Senate

_____ Option 3: Remain silent on Nadler Amendment but express a desire to reach a compromise to assure passage

_____ Option 4: Support the Nadler amendment; leave open the possibility of a veto if there is no civil rights exception

_____ Option 5: Discuss further with staff before decision

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 7/12/99 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: 7/13/99 NOONSubject: RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PROTECTION ACT

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	MOORE	☐	☐
PODESTA	☒	☐	NASH	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☒	☐	REED	☒	☐
RICCHETTI	☒	☐	RUFF	☐	☐
LEW	☒	☐	SOSNIK	☒	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
BLUMENTHAL	☐	☐	STEIN	☒	☐
CAHILL	☒	☐	STERN	☐	☐
FRAMPTON	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
IBARRA	☐	☐	TRAMONTANO	☒	☐
JOHNSON, B.	☐	☐	UCELLI	☐	☐
JOHNSON, J.	☒	☐	VERVEER	☒	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐	WALDMAN	☐	☐
LANE	☐	☐	YELLEN	☐	☐
LEWIS	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LOCKHART	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
MARSHALL	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

COMMENTS TO STAFF SEC

RESPONSE:

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 7/12/99 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: 7/13/99 NOONSubject: RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PROTECTION ACT

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	MOORE	☐	☐
PODESTA	☒	☐	NASH	☐	☐
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BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
BLUMENTHAL	☐	☐	STEIN	☒	☐
CAHILL	☒	☐	STERN	☐	☐
FRAMPTON	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
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KLAIN	☐	☐	WALDMAN	☐	☐
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LINDSEY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LOCKHART	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
MARSHALL	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

COMMENTS TO STAFF SEC

RESPONSE:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'99 JUL 12 PM 4:18

July 12, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHARLES F.C. RUFF 
SUBJECT: RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PROTECTION ACT

We seek your guidance regarding the position that the Administration should take on the Religious Liberty Protection Act (RLPA), which is expected to come to the House floor on Wednesday. In particular, the question is whether we should support an amendment to be offered by Congressman Nadler to exempt certain civil rights claims from the bill.

I. Background

You were a strong supporter of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) when it became law in 1993. RFRA provided that the federal, state and local governments must have a compelling interest when they seek to enforce any law against an individual that substantially burdens his or her religious beliefs. RFRA became necessary in 1990 when the Supreme Court, in Employment Division v. Smith, abandoned the compelling interest test in applying the Free Exercise Clause. There was broad bipartisan support for RFRA, and it was applauded by all members of the religious community. However, the Supreme Court struck down most portions of RFRA in City of Boerne v. Flores on the grounds that Congress was improperly attempting to enact its own interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. RLPA is an effort to re-enact RFRA in a constitutional form.

II. The Civil Rights Controversy

There was little controversy surrounding the passage of RFRA. Since its passage, however, there have been a number of cases involving conflicts between religious freedom and the civil rights laws. These cases have arisen under state constitutions or RFRA itself before it was struck down. For example, a number of courts have held that a landlord can assert a religious claim as a defense to a fair housing law that prohibits discrimination against unmarried couples.

While we cannot be certain how courts would rule if RLPA is enacted in its current form, a fair prediction is the following: 1) religious claims would not be a defense to state and local civil rights laws barring discrimination based on race or gender; the

courts have recognized that these laws further a compelling interest; 2) courts would sometimes recognize religious claims as a defense to fair housing and fair employment laws that bar discrimination based on marital status, sexual orientation, and pregnancy; the courts are divided on whether these laws further a compelling interest; and 3) courts are less likely to recognize any defense if the employer or landlord is a large business; courts generally do not view restrictions on the actions of large businesses as a burden on religious freedom.

Gay and lesbian groups are particularly concerned about the possibility that RLPA could negate their limited success to date in persuading states and cities to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation in employment and housing. Their fear is reinforced by the express statements of some groups on the religious right who are seeking this very result. In fact, we can assume that some of these groups would use a newly enacted RLPA in a public campaign to limit the effectiveness of gay rights laws and ordinances.

The religious coalition argues that there should be no exception for any category of laws or individuals. At least some in the coalition feel deeply that small landlords and employers should be able to discriminate against gays, lesbians and unmarried persons. On the other hand, people in the civil rights community as well as some members of the religious community take the position that a person who has decided to engage in a business activity must be willing to accept some limitations on their freedom to choose with whom they will deal.

III. A Possible Resolution

This difficult conflict between religious liberty and civil rights claims is not easy to resolve. The religious coalition is somewhat split on the issue. More conservative members, such as the Christian Legal Society, are flatly opposed to an exception. Others, such as the Catholic Conference, are open to one. White House staff have met with groups on both sides to encourage them to find some kind of resolution. So far, the religious coalition has formally maintained a unified position in opposition to an exception.

The Texas legislature recently enacted its own RFRA, signed by Governor Bush, which exempted most civil rights claims. However, Texas has no laws protecting gay rights, and the exemption was less controversial.

Congressman Nadler, whose district includes many constituents on both sides of the issue, tried to reach a compromise in the House by proposing that the protections of the bill would be limited to small employers, in the case of employment claims, and small landlords, in the case of housing claims. His amendment was rejected by voice vote, but it was clear most Democrats supported it and the Republicans, led by Congressman Canady, opposed it. On the other hand, Senator Hatch, who will sponsor the Senate version of RLPA, has publicly encouraged the civil rights coalition and the religious

coalition to find a way to resolve their differences. Senator Kennedy, who cosponsored the bill last year, has signaled that he will not support the bill without some resolution.

We remain hopeful that a compromise will be reached at some point. However, it is likely that a compromise, if one occurs at all, will happen in the Senate. Consequently, we may be faced with the question of whether to support Nadler's amendment on the House floor and whether to express support for the bill in the likely event that the Nadler amendment is defeated. As a practical matter, the Nadler amendment will change the result in only a few cases. It exempts large employers and landlords, but courts usually do not find there is a burden on religion in those situations. It could allow a small landlord or employer to discriminate, e.g., on the basis of sexual orientation, but state and local laws usually exempt very small businesses in any event. Nevertheless, the issue is important symbolically, and we can expect that some members of the religious right will portray the amendment as a choice between religious freedom and rights for gays and lesbians.

You and the religious groups opposed exceptions to the RFRA in 1993. For example, one of the few controversial issues at that time was an effort by Senator Reid to exempt prisoners from the bill's coverage. You and the religious coalition opposed Reid's amendment on the grounds that everyone should be entitled to protection of his or her religious liberty. White House staff in the past have also suggested that we would not support any exceptions. Consequently, the religious coalition is likely to view your support for a civil rights exception as abandoning your position. On the other hand, since the enactment of RFRA there have been a number of court cases that show there is a real threat to civil rights laws protecting gays and lesbians. These legal developments provide some justification for a change in your position.

IV. Options and Recommendations

Our options are the following:

- 1) oppose the Nadler amendment;
- 2) support the Nadler amendment, if it is made in order by the Rules Committee, but indicate support for the goals of the bill in the likely event that the Nadler amendment is defeated; we would also state that we want to work with all parties to ensure Senate passage;
- 3) remain silent on the Nadler amendment but express a desire to reach a compromise eventually to ensure passage;
- 4) support the Nadler amendment and leave open the possibility of a veto if no civil rights exception is eventually included in the bill.

