

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
002. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
003. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
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005. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (2 pages)	10/21/1999	b(6)
006. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
007. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
008. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	b(6)
009. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
010. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Ann O'Leary
OA/Box Number: 20223

FOLDER TITLE:

Correspondence [3]

2013-0436-S

rc1317

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Please go to
Ruthy & alert
her at issue.

Ann- I know this
is really old, but
what did you
want me to do
w/ it??

| -Ruthy

TOM W. RYAN
144 Willowleaf Drive
Littleton, CO 80127

303-973-5077 (Fax) 303-932-6010
ryandenvier@msn.com

June 14, 2000

Mr. Bruce Reed, Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Reed:

In 1816 Thomas Jefferson proposed a major reform of representative democracy by creating a mechanism for a National Advisory Referendum where people would cast advisory votes on national issues. **Last July President Clinton told me he liked the idea. After reviewing the enclosed materials, I would like to set up a meeting with you for the week of June 25th to talk about how this idea can be used to unlock the gun control bills from committee.**

On June 24th I will be meeting with Hillary Rodham Clinton in Chicago at the home of John Burgess, who heads International Profit Associates, where I am the Director of Marketing Development. I am the one who made the call to get John Burgess involved in Hillary's campaign which then resulted in John meeting with the President at the home of Michael Cherry and becoming a Co-Chair of Vice President Gore's campaign in Illinois.

I plan to talk to Hillary about Jefferson's idea both for her own Senate election and the President's legacy.

When I met with President Clinton at the Aspen home of Senator Dianne Feinstein in July of 1999, I talked to him about Thomas Jefferson's idea for a National Advisory Referendum first proposed in a letter to Samuel Kercheval in 1816, seven years after he left the presidency.

The President said he liked the idea because it would allow him to bring the country together to vote on national issues but would not require a Constitutional Amendment. I reminded the President that we had talked about this idea at a fundraiser for Congressman Dick Gephardt in 1996 where he told me to contact Bruce Lindsey. While Bruce Lindsey was cool to the idea, the proposal never received a serious hearing because it was derailed by the impeachment proceedings until I met again with the President at Senator Feinstein's home in July 1999.

At the Aspen meeting, the President showed genuine enthusiasm for the idea and said he would have one of his assistants contact me. A few weeks later Eric Liu contacted me at the President's request. I sent Eric the enclosed proposal and suggested that the President include this idea in his State of the Union Address to begin the year 2000 and make the speech about opening the doors of democracy as memorable as President Kennedy's "man on the moon" speech to Congress. However, Eric ultimately rejected the idea for the President's State of the Union address telling me in a phone call that "the White House needed to focus on the here and now."

After the State of the Union I sent Eric a revised proposal responding to his concern that the White House focus on the "here and now" by reworking Jefferson's idea to propose a National Advisory Referendum on the gun control issues locked up in Committee (See enclosed draft legislation). Eric, however, did not respond.

This is where we are today.

Even after the Million Mom March, the President's gun control agenda is still locked up in committee.

The time has come for historic presidential leadership this July 4th. The President should send a public letter to the Conferees to either pass out the gun control bills currently locked up in committee or refer them to the people in a Jefferson-designed National Advisory Referendum for the November 2000 elections.

The President shares Jefferson's name. By proposing a National Advisory Referendum on gun control, he can share Jefferson's legacy on democracy. And there is no better time to resurrect Thomas Jefferson's idea for a National Advisory Referendum than this July 4th. The President can make history and secure his legacy as the greatest architect of American democracy since Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence.

The President is the Supreme Court of American politics. I come to you not only as a citizen, but also as Thomas Jefferson's best advocate.

While you may think it is too late to make such a bold proposal, let me offer two perspectives: one from history and one from sports. First, when President John Kennedy made his "man to the moon" speech it captured the hearts of a nation. **Even though we did not put a man on the moon until 1969 during President Nixon's term of office, President Kennedy, not President Nixon, gets the credit for all of history. Why? Because President Kennedy set forth the vision.**

Take a look at my letter of October 27th to the President (sent to Eric Liu) about how the world of democracy is changing as a result of the Internet technology. People are voting every day on web sites for ESPN, television news programs like NBC Dateline, and the Biography Channel. As more and more people use interactive technology to vote on television, the more people will want to open the door to an interactive democracy.

People no longer want to be passive pawns of big institutions. People want to use the technology of today to take more control of their world of tomorrow.

President Clinton has a chance to play the same role as President Kennedy by setting forth the vision for the future of our democracy when we as a nation will come together as Jefferson first envisioned to forge a common consensus for our common destiny.

The President is a great sports fan. In the final two minutes of Super Bowl XXXII when the game was tied, Denver quarterback John Elway

hurled himself toward the goal line and was spun around like a helicopter as he made a first down, leading to the winning touchdown, and the greatest victory of his career. Just like in football, the President has entered the final “two minutes” of his presidency. But there is time for one of the greatest plays of President Clinton’s presidential career—resurrecting Thomas Jefferson’s idea to open the doors of decision-making to all the American people by proposing a National Advisory Referendum on the President’s gun control proposals.

History is in your hands.

I would like to meet with you for 30 minutes, and if possible, meet with the President, any day during the week of June 26th to discuss Jefferson’s idea and how the President can secure his place in democratic history by proposing a National Advisory Referendum on his stalled gun control proposals.

And why should you grant this request for a meeting?

There are two reasons: First, Thomas Jefferson’s idea to reform the very representative democracy he created deserves a hearing on the relevancy of applying it to the gun control issues. This is my petition for certiorari on behalf of Thomas Jefferson.

Second, President Clinton, who shares Jefferson’s name, deserves to make the decision himself as to whether he wants to share Jefferson’s legacy on democracy by opening these doors.

Please talk to the President about this idea and whether he would like for you to meet with me to explore how this long lost idea can set forth a new vision for our democracy, unlock the gun control bills from committee, create for all time a new vision for our democracy, and fulfill the President’s promise to the American people in his 2nd Inaugural Address:

“We must keep our old democracy forever young.”

“At the dawn of the 21st century, a free people must now choose to shape the forces of the Information Age and the

global society; to unleash the limitless potential of all our people; and yes, to form a more perfect union.”

“Today we can declare government is not the problem and government is not the solution. We, the American people, we are the solution.”

“We need a new government for a new century humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves.”

“Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century.”

“Will we be one nation, one people, with one common destiny or not?”

“And in this land of new promise, we will have reformed our politics so that the voice of the people will always speak louder than the din of narrow interests regaining the participation and deserving the trust of all Americans.”

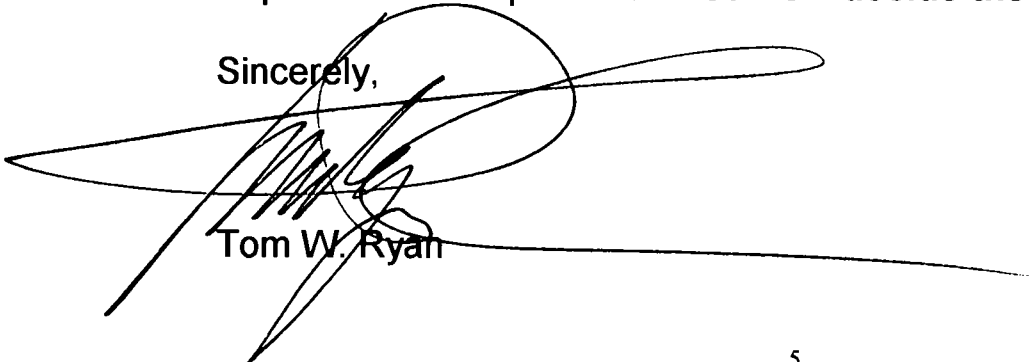
“America demands and deserves big things from us, and nothing big ever came from being small.”

“And so, my fellow Americans, we must be strong, for this is much to dare.”

“Yes, let us build our bridge, a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise.”

I look forward to hearing from you as to whether the meeting I have requested will be possible. **You now decide the course of history.**

Sincerely,



Tom W. Ryan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1999

Mr. Tom W. Ryan
144 Willowleaf Drive
Littleton, Colorado 80127

Dear Tom:

Thank you for following up again on your ideas about the National Advisory Referendum. As always, it is good to hear from you. Your ideas are interesting, and I have shared your thoughtful recommendations with my staff. I hope you are well and send my best.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal line extending from the end.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 31, 2000

Mr. Tom W. Ryan
144 Willowleaf Drive
Littleton, Colorado 80127

Dear Mr. Ryan:

As the year begins, I want to take a moment to thank you for the materials you shared with me. It was a pleasure to see you in Aspen.

With best wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Hillary Rodham Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 8, 1996

Mr. Tom W. Ryan
144 Willowleaf Drive
Littleton, Colorado 80127

Dear Tom:

Senator Bradley recently sent me your letter explaining your proposal to create a National Advisory Referendum. I appreciate your long-standing interest in this issue, and I'm glad to know of your deep commitment to strengthening our democracy. I have shared your letter with my Office of Scheduling to determine whether the meeting you requested will be possible.

I'm glad you took the time to write.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

U. S. SENATOR...



JOHN F. KENNEDY

FOR PRESIDENT

★ ★ ★ ★

HEADQUARTERS • 1106 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. • DISTRICT 7-1717

November 2, 1960

Mr. Tommy Ryan
114 North Elizabeth
Fergusson 35, Montana

Dear Tommy:

I was delighted to receive your thoughtful letter.

I am indeed pleased to know of your interest in the affairs of our country, and I am especially pleased that you are "in my corner" in this election.

I am proud to number you among my supporters.

Sincerely,

John F. Kennedy

Bill Clinton FOR PRESIDENT

April 27, 1992

Tom Ryan
8280A West Laurel Place
Littleton, CO 80123

Dear Tom:

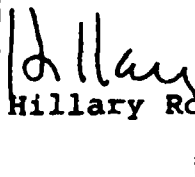
Thank you for your thoughtful letter. Due to our rigorous campaign schedule, I am just now getting to read and respond to my correspondence.

I want you to know how much I personally appreciate your support and interest in Bill's candidacy. As you are aware, our task is enormous and challenging and we need informed suggestions such as yours.

Thank you for sharing your ideas about Bill's campaign. I have forwarded them to our issues department. Also, you may forward copies of the Buckley and Bellotti decisions to the issues department.

As we travel, I am very encouraged by the overwhelmingly positive responses we've received from around the country. We welcome your participation in this great endeavor.

Sincerely yours,


Hillary Rodham Clinton

*Thanks for your letter -
Bill agrees with
opening up the airwaves
and connecting lines.*

Gephardt urges national advisory referendums

National advisory referendums on significant issues would be presented to voters at each general election under a bill to be introduced in Congress Wednesday by U.S. Rep. Richard A. Gephardt, D-St. Louis.

Gephardt says an advisory referendum would help counter "a growing feeling among the American people that their votes no longer count, that politicians fail to respond to legitimate concerns and that they have little or no impact on policy decisions.



Richard A. Gephardt

IN A STATEMENT, he said, "People are frustrated. Voters stay home on election day and yearn for a clear choice on issues. When people are given clear choices, the evidence points to increased participation in the democratic process.

"A national referendum will provide the vehicle for the re-expression of public sentiment for or against critical issues facing the nation."

Under the bill, a Joint Congressional Committee on the National Advisory Referendum would be created to develop propositions to be presented to the voters at each election. The committee would receive and

consider suggestions and comments from as many public sources as possible in deciding issues to be presented to the voters. By Jan. 1 each year, the committee would identify the issues and Congress would determine one to three issues to be placed on the ballot after a series of public hearings around the country.

The Congressional Research Service would publish a voters' guide providing the public with information and arguments for and against the issues.

GEPHARDT SAID results of the referendums would be advisory only. However, issues not acted on by Congress would be resubmitted to the voters within a reasonable period of time, he said.

"A referendum provides much more than an instantaneous reading of the public's mood on an issue as a poll does," he said. "The forums, debates, research and dinner-table discussions preceding the vote will give people an opportunity to participate in the free give and take of ideas, with an understanding that their vote will count and be heard."

A Cambridge Survey Research poll in 1978 reported 74 percent of those surveyed said they would be more inclined to vote if they could vote on issues as well as candidates. Another 77 percent agreed with the statement that allowing votes on issues would make elected officials more responsible to the public interest.

Gephardt also said the referendum "would give government officials a means of assessing public opinion on issues of national importance and respond to the voters."

Option A

**Proposed Legislation
to Hold a National Advisory Referendum On
Gun Control for the November 2000 Election
to Give People a Greater Voice in Government
and to Forge a Common Consensus on the
Public Policy for Gun Control**

Section 1. The election authorities of the several states shall place the following questions before the electorate in their respective states for a non-binding advisory vote of the people at the same time as the general election for members of Congress:

National Advisory Referendum #1

Shall the Congress of the United States pass a federal law requiring gun safety locks for children?

Yes

No

National Advisory Referendum #2

Shall the Congress of the United States pass a federal law banning the sale of large ammunition clips?

Yes

No

National Advisory Referendum #3

Shall the Congress of the United States pass a federal law requiring a mandatory background check for all gun purchases at gun shows?

Yes

No

Section 2. The purpose of the advisory referendum is to give people a greater voice in shaping public policy by directly participating in a vote on the issues referred to the people of the United States by the Congress.

Section 3. The Congress shall submit to the election authorities of the several states the issues for the advisory vote of the people no later than 120 days prior to the general election. The issues submitted by the Congress under this Act shall appear on the ballot in close proximity to the election of the Senators and Representatives to the Congress of the United States.

Section 4. Any state receiving federal funds shall participate in any referendum referred to the several states under this Act as a condition for the continued receipt of federal moneys.

Section 5. Enforcement of this act shall be by a writ of mandamus in federal district court.