DPC recommends that the Administration wait until after Rep. Nadler's amendment is made in order by the Rules Committee before making any statement. In the event that the amendment is made in order, DPC suggests that the Statement of Administration policy sent on the day of the vote include language such as the following: "The Administration supports the Religious Liberty Protection Act. In addition, the Administration also supports efforts to clarify civil rights protections and looks forward to working with Congress to resolve this important issue."

OPL's position is as follows: Two important constituencies within OPL are strongly divided on this issue. The religious coalition is as broad based as it is possible to get within that community and is united in opposition to a civil rights carve out. They have made it clear that they will view your support of a carve out as betrayal. Gay rights groups and the ACLU, however, equally strongly support a carve out which Rep. Nadler hopes to offer. Senator Hatch is already working on a compromise in the Senate. It is a battle that will be characterized as "religious rights" versus "gay rights." The best outcome at this point would be for the Nadler amendment or its equivalent to fail in the Rules Committee. Absent that, OPL would recommend supporting the bill, remaining silent on the amendment, and working for a compromise in the Senate.

Legislative Affairs recommends that we support the Nadler amendment if he gets to offer it. Otherwise, we should indicate in the SAP that we have some concerns about unintended consequences but that we expect them to be resolved before the legislation comes to the President.

White House Counsel recommends that we adopt Option 2: support the Nadler amendment if Rules permits it to be offered and work to secure a compromise in the Senate. Support for the amendment would rest on two grounds: 1) recent developments in the courts lead us to conclude that greater certainty about the impact of the bill on the civil rights laws is needed; and 2) resolving this issue will facilitate speedy passage in the Senate. Recognizing the strong feelings of the religious community, Counsel is more concerned that silence on the Nadler amendment will send a message that this Administration does not support the efforts of the gay and lesbian community to secure protection under the civil rights laws and will undermine those efforts in the states.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 7/12/99 ACTION / CONCURRENCE / COMMENT DUE BY: 7/13/99 NOONSubject: RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PROTECTION ACT

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	MOORE	☐	☐
PODESTA	☒	☐	NASH	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☒	☐	REED	☒	☐
RICCHETTI	☒	☐	RUFF	☐	☐
LEW	☒	☐	SOSNIK	☒	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
BLUMENTHAL	☐	☐	STEIN	☒	☐
CAHILL	☒	☐	STERN	☐	☐
FRAMPTON	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
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ORG NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'99 MAY 29 PM5:18

May 29, 1999

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Gene Sperling and Chris Jennings

SUBJECT: Briefing Memorandum for Medicare Meeting

On Tuesday, you will have a Medicare meeting in which we will review key elements and several packages of reforms, seeking your guidance as we develop a plan. Our goals for this plan include: (1) significant dedication of the surplus for Medicare, which will extend the life of the Medicare Trust Fund as well as reduce debt; (2) serious modernization of Medicare, including making it more competitive; (3) substantial prescription drug benefit; and (4) sufficient savings to make our prescription drug benefit fiscally responsible. These goals conform to your principles for reform articulated at the AARP in February.

Below, we describe the major elements of reform, key parameters of a prescription drug benefit, and illustrative packages. Ultimately, your primary decisions about the Medicare plan will hinge on how the prescription drug benefit is designed and financed. Packages showing options for drug benefits and financing options are shown at the end of the memo.

KEY ELEMENTS

Modernizing Traditional Medicare. One of the positive contributions of the Medicare Commission was to unanimously support making the traditional Medicare program more competitive (e.g., allow for more competitive pricing; greater ability to contract out for services; high-cost case management). Your Medicare advisors also unanimously agree that these policies are worth including in the plan. They save an estimated \$14 billion over 10 years.

Competitive Managed Care Payments. A more controversial issue is whether to allow competition to determine Medicare premiums and government payment rates. Premium support, the centerpiece of the Breaux-Thomas proposal, would set all Medicare premiums competitively, including that of the traditional program. Because it would result in a lower government contribution for traditional Medicare, the actuary projects that the traditional program premiums would rise by 10 to 20 percent, effectively driving people into managed care. Your advisors are recommending an option that is fundamentally different because it would protect the traditional Medicare premium, assuring that competition is based on choice, not financial coercion. Although this option does not produce as much savings as does the Breaux-Thomas premium support model (\$10 versus \$50 billion over 10 years), it would be considered structural reform since it gives incentives to encourage beneficiaries to choose low-cost plans. There is a risk, however, that base Democrats will view it as a "voucher" or something akin to Breaux-Thomas and conservative Democrats and many Republicans may think that it does not go far enough. Regardless, all of your advisors are in favor of including this proposal.

Income-Related Premium. An income-related premium is a progressive form of increasing beneficiary contributions. You have supported this policy in the past (1992, 1993, and 1997) so long as it is designed well. All of your advisors recommend that it begin at \$80,000 for singles, \$100,000 for couples, which produces about \$25 billion over 10 years and affects about 2 million beneficiaries. Some are willing to go lower to avoid the use of surplus funding to help finance the drug package.

Cost Sharing. Changes can both make Medicare's cost sharing more rational and help fund the prescription drug benefit. The following is the list of options under review:

- Eliminate preventive cost sharing: Cost sharing can inhibit beneficiaries from using their new Medicare preventive benefits. Eliminate all cost sharing would cost \$3 billion over 10 years and is unanimously recommended by your advisors.
- Add lab 20% copay: Only lab and home health services do not have any copays, and most experts agree that a lab copay could decrease excess use (the typical 20% copay would be about \$5-10). It would save about \$9 billion over 10 years and is supported by your advisors.
- Change nursing home copay to 20% coinsurance: The nursing home benefit's current cost sharing structure is not rational. Beneficiaries pay nothing for the first 20 days, but then pay nearly \$100 per day (about 33%) for days 21-100. This proposal would apply a 20% copay (about \$60 per day) for all covered days. This helps sicker beneficiaries, but applies a new copay to short-term nursing home residents. While we aimed to make this cost neutral, it actually saves \$4 billion over 10 years. It is possible to lower the copayment to make it budget neutral.
- Index the Part B deductible to inflation: The \$100 Part B deductible has not been updated since the 1980s, and is lower than most private fee-for-service insurance plans. This proposal would simply index the current deductible to general inflation (by 2010, it would be \$135) and save about \$2 billion over 10 years. Most advisors recommend this, particularly if it eliminates the need for a home health copay. Some are willing to increase the deductible (to \$150) if it would avoid the need for surplus spending.
- Add \$5 home health copay. Most experts agree that a carefully designed home health copay can reduce excess use without harming beneficiaries. At the same time, home health users are among the most vulnerable (older, sicker); increasing this benefit's cost sharing has the appearance of being inconsistent with your long-term care initiative; and the new prospective payment system will reduce use without copays. Although a number of your advisors agree that this is good policy, they believe that it is not necessary in the context of the other beneficiary cost sharing proposals outlined above (saves \$7 billion over 10 years).