Option B

**Proposed Legislation
to Hold a National Advisory Referendum On
Gun Control for the November 2000 Election
and to Give the President the Power to Refer
One to Three Issues to the People Every
General Election Thereafter for an Advisory
Vote to Give People a Greater Voice in
Government and to Forge a Common
Consensus on Public Policy**

Section 1. The election authorities of the several states shall place the following questions before the electorate in their respective states for a non-binding advisory vote of the people at the same time as the general election for members of Congress in November 2000:

National Advisory Referendum #1

Shall the Congress of the United States pass a federal law requiring gun safety locks for children?

Yes

No

National Advisory Referendum #2

Shall the Congress of the United States pass a federal law banning the sale of large ammunition clips?

Yes

No

National Advisory Referendum #3

Shall the Congress of the United States pass a federal law requiring a mandatory background check for all gun purchases at gun shows?

Yes

No

Section 2. The President of the United States may at his sole discretion submit to the voters of the United States one, two or three issues for a non-binding advisory vote of the people to be held at any general election for the Congress of the United States beginning in the year 2002.

Section 3. The purpose of the advisory referendum is to give people a greater voice in shaping national policy by directly participating in a vote on issues referred to the people by the President of the United States. Issues submitted by the President may include proposed federal legislation, regulations or executive branch policies. Any issue referred to the voters of the United States shall be written in such a way that a "yes" or "no" vote may be taken.

Section 4. The President shall submit to the election authorities of the several states the issues for the advisory vote of the people no later than 120 days prior to the general election. The issues submitted by the President shall appear on the ballot in close proximity to the election of the Senators and Representatives to the Congress of the United States.

Section 5. Any state receiving federal funds shall participate in any referendum referred to the several states by the President of the United States as a condition for the continued receipt of federal moneys.

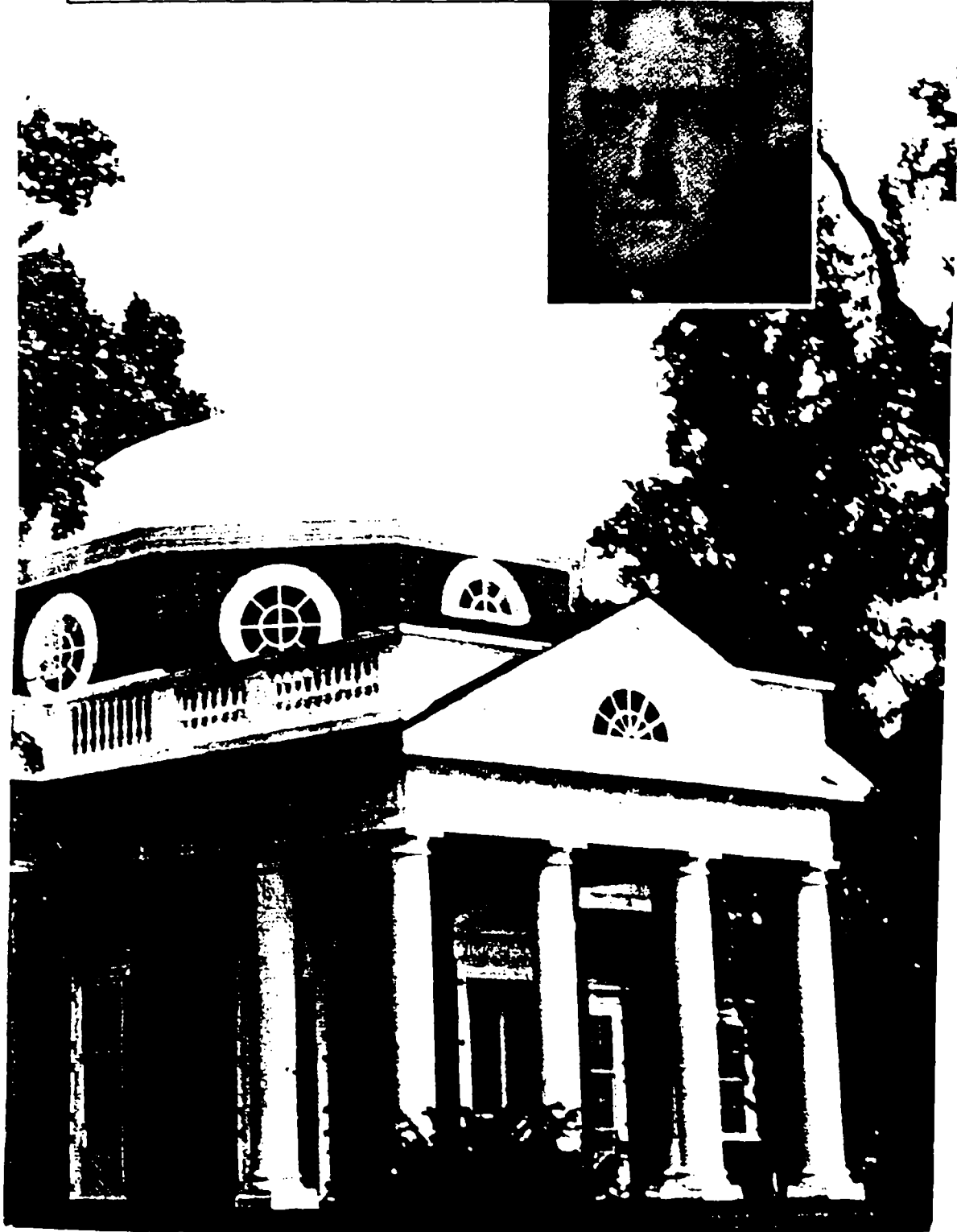
Section 6. Enforcement of this act shall be by a writ of mandamus in federal district court.

THE PORTABLE

Edited by MERRILL
D. PETERSON

THOMAS JEFFERSON

0



lions of human beings has probably been the effect of these convulsions. I did not, in '89, believe they would have lasted so long, nor have cost so much blood. But although your prophecy has proved true so far, I hope it does not preclude a better final result. That same light from our west seems to have spread and illuminated the very engines employed to extinguish it. It has given them a glimmering of their rights and their power. The idea of representative government has taken root and growth among them. Their masters feel it, and are saving themselves by timely offers of this modification of their powers. Belgium, Prussia, Poland, Lombardy, etc., are now offered a representative organization; illusive probably at first, but it will grow into power in the end. Opinion is power, and that opinion will come. Even France will yet attain representative government. You observe it makes the basis of every Constitution which has been demanded or offered,—of that demanded by their Senate; of that offered by Bonaparte; and of that granted by Louis XVIII. The idea then is rooted, and will be established, although rivers of blood may yet flow between them and their object. The allied armies now couching upon them are first to be destroyed, and destroyed they will surely be. A nation united can never be conquered. . . .



To Samuel Kercheval

Monticello, July 12, 1816.

SIR

I duly received your favor of June the 13th, with the copy of the letters on the calling a convention, on which you are pleased to ask my opinion. I have not been in the habit of mysterious reserve on any subject, nor of buttoning up my opinions within my own doublet. On the contrary, while in public service especially, I thought the public entitled to frankness, and intimately to know whom

they employed. But I am now retired: I resign myself, as a passenger, with confidence to those at present at the helm, and ask but for rest, peace and good will. The question you propose, on equal representation, has become a party one, in which I wish to take no public share. Yet, if it be asked for your own satisfaction only, and not to be quoted before the public, I have no motive to withhold it, and the less from you, as it coincides with your own. At the birth of our republic, I committed that opinion to the world, in the draught of a constitution annexed to the "Notes on Virginia," in which a provision was inserted for a representation permanently equal. The infancy of the subject at that moment, and our inexperience of self-government, occasioned gross departures in that draught from genuine republican canons. In truth, the abuses of monarchy had so much filled all the space of political contemplation, that we imagined everything republican which was not monarchy. We had not yet penetrated to the mother principle, that "governments are republican only in proportion as they embody the will of their people, and execute it." Hence, our first constitutions had really no leading principles in them. But experience and reflection have but more and more confirmed me in the particular importance of the equal representation then proposed. On that point, then, I am entirely in sentiment with your letters; and only lament that a copyright of your pamphlet prevents their appearance in the newspapers, where alone they would be generally read, and produce general effect. The present vacancy too, of other matter, would give them place in every paper, and bring the question home to every man's conscience.

But inequality of representation in both Houses of our legislature, is not the only republican heresy in this first essay of our Revolutionary patriots at forming a Constitution. For let it be agreed that a government is republican in proportion as every member composing it has his equal voice in the direction of its concerns, (not indeed in per-

son, which would be impracticable beyond the limits of a city, or small township,) but by representatives chosen by himself, and responsible to him at short periods, and let us bring to the test of this canon every branch of our Constitution.

In the legislature, the House of Representatives is chosen by less than half the people, and not at all in proportion to those who do choose. The Senate are still more disproportionate, and for long terms of irresponsibility. In the Executive, the Governor is entirely independent of the choice of the people, and of their control; his Council equally so, and at best but a fifth wheel to a wagon. In the Judiciary, the judges of the highest courts are dependent on none but themselves. In England, where judges were named and removable at the will of an hereditary executive, from which branch most misrule was feared, and has flowed, it was a great point gained, by fixing them for life, to make them independent of that executive. But in a government founded on the public will, this principle operates in an opposite direction, and against that will. There, too, they were still removable on a concurrence of the executive and legislative branches. But we have made them independent of the nation itself. They are irremovable, but by their own body, for any depravities of conduct, and even by their own body for the imbecilities of dotage. The justices of the inferior courts are self-chosen, are for life, and perpetuate their own body in succession forever, so that a faction once possessing themselves of the bench of a county, can never be broken up, but hold their county in chains, forever indissoluble. Yet these justices are the real executive as well as judiciary, in all our minor and most ordinary concerns. They tax us at will; fill the office of sheriff, the most important of all the executive officers of the county; name nearly all our military leaders, which leaders, once named, are removable but by themselves. The juries, our judges of all fact, and of law when they choose it, are not selected by the people, nor amen-

able to them. They are chosen by an officer named by the court and executive. Chosen, did I say? Picked up by the sheriff from the loungings of the court yard, after everything respectable has retired from it. Where then is our republicanism to be found? Not in our Constitution certainly, but merely in the spirit of our people. That would oblige even a despot to govern us republicanly. Owing to this spirit, and to nothing in the form of our Constitution, all things have gone well. But this fact, so triumphantly misquoted by the enemies of reformation, is not the fruit of our Constitution, but has prevailed in spite of it. Our functionaries have done well, because generally honest men. If any were not so, they feared to show it.

But it will be said, it is easier to find faults than to amend them. I do not think their amendment so difficult as is pretended. Only lay down true principles, and adhere to them inflexibly. Do not be frightened into their surrender by the alarms of the timid, or the croakings of wealth against the ascendancy of the people. If experience be called for, appeal to that of our fifteen or twenty governments for forty years, and show me where the people have done half the mischief in these forty years, that a single despot would have done in a single year; or show half the riots and rebellions, the crimes and the punishments, which have taken place in any single nation, under kingly government, during the same period. The true foundation of republican government is the equal right of every citizen, in his person and property, and in their management. Try by this, as a tally, every provision of our Constitution, and see if it hangs directly on the will of the people. Reduce your legislature to a convenient number for full, but orderly discussion. Let every man who fights or pays, exercise his just and equal right in their election. Submit them to approbation or rejection at short intervals. Let the executive be chosen in the same way, and for the same term, by those whose agent he is to be; and leave no screen of a council behind which to

skulk from responsibility. It has been thought that the people are not competent electors of judges *learned in the law*. But I do not know that this is true, and, if doubtful, we should follow principle. In this, as in many other elections, they would be guided by reputation, which would not err oftener, perhaps, than the present mode of appointment. In one State of the Union, at least, it has long been tried, and with the most satisfactory success. The judges of Connecticut have been chosen by the people every six months, for nearly two centuries, and I believe there has hardly ever been an instance of change; so powerful is the curb of incessant responsibility. If prejudice, however, derived from a monarchical institution, is still to prevail against the vital elective principle of our own, and if the existing example among ourselves of periodical election of judges by the people be still mistrusted, let us at least not adopt the evil, and reject the good, of the English precedent; let us retain amovability on the concurrence of the executive and legislative branches, and nomination by the executive alone. Nomination to office is an executive function. To give it to the legislature, as we do, is a violation of the principle of the separation of powers. It swerves the members from correctness, by temptations to intrigue for office themselves, and to a corrupt barter of votes; and destroys responsibility by dividing it among a multitude. By leaving nomination in its proper place, among executive functions, the principle of the distribution of power is preserved, and responsibility weighs with its heaviest force on a single head.

The organization of our county administrations may be thought more difficult. But follow principle, and the knot unties itself. Divide the counties into wards of such size as that every citizen can attend, when called on, and act in person. Ascribe to them the government of their wards in all things relating to themselves exclusively. A justice, chosen by themselves, in each, a constable, a military company, a patrol, a school, the care of their own poor, their

own portion of the public roads, the choice of one or more jurors to serve in some court, and the delivery, within their own wards, of their own votes for all elective officers of higher sphere, will relieve the county administration of nearly all its business, will have it better done, and by making every citizen an acting member of the government, and in the offices nearest and most interesting to him, will attach him by his strongest feelings to the independence of his country, and its republican Constitution. The justices thus chosen by every ward, would constitute the county court, would do its judiciary business, direct roads and bridges, levy county and poor rates, and administer all the matters of common interest to the whole country. These wards, called townships in New England, are the vital principle of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation. We should thus marshal our government into, 1, the general federal republic, for all concerns foreign and federal; 2, that of the State, for what relates to our own citizens exclusively; 3, the county republics, for the duties and concerns of the county; and 4, the ward republics, for the small, and yet numerous and interesting concerns of the neighborhood; and in government, as well as in every other business of life, it is by division and subdivision of duties alone, that all matters, great and small, can be managed to perfection. And the whole is cemented by giving to every citizen, personally, a part in the administration of the public affairs.

The sum of these amendments is, 1. General suffrage. 2. Equal representation in the legislature. 3. An executive chosen by the people. 4. Judges elective or amovable. 5. Justices, jurors, and sheriffs elective. 6. Ward divisions. And 7. Periodical amendments of the Constitution.