Provider Payment Reductions. Provider savings are difficult to find given (a) our FY 2000 budget used the limited options for the next few years; (b) the BBA of 1997 package relied heavily on providers savings; and (c) all major provider groups have launched a campaign not just against additional savings but in support of increased spending to offset the Balanced Budget Act in the near term. Even conservative Democrats like Senators Conrad, Moynihan, and Bingaman are considering “fixing” or undoing BBA ’97 reductions, especially for academic health centers, rural hospitals, nursing homes, and other providers. Our goal is to have some fixes where clearly well justified while still getting some moderate new savings. As such, we are proactively seeking administrative interventions that could moderate the effects of the BBA. If we conclude that administrative actions are inadequate, targeted legislative fixes could help avoid a negative response to your proposal. However, because of the limited availability of on budget surplus dollars in 2000, finding early-year savings to offset these costs would be extremely difficult. Your advisors believe that a credible Medicare reform plan, taking into account provider constraints, could achieve about \$40 billion over 10 years (more or less depending on the degree of fixes).

PRESCRIPTION DRUG BENEFIT. The part of your Medicare plan that will receive the most attention is its prescription drug benefit. The base Democrats will judge your plan in large part by how generous this benefit is. Many of them have signed onto the Kennedy-Rockefeller plan, which provides for 20 percent coinsurance up to a cap, and then provides 100 percent coverage after the beneficiary has spent \$4,200 on drugs. This bill costs over \$300 billion over 10 years. On the other hand, conservative Democrats are interested in the least costly benefit that can be validated, even minimally, as meaningful. The following table shows our major options.

PRESCRIPTION DRUG BENEFIT OPTIONS (\$ BILLIONS -- Preliminary -- Excludes State Maintenance of Effort)										
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	00-09
\$5,000 LIMIT	<u>Cap:</u>	<u>\$2,000</u>	<u>\$2,000</u>	<u>\$3,000</u>	<u>\$4,000</u>	<u>\$5,000</u>	<u>indexed</u>			
50% Premium	0	5.6	10.7	12.5	15.0	17.3	19.1	20.6	22.3	123.0
Premiums		\$24	\$25	\$31	\$36	\$41	\$43	\$45	\$48	
67% Premium	0	7.4	14.3	16.7	19.9	23.0	25.4	27.5	29.7	164.1
Premiums		\$16	\$17	\$21	\$24	\$27	\$29	\$30	\$32	
\$10,000 LIMIT *	<u>Cap:</u>	<u>\$4,000</u>	<u>\$4,000</u>	<u>\$6,000</u>	<u>\$6,000</u>	<u>\$8,000</u>	<u>\$8,000</u>	<u>\$10,000</u>	<u>indexed</u>	
50% Premium	0	7.2	13.8	15.6	17.2	19.0	20.8	22.9	25.1	141.6
Premiums		\$31	\$33	\$38	\$40	\$45	\$47	\$51	\$55	
67% Premium	0	9.6	18.4	20.8	22.9	25.4	27.8	30.5	33.5	188.8
Premiums		\$21	\$22	\$25	\$27	\$30	\$31	\$34	\$36	
NO LIMIT:	<u>Cap:</u>	<u>\$2,000</u>	<u>\$3,000</u>	<u>\$3,000</u>	<u>\$4,000</u>	<u>\$5,000</u>	<u>None</u>			
50% Premium	0	5.6	12.0	13.3	15.1	17.3	21.0	24.1	26.5	134.8
Premiums		\$24	\$30	\$31	\$36	\$41	\$51	\$54	\$58	
67% Premium	0	7.4	15.9	17.7	20.2	23.1	28.0	32.1	35.4	179.9
Premiums		\$16	\$20	\$21	\$24	\$27	\$34	\$36	\$39	
* Note: The policy with the \$10,000 cap is more expensive than the catastrophic option only because it offers more generous coverage in the early years of its design (00 to 06); the catastrophic option is more expensive in the out-years										

All of your advisors support a policy in which we cover 50 percent of the costs of prescription drugs up to at least \$5,000. We believe that this will have a simple, clear message: if you choose to pay a modest premium, we will pay half of your prescription drug costs up to \$5,000. Another reason that your advisors support this is that every year, every beneficiary will see a benefit every time that they buy a prescription drug because there is no deductible. The two issues of difference among your advisors are how much the premium (and overall benefit) should be subsidized and whether or not there should be catastrophic coverage.

On the subsidy issue, the Medicare actuary has concluded that 50 percent is the minimum subsidy amount that is necessary to attract enough healthy beneficiaries to avoid adverse selection. Some of your advisors think that a 50 percent premium is the most that we should do because anything higher will create too large of an entitlement that will be too hard to restrain in the future. Other advisors feel, however, that unless the premium subsidy is closer to 67 percent (and under \$20 to start), the premium will be too high and the overall attractiveness of the plan could be hampered.

A second, major issue is whether the benefit is capped or covers catastrophic costs. Most policy experts believe that “true insurance” should not have caps and are concerned about capped options that leave the sickest beneficiaries unprotected. The Kennedy-Rockefeller bill, for this reason, includes catastrophic coverage. However, capped drug benefits have the advantage of constraining costs because the government’s maximum spending growth is limited while the catastrophic coverage has the potential for more unconstrained growth in the out years.

FINANCING GAP. If all of the advisors’ recommendations on key elements were adopted, there would be Medicare savings of about \$100 billion over 10 years. This is about \$30-90 billion below the cost of the drug benefits being considered. Options to fund this shortfall include one or more of the following:

- Making the drug benefit less generous. The level of the subsidy could be reduced from 67 to 50 percent, raising the premium by roughly \$10 per month. One could also reduce the benefits, but most of your advisors believe that further diminishment of the base drug coverage package would be unappealing to beneficiaries and their advocates.
- Increasing provider and/or beneficiary savings: Most of your advisors are loathe to consider additional provider and/or beneficiary savings for fear that it would undermine the political support for the package. However, some would argue that it might be advisable, at least as an initial positioning strategy, to increase these savings (primarily by maximizing the BBA extenders and minimizing the BBA fixes) to avoid using the surplus.
- Including an additional tobacco tax: Because the tobacco tax in our budget is unlikely to be used by the Congress, an additional tobacco tax may not be viewed as a credible financing source. It is also unpopular with the House Democratic leadership. However, the Senate Finance Committee may be more supportive of the tobacco tax than the surplus as a source of funding. A \$0.50 tax (on top of your budget’s \$0.55 tax) would generate about \$45 billion in revenue from 2000-09.

- Using the surplus: Using a portion of the surplus dedicated to Medicare solvency for prescription drugs could be justified given the tremendous drop in the Medicare baseline (\$240 billion over 10 years from 1998 to 1999). While there are credible arguments for using the surplus, it clearly has to be considered in the broader Social Security / surplus context. Some fear that without more progress on Social Security solvency, tapping any portion of the surplus for prescription drugs before the solvency of Social Security and Medicare has been addressed could strengthen the Republicans' argument for using the surplus to finance a large tax cut.

ILLUSTRATIVE PACKAGES. On the following page, you will find illustrative options that show combinations of drug benefits and additional offsets. Every option includes our recommended "base policy" which reflects the preliminary recommendations of your advisors. It assumes that each drug benefit design has a zero deductible and a 50 percent copayment. The elements of the drug benefit options that affect its cost are: (1) the degree to which it is subsidized (and therefore what the premium would be) and (2) the level to which the benefit is capped or alternatively, whether it provides for any catastrophic protection. It is likely that we will use some version of these options to help focus our discussion with you during the Tuesday Medicare reform meeting.