I have thrown out these as loose heads of amendment, for consideration and correction; and their object is to secure self-government by the republicanism of our Consti-



tution, as well as by the spirit of the people; and to nourish and perpetuate that spirit. I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom. And to preserve their independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make our election between *economy and liberty*, or *profusion and servitude*. If we run into such debts, as that we must be taxed in our meat and in our drink, in our necessities and our comforts, in our labors and our amusements, for our callings and our creeds, as the people of England are, our people, like them, must come to labor sixteen hours in the twenty-four, give the earnings of fifteen of these to the government for their debts and daily expenses; and the sixteenth being insufficient to afford us bread, we must live, as they now do, on oatmeal and potatoes; have no time to think, no means of calling the mismanagers to account; but be glad to obtain subsistence by hiring ourselves to rivet their chains on the necks of our fellow sufferers. Our land-holders, too, like theirs, retaining indeed the title and stewardship of estates called theirs, but held really in trust for the treasury, must wander, like theirs, in foreign countries, and be contented with penury, obscurity, exile, and the glory of the nation. This example reads to us the salutary lesson, that private fortunes are destroyed by public as well as by private extravagance. And this is the tendency of all human governments. A departure from principle in one instance becomes a precedent for a second; that second for a third; and so on, till the bulk of the society is reduced to be mere automats of misery, to have no sensibilities left but for sinning and suffering. Then begins, indeed, the *bellum omnium in omnia*, which some philosophers observing to be so general in this world, have mistaken it for the natural, instead of the abusive state of man. And the fore horse of this frightful team is public debt. Taxation follows that, and in its train wretchedness and oppression.

Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the ark of the covenant,

too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I knew that age well; I belonged to it, and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present, but without the experience of the present; and forty years of experience in government is worth a century of book-reading; and this they would say themselves, were they to rise from the dead. I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions. I think moderate imperfections had better be borne with; because, when once known, we accommodate ourselves to them, and find practical means of correcting their ill effects. But I know also, that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors. It is this preposterous idea which has lately deluged Europe in blood. Their monarchs, instead of wisely yielding to the gradual change of circumstances, of favoring progressive accommodation to progressive improvement, have clung to old abuses, entrenched themselves behind steady habits, and obliged their subjects to seek through blood and violence rash and ruinous innovations, which, had they been referred to the peaceful deliberations and collected wisdom of the nation, would have been put into acceptable and salutary forms. Let us follow no such examples, nor weakly believe that one generation is not as capable as another of taking care of itself, and of ordering its own affairs. Let us, as our sister States have done, avail ourselves of our reason and experience, to correct the crude essays of our first and unexperienced, although wise, virtuous, and well-meaning councils. And lastly, let us

provide in our Constitution for its revision at stated periods. What these periods should be, nature herself indicates. By the European tables of mortality, of the adults living at any one moment of time, a majority will be dead in about nineteen years. At the end of that period then, a new majority is come into place; or, in other words, a new generation. Each generation is as independent of the one preceding, as that was of all which had gone before. It has then, like them, a right to choose for itself the form of government it believes most promotive of its own happiness; consequently, to accommodate to the circumstances in which it finds itself, that received from its predecessors; and it is for the peace and good of mankind, that a solemn opportunity of doing this every nineteen or twenty years, should be provided by the Constitution; so that it may be handed on, with periodical repairs, from generation to generation, to the end of time, if anything human can so long endure. It is now forty years since the constitution of Virginia was formed. The same tables inform us, that, within that period, two-thirds of the adults then living are now dead. Have then the remaining third, even if they had the wish, the right to hold in obedience to their will, and to laws heretofore made by them, the other two-thirds, who, with themselves, compose the present mass of adults? If they have not, who has? The dead? But the dead have no rights. They are nothing; and nothing cannot own something. Where there is no substance, there can be no accident. This corporeal globe, and everything upon it, belong to its present corporeal inhabitants, during their generation. They alone have a right to direct what is the concern of themselves alone, and to declare the law of that direction; and this declaration can only be made by their majority. That majority, then, has a right to depute representatives to a convention, and to make the Constitution what they think will be the best for themselves. But how collect their voice? This is the real difficulty. If invited by private authority, or county or district meetings, these divisions are so large that few



will attend; and their voice will be imperfectly, or falsely, pronounced. Here, then, would be one of the advantages of the ward divisions I have proposed. The mayor of every ward, on a question like the present, would call his ward together, take the simple yea or nay of its members, convey these to the country court, who would hand on those of all its wards to the proper general authority; and the voice of the whole people would be thus fairly, fully, and peaceably expressed, discussed, and decided by the common reason of the society. If this avenue be shut to the call of sufferance, it will make itself heard through that of force, and we shall go on, as other nations are doing, in the endless circle of oppression, rebellion, reformation; and oppression, rebellion, reformation, again; and so on forever.

These, Sir, are my opinions of the governments we see among men, and of the principles by which alone we may prevent our own from falling into the same dreadful track. I have given them at greater length than your letter called for. But I cannot say things by halves; and I confide them to your honor, so to use them as to preserve me from the gridiron of the public papers. If you shall approve and enforce them, as you have done that of equal representation, they may do some good. If not, keep them to yourself as the effusions of withered age and useless time. I shall, with not the less truth, assure you of my great respect and consideration.

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June 4, 2000

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

There are two important upcoming dates which have a powerful emotional impact on the American people which you can use to win passage of your gun control legislative agenda to close the gun show loophole, require child safety locks and ban the sale of large ammunition clips:

- 1) Father's Day June 18th
- 2) Independence Day July 4th

While the Congress has been unmoved by a Million Moms, the senseless gun violence continues to bring sorrow to our nation. Last week there was another school shooting when a popular teacher was gunned down by a 7th grade honor student in Lake Worth, Florida who took a loaded gun to school which he took from his grandfather's dresser drawer. This school shooting could have been prevented by mandatory child safety locks for guns as you have proposed.

The time has come for historic presidential leadership. Why not marshal the forces of a million moms and a million dads this Father's Day by telling the Congress: either pass the gun control measures by July 4th so our nation can be free of senseless violence or refer the issues to the people in a Jefferson designed National Advisory Referendum on gun control for the November 2000 elections. If the Congress won't act, then millions of moms, millions of dads, millions of brothers and sisters, millions of grandparents, millions of aunts and

uncles, and millions of cousins ought to be given the chance to forge a common consensus for our common destiny by voting in the first ever National Advisory Referendum.

The time has come for you to make history by proposing a National Advisory Referendum on gun control to establish your legacy just as John Kennedy did when he made his famous “man on the moon” speech. Even though the first man landed on the moon in June 1969 during President Nixon’s term, President Kennedy has long been given the credit for setting forth the vision in his famous “man on the moon” speech.

While the Million Mom March sought action on gun control this past Mother’s Day, you can ensure that their historic effort will become the catalyst for change rather than a footnote to history by making this Father’s Day when you respond to the Mother’s of this country with a bold ultimatum for Congress to pass the gun control bills or refer them to the people in a National Advisory Referendum for the November 2000 elections.

The civil rights marches of the 1960’s were not just about Congress passing civil rights laws, they were about opening doors to expand the democratic rights of millions of Americans so that they could forever participate in shaping their destiny. The Million Mom March gives you the same historic opportunity

Mr. President, when you and I met at Senator Dianne Feinstein’s home in Aspen in July 1999, I talked to you about Thomas Jefferson’s idea for a National Advisory Referendum and you said you liked the idea because you could bring the country together and it would not require a Constitutional Amendment.

There has never been a greater need to use Jefferson’s idea than on your gun control agenda where the Republicans in Congress are standing in the doorway blocking the common sense gun control reforms which the people support in large margins.

I respectfully request the opportunity to meet with you for 30 minutes the week of June 12th to discuss how you can use Jefferson’s ideas to pass common sense gun controls by telling

the Congress to either pass the gun control laws or refer the proposals to the people in a National Advisory Referendum.

I don't think the Republicans want to go into the November elections as the party which is standing in the doorway blocking one of the most important expansions of democratic rights since Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. It's a win-win proposal. Either you pass gun control or you make history by raising the bar for democratic participation in America.

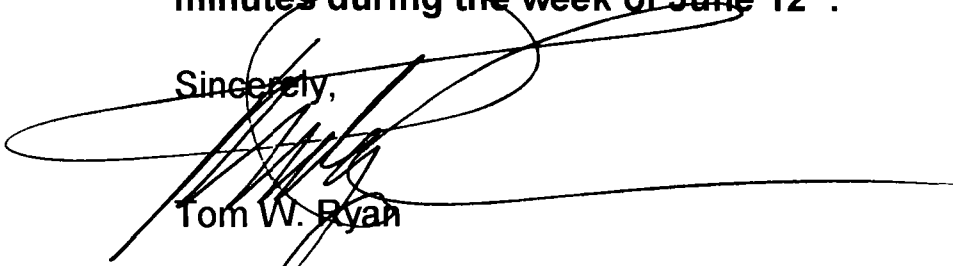
Mr. President, you are on the verge of opening up the economic doors to China which will help bring both economic and democratic reform to China. You can also enlarge the vision of what democracy means for people throughout the world by proposing to open the doors of democracy here at home on the gun control agenda.

Mr. President, you share Jefferson's name, by proposing a National Advisory Referendum on your gun control proposals, you can share his legacy on democracy.

Mr. President, you can now fulfill your 2nd Inaugural promise to the American people to reform our politics "so that the voice of the people will always speak louder than the din of narrow interests." You can change the course of democratic history by opening the doors of democracy to the American people and become the greatest architect of American democracy since Thomas Jefferson.

I respectfully request the opportunity to meet with you for 30 minutes during the week of June 12th.

Sincerely,



Tom W. Ryan

P. S. I will see Hillary June 24th at the home of John Burgess. This idea for a National Advisory Referendum on gun control can also help Hillary win her Senate election in New York. There is no better way to listen to the people than to hold an advisory referendum on public policy issues as Thomas Jefferson first proposed in 1816.

Boy seen with gun days before shooting

By The Associated Press

LAKE WORTH, Fla. — Two youths claim Nathaniel Brazill was brandishing a small handgun three days before he allegedly shot a popular English teacher to death on the last day of classes, police said Monday.

Police also released recordings of the 911 call made when Lake Worth Middle School teacher Barry Grunow was fatally shot Friday.

Brazill, a seventh-grade honor student, was sent home from school for throwing water balloons in a hallway. The 13-year-old student later returned and allegedly fired one shot from a small gun, killing the 35-year-old teacher.

Brazill is being held while a grand jury considers the case.

The youths, who were not identified by police, told investigators Brazill showed them the gun near his home on May 23, but they did not tell anyone about it, Police Chief William Smith said Monday.

The 911 tapes show the first officer arrived at the school within 90 seconds after the call was made. Recordings between emergency units show police had Brazill in custody within 4½ minutes of the time the call was made, said Lt. Raychel Houston, a police spokeswoman.

A lawyer for Grunow's family called security at the school ineffective and said his clients haven't ruled out suing Phoenix Arms, the manufacturer of the Raven handgun allegedly used in the shooting.

Investigators have examined the

bedroom dresser drawer where Brazill's grandfather, Elmore McCray, 75, claims he kept the handgun that police say Brazill used to kill Grunow.

An agent from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms is also working on tracing the weapon, police said.

Brazill's mother agreed Sunday to allow detectives to search her son's room. Police retrieved the seventh-grader's computer, and have asked the FBI for help analyzing its contents.

Also found were printed Web pages featuring helicopters and guns — that investigators said suggest Brazill was interested in weapons or perhaps a career in the military or law enforcement.

State Attorney Barry Krischer said Sunday he would ask a judge today to seat a grand jury to consider this case. The grand jury will charge him, deciding whether the teenager will be tried as an adult.

Krischer has said that he wants Brazill tried as an adult.

Meanwhile, police estimated about 500 people attended a rally against violence Monday afternoon at a park on the Intracoastal Waterway.

Clusters of people who knew Grunow and Brazill spread out, some singing, some displaying handmade posters calling for better gun control, others just showing up to voice their loss over the shooting and Grunow's death.

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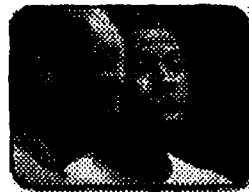
CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

AP news.com

Community mourns slain teacher



An unidentified teacher, left, hugs a student Tuesday after the funeral for teacher Barry Grunow.



Today Show

PLAY VIDEO ▶

The 7th-grade honor student held for the shooting of a Florida teacher may have been showing off the gun to other kids several days before the killing, NBC's Kelly O'Donnell reports.

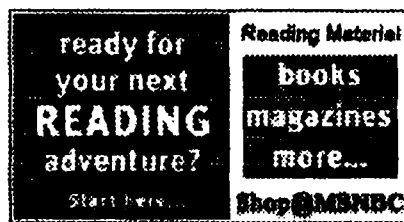
13-year-old suspect described as model student

NBC NEWS AND WIRE REPORTS

WEST PALM BEACH, Fla., May 30 — Hundreds of students, teachers and community members gathered Tuesday at a memorial service for an English teacher who was gunned down in a hallway on the last day of classes.

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ADVERTISING ON MSNBC



Tears flowed with tributes at the funeral in West Palm Beach, Fla., for Barry Grunow, a teacher killed last week by a student. NBC's Kelly O'Donnell reports.

THE REV. Bill Corrigan described Barry Grunow as a beloved teacher, mentor, coach and counselor at Lake Worth Community Middle School.

"Barry was reaching out with grace, even to the end," Corrigan said during the service at Good Shepherd United Methodist Church. "Even to the young man with a gun."

The music of Jethro Tull, one of the 35-year-old Grunow's favorite bands, filled the service. An evening candlelight vigil in Lake Worth also was planned.

Seventh-grader Nathaniel Brazill is accused of gunning down Grunow in a hallway just before the last bell on Friday, the last day of the school year. The boy, a 13-year-old honor roll student with perfect attendance, had been sent home that day by an assistant principal for throwing water balloons.