OPTION 1: No Additional Financing		OPTION 2: Additional Tobacco Tax		OPTION 3: Surplus	
Base:		Base:		Base:	
Competition	-10	Competition	-10	Competition	-10
Modernize Medicare	-14	Modernize Medicare	-14	Modernize Medicare	-14
Income-Related		Income-Related		Income-Related	
Premium (\$80/100)	-25	Premium (\$80/100)	-25	Premium (\$80/100)	-25
Cost Sharing		Cost Sharing		Cost Sharing	
Preventive buy-down	+3	Preventive buy-down	+3	Preventive buy-down	+3
Lab 20% coinsurance	-9	Lab 20% coinsurance	-9	Lab 20% coinsurance	-9
Nursing home 20%	-5	Nursing home 20%	-5	Nursing home 20%	-5
Indexing Deductible	-1	Indexing Deductible	-1	Indexing Deductible	-1
Provider Savings	<u>-40</u>	Provider Savings	<u>-40</u>	Provider Savings	<u>-40</u>
Subtotal:	-100	Subtotal:	-100	Subtotal:	-100
Additions:		Additions:		Additions:	
Income-Related		Tobacco Tax	-45	Surplus	-90
Premium (\$60/90)	-7	Income-Related			
More Provider Cuts	-7	Premium (\$60/90)	<u>-7</u>		
Raise Deductible to					
\$150 and index	<u>-10</u>				
Subtotal:	-24	Subtotal:	-52		
Drug Benefit:		Drug Benefit:		Drug Benefit:	
\$5,000 Limit	+123	\$5,000 Limit	+164	\$5,000 Limit	+164
50% Premium: \$24/\$48*		67% Premium: \$16/\$32*		67% Premium: \$16/\$32*	
		\$10,000 Limit	+142	\$10,000 Limit	+189
		50% Premium: \$31/\$55*		67% Premium: \$21/\$36*	
		No Dollar Limit	+135	No Dollar Limit	+180
		50% Premium: \$24/\$58*		67% Premium: \$16/\$39*	
State MOE	-5	State MOE	-5	State MOE	-5
TOTAL **	-6	TOTAL **	+7-22	TOTAL **	-6-31

*Monthly premiums in 2002 and 2009. Part B premium is \$57 / \$95 in 2002 / 2009.

** This amount is a necessary "cushion" pending final cost estimates.

Drug estimates assume about \$5 billion in savings from state maintenance of effort.

NOTE: The policy with the \$10,000 cap is more expensive than the catastrophic option only because it offers more generous coverage in the early years (00 to 06); the catastrophic option is more expensive in the out-years.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 9, 1999

Mr. President:

NSC/NEC have just completed this option memo for you on the lamb issue. I know you've spoken to John about it and wanted you to have it prior to your phone call to Prime Minister Shipley.

Sean Maloney

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 9, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE SPERLING^{CS}
SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Decision on Safeguard Action on Lamb

Purpose: To decide how to respond to an International Trade Commission (ITC) recommendation to provide import relief and adjustment assistance to the lamb meat industry.

Background

State of the Industry: The domestic lamb meat industry has been challenged by rapidly growing imports. The market share held by imports has more than doubled in the last 5 years, rising from 11 percent in 1993 to 23 percent in 1998. Australia accounts for 60 percent of overall lamb imports and New Zealand accounts for another 34 percent. The domestic industry is small and diverse with roughly 70,000 sheep operations and annual revenues of roughly \$500 million. The recent import pressures come on top of difficult domestic challenges faced by the industry earlier in the decade, including the 1993 decision to phase out federal payments under the Wool Act and a sustained decline in domestic demand over the period 1993 to 1996.

Congressional Interests: Although the sheep industry is small and internally divided, Congressional and industry interests are intense on this issue. Senator Baucus has made clear his intense interest in this issue through communications with you and with most of your key advisers on this issue. He has vowed to make this a test case of our resolve on Section 201, and has indicated he sees a direct connection to the steel quota debate. Over 31 of his Senate colleagues have signed on to his letter advocating a strong response. Senators Daschle and Johnson and Representative Stenholm also have shown strong interest in the issue.

Diplomatic Interests: Lamb is a flagship export for Australia and New Zealand. Prime Ministers Howard and Shipley are personally engaged; both have sought to speak with you twice and have written you to underscore their deep concern. We can expect a stiff WTO challenge from both Australia and New Zealand if our remedy is not carefully crafted, and sheep farmers will likely come out in strength during your visit to New Zealand later this year. Moreover, Australia and New Zealand will be key allies – especially on agricultural liberalization – in the run-up to the Seattle WTO ministerial. (As you know, we are supporting former New Zealand Prime Minister Mike Moore to be the next WTO Director General.)

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

ITC and Industry Recommendations

The ITC found unanimously that imports of lamb from New Zealand and Australia pose a *threat* of serious injury, although they did not find actual injury. The Commission was unanimous in recommending adjustment assistance, but split three ways on the recommended trade remedy:

- Tariff-Rate Quota (TRQ) at Current Import Level: The plurality recommendation (from three of the six Commissioners), which under U.S. statute is the ITC's official recommendation, is a four-year tariff rate quota (TRQ), set at the level of imports in 1998 in the first year (and growing modestly thereafter), with a 20 percent tariff on imports over this level in the first year (and declining thereafter).
- Straight Tariff: Two other Commissioners recommended an increase in tariffs on all lamb imports to 22 percent (from current minimal levels) in the first year and declining to 10 percent by the fourth year.
- Quota Roll Back: The final Commissioner's recommendation is a four-year quota starting with a roll back to 52 million pounds in the first year (from the current level of 78 million) and increasing to 70 million pounds by the fourth year.

The domestic industry believes the Commission's plurality recommendation -- and in fact any remedy short of a roll back -- is inadequate. They propose a much stronger position, combining elements of the three USITC recommendations: a quota rolling back imports to 52 million pounds in the first year, tariffs on the amount covered by the quota beginning at 22 percent in the first year, and tariffs on amounts above the quota beginning at 42 percent in the first year. Short of that, they have signaled they would welcome the straight 22 percent tariff remedy above.

Agency Recommendations on Import Relief

There is considerable concern that any remedy that explicitly rolls back imports could face a successful WTO challenge, since the USITC found *threat* rather than actual injury. In addition, all agencies agree that our trade remedy should not extend beyond three years because the WTO requires compensation be paid for any safeguards lasting beyond three years. Within these constraints, agencies are split:

1. TRQ at Current Level plus Prohibitive Out-of-Quota Tariff: All agencies agree that at minimum we should follow the plurality recommendation, imposing a TRQ (separate for New Zealand and Australia) starting at 1998 import levels in the first year and growing modestly thereafter, but lasting only three years in total. There is also agreement we should go beyond the plurality in setting a prohibitively high tariff level on imports above the quota in the first year (and dropping progressively thereafter). There is general agreement that an initial tariff of 40 percent would be prohibitive, effectively turning the TRQ into a straight quota. This is also close to the industry's recommendation of 42 percent. USTR and USDA believe this enhancement is critical to make our response minimally credible. Sandy Berger, Jack Lew, Janet Yellen, Treasury, Commerce and State are willing to support it. New Zealand and Australia have signaled their very reluctant acceptance.

As a fallback, we could establish the quota based on annualizing imports for the first three quarters of 1998, rather than the full-year figure (which includes the fourth quarter surge). This option would yield a roll back to 73.5 million pounds. This approach has the benefit of being close to the ITC plurality recommendation. Given a case against us in the WTO, the closer we are to the plurality recommendation, the stronger the case we will have.

However, the industry has made clear they view both Option 1 and the fallback as minimally responsive because they closely parallel the most conservative of the three ITC recommendations. Because the industry and Congressional supporters have rejected Option 1 and the fall-back as completely unacceptable, and this will be used as a test case demonstrating the inadequacy of our Safeguards 201 law and justifying the steel quota bill, John Podesta, Gene Sperling, Lael Brainard, USTR and USDA are concerned this option is not sufficient.

2. TRQ at Current Level plus Prohibitive Out-of-Quota Tariff plus Modest In-Quota Tariff:
USTR and USDA recommend enhancing this proposal further by also imposing tariffs on imports *within the quota* at a level low enough that they believe a roll back from 98 levels is unlikely but high enough to provide some price relief to domestic producers. They recommend setting a slightly higher tariff on fresh and chilled lamb (starting at 10 percent in the first year and declining thereafter) than on frozen lamb (starting at 8 percent in the first year and declining thereafter), since fresh/chilled lamb poses the most serious import threat and competes most directly with domestic production. Since 1995, fresh/chilled lamb imports have grown at an annual rate of 49 percent, compared with 7 percent annual growth in frozen lamb. The fresh/chilled category, which has grown from one fifth of lamb imports in 1994 to one half in 1998, is the higher value market and competes squarely with the traditional area of strength for U.S. producers.

Industry representatives and their Congressional allies have indicated they would welcome this proposal if accompanied by the substantial assistance described below. Moreover, USTR believes there are fair prospects this proposal could be successfully defended in the WTO, which provides sufficient ambiguity on the appropriateness of remedies, especially because it does not clearly roll back imports. And since we are proposing relief of lesser duration than the ITC recommendations, "stronger" import relief can be justified within the shorter window. John Podesta, Gene Sperling, Lael Brainard, USTR and USDA support this recommendation. Gene Sperling and Lael Brainard prefer the Option 1 fallback on the policy merits, but they believe that Option 2 puts you in a much stronger position to maintain key Senate support for your top trade priorities of defeating the steel quota bill and securing China's accession to the WTO.

New Zealand and Australia have voiced strong objections to any tariffs on imports within the quota alleging they will result in a roll back of imports and go well beyond what is necessary to prevent injury (the WTO test). It is very possible they will initiate a WTO challenge on these grounds and they may be able to muster a solid economic case. Moreover, they will object to any differentiation between product segments. Howard and Shipley have worked to inoculate their publics in the hopes of minimizing the political fall-out associated with Option 1, but the addition of an in-quota tariff would be viewed as especially inflammatory.

It will sour atmospherics in the lead-up to APEC and your state visit. For these reasons, Sandy Berger, Jack Lew, Janet Yellen, State, Treasury and Commerce oppose this enhancement.

Adjustment Assistance

OMB has worked with USDA to put together a generous adjustment assistance package. Although the details will be worked out over the next few weeks, we anticipate that the initiative would total about \$50 million in the first year in mandatory and appropriated funding not yet released. To place this in context, the Administration has announced nearly \$300 million in various forms of assistance to the hog industry since last November. Hog revenues are expected to be about 20 times larger than lamb, implying that a comparable level of assistance for the lamb industry would be less than \$20 million. Industry representatives view this level of assistance as generous, although their ultimate assessment will also depend on the accessibility of the resources and the availability of follow-on resources in years two and three.

The program would include: 1) a revitalized National Sheep Improvement Center that uses up to \$20 million to fund a market promotion program, along with loans and grants to improve grower productivity; 2) an emergency "scrapie eradication" initiative by USDA's Agricultural Marketing Service that uses up to \$10 million in the first year; and 3) a new "productivity improvement program" for growers. We will be reviewing other initiatives as well.

RECOMMENDATION

Approve

_____ TRQ at Current Level plus Prohibitive Out-of-Quota Tariff: Sandy Berger, Jack Lew, Janet Yellen, Treasury, Commerce and State support this option.

_____ TRQ at Modest Roll Back Level plus Prohibitive Out-of-Quota Tariff (Fallback)

_____ TRQ at Current Level plus Prohibitive Out-of-Quota Tariff plus Modest In-Quota Tariff: John Podesta, Gene Sperling, Lael Brainard, USTR, and USDA support this option.

Attachments

Tab A Presidential Proclamation

Tab B Memorandum to Cabinet Members

It will sour atmospherics in the lead-up to APEC and your state visit. For these reasons, Sandy Berger, Jack Lew, Janet Yellen, State, Treasury and Commerce oppose this enhancement.

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RECOMMENDATION

Approve

_____ TRQ at Current Level plus Prohibitive Out-of-Quota Tariff: Sandy Berger, Jack Lew, Janet Yellen, Treasury, Commerce and State support this option.

_____ TRQ at Modest Roll Back Level plus Prohibitive Out-of-Quota Tariff: Sandy Berger and State support this option.

_____ TRQ at Current Level plus Prohibitive Out-of-Quota Tariff plus Modest In-Quota Tariff: John Podesta, Gene Sperling, Lael Brainard, USTR, and USDA support this option.

Attachments

Tab A Presidential Proclamation

Tab B Memorandum to Cabinet Members

311715

THE WHITE HOUSE

Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

7/22

JOHN -

HERE'S A MEMO TO GIVE
TO POTUS AT YOUR DISCRETION.
IT PUTS ALL THE MEDAL
OF FREEDOM STUFF IN ONE
PLACE.

MARIA MAY YET HAVE A
LATINO CANDIDATE TO ADD INTO
THE MIX (AND MY MEMO NOTES
THAT), BUT WE CAN'T WAIT
ANY LONGER TO GET THE
MAIN GROUP SIGNED OFF ON.

- SEAN

199 JUL 21 14:48

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SEAN MALONEY 
MELANNE VERVEER
DAN BURKHARDT

SUBJECT: Final Medal of Freedom Decisions

The Medal of Freedom ceremony is set to occur in less than three weeks. You have indicated your desire to award the Medal to the following individuals:

- Jimmy & Rosalynn Carter (perhaps in a separate ceremony)
- Gerald Ford
- Lloyd Bentsen
- Max Kampelman
- Oliver Hill
- Edgar Wayburn
- Evy Dubrow
- Edgar Bronfman, Sr.
- Marian Wright Edelman

You have been considering several others:

- Bayard Rustin
- Betty Friedan
- Harry Belafonte

Steve Ricchetti has suggested that we also place *Admiral William Crowe* back on the remaining list. (You declined to award him the Medal last year; your advisers did not opt to include him in earlier memos to you this year; Sandy continues to support his selection). Short descriptions of each of these four are presented below. You should feel free to select all, some or none. At your suggestion, Maria has also been looking into possible Hispanic candidates, and she will update you separately on this issue.

Betty Friedan, 78.

Beginning with her landmark book, *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan has charted an evolving course for women in American society. During the 1970's and 1980's, she redefined feminism, striving to expand its support base and stressing objectives meant to aid women in the workplace. Friedan emphasized that the women's movement should not alienate moderates through attacks on the family. Instead, the goals for the second phase of the movement should

be issues like flexible work schedules, parental leave, and childcare. During the 1990's, Friedan has shifted her focus to the human and intellectual development of older women. Friedan co-founded NOW (and was its first president), NARAL and the National Women's Political Caucus.

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

Bayard Rustin (posthumous, died in 1987).