He returned to school two hours later with a gun allegedly stolen from his grandfather's drawer.

FATAL CONFRONTATION

When Grunow wouldn't let the boy in his classroom to talk to two girls and told Brazill to go home, Brazill pulled the gun from his pocket

Barry Grunow



A security camera in the hallway recorded the entire incident.

State Attorney Barry Krischer said he would ask a judge Tuesday to seat a grand jury to consider what charges will be brought against Brazill. Krischer has said he wants Brazill tried as an adult.

At the memorial service, one of Grunow's five siblings, Kurt Grunow, told a story he said symbolizes the sort of heart his brother had.

VICTIM'S BROTHER REMEMBERS

When Grunow was a little boy he'd go outside and catch bugs in a jar, Kurt Grunow said. He'd then put pennies and nickels in the yard as payment for the bugs.

"That how Barry was," Grunow said.

Violence on Campus

- Find out about other school shootings in the U.S.

Two youths claim Brazill was brandishing a handgun three days before he allegedly shot Grunow. The youths, who were not identified by police, told investigators that Brazill showed them the gun near his home, but they didn't tell anyone about it, said police Chief William Smith.

Brazill's mother agreed Sunday to allow detectives to search her son's room. Police retrieved his computer and have asked the FBI for help analyzing its contents.



- MSNBC Cable coverage
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On Monday, about 500 people attended a rally in Lake Worth against violence and in honor of Grunow. The gathering was loosely organized by

a group calling itself "Ask, Listen, Learn," which is made up of community activists who came together after the shooting.

"We don't want this to end with a film clip on the 11 o'clock news," said Helaine Rayman, an organizer of the gathering.

Grunow appears to have been simply in the wrong place at the wrong time. It was not he who sent the boy home initially, but it was he who confronted the alleged gunman when he returned to school.

"Mr. Grunow was, 'Go home,' or something," Amanda Grunwald, 13, told NBC. "And he said, 'No, Mr. Grunow, I can't do that.' And then he stepped back and shot him, and he fell on the ground and started bleeding."

Brazill, on his bicycle, flagged down a police officer about a quarter of a mile from the school and surrendered. He told investigators he liked Grunow, who was popular with students.

Grunow had worked at the school for seven years. He had a wife, a 5-year-old son and an infant daughter.



NBC NIGHTLY NEWS WITH TOM BROWNE Trying juveniles as adults

NBC News correspondent Kerry Sanders and The Associated Press contributed to this report.

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October 27, 1999

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Two nights ago I was doing my business expenses at 1:35 AM when I turned the television to C-span and saw you deliver a moving speech on Social Security. **While the nation slept, your stirring words that we have a "chance of a lifetime to chart a course for our future and build the century of our dreams" sent chills up my spine.**

But few people saw you. The time has come to build a prime-time democracy for our future.

When we met in Aspen at Senator Feinstein's home in July, we talked about Thomas Jefferson's idea to create a "National Advisory Referendum" where we as a nation would come together to forge a consensus for our common destiny by casting advisory votes on public policy issues at every general election.

Mr. President, you have a unique opportunity in your State of the Union address to build a democracy for the 21st century with Jefferson's blueprint. You can provide a new vision for democratic participation for the United States and all the world for the new millennium.

Mr. President, this is your chance of a lifetime. You share Jefferson's name. You can share his legacy on democracy.

When Congressman Bill Thomas, (R., CA) delivered the Republican response on C-span, he challenged you, “When are you going to use your enormous talents to bring us together for good?”

The answer can be delivered in your last State of the Union address by proposing National Advisory Referendum legislation to bring us together as one nation forging a public consensus for our common destiny.

Moreover, the bill which I have drafted puts you in a political win-win situation. For the first National Advisory Referendum in November 2000 there would be 4 advisory issues on the ballot—two chosen by you and two chosen by the Congress—giving neither the Democrats nor Republicans any political advantage. Beginning in 2002 and every general election thereafter, the power to place advisory issues before the nation would revert exclusively to the President who would be able to put up to three issues before the people.

This plan is a win-win strategy. If the Republicans pass the National Advisory Referendum proposal, you win. If they oppose the plan, they will suffer the scorn of the American people for blocking one of the most important expansions of democratic rights in the history of our nation. The Democrats could then use it as a wedge issue for the 2000 elections, including Hillary in New York, and Congressional Democrats to win back control of the House.

But this is more than just an election issue, the idea for a National Advisory Referendum is an idea for all time.

Your State of the Union address in January presents you with a unique historic opportunity as we cross the threshold of the new millennium. It will be another 1000 years before another President can put on your shoes and lead the nation across a similar bridge to a new millennium.

But how you cross this historic bridge to the new millennium will be for others to decide—the writers of today and historians of tomorrow.

Just last Sunday James Reston, writing in the *Washington Post*, decried the lack of historic appreciation to bridge the past with our future at this millennial moment, saying:

“It is abundantly clear that this country has already missed out on the glorious opportunity that was the millennium. In the endless blather about Y2K, in the correctly or incorrectly spelled commercialization of the word, in the trivial topic of whether the new age begins in 2000 or 2001, in the worry about champagne supplies and the focus on the big bashes in Times Square and on the Mall, there will be no meaningful experience for the American people. The failure of the imagination is total and across the board: from the political leadership to the scholars. . .

The turning of a millennium should be a time of grand reckoning. Symbolic dates call for symbolic acts, and these dates and acts can acquire real, concrete meaning if they are used as an excuse—and an opportunity—for innovative thinking. What better reason than the passing of 1,000 years in the calendar will we ever have for grand dreams about the future and for a solemn reevaluation of the past? Coming to terms with the past can position a society for the future; it frees the imagination and allows us to dream.

This millennial season should have been the time for American artists and visionaries, builders and thinkers to take center stage, but there has been no effort to mobilize them. As a result, the wealthiest, most powerful nation on Earth will leave little permanent behind to mark the moment. American politicians speak as if the millennium were a decaffeinated Bicentennial, with cheap renamings of existing projects as “millennial.”

...

Potentially, the millennium is the greatest teaching

moment of our times, but who's doing the teaching?"

Mr. President, you have the vision. I have seen it in your eyes each time we have met and talked about Jefferson's blueprint to expand democratic participation in shaping public policy.

You are the Supreme Court of American politics. I respectfully request 30 minutes of your time to represent Jefferson's views for your ultimate consideration as the model for our democratic future.

Your State of the Union address could become the most important speech of your entire presidency as we enter a new age of technology and information. You have a chance to set forth a new vision for our future as a nation and as the model democracy for all the world. When President Kennedy promised to send a man to the moon, he stirred the imagination of our people. He will be forever credited with this great achievement even though it occurred during President Nixon's term in the summer of 1969. President Kennedy gets the historical credit because he was the President with the idea and shared it with the nation. The clips of his speech promising to send a man to the moon are played back to this day as one of the time markers of American history.

The information age presents another time marker. What President will claim this transition for all of history? Mr. President, it is either you at your last State of the Union who will capture this moment for all of time, or it will be given by default to the next President of the new millenium to grab the historic spotlight in his inaugural address for all of time.

Mr. President, you have the vision to claim this historic moment as yours for all of history by proposing a National Advisory Referendum.

As the information age continues to explode into the next century, the people will continue to have access to more and more information. C-span, the Internet, information data banks and web-sites for interest groups and campaigns are just a few of the many new ways people are getting information about public issues which were never envisioned even 20 years ago.

Information is the currency of democracy. The more people are informed, the more they are capable of participating in making decisions. While access to information has expanded exponentially, the way we make decisions at the federal level has remained the same as it was over 200 years ago.

As people gain access to more and more information, they will demand the right to participate more and more in the decision-making process of government. The process of expanding information and demanding more participation are part of the same democratic equation. You can't have the former without the latter. Data flow and decision-making are part of an unstoppable evolution for the 21st century.

Today over 100 million Americans have access to the Internet. We are fast approaching the day when we as a nation can come together on the Internet without waiting for Congress to embrace a more participatory democracy. If Congress fails to act to establish a formal National Advisory Referendum process for every general election, the President will be able to go directly to the people for an advisory vote on the Internet to create a working model for the future of citizen participation and force Congress to pass the National Advisory Referendum proposal. While Congress fails to act, voting kiosks could be set up in public offices and publicly-funded libraries to provide Internet voting access for those without computers. In other words, if Congress fails to act, the technology can quickly be put in place to create an advisory voting process. Once people start voting on issues at the first general election, those members of the Congress and Senate who blocked the bill for a National Advisory Referendum will be vulnerable to defeat as blocking the doorway to expanded democratic decision-making.

Currently, AT&T and Microsoft are developing the technology to merge television, computers and the Internet to expand access to information and entertainment options. However, once this technology is rolled out, it can be turned into a decision-making mechanism for public policy formation. Through television and Internet technology, the President would be able to hold a "National Town Meeting" to discuss a national issue and ask people to cast an

advisory vote to help gauge public opinion. The day when the President asks everyone to provide input through an Internet web-vote is just around the next bend of the century.

The technology for collecting web-votes is already in place. Commercial web-sites are already asking people to participate in making decisions. The Biography Channel allowed people to program the channel for a week by voting in several different categories from sports heroes to political leaders who they wanted to see on television. ESPN gave viewers the same opportunity to program a week of ESPN Classic sports shows and ESPN regularly asks viewers to vote on who was the greatest athlete for a particular category. *Time Magazine* asked readers to vote on the Internet for the 100 people who had the greatest impact (good or bad) in the 20th Century.

While more and more people participate in voting on commercial web-sites and feel empowered by their participation, it will be only a short period of time before people will demand the same participatory rights from their government.

Government leaders who fail to see the emerging technology as a model for greater public participation in policy formation will be left in the dustbins of history. Our democratic future will be one of greater, not lesser, public participation in government decision-making.

While the technology of today will allow greater public participation in policy formation, holding a televised meeting with an instant Internet vote would be a weak and unacceptable substitute for a National Advisory Referendum where campaigns for and against are run prior to the actual vote at the time of elections. Instant voting, while useful for gauging public opinion, is not democracy in action. Democratic decision-making requires informed choices to be made after consideration of all the issues both pro and con. It requires time to think, time to reflect, time to listen, time to talk. Democracy is at its best as a deliberative process, not as a push-button technology.

Having a participatory web-site is nothing like holding a National Advisory Referendum where competing ideas are put to the test of public consideration and decision. However, the idea of voting on the web can be a model for forming a National Advisory Referendum every general election where we come together as a nation to participate in shaping public policy.

Our old democratic bridges from the past 200 years were built for smaller traffic volumes of elected officials and interest group representatives. Today we need a new democratic bridge, one that will handle all the people coming together as a nation to cross the bridge at the same time.

Thomas Jefferson first drew up the blueprint for an expanded democratic bridge in 1816 when he put forward the concept of a collective group of local meetings where the people voted on the issues. The National Advisory Referendum is the modern version of this simple idea and built upon the same solid foundation that government works best when it is derived from the consent of the governed and where every person feels himself a part.

Mr. President, let us join together to build upon our democratic traditions to form a new mechanism in which we as a people can begin to collectively search out our common destiny. As we boldly begin a search for a new consensus, we will be guided by our most fundamental principles and seek to give contemporary meaning to the words, "We the people."

This is the bridge to the 21st century where everyone can walk across. Thomas Jefferson waits to greet us on the other side.

History is in your hands.

You and I have met 6 times: Congressman Richard Gephardt's fundraiser in St. Louis in the spring of 1996, Tom Strickland for Senate fundraiser in Denver at the Inverness Country Club in 1996, at a public campaign rally at the Pueblo, Colorado courthouse in 1996, on the ropes at Red Rocks Amphitheater in Denver in 1996, on the ropes at the Denver Coliseum (Western Stock Show complex) in

1996, and in July of 1999 at the Aspen home of Senator Dianne Feinstein.

I feel as if I have taken this issue through the lower courts and through the appellate process. It's as if I am standing on the steps of the Supreme Court of American politics,

This is my petition for "certiorari".

All I want is for Jefferson's idea to be, in his own words, "fairly, fully, and peaceably expressed, discussed, and decided by the common reason" of your judgment as President of the United States.

Thomas Jefferson deserves no less. This is my petition on behalf of Thomas Jefferson.

I respectfully request the opportunity to meet with you for 30 minutes to discuss this important idea first proposed by Jefferson over 180 years ago and which can be the democratic bridge to the new millennium.

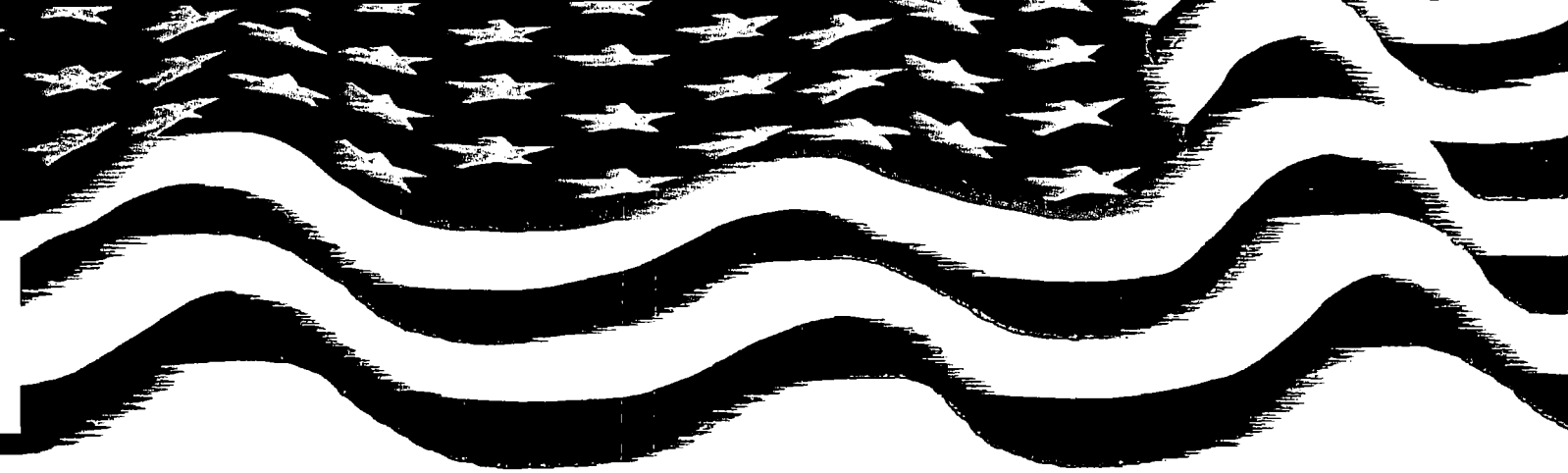
The technology revolution of today makes Jefferson's idea of the past even more relevant for our future.