Rustin was one of the foremost figures of the civil rights movement. A CORE organizer, he worked closely with A. Philip Randolph to secure the executive orders that ended hiring discrimination in the defense industry and segregation in the armed forces. In the mid-1950's, Rustin helped create the SCLC and was a key adviser to Dr. King. Rustin's most notable accomplishment was his coordination of the 1963 March on Washington. Because of a brief communist affiliation and his open homosexuality (as well as an arrest in 1953 on a public morals charge), Rustin was consigned to behind-the-scenes organizing and strategizing. In the late 60's, his focus shifted from organizing acts of nonviolent civil disobedience to organizing political coalitions among blacks, Jews, and labor groups. *Rustin's selection would be welcomed not only by the African American and civil rights communities, but it would be seen as historic and symbolic by the gay and lesbian community -- he would be the first openly gay person to receive the Medal.*

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

Harry Belafonte, 72.

First known to the world through music and movies, Belafonte has brokered his fame to focus attention on civil rights, human rights, and world hunger. Called "a powerful tactical weapon in the civil rights movement" by Martin Luther King, Jr., Belafonte helped to coalesce the cultural community behind that movement, as demonstrated by the significant participation of the arts community in events like the 1963 Freedom March on Washington and the marches in Selma and Montgomery, Alabama. In 1985, he launched the USA for Africa project to address the effects of war, drought, and famine in Africa; and through that organization, he brought artists together to record "We are the World," raising millions for emergency relief. Later, he helped initiate Hands Across America in an effort to relieve hunger in our own country. Through the Belafonte Foundation, he has assisted many African students seeking an education in the U.S. In 1987, he was appointed UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador, only the second American to receive that honor. In 1989, he received the Kennedy Center Honors award for lifetime achievement. You awarded him the National Medal of the Arts in 1994. Early in your first term, Belafonte was critical of your Haitian refugee policy. In 1993, a Buffalo, New York, newspaper quoted him as saying you "lost [your] moral insight and became purely political" once in office. He also was quoted asking, "How can you lead this country if you're morally weak, like Clinton is?" (*New York Times* Biographical Service, 9/93)

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

Admiral William James Crowe, Jr., 74.

Four times the recipient of the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Admiral Crowe completed fifty distinguished years of government service in 1997. A gifted military leader, he served as commander of the Middle East Force in the Persian Gulf, head of Navy Plans and Policy, Commander in Chief of the United States Pacific Command, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He served this Administration as Chairman of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (1993-94) and as Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SEAN MALONEY 

SUBJECT: MEDAL OF FREEDOM

This year's Medal of Freedom ceremony is currently scheduled for August 11th. To move ahead with the event planning, we'd like to finalize the list of this year's Medal recipients. While there are several candidates you're still considering (*i.e.*, Bayard Rustin, Betty Friedan, Harry Belafonte), you have previously approved the following individuals:

- Jimmy & Roslynn Carter
- Gerald Ford
- Lloyd Bentsen
- Max Kampelman
- Oliver Hill
- Edgar Wayburn
- Evy Dubrow
- Edgar Bronfman, Sr.
- Marian Wright Edelman

Unless you object, we would like to notify this core group of your decision and the upcoming ceremony, and we'll begin preparing their Medals and citations. I will send you a separate memo early next week asking for your final decisions on the individuals still under consideration.

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 8, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JANET MURGUIA *JM*

SUBJECT:

CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached for your signature are condolence letters to Mrs. Bonny Jacobs and Sen. and Mrs. Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D-DE), upon the death of Mrs. Biden's father, Mr. Donald Jacobs. Mr. Jacobs passed away yesterday, June 7, from brain cancer. He is survived by his wife, Bonny, and five daughters, including Mrs. Jill Biden.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 9, 1999

Dear Bonny:

Hillary and I were deeply saddened to learn of your husband's death. Our hearts go out to you, and we hope that the loving support of your family and friends will bring you strength and comfort during this difficult time. We are keeping you in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Bonny Jacobs
132 Grayhorse Road
Willow Grove, Pennsylvania 19090

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 9, 1999

Dear Joe and Jill:

Hillary and I were very sorry to learn of Donald's death. Our hearts go out to both of you, and we pray that your good memories of him and the love of your family and friends will strengthen and comfort you during this challenging time.

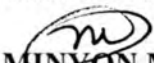
You and your family have our deepest sympathy.

Sincerely,

The Honorable and Mrs. Joseph R. Biden, Jr.
1209 Barley Mill Road
Wilmington, Delaware 19807

July 13, 1999

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:  **MAYON MOORE AND ANDREW MAYOCK**

CC: **JOHN PODESTA AND STEVE RICCHETTI**

SUBJECT: **Campaign Committee Status Reports**

In late April, we provided you with memos from the campaign committees. Attached is another set of memos that provides an update for you. We continue to work closely with the committees to keep informed about their activities and developments.

As you know, a few races in off-year cycles are often highlighted as bell-weather events. Key races which may signify early political indicators of 2000 include the Mississippi governorship, Virginia state House and Senate elections and a Washington state special election - - where a victory would give Democrats control of the chamber. If Democrats regain the Mississippi governor's seat, retain the Kentucky governor's seat (as expected), retain the Virginia state House and regain control of the Washington state House, pundits and analysts may give Democrats the momentum heading into 2000.

So far, this cycle is becoming best known for record campaign fundraising and an early start to the 2000 political campaigning. The campaign committees for both parties are well on their way to record fundraising receipts. During the first six months of 1999, the DCCC raised \$17 million (a 150 percent increase over the same period in 1997), while the NRCC brought in \$26 million. The DSCC is expected to report \$12 million, compared to the NSRC's expected \$15 million. The DNC reported taking in more than \$21 million during the first six months of 1999, while the RNC numbers are unknown at this point. In other fundraising developments, Republicans have raised eyebrows for three campaign fundraising innovations:

Republican Majority Issues Campaign: Majority Whip Tom Delay is organizing a \$25 million drive focused on GOTV efforts in 2000. Last cycle, the Republicans amassed huge sums of money that they spent on issue ads. This strategy was widely criticized as ineffective after the Republicans lost five seats. This new effort is being criticized for not releasing contributors' names.

Retain Our Majority Project (ROMP): Delay is also spearheading an effort to raise funds from lobbyists and members for vulnerable incumbents with the initial goal of reaching six figures in their campaign chests by June 30. Republicans have not filed reports, but it is expected they have met all these targets.

Republican Attorneys General Association: The RNC and Republican attorneys general recently formed this organization to promote Republican policy and raise money. Currently, Republicans fill the attorney general's seat in only 12 of the 43 states where the position is elective. By contrast, they hold 31 of the 50 governorships. Next year, 12 of the 13 attorney general seats up for reelection are held by Democrats. On June 20, they held their first fundraiser: a \$1000 per person dinner in D.C. After a harsh reaction from fellow attorneys general, the association claims it will only become involved in *open* attorney general races.

The following memos will provide a more-detailed view from the individual committees' perspectives. A DNC memo will follow soon.