With this idea, you will become a man for the millennium. I will be happy just to be a footnote to history.

You share Jefferson's name, you can share his legacy on democracy.

Sincerely,

Tom Ryan



**A PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH A
NATIONAL ADVISORY REFERENDUM
ON ISSUES REFERRED TO THE
PEOPLE BY THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES**

Prepared for President William Jefferson Clinton

By Tom Ryan

**August 5, 1999
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**Proposed Legislation
to Give the President of the United States the
Power to Refer to the People up to Three
Issues for a National Advisory Referendum to
Give People a Greater Voice in Government
and to Forge a Common Consensus on
Matters of Public Policy.**

Section 1. The President of the United States may at his sole discretion submit to the voters of the United States one, two or three issues for a non-binding advisory vote of the people to be held at any general election for the Congress of the United States.

Section 2. The purpose of the advisory referendum is to give people a greater voice in shaping national policy by directly participating in a vote on issues referred to the people by the President of the United States. Issues submitted by the President may include proposed federal legislation, regulations or executive branch policies. Any issue referred to the voters of the United States shall be written in such a way that a "yes" or "no" vote may be taken.

Section 3. The President shall submit to the election authorities of the several states the issues for the advisory vote of the people no later than 120 days prior to the general election. The issues submitted by the President shall appear on the ballot in close proximity to the election of the Senators and Representatives to the Congress of the United States.

Section 4. Any state receiving federal funds shall participate in any referendum referred to the several states by the President of the United States as a condition for the continued receipt of federal moneys.

Section 5. Enforcement of this act shall be by a writ of mandamus in federal district court.

30 Reasons in Support of a National Advisory Referendum

1. The National Advisory Referendum will give people a greater voice in government.

People want a greater voice in government. The *Los Angeles Times* found that 69% of the people feel that “people like me have almost no say in the political system,” *Los Angeles Times* November 5, 1995. The proposed National Advisory Referendum giving the President the power to call for a national vote on 1 to 3 issues every general election will give the people the greater voice they want in national decision-making through an advisory referendum. A democracy cannot continue to ignore the disaffection with government of a majority of its citizens. The National Advisory Referendum will create the most direct response to solving this serious problem by opening the doors of decision-making to the people themselves. Giving people a direct say on the issues is the best way to make people feel a part of the whole. “That government is strongest of which every man feels himself a part,” Thomas Jefferson.

2. A National Advisory Referendum will not change the ultimate decision-making authority of the President, the Congress or the federal agencies as provided for in the Constitution.

The proposal for a National Advisory Referendum is designed to give the President the power to forge a consensus for public policy while leaving the ultimate decision to elected officials or government agencies. The vote of the people would be purely advisory to guide government officials in the exercise of their responsibilities to act on behalf of the people.

3. A National Advisory Referendum on 1 to 3 issues chosen by the President for a vote every two years will not replace the principles of representative government with direct democracy.

Giving the President the discretionary authority to call a national referendum on 1 to 3 issues every general election does not even put a dent into the principles of representative government. Even on those issues put to a

popular vote, the elected officials would still have the responsibility to accept or reject the popular will expressed in the referendum and decide what action to take based on their judgment as elected officials. Any legislation passed pursuant to a National Advisory Referendum would be drafted, debated, amended and ultimately voted on just as all other bills are. In addition, the President, in his capacity as an elected official, would determine whether it is in the public interest to put any issues on the ballot for a popular vote.

The National Advisory Referendum is designed to create a more organized and more structured means for expressing public opinion on important issues so that elected officials can determine how best to represent the public interest as government officials. Officials rely on polls, focus groups, constituent mail and surveys, meetings with representatives from interest groups, newspaper articles and editorials, television news and other means to gauge public opinion before deciding what to do. All of these represent a fragmented approach to determining the public pulse for government action. The National Advisory Referendum is designed to provide a more structured mechanism for public input and is designed to be part of the input stage of public decision-making, not the decision-making itself by government officials.

This non-binding referendum should not be confused with other proposals to create a binding national referendum which would substitute a popular vote on a proposal for decisions made by elected officials. The National Advisory Referendum is not direct democracy where people pass the laws themselves. The advisory referendum is designed to increase public input while leaving the authority for making decisions untouched and untrammelled. Therefore, the proposal to seek advisory votes from the public on 1 to 3 issues every two years becomes part of the traditional responsibility of elected officials to gather public input and assess public opinion before making decisions. It does not change who makes and establishes public policy. It merely expands the ability of the people to participate in the public input stage of the democratic process.

4. We have a mixed democracy at the local and state level with both referendums and representative government working well together; the time has come to create a mixed democracy at the national level.

Some may argue that the framers of the Constitution created a system of government where only the elected representatives of the people made decisions. This may be true, but it ignores the reforms made by the Progressive movement to create a referendum process as a check on representative democracy. These reforms were instituted in almost half of the states, including the largest state, California. Therefore, we no longer have a pure representative democracy at work in the United States. We have a mixed democracy and it is working well with both representative government and the people themselves passing laws at the state level. During the 1996 elections, there were 91 referendums put to a vote of the people at the state level. This was the most referendums since the turn of the century when the rights of initiative and referendum were given to the public during the wave of reforms passed during the Progressive Era. Today it is clear that the people want more direct say in public policy matters. It is time to create a mixed democracy at the national level. Non-binding national referendums would allow us to experience public votes before deciding whether binding referendums as they exist at the state level would be appropriate at the national level.

5. The National Advisory Referendum will increase the power of the President to lead the nation in finding common ground for public policy proposals.

Currently the President must make his proposals to the Congress where they are heard and decided. Under the proposed National Advisory Referendum the President would have the power to make a proposal directly to the people, gain a mandate, and then make a formal proposal to the Congress after the people have voted in favor of its passage. This would give the President a new power to bring the country together before going to Congress.

6. The National Advisory Referendum will increase the power of the President to end gridlock in Congress.

When Congressional gridlock blocks an important Presidential proposal, the President will be able to end the gridlock by putting the issue before the people at the next general election to get a public mandate for its passage. This new leverage will give the President more power to achieve his public policy goals.

7. National Advisory Referendum is a marginal reform with a monumental impact in the best tradition of expanding democratic rights.

Thousands of public policy decisions are made by the President, Congress and federal agency officials each year on behalf of the public. To give the President the power to refer 1 to 3 issues for public debate and non-binding vote every two years represents a very small change in the way we govern ourselves. It is a marginal reform of representative government. However, it will be monumental in its symbolism and effect. For the first time in the history of this great nation, we as a people will come together to forge a consensus by public vote on a matter of public policy. The National Advisory Referendum will create a new mechanism to find the common ground among our people. The National Advisory Referendum will give new meaning to "We the people."

For over 200 years we have seen a steady march in history to expand democratic rights: eliminating property as a condition to vote; direct election of the United States Senate; state constitutional changes giving people the right to propose and pass laws through citizen initiatives; giving women the right to vote; elimination of poll taxes and other discriminatory measures against African-Americans; reducing the voting age from 21 to 18; passing the motor-voter registration law.

The National Advisory Referendum would continue our great march forward to the 21st century with a major expansion of democratic rights for all Americans. The changes would be marginal (advisory votes on 1 to 3 issues every two years) but the impact would be monumental (creating for the first time a right to vote on issues at the federal level.)

8. The National Advisory Referendum shifts power from the federal government to the people themselves.

According to an October 6, 1996 *New York Times* poll, 67% of men and 57% of women believe that “government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals.” The National Advisory Referendum will allow the President to gain public approval for new, far-reaching government initiatives before proposing them to Congress. At a time when the majority of Americans believe government is doing too much, this new mechanism for an advisory vote of the public would be a responsible way to expand the role of government. The issue is not whether government is big or small, but whether the government is doing what the public wants. The National Advisory Referendum would allow the President to overcome a presumption that the public does not favor expansive government programs by seeking direct public support for such measures as national health insurance prior to proposing them to Congress.

9. The National Advisory Referendum will allow the President to take more political risks to move the nation forward by gaining the consent of the people before seeking passage of politically risky proposals.

Special interest groups can mount successful campaigns to defeat proposals before Congress by running a campaign of misinformation and labels to scare the public into believing it is a bad proposal. This was effectively done to defeat national health insurance. The National Advisory Referendum will give the President the power to place a policy issue before the public to gain public support prior to making a formal proposal to the Congress. This will expand the President’s options in developing strategy and allow the President to take more political risk in moving the nation forward. The President will send the vast majority of his proposals to the Congress first, but with the National Advisory Referendum he will be able to take a few proposals to the people first. More options mean more power for the President to pass his legislative agenda.

10. The National Advisory Referendum will shift some of the moral responsibility for solving problems from government to the people as a whole so that we can collectively solve our problems.

When social problems are viewed as the government's problem, people tend not to take on a personal sense of moral responsibility. A National Advisory Referendum can shift more of the responsibility to the people themselves who have a moral obligation to shoulder this responsibility and collectively make the decisions to solve our social problems. If we are to resolve some of our deepest social problems such as those which involve poverty, the people themselves must be actively involved in accepting moral responsibility as a national community for finding solutions. The National Advisory Referendum will help us move away from the idea that we as individuals don't have any responsibility to solve these intractable problems.

The National Advisory Referendum process will give the President the power to seek public support for solutions to these problems. During the process of debate and discussion among the people, civic and religious groups will be actively involved in raising the moral consciousness of the people. This will have far reaching effects as we move into the next century.

People cannot be expected to take moral responsibility for the problems of our national community if they are not given the opportunity to participate in making decisions to solve our problems. **The concept of community responsibility must be expanded to embrace shared decision-making.**

11. The polls show that people are in favor of a national referendum.

The *Business Week*/Harris Poll of March 13, 1995, found that only 30% of the American people believed that "the U.S. government usually represents the interests of the American people," while 63% of the people believe that the U.S. government usually "represents special interests."

A *Los Angeles Times* poll of November 5, 1995, found that 69% of the people agree with the statement that "people like me have almost no say in the political system."

The Gallup Poll reported in the *Washington Post* on May 24, 1981, found that people favored by a 2 to 1 margin a constitutional amendment to create

a national citizen initiative right which would allow voters to place binding issues on the national ballot when 3% of eligible voters signed a petition.

A more recent poll by the Americans Talk Issues Foundation which was reported in the *Washington Post* in 1995 found that the same two-thirds majority favors having binding national referendums.

12. The National Advisory Referendum will strengthen our mutual sense of community by creating a structure for a National Town Meeting where we as a nation discuss the issues and then tell our elected officials what we want them to do.

Putting an issue on the ballot for a non-binding advisory vote by the public would be like holding a National Town Meeting where we as a nation can come together to form a consensus on public policy. By coming together as a national community to vote on public policy questions, we will strengthen our common ties, which bind us as a community and as a nation.

13. A National Advisory Referendum where millions of people vote is better than any poll or focus group in giving elected officials input on what the people want.

Polls and focus groups provide elected officials with a flawed sampling of public opinion even when they are scientifically valid for one simple reason: polls don't educate people prior to sampling their opinion. Moreover, when campaigns are run to involve people in a decision-making process, people often change their minds. Polls designed to gauge public opinion so that policy judgments can be made can't reflect the dynamics of a democracy, which has not yet been engaged. If there is no means to educate the public, the polls will reflect the views of an uninformed public. Therefore, a National Advisory Referendum has the benefit of moving our nation forward by creating a process which will help educate the public about more important public policy issues.

An excellent example of this polling flaw took place in Colorado during the 1996 elections. A right wing out-of state organization came into the state to place on the ballot a "parental rights" proposal giving parents the right to control their child's education, discipline and so forth. When the initiative was placed on the ballot the public opinion polls showed that an

overwhelming majority supported it. Yet after the campaigns of both proponents and opponents were run, the people voted it down by a wide margin. If elected officials decide policy on the basis of polls, they are making decisions on the shifting sands of public opinion which changes as people are given new information about the pros and cons of particular policy options. Polls can play an important role in a democracy to point elected officials in a particular direction, but they should never be cited as a legitimate reason for opposing giving the people as a whole a referendum process to forge a public consensus.

14. Thomas Jefferson first proposed the concept in 1816.

In 1816 Thomas Jefferson wrote a letter to Samuel Kercheval praising the New England Town Meeting concept as “the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation.” He stated that “the whole is cemented by giving to every citizen, personally, a part in the administration of the public affairs.”

Jefferson then put forth a plan to hold meetings simultaneously throughout the land so that the collective voice of the people could be gathered: “The mayor of every ward, on a question like the present, would call his ward together, take the simple yea or nay of its members, convey these to the county court, who would hand on those of all its wards to the proper general authority; and the voice of the whole people would be thus fairly, fully and peaceably expressed, discussed and decided by the common reason of society.”

Jefferson’s proposal for a National Advisory Referendum process was framed in the Kercheval letter in a discussion of how to keep our Constitution relevant by making “periodical repairs, from generation to generation, to the end of time, if anything human can so long endure.”

Jefferson says of each generation, “they have a right to direct what is the concern of themselves alone, and to declare the law of that direction; and this declaration can only be made by their majority.”

While Jefferson talks about a representative convention to make the “periodical repairs”, he clearly does not leave the decision-making to the exclusive discretion of the elected representatives to the convention. Jefferson’s vision is to create a process where everyone participates in a

direct way. He asks, "But how to collect their voice? This is the real difficulty." He rejects "meetings . . . so large that few will attend." Rather, he envisions small "ward" divisions modeled after the New England Town Meetings which are small enough that every citizen could attend and cast their "yea or nay" concerning the proposed changes to the Constitution.

While Jefferson set forth his democratic architecture to maximize democratic decision-making when making changes in the Constitution, the process can easily be adapted for anything of national concern through a National Advisory Referendum held at each general election.

Jefferson's focus was on the principle for "collecting their voice" so that the "voice of the whole people would be thus fairly, fully, and peaceably expressed, discussed, and decided by the common reason of the society" rather than focusing on the method. Jefferson's genius was that when proposing a principle, he also thought about the practical side of implementing it to make it workable in a functioning democracy.

Jefferson would be the first to say we should adapt his principle of "advisory" voting on the issues to the practical considerations of our time rather than be chained to his ideas for small meetings. His principles of including everyone into the process of decision-making should be our guiding light rather than his 1816 means of bringing our nation together through neighborhood meetings. As Jefferson himself said, " But I know also, that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors. It is this preposterous idea which has largely deluged Europe in blood."

Today we can take Jefferson's principles of democratic reform written in 1816 from the chief architect's perspective of our first 40 years as a democracy and implement them for the next Millenium in the form of a National Advisory Referendum. Jefferson believed that for democracy to survive, it must constantly change with each generation "so that it may be handed on, with periodical repairs, from generation to generation, to the end of time."

As we stand on the doorstep of a new Millenium, the time has come to build a bridge to the 21st century on the firm foundation of Jefferson's plans to give people a direct say on the issues through an advisory voting process.

15. It's inevitable that someday we will create a national referendum.

The march toward democracy is unstoppable over time, whether blocked at home or abroad. The right of people to control their own governments is so fundamental that it will overcome all obstacles in its path over the long term of history. Democratic decision-making has two fundamental components, which have been with us since the very beginning of this country: voting for representatives and voting on issues.

At the local level people have been voting for representatives and voting on issues even before the United States of America was formed. One only has to look at the New England Town Meetings for historical proof that Americans exercising their democratic rights never limited themselves to merely voting for representatives to make all the decisions for them and have a rich tradition of voting on issues throughout our history.

The desire to vote on issues beyond the local level prompted people in nearly half the states to change their state constitutions to allow citizens to vote directly on issues through citizen initiatives and referendums.

Currently, the twin democratic rights of voting for representatives and on the issues exist at the local and state level. There is no doubt that it is only a matter of time that the evolution of our democracy will once again expand citizen voting rights to include voting on issues at the federal level just as it was expanded from the local to state level in the early part of the 20th century.

Since the march to expand democratic participation is unstoppable, President Clinton has a unique opportunity to provide the vision needed to move our democracy forward into the 21st Century by proposing an expansion of the democratic franchise to vote on federal issues through a National Advisory Referendum.

16. President Clinton has a chance to join the same historically great Presidents as Washington, Lincoln, and F. Roosevelt by ushering in a fundamental change in the way we govern ourselves.

In an article in the December 15, 1996 issue of the *New York Times Magazine*, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. asked historians to rate the Presidents. Washington, Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt were judged as Great, while Jefferson, Jackson, Polk, T. Roosevelt, Wilson and Truman, were judged as near great.

After noting that the current consensus is that President Clinton is ranked among the average, Schlesinger offers this historical advice:

“To make a mark on history, let Clinton liberate himself from polls and focus groups. Let him put his first-rate intelligence to work on the hard issues. Playing it safe, taking it easy, sticking to the middle of the road may make for a more comfortable second term. But following this course would put Clinton alongside William Howard Taft and Rutherford B. Hayes on the ratings list. Only boldness and creativity, even if at times foiled and frustrated, will earn him a place among the nine immortals.”

The proposal for a National Advisory Referendum meets this historical test of tackling the tough issues with boldness and creativity. For decades politicians have failed to address the continuing alienation the majority of people feel from their federal government. People have been clamoring for more control and have gravitated to negative proposals like term limits simply out of political exasperation. Term limits address the symptoms of an unresponsive, isolated, insulated federal government, but do nothing to give people more actual control over the policies, which are the root of their frustration.

Politicians from both parties continue to practice “savior” politics: Vote for me and I will save you from the bad guys. But no one on the national stage has sought to solve the underlying problem of citizen alienation, which even President Clinton has talked about in his speeches. In a speech to Glendale Community College students in 1996, the President said, “Washington is far away. It’s easy to become alienated from it.”

During a speech to Iowa Democrats, President Clinton said, "We have to find a way to come together. If we do, there is no stopping us." The way to come together as a nation is to create a mechanism where we as a people can come together to forge a common consensus for public policy as Thomas Jefferson first envisioned in 1816 as revealed in a letter to Samuel Kercheval. (See point Number 14 above.)

President Clinton spoke about Jefferson's ideas during a visit to Monticello January 17, 1993, where he noted that Jefferson believed "people should be able to participate by voting every day or in small groups." When a student named Rowena queried the President about his Jeffersonian views, the President said he wanted to be "faithful to Jefferson's idea to shake things up once every generation." Then again on January 20, 1993, during a lunch in Washington, President Clinton echoed the ideas of Thomas Jefferson when he said, "Once in a generation we are called upon to redefine the public interest and the common ground."

The National Advisory Referendum is a practical, workable proposal for the 21st century to allow our nation of 265 million to come together on the issues as Jefferson envisioned almost two centuries ago. Moreover, it would shake things up in our democracy to provide a new vibrant dynamic between the people and their elected representatives at the national level in the best tradition of Jefferson's idea for periodic peaceful revolutions to move our nation forward.

President Clinton said in Monticello that during his 1992 presidential campaign, "Jefferson was associated with the populism of his day and so we chose him as a symbol of the populism of our campaign." But Jefferson is more than a symbol for President Clinton. The President bears his name--William Jefferson Clinton.

President Clinton is the only President in the history of our nation to bear Jefferson's name and share his populist ideals. The President is in a unique historical position to revive the populist participation proposal which Jefferson put forward in 1816 to expand democratic participation and make the New England Town Meeting a model for national decision-making.

It's impractical today to hold a series of town meetings to vote on a common issue as Jefferson envisioned in 1816. But we can as a nation come

together to vote on issues in a National Advisory Referendum and through our discussions and deliberations create a 21st century version of a National Town Meeting.

It is inevitable that someday some President will succeed in creating a national referendum. That change, though marginal in nature, would be such a monumental shift in “dynamic-power” to the people it would forever change the way we make national decisions. There is no doubt that such a monumental shift in “dynamic” power away from Congress to the people would vault that President to become one of the great Presidents in our nation’s history.

All the Presidents who have been judged as “great”, Washington, Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt were involved in either creating, preserving or shifting power: Washington pulled this nation together from the very beginning; Lincoln held it together when it was torn apart; and Franklin Roosevelt both created new federal powers and shifted more power to the national government.

A National Advisory Referendum would be such a huge shift in power that it would forever shape the future of our country in the same magnitude that Washington, Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt have done in their times. President Clinton called for a huge power shift in his first inaugural address when he said that we must “reform our politics, so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people.”

But it will take turning these great words into great deeds to make President Clinton one of the great Presidents in our nation’s history. The National Advisory Referendum would “reform our politics, so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people.”

If the President’s stirring call during his first inaugural address was to be the guiding vision of this President, then the National Advisory Referendum can be it’s fulfillment and the “Bridge to the 21st Century” upon which all Americans can, for the first time in the history of this great nation, walk across to forge a public consensus for our common destiny.

This truly would be a monumental shift in power--A great deed.

17. During the 1996 campaign President Clinton agreed that a national referendum would be an extension of his concept of community and in 1993 endorsed a national advisory referendum for the people of Russia as proposed by President Boris Yeltsin. Moreover, at a July 1999 fundraiser in Aspen, Colorado at the home of Senator Dianne Feinstein, President Clinton expressed interest in the idea of creating a National Advisory Referendum to give the people a greater voice.

President Clinton said in his State of the Union address for 1996, "We must go forward as one America . . . and try to find common ground." During the Presidential campaign for 1996, President Clinton talked continually about his vision of community where we as a people come together as a nation to forge a consensus for our future.

However, for the President's vision of a national community to survive, it must be turned into a structural change. Presidential visions fade with time; visions turned into structures last for all time for all to see. The key to turning President Clinton's vision of a national community of people caring for each other is to create a decision-making structure for this community.

The National Advisory Referendum is the decision-making structure upon which President Clinton can turn his vision of a national community into reality. Structures create a community. Without a decision-making structure where people can take direct responsibility for their national community, the President's vision will be illusory and lost for history.

Both Jefferson and President Clinton share the same vision for our national community. Jefferson said, "And the whole is cemented by giving every citizen, personally, a part of the administration of the public affairs."

Jefferson added, "I am not among those who fear the people."

While attending a fund-raiser for Tom Strickland, Democratic candidate for U. S. Senate in Colorado, I briefly spoke with the President about the idea for a national referendum. I said, "Mr. President, just think of the national referendum as an extension of your concept of community." The President paused for a moment and then said, "I agree."

On July 24, 1999, at the Aspen home of Senator Dianne Feinstein, I again spoke to the President about Jefferson's idea for a National Advisory Referendum process. After introducing myself to the President and reminding him that we had met at a fundraiser for Congressman Richard Gephardt in St. Louis in 1996 and again in Denver at a fundraiser for Tom Strickland where we talked about Jefferson's idea for a National Advisory Referendum, the President said, "One of my staff members told me you would be here." I said, " Mr. President, you share Jefferson's name. With the National Advisory Referendum, you can share Jefferson's legacy on democracy." The President said he remembered our meeting and talked about how he envisioned the National Advisory Referendum, "I would put out 3 issues every 4 years for the people to vote on. And since it would be non-binding, it wouldn't require a constitutional amendment." I responded, "Yes, Mr. President that's exactly right."

But the President has done more than just talk positively about Jefferson's ideas for a National Advisory Referendum. In fact, the President actually endorsed a National Advisory Referendum on March 3, 1993 for three national issues--for Russia--as proposed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. A review of the 3 ballot issues makes it clear that the national referendum was advisory: 1) "Do you have confidence in Russian President Boris Yeltsin?" 2) "Do you approve of the socio-economic policy carried out by the president of the Russian Federation?"; and 3) "Do you consider it necessary to carry out early elections for the president (and the deputies) of the Russian Federation?"

If President Clinton believes that a National Advisory Referendum is good for the Russian people, doesn't it also stand to reason that he should support a National Advisory Referendum for the people of the United States to express their will on some of the issues facing our nation?

On the night President Clinton was first elected, November 3, 1992, he showed his conceptual support for giving people more power over government by saying to the crowd assembled at the Governor's Mansion, "We must reform the political process, reduce the influence of special interests, and give more power to the people like you here tonight."

The best way to reform the political process to empower people is to change the structure of government itself by creating a mechanism that transfers power directly to the people. Giving people a chance to vote on national

issues would fulfill what President Clinton promised the people on the day he was first elected.

The National Advisory Referendum meets the three stated goals of the President--to reform the political process, to reduce the influence of special interests, and give more power to the people.

18. The National Advisory Referendum will help the President achieve the goals he established for his second term as expressed in his Inaugural Address, January 20, 1997.

Each of the following quotes are consistent with giving the people a new national voice on public policy issues through a mechanism which will allow everyone to participate in deciding the direction of public policy:

“We must keep our old democracy forever young.”

“At the dawn of the 21st century, a free people must now choose to shape the forces of the Information Age and the global society; to unleash the limitless potential of all our people; and yes, to form a more perfect union.”

“Today we can declare government is not the problem and government is not the solution. We, the American people, we are the solution.”

“We need a new government for a new century humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves.”

“Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century.”

“Will we be one nation, one people, with one common destiny or not?”

“And in this land of new promise, we will have reformed our politics so that the voice of the people will always speak louder than the din of narrow interests regaining the participation and deserving the trust of all Americans.”

“America demands and deserves big things from us, and nothing big ever came from being small.”

“And so, my fellow Americans, we must be strong, for this is much to dare.”

“Yes, let us build our bridge, a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise.”

Not only will the proposal for a National Advisory Referendum help the President achieve these goals by building a new structure for citizen participation in shaping public policy, but the President can also propose that for the first National Advisory Referendum in November of 2000 that the first three issues to be placed before the people in an advisory vote be three of the President’s proposals which were not approved by the Congress during the last 8 years. For example, the President could propose:

- 1) Any one of the gun control measures which the President proposed after the tragedy at Columbine High School and which failed to pass Congress;**
- 2) Any one of the Medicare or other health care reforms which Congress failed to pass; and**
- 3) Any one of the most important endeavors since the President Clinton was elected which Congress failed to pass.**

19. The National Advisory Referendum is the “express lane” for the “Bridge to the 21st Century.”

During the Presidential campaign of 1996, President Clinton said he wanted to build a bridge to the 21st century. If the President builds a traditional two-lane bridge for the Democrats and Republicans, there will be more traffic jams and gridlock on the bridge just as we have had on the bridge built for the 20th century. The time has come to build a bigger bridge with a third lane--an express lane directly to the people. The proposal to give the President the power to refer 1 to 3 issues to the people at every general

election for an advisory vote would create a badly needed **express lane** for the President and the people of the United States, allowing them to bypass the Congress when there is a legislative traffic jam on the bridge.

The President could use one of the standard Democratic and Republican lanes for the vast majority of his proposals. But when he finds that a few of his important ideas are being bogged down in the political traffic on the bridge, he would have the power to shift over to the **express lane** and go right to the people.

The fast paced world of the 21st century requires a bigger bridge with an **express lane** for the President and the people.

20. The National Advisory Referendum will provide an effective response to Republican ideas of limiting government at the federal level.