Attachments: DCCC memo
DSCC memo
DGA memo
DLCC memo

Mingus



DEMOCRATIC
CONGRESSIONAL
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Hon. Patrick J. Kennedy, RI
Chairman

Hon. Charles B. Rangel, NY
Co-Chair, Voter Participation

Hon. Frank Pallone, Jr., NJ
Co-Chair, Finance

Hon. Ellen O. Tauscher, CA
Co-Chair, Member Participation

TO: President Clinton
FR: David Plouffe
DT: July 12, 1999
RE: DCCC Update

DCCC Finances

Through June 30, the DCCC raised \$17.10 million, more than was raised during the entire last off-year (\$14.6M) and besting the previous mark for January-June (\$10.5M), which was set in 1996 during the fallout of the government shutdown, during an outstanding fundraising climate.

For the first time since the Republicans won control of the House, the DCCC (\$10.6) has more cash-on-hand than the NRCC (under \$9.6M).

While all this is positive news, the fact remains that the NRCC outraised the DCCC by \$9 million in the first six months. The DCCC must continue to break records each quarter, and increase revenues significantly over each previous period, if we are to remain competitive with the opposition.

Incumbents

The June 30th FEC filing provides the first barometer for how our marginal incumbents are faring, given that very few incumbents poll in the off year and that public polls are quite rare at this stage.

Using this evaluation, our incumbents are in surprisingly strong shape. In 1997, the twenty-four marginal freshmen had an average of \$91K in the bank on June 30. This marginal freshman class of fourteen, as of June 30, 1999, will report an average of \$250K cash on hand.

Open Seats

Top tier candidates are up and running in MI -08 (Stabenow), WV-02 (Wise), (WA-02) Metcalf, OK-02 (Coburn) and FL-08 (McCollum). The Democratic field is not set in PA-04 (Klink), FL-12 (Canady) and IN-02 (McIntosh). Republican openings still yet may occur in NY-02 (Lazio) and MT-AL (Hill).

It should be noted we have potentially competitive primaries in WV-02, WA-02 and OK-02.

Recruiting

The Democratic candidates who filed in the first part of this year have gotten off to an unprecedented strong fundraising start. Thirteen challengers to Republican incumbents will report raising over \$100K during the first half of this year, compared with only three in 1997.

We will have a much better sense by the end of this month where we have the most significant recruiting "holes" against potentially marginal Republican incumbents.

430 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003 • (202) 863-1500 • www.dccc.org

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE ARE NOT TAX DEDUCTIBLE

Paid for by the DCCC. The DCCC is a multi-candidate Committee, FEC i.d. C00000935.



Memorandum to the President

FR: Jamie Fox, Executive Director, DSCC
Jim Jordan, Political Director, DSCC
RE: Organizational Update
Date: July 9, 1999

DEMOCRATIC ★
SENATORIAL ★
CAMPAIGN ★
COMMITTEE ★

Financial

The DSCC closed its books on June 30 with more than \$12 million in receipts for the first quarter of the election cycle – an increase of almost *fifty percent* over previous cycles. We've erased out debt, fundraising overhead is under control, direct mail and individual contributions both are up, and cash-on-hand is strong. Generally, we are well positioned to reach our goal of \$60 million for the cycle.

Robert G. Torricelli, NJ
Chair

Patty Murray, WA
Vice Chair

Surprisingly, receipts appear to be down at the NRSC, and given that they began the cycle with more than \$4 million of carried over debt, it may well be that the DSCC presently has a modest cash-on-hand advantage.

Organizational

We've completed a significant and successful staff reorganization over the last month. Jamie Fox has moved over from Senator Torricelli's Senate office, replacing Joe Hansen as Executive Director. Jim Jordan oversees the political and communications shops, and we've added other senior staff in administrative and political position. Hansen is now operating as field coordinator, traveling extensively to lend organizational and political expertise to start-up campaigns. Obviously, additional staff will be added as required, though we are keeping a careful eye on organizational expenses.

Political

The calculus for a Democratic takeover is simple. We must protect our one endangered incumbent (Senator Robb), hold at least two of our open seats (New York, New Jersey, Nevada), pick up both Republican open seats (Rhode Island and Florida), then defeat at least four Republican incumbents.

At present, the most plausible pick ups are Abraham, Ashcroft, Santorum, Grams, Gorton, Burns, Roth (assuming Governor Carper runs), and Jeffords

430 South Capitol
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(assuming Rep. Sanders gets in). A bit of a stretch, but we would add Frist in Tennessee to the target list if Rep. Ford decides to challenge. Calls of encouragement from you to both Tom Carper and Harold Ford would be a huge assistance.

In short, it's a heavy lift, but it can be done – assuming we're not swamped by national political trends. Shifts of this magnitude have taken place twice in the last fourteen years, after all. Democrats have the considerable luxury of having to play very little defense and many of the Republican class of 1994 are extremely weak, accidents of political history. We believe it is imperative, however, Democrats use the rest of this Congress to sharpen our differences with congressional Republicans, force tough votes on weak incumbents and generally frame the national political debate around Democratic values and policies.

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DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Governor Frank O'Bannon
Indiana
Chair

Governor Paul Patton
Kentucky
Vice Chair

FROM: Katie Whelan, Executive Director
Alison McLaurin, Political Director

DATE: 12 July 1999

RE: 1999 and 2000 GUBERNATORIAL RACES

1999 Gubernatorial Races:

Katherine Whelan
Executive Director

I. Kentucky. Governor Paul Patton is expected to have no problem seeking re-election in 1999. Because of his success in seeking re-election, Governor Patton is working to secure the Democratic statewide base in Kentucky. The KY Democratic Party at the direction of the Governor is working to strengthen the Democratic statewide base. He recently received the endorsement of the Kentucky Education Association.

II. Mississippi. Democrats are ready to take the state back after Governor Kirk Fordice (who is term-limited) defeated Democratic Secretary of State Dick Molpus in 1995 in a bitter campaign. Fordice also beat former Governor Ray Mabus to secure his first term in 1991. The real race is between Lt. Governor Ronnie Musgrove and State Supreme Court Justice Jimmy Roberts although there are 6 other candidates are running in the Democratic primary. Musgrove has about \$1 million cash on hand. Newt Gingrich and Haley Barbour are raising money for Republican including former Rep. Mike Parker (former Democrat), former LG Eddie Briggs (former Democrat) and state Rep. Charlie Williams. Musgrove defeated incumbent Lt. Governor Briggs in 1995. The primary is August 3 and the runoff is August 24.

A MS State Univ. poll, conducted 4/5-14, surveyed 429 likely voters; margin of error +/- 5%. Subsamples: 318 likely Dems; +/- 6%; and 111 likely GOPers; +/- 8% (at least).

Rep. Primary	Dem Primary	General
Parker 35%	Musgrove 66%	Musgrove 48%
Briggs 22	Roberts 19	Parker 36
Williams 7	Undec. 15	Undec. 16%
Undec. 36		

III. Louisiana

On June 26, the Democratic State Central Committee of Louisiana endorsed Congressman William Jefferson for Governor. The Congressman has raised more than \$1 million in his quest to be the next Democratic Governor. He will face an uphill battle against party-switcher Republican Governor Mike Foster. 1991 Democratic gubernatorial candidate Phil Pries has jumped in the race as well, but it's expected to be a match against Jefferson and Foster. Foster is being dogged by reports that he purchased a mailing list during the 1991 gubernatorial race from former Klansman David Duke. This story has been on the front pages of the Louisiana papers for weeks. The Jefferson campaign is hoping this will give them a strong advantage. A Southern Media and Opinion Research poll, conducted 3/25-31; surveyed 700 Regis. voters; margin of error +/- 3.8% (Baton Rouge Advocate, 4/15). Tested: Gov. Mike Foster (R) and Rep. William Jefferson (D-02).