The Republican rise to power since their devastating defeat after Watergate has been built around the ideas of limiting the role of the federal government--less government, less taxes, less spending, and more local control--and, portraying the Democrats as the party of the defenders of big government, high taxes and out of control spending. The issue, however, is not whether the federal government is big or small, but whether it is doing what the people want, big or small.

Even though it is easy to argue that there are many "big" things that government does which benefit the public, e.g., food safety and Medicare, the risk of losing to a slick negative campaign causes most politicians to shy away from supporting an expanded role for government.

The National Advisory Referendum will give progressive politicians a way to build support for an expanded federal role by giving people an opportunity to vote for specific programs for the federal government. If the people vote for them, then Congress should enact them, be they big or small. In addition, referenda allow other groups to get involved in a public way. It takes some of the heat off elected officials and lets others get involved in educating the public. It brings about a more informed electorate and makes progressive politicians less vulnerable to the liberal-label attacks by conservatives.

If we fail to create a public decision-making mechanism like the National Advisory Referendum we will slow the pace of progressive change. Progressives who dare to propose expanded federal programs like national health care over the next decade are more likely to be defeated by conservative opponents running negative campaign ads to scare the public even before the progressives can build a legislative majority. By creating an “express lane” to the people, a progressive idea can be put forth directly to the people to gain the public support necessary to build a legislative majority.

Without a consensus building mechanism like the National Advisory Referendum, progressive politicians will more likely be marginalized by the middle and, as a result, our future will be compromised.

The National Advisory Referendum will give progressives new mobility and freedom to win the big games. In football terms, the National Advisory Referendum is like the West Coast passing offense. If progressives try to grind it out on the ground, they will lose to the bigger bodies that free agency money has produced for the conservatives. You can beat a bigger, stronger team with an effective passing game. The National Advisory Referendum is the passing attack progressives need as we enter the 21st century. The people are excellent receivers.

21. The National Advisory Referendum can be used to promote national health care reform and other proposals from the President.

The problem with first going to the Congress with fundamental changes affecting powerful economic interests is that they can distort the issues and run an effective misinformation campaign that thwarts the public interest. This is what happened to national health care reform. The problem is that there currently is no other way but to take your case to the Congress while trying to win the public relations battle with the public.

If we add a mechanism to our system of decision-making allowing the President to put 1 to 3 advisory issues before the people during each general election, the President would be able to first take his case to the people, beat the special interests at the ballot box, and get a mandate from the people to move forward.

The passage of a National Advisory Referendum would give new life to national health care reform. The President would be able to place before the people a national health care reform proposal either during the election of 1998 or 2000. The President should pick a winnable part of the past program such as the following:

Are you in favor of requiring companies with 15 or more employees to provide health insurance to their full-time employees?

Yes

No

This issue demonstrates how the President could put a proposal before the people, run a campaign for its approval, and then push it through the Congress after winning the mandate from the public.

22. The National Advisory Referendum will help replace the break down of big party, big interest group representation of the past several decades.

When President Clinton spoke at the Tom Strickland for Senate fund-raiser, he talked about how big interest group representation was breaking down. Not only was the era of big government at an end, but the idea of having a big interest group represent you, be it a party or a labor union, was also breaking down, the President said. People are more interested in the issues than the labels and affiliations.

The President is correct. Government by interest group is breaking down. In the past several decades people were effectively represented by the institutions to which they belonged. Not only did we have a representative form of government, **but also we had a representative form of participation.** People joined a labor union or a local political organization like a city ward. The people participated in the group whose leaders would in turn represent the members within in the world of government.

Now, more than ever before, we need to create a new mechanism where people can more effectively participate and represent their own interests directly to the government. The advances in computer technology and the

Internet will speed these trends along. And that is why the National Advisory Referendum is an idea whose time has come.

The National Advisory Referendum allows people to represent their own views directly without being a member of another group. In addition, the National Advisory Referendum will provide a mechanism for collective action by the national community. While the Internet and other advances in technology will empower people with access to information, for the foreseeable future, we will need some other way to come together as a nation rather than merely plugging into the Internet. The National Advisory Referendum is a practical way for millions of people to collectively participate in a democratic decision-making process.

23. The National Advisory Referendum will help counterbalance the influence of big money in politics.

It will always be easier for special interest groups to buy influence with Congress than with all the American people. While groups with money may still be able to fool the people some of the time in voting against their own interests by running a campaign of misinformation, it is far more likely that people will on most issues be able to figure out what is in their own self-interest.

While no system of democratic self-government has ever been designed as fool proof, the people are the best protectors of their own self-interest. As Thomas Jefferson said, "I am not among those who fear the people."

24. The National Advisory Referendum will help move our democracy away from labels, e.g. "tax and spend liberals," to the issues.

By having issues on the national ballot, people will be able to focus on the issues and not just the labels pinned on politicians by their opponents. When issues are on the ballot, it forces interest groups to educate the public about their positions and brings policy questions to the forefront of public debate. Having people debate the merits of national issues would have a positive enlightening affect on the voters and would diminish the impact of the politics of name calling and labeling.

25. The National Advisory Referendum will give second term Presidents more power to enact proposals in their last 2 years than ever before.

If the President had the power to refer 1 to 3 issues to the public, he would have more leverage with the Congress during his second term. If the Congress refused to enact the President's program in the first two years of the second term, the President would be able to take up to 3 of those issues directly to the people during the mid-term elections. This would create an entirely new dynamic for the President and give him more power in working with the Congress for passage of his second term agenda.

In addition, the President would also have the power to set the issues agenda for the Presidential election at the end of his term. This would significantly increase the leveraging power of the President in his final two years in office of his second term. Currently, the President has little leverage in his last two years in office of his second term.

26. Giving people the right to vote on national issues can become the next great civil rights movement for political equality in participation.

Too often the discussion of civil rights involves issues only affecting a minority of the population. Giving people the right to vote on national issues is an expansion of political rights for all Americans which will promote political equality. When there is an issue on the ballot, each vote will have the same equal impact, whether you are rich or poor. With respect to the issue on the ballot, the collective vote of the individual will be more powerful than the behind-the-scenes influence of interest groups.

To give people the right to vote on national issues would be an expansion of everyone's civil rights. At a time when many people question the value of many targeted programs favoring one group over another, the push for a National Advisory Referendum can be seen as the beginning of a democratic civil rights movement where everyone gains. This movement would encompass other issues to improve political equality in the United States such as campaign finance reform.

27. The National Advisory Referendum is the wedge issue for separating those who favor the power elites in our country from those who favor the people themselves.

When you get down to the bottom line, there is only one issue involving a National Advisory Referendum: do you trust the people? If an elected official does not trust the people enough to participate in a non-binding advisory referendum, how can he then say he can represent their interests? Those who don't trust the people to participate in a non-binding vote favor an elitist form of government over a populist form of government.

Conservatives have been using liberal elitism as a wedge issue against the Democrats. During the 1996 presidential campaign, Bob Dole said the difference between himself and President Clinton was that "Bob Dole trusts the people and Bill Clinton trusts the government." Newt Gingrich said on January 20, 1995, "Our goal is to disperse power so the people can decide."

The National Advisory Referendum will give the Democrats an important wedge issue to determine whether their Republican opponents are democrats with the small "d" or demagogues with a big "D". Elitism can be either liberal or conservative. The National Advisory Referendum can be a wedge issue to determine whether people are liberal elites or conservative elites. The American center, however, is not defined by liberal or conservative elites but by common sense-minded people. Elitism has no place in a democracy where public policy must be derived from the consent of the governed.

Too often elitism has been confused with leadership. In a democracy leadership is about forging a public consensus for public policy. Leadership is educating people so that a new consensus emerges for public policy that enjoys public support. Leadership is not dragging the people kicking and screaming into a future they do not want, no matter how right the public policy may seem to its proponents. Zealous righteousness, from either the left or right, is dangerous to a democracy where majority consent must be the basis for public policy.

Thomas Jefferson spelled out in his first inaugural address how the balance between majority will and minority rights must be maintained in a democracy.

“All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority in all cases is to prevail, that will, to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression.”

It is time to recognize that enlightened social policy means that the people themselves are brought into the consensus of decision-making. It is time to understand that leadership is not the prudent exercise of social authority over people but rather the ability to persuade the people to willingly follow the chosen path and facilitate their participation in determining its direction. It is time to understand that any political party, which does not have trust and confidence in the people, does not have any legitimacy to claim it represents their interests.

With a National Advisory Referendum, the President would lead, the people would decide, and Congress would act on the will of the people.

28. The people will benefit greatly with increased participation with no significant increase in the cost of government.

From a cost/benefit perspective, the National Advisory Referendum wins hands down. Giving people the right to participate in a national referendum would cost very little since the voting would take place at already scheduled general elections. There would be insignificant costs in coordinating the ballot issues with the several states.

29. Other nations allow their citizens to vote on national issues.

The people of Switzerland vote on numerous national issues every election.

In 1995 the President of France was given the power to refer issues to the people in a national referendum.

The people of Ireland have held national referendums.

The people of Sweden have held national referendums.

In 1993 Russia held a non-binding advisory referendum on 3 issues, which was endorsed by President Clinton.

The United States is a leader in democratic self-government. We should continue that role by creating a National Advisory Referendum as a way of expanding popular participation for the 21st century.

Ironically, the only national referendum held in the United States was sponsored by the Postal Service to determine which Elvis stamp would be issued (over one million people voted!) Shouldn't the people have the right to vote on more meaningful issues like health care?

30. The time is right to give people an advisory vote on national issues as we enter a new age of technology and information.

As the information age continues to explode into the next century, the people will continue to have access to more and more information. C-span, the Internet, information data banks and web-sites for interest groups and campaigns are just a few of the many new ways people are getting information about public issues which were never envisioned even 20 years ago.

Information is the currency of democracy. The more people are informed, the more they are capable of participating in making decisions. While access to information has expanded exponentially, the way we make decisions at the federal level has remained the same as it was over 200 years ago.

As people gain access to more and more information, they will demand the right to participate more and more in the decision-making process of government. The process of expanding information and demanding more participation are part of the same democratic equation. You can't have the former without the latter. Data flow and decision-making are part of an unstoppable evolution for the 21st century.

Today over 100 million Americans have access to the Internet. We are fast approaching the day when we as a nation can come together on the Internet without waiting for Congress to embrace a more participatory democracy. If Congress fails to act to establish a formal National Advisory Referendum

process for every general election, the President will be able to go directly to the people for an advisory vote on the Internet to create a working model for the future of citizen participation and force Congress to pass the National Advisory Referendum proposal. While Congress fails to act, voting kiosks could be set up in public offices and publicly-funded libraries to provide Internet voting access for those without computers. In other words, if Congress fails to act, the technology can quickly be put in place to create an advisory voting process. Once people start voting on issues at the first general election, those members of the Congress and Senate who blocked the bill for a National Advisory Referendum will be vulnerable to defeat as blocking the doorway to expanded democratic decision-making.

Currently, TCI (recently merged with AT&T) and Microsoft are developing the technology to merge television, computers and the Internet to expand access to information and entertainment options. However, once this technology is rolled out, it can be turned into a decision-making mechanism for public policy formation. Through television and Internet technology, the President would be able to hold a National Town Meeting to discuss a national issue and ask people to cast an advisory vote to help gauge public opinion. The day when the President asks everyone to provide input through an Internet web-vote is just around the next bend of the century.

The technology for collecting web-votes is already in place. Commercial web-sites are already asking people to participate in making decisions. The Biography Channel allowed people to program the channel for a week by voting in several different categories from sports heroes to political leaders who they wanted to see on television. ESPN gave viewers the same opportunity to program a week of ESPN Classic sports shows and ESPN regularly asks viewers to vote on who was the greatest athlete for a particular category. *Time Magazine* asked readers to vote on the Internet for the 100 people who had the greatest impact (good or bad) in the 20th Century.

While more and more people participate in voting on commercial web-sites and feel empowered by their participation, it will be only a short period of time before people will demand the same participatory rights from their government.

Government leaders who fail to see the emerging technology as a model for greater public participation in policy formation will be left in the dustbins of

history. Our democratic future will be one of greater, not lesser, public participation in government decision-making.

While the technology of today will allow greater public participation in policy formation, holding a televised meeting with an instant Internet vote would be a weak and unacceptable substitute for a National Advisory Referendum where campaigns for and against are run prior to the actual vote at the time of elections. Instant voting, while useful for gauging public opinion, is not democracy in action. Democratic decision-making requires informed choices to be made after consideration of all the issues both pro and con. It requires time to think, time to reflect, time to listen, time to talk. Democracy is at its best as a deliberative process, not as a push-button technology.

Having a participatory web-site is nothing like holding a National Advisory Referendum where competing ideas are put to the test of public consideration and decision. However, the idea of voting on the web can be a model for forming a National Advisory Referendum every general election where we come together as a nation to participate in shaping public policy.

Our old democratic bridges from the past 200 years were built for smaller traffic volumes of elected officials and interest group representatives. Today we need a new democratic bridge, one that will handle all the people coming together as a nation to cross the bridge at the same time.

Thomas Jefferson first drew up the blueprint for an expanded democratic bridge in 1816 when he put forward the concept of a collective group of local meetings where the people voted on the issues. The National Advisory Referendum is the modern version of this simple idea and built upon the same solid foundation that government works best when it is derived from the consent of the governed and where every person feels himself a part.

We seek to build upon our democratic traditions to form a new mechanism in which we as a people can begin to collectively search out our common destiny. As we boldly begin a search for a new consensus, we are guided by our most fundamental principles and seek to give contemporary meaning to the words, "We the people."

This is the bridge to the 21st century where everyone can walk across. Thomas Jefferson waits to greet us on the other side.

Protective Factors, Resiliency, and Healthy Youth Development

MICHAEL D. RESNICK, Ph.D.