General Election Matchup

Foster	57%
Jefferson	19%
Undecided	21%

2000 Gubernatorial Races

Delaware. Governor Thomas Carper is term-limited. His Lt. Governor, Ruth Ann Minner has announced her campaign for Governor. Former State party chair Gary Hindes is expected to challenge her. In 1996 Minner was reelected with more than 70 percent of the vote, the largest percentage of any statewide candidate that year. She has about \$325,000 cash on hand and needs about \$1.2 million to win. Her possible Republican opponents include Attorney General Jane Brady and Speaker of the House Terry Spence.

Indiana. Governor Frank O'Bannon is completing his first term. Republican Rep. David McIntosh's (R-02) filed papers last week to establish his candidacy for governor. Governor O'Bannon's message for the last couple of weeks has been the fact that he's delivered more than \$1 billion in tax cuts for Indiana citizens in just three years. It was promised in 1996. He's met that figure and exceeded it. This will be a major campaign issue for next year.

Missouri. Democratic Governor Mel Carnahan (term-limited) has announced his candidacy for U.S. Senate. Treasurer Bob Holden is the only Democratic candidate in the race, however there is talk that Democratic Auditor Claire McCaskill will get in the race. Holden has been endorsed by both Carnahan and Rep. Gephardt. He has about

\$1.3 million in the bank. Congressman Jim Talent is the Republican frontrunner. WI Gov. Tommy Thompson has been fundraising for Talent.

Montana. Democrats have an excellent field of candidates for the Gubernatorial race. They currently have the edge over the Republican candidates. Governor Mark Racicot is term-limited. Secretary of State Mike Cooney, State Auditor Mark O'Keefe and Attorney General Joe Mazurek have jumped in the race for the Democratic primary. Mazurek, Cooney and O'Keefe are term-limited from seeking their statewide offices. On the Republican side, Lt. Gov. Judy Martz, Congressman Rick Hall, State Sen. Majority Leader John Harp, state House Maj. Leader Larry Grinde, state Rep Ernest Bergasgel and MT law professor Rob Natelson are all expected to run.

New Hampshire. Governor Jeanne Shaheen is expected to run again for her third two-year term. A new WNDS-TV poll conducted by Franklin Pierce College; surveyed 511 regis. voters; margin of error +/-4.5% shows her job approval slightly declining. This decline is probably due to the abundance of publicity concerning the financing of the New Hampshire education system. The poll marks the first negative ratings of Shaheen's three-year tenure. Other polls this spring have put Shaheen at close to 70 percent favorability.

North Carolina. There will be a lot of gubernatorial activity in the Tarheel state. Governor Hunt is term-limited. Lt. Governor Dennis Wicker, Secretary of Transportation Norris Tolson and Attorney General Mike Easley are the three Democratic candidates so far. The latest Harstad poll taken Feb. 21-22, 1999 has Easley defeating Wicker by 25 points. Governor Jim Hunt is publicly supporting both candidates. Republican candidates include state Rep. Leo Daughtry's, Raleigh attorney Chuck Neely, Raleigh Mayor Tom Fetzer and former Charlotte Mayor Richard Vinroot.

North Dakota. Republican Governor Ed Schafer is expected to run again. Democratic Attorney General Heidi Heitkamp is considering a bid. She is being pushed to run by the state Democratic Party. There is also talk of Democratic Congressman Earl Pomeroy entering the race.

Utah. Republican Gov. Mike Leavitt is expected to run again. However, there is talk that Gov. George Bush may select him as his running mate in 2000. Democratic Attorney General Jan Graham might jump into the race, however, Leavitt enjoys an 85% approval rating and Utah is one of the most Republican states in the nation.

Vermont. Governor Howard Dean will seek a fourth two-year term. His 1998 opponent Ruth Dwyer is expected to run again.

Washington. Democratic Governor Gary Locke might get opposition from former Republican Congresswoman Linda Smith.

West Virginia. Republican Governor Cecil Underwood will run again. Gov. Underwood's has filed a report saying that he has raised about \$639,000. Frontrunner Democrat Congressman Bob Wise has raised about \$275,000. Other Democrats include former state secretary James Paige III, state House speaker Bob Kiss, state senate president John Perdue, former state senator Joe Manchin, Supreme Court Justice Margaret Workman, and Senate President Earl Ray Tomblin.

DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

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Speaker of the House Missouri

Kevin Mack
Executive Director

TO: The President
FROM: Kevin Mack, Executive Director, DLCC
RE: Political Update
DATE: July 9, 1999

1999 Election Cycle:

The Virginia State House currently has 50 Democrats, 49 Republicans, and one Independent. We are following 14 state House races in Virginia this year. The races are very competitive, and most are toss-ups at this time. We will likely lose one Democratic open seat and beat one Republican incumbent. There are three other open seats in play -- two of these are Democratic open seats and one is a Republican open seat. We must win two of these three seats to keep the majority.

The Virginia state Senate currently has 19 Democrats and 21 Republicans. Former Congresswoman Leslie Byrne is running against Republican state Senator Jane Woods in Northern Virginia and will most likely win, which will bring the Senate to a 20-20 tie. This is probably as well as we can do.

New Jersey Assembly Democrats are expected to pick up 2-3 seats this election cycle. While the Democratic leadership tells us that they can capture the majority, this is overly optimistic. The Assembly currently has 32 Democrats and 48 Republicans.

Louisiana and Mississippi have state legislative elections in 1999 as well; both states have large Democratic majorities, and this should be a status quo election.

Special Elections

There are three important special elections approaching, all in previously Republican seats: on August 3rd there will be a special election in the Kansas City area. Democrats control the Missouri House, 86-76. On November 2nd, there will be two more important special elections. The first is in the Washington House in a district south of Spokane, where the chamber is currently tied; a victory here would put the chamber in Democratic control. In Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the seat formerly occupied by the Republican House Speaker is vacant. Republicans control the Iowa House 44-56.

2000 Election Cycle:

Top pick-up opportunities include the Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Washington Houses. The protection targets will include the Kentucky and South Carolina Senates and the Texas House.

Term limits are one of the largest challenges that DLCC will face in the 2000 election cycle. According to the National Conference of State Legislatures, 383 legislators in 11 states will be termed out in 2000. This is almost twice the number termed out in 1998 and eight times as many as were termed out in 1996. We are working closely with state legislative leaders in the effected states to raise money and recruit candidates to meet this challenge. The effect of term limits is magnified in importance by the Congressional redistricting which will be controlled by the state legislators elected this cycle.

Fundraising

DLCC continues to meet our aggressive fundraising goals. This summer, we will host five fundraising events:

- 1) *Breakfast Honoring Democratic Southern Legislators*, held July 18th in Kansas City, Missouri
- 2) *Reception Honoring Women State Legislative Leaders* on July 25th in Indianapolis, at which Governor Ann Richards will be our keynote speaker.
- 3) *DLCC Working Families Reception* on July 26th in Indianapolis.
- 4) *Fourth Annual Luncheon Honoring Democratic Legislators*, held July 27th in Indianapolis, at which Education Secretary Richard Riley will be the keynote speaker.
- 5) *Dinner Honoring Democratic Eastern Legislators*, held August 9th in Burlington, Vermont.