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Innovations in scientific inquiry may eventually achieve the status of common sense understanding in everyday practice. In the field of adolescent health, the latter half of the 1990s has witnessed a tremendous acceleration of interest in the concepts of resiliency, protective factors, and healthy adolescent development. Fueled by a common interest in the question: "What works?" the idea of protecting young people from harm through a combination of risk reduction and the promotion of protective factors has gained currency across multiple health disciplines, among educators, social service providers, youth workers—in short, among a variety of adults working with and on behalf of young people.^{13,36,45} Conference presentations and scientific publications on protective factors have become increasingly common across adolescent health disciplines in the past several years. Yet, the quest to understand the interplay between risk and protective factors within the significant social systems in young peoples' lives became a central component of scientific investigation more than 25 years ago.³⁵ It has subsequently become essential to identifying themes and issues important to clinical practice, the further development of prevention research, and health promotion programming.^{36,46}

The seminal works on child and adolescent resiliency from the 1970s and 1980s focused on young people who lived in contexts predictive of poor social and psychological outcomes.^{1,26,39,62} Due to a variety of stressful circumstances such as poverty, familial conflict, parental mental illness, children and adolescents reared in such settings were considered to be at heightened risk for a variety of adverse outcomes familiar to adolescent-focused practitioners:

The Advertising Council inc

December 9, 1999

Ms. Karin Kullman
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Office of Domestic Policy
Old Executive Office Building
Room 207
Washington, DC 20500

Ann -
If you're
interested.

Karin

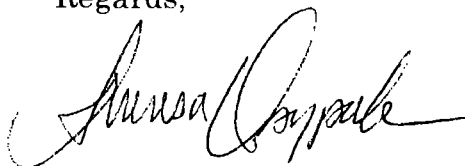
Dear Ms. Kullman,

Per my conversation with Jeff Bleich, and per your conversation with Diana Sciocchetti, enclosed are the radio PSAs we created on behalf of the National Campaign Against Youth Violence for your review. They are entitled "Colby" and "Teenagers" and target parents.

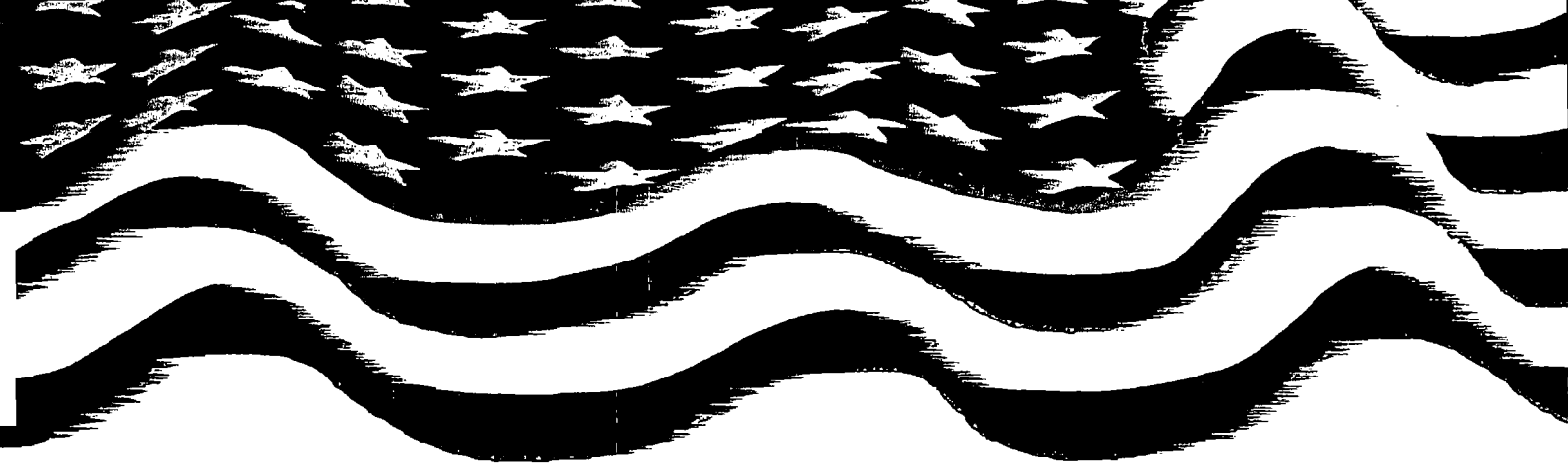
Today I am also forwarding Jeff a list of Ad Council recommended names to invite for Tuesday's proposed event, per his request.

Thank you very much for all that you do to support our work. We certainly appreciate it. Feel free to give a call to Diana (212-984-1969) or me (202-331-5078) with any questions.

Regards,



Theresa Osypuk
Campaign Director
Washington Office



**A PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH A
NATIONAL ADVISORY REFERENDUM
ON ISSUES REFERRED TO THE
PEOPLE BY THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES**

Prepared for President William Jefferson Clinton

By Tom Ryan

**August 5, 1999
Denver, Colorado
303-973-5077
ryandenver@msn.com**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 8, 1996

Mr. Tom W. Ryan
144 Willowleaf Drive
Littleton, Colorado 80127

Dear Tom:

Senator Bradley recently sent me your letter explaining your proposal to create a National Advisory Referendum. I appreciate your long-standing interest in this issue, and I'm glad to know of your deep commitment to strengthening our democracy. I have shared your letter with my Office of Scheduling to determine whether the meeting you requested will be possible.

I'm glad you took the time to write.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

U. S. SENATOR...



JOHN F. KENNEDY
FOR PRESIDENT

★ ★ ★ ★

HEADQUARTERS - 1106 CONNECTICUT AVE., N.W. - WASHINGTON, D. C. - DISTRICT 7-1717

November 2, 1960

Mr. Tommy Ryan
114 North Elizabeth
Fergusson 35, Montana

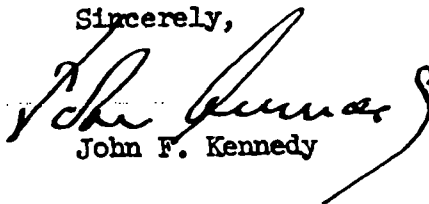
Dear Tommy:

I was delighted to receive your thoughtful letter.

I am indeed pleased to know of your interest in the affairs of our country, and I am especially pleased that you are "in my corner" in this election.

I am proud to number you among my supporters.

Sincerely,


John F. Kennedy

**Proposed Legislation
to Give the President of the United States the
Power to Refer to the People up to Three
Issues for a National Advisory Referendum to
Give People a Greater Voice in Government
and to Forge a Common Consensus on
Matters of Public Policy.**

Section 1. The President of the United States may at his sole discretion submit to the voters of the United States one, two or three issues for a non-binding advisory vote of the people to be held at any general election for the Congress of the United States.

Section 2. The purpose of the advisory referendum is to give people a greater voice in shaping national policy by directly participating in a vote on issues referred to the people by the President of the United States. Issues submitted by the President may include proposed federal legislation, regulations or executive branch policies. Any issue referred to the voters of the United States shall be written in such a way that a "yes" or "no" vote may be taken.

Section 3. The President shall submit to the election authorities of the several states the issues for the advisory vote of the people no later than 120 days prior to the general election. The issues submitted by the President shall appear on the ballot in close proximity to the election of the Senators and Representatives to the Congress of the United States.

Section 4. Any state receiving federal funds shall participate in any referendum referred to the several states by the President of the United States as a condition for the continued receipt of federal moneys.

Section 5. Enforcement of this act shall be by a writ of mandamus in federal district court.

30 Reasons in Support of a National Advisory Referendum

1. The National Advisory Referendum will give people a greater voice in government.

People want a greater voice in government. The *Los Angeles Times* found that 69% of the people feel that “people like me have almost no say in the political system,” *Los Angeles Times* November 5, 1995. The proposed National Advisory Referendum giving the President the power to call for a national vote on 1 to 3 issues every general election will give the people the greater voice they want in national decision-making through an advisory referendum. A democracy cannot continue to ignore the disaffection with government of a majority of its citizens. The National Advisory Referendum will create the most direct response to solving this serious problem by opening the doors of decision-making to the people themselves. Giving people a direct say on the issues is the best way to make people feel a part of the whole. “That government is strongest of which every man feels himself a part,” Thomas Jefferson.

2. A National Advisory Referendum will not change the ultimate decision-making authority of the President, the Congress or the federal agencies as provided for in the Constitution.

The proposal for a National Advisory Referendum is designed to give the President the power to forge a consensus for public policy while leaving the ultimate decision to elected officials or government agencies. The vote of the people would be purely advisory to guide government officials in the exercise of their responsibilities to act on behalf of the people.

3. A National Advisory Referendum on 1 to 3 issues chosen by the President for a vote every two years will not replace the principles of representative government with direct democracy.

Giving the President the discretionary authority to call a national referendum on 1 to 3 issues every general election does not even put a dent into the principles of representative government. Even on those issues put to a

popular vote, the elected officials would still have the responsibility to accept or reject the popular will expressed in the referendum and decide what action to take based on their judgment as elected officials. Any legislation passed pursuant to a National Advisory Referendum would be drafted, debated, amended and ultimately voted on just as all other bills are. In addition, the President, in his capacity as an elected official, would determine whether it is in the public interest to put any issues on the ballot for a popular vote.

The National Advisory Referendum is designed to create a more organized and more structured means for expressing public opinion on important issues so that elected officials can determine how best to represent the public interest as government officials. Officials rely on polls, focus groups, constituent mail and surveys, meetings with representatives from interest groups, newspaper articles and editorials, television news and other means to gauge public opinion before deciding what to do. All of these represent a fragmented approach to determining the public pulse for government action. The National Advisory Referendum is designed to provide a more structured mechanism for public input and is designed to be part of the input stage of public decision-making, not the decision-making itself by government officials.

This non-binding referendum should not be confused with other proposals to create a binding national referendum which would substitute a popular vote on a proposal for decisions made by elected officials. The National Advisory Referendum is not direct democracy where people pass the laws themselves. The advisory referendum is designed to increase public input while leaving the authority for making decisions untouched and untrammelled. Therefore, the proposal to seek advisory votes from the public on 1 to 3 issues every two years becomes part of the traditional responsibility of elected officials to gather public input and assess public opinion before making decisions. It does not change who makes and establishes public policy. It merely expands the ability of the people to participate in the public input stage of the democratic process.

4. We have a mixed democracy at the local and state level with both referendums and representative government working well together; the time has come to create a mixed democracy at the national level.

Some may argue that the framers of the Constitution created a system of government where only the elected representatives of the people made decisions. This may be true, but it ignores the reforms made by the Progressive movement to create a referendum process as a check on representative democracy. These reforms were instituted in almost half of the states, including the largest state, California. Therefore, we no longer have a pure representative democracy at work in the United States. We have a mixed democracy and it is working well with both representative government and the people themselves passing laws at the state level. During the 1996 elections, there were 91 referendums put to a vote of the people at the state level. This was the most referendums since the turn of the century when the rights of initiative and referendum were given to the public during the wave of reforms passed during the Progressive Era. Today is it clear that the people want more direct say in public policy matters. It is time to create a mixed democracy at the national level. Non-binding national referendums would allow us to experience public votes before deciding whether binding referendums as they exist at the state level would be appropriate at the national level.

5. The National Advisory Referendum will increase the power of the President to lead the nation in finding common ground for public policy proposals.

Currently the President must make his proposals to the Congress where they are heard and decided. Under the proposed National Advisory Referendum the President would have the power to make a proposal directly to the people, gain a mandate, and then make a formal proposal to the Congress after the people have voted in favor of its passage. This would give the President a new power to bring the country together before going to Congress.

6. The National Advisory Referendum will increase the power of the President to end gridlock in Congress.

When Congressional gridlock blocks an important Presidential proposal, the President will be able to end the gridlock by putting the issue before the people at the next general election to get a public mandate for its passage. This new leverage will give the President more power to achieve his public policy goals.

7. National Advisory Referendum is a marginal reform with a monumental impact in the best tradition of expanding democratic rights.

Thousands of public policy decisions are made by the President, Congress and federal agency officials each year on behalf of the public. To give the President the power to refer 1 to 3 issues for public debate and non-binding vote every two years represents a very small change in the way we govern ourselves. It is a marginal reform of representative government. However, it will be monumental in its symbolism and effect. For the first time in the history of this great nation, we as a people will come together to forge a consensus by public vote on a matter of public policy. The National Advisory Referendum will create a new mechanism to find the common ground among our people. The National Advisory Referendum will give new meaning to "We the people."

For over 200 years we have seen a steady march in history to expand democratic rights: eliminating property as a condition to vote; direct election of the United States Senate; state constitutional changes giving people the right to propose and pass laws through citizen initiatives; giving women the right to vote; elimination of poll taxes and other discriminatory measures against African-Americans; reducing the voting age from 21 to 18; passing the motor-voter registration law.

The National Advisory Referendum would continue our great march forward to the 21st century with a major expansion of democratic rights for all Americans. The changes would be marginal (advisory votes on 1 to 3 issues every two years) but the impact would be monumental (creating for the first time a right to vote on issues at the federal level.)

8. The National Advisory Referendum shifts power from the federal government to the people themselves.

According to an October 6, 1996 *New York Times* poll, 67% of men and 57% of women believe that “government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals.” The National Advisory Referendum will allow the President to gain public approval for new, far-reaching government initiatives before proposing them to Congress. At a time when the majority of Americans believe government is doing too much, this new mechanism for an advisory vote of the public would be a responsible way to expand the role of government. The issue is not whether government is big or small, but whether the government is doing what the public wants. The National Advisory Referendum would allow the President to overcome a presumption that the public does not favor expansive government programs by seeking direct public support for such measures as national health insurance prior to proposing them to Congress.

9. The National Advisory Referendum will allow the President to take more political risks to move the nation forward by gaining the consent of the people before seeking passage of politically risky proposals.

Special interest groups can mount successful campaigns to defeat proposals before Congress by running a campaign of misinformation and labels to scare the public into believing it is a bad proposal. This was effectively done to defeat national health insurance. The National Advisory Referendum will give the President the power to place a policy issue before the public to gain public support prior to making a formal proposal to the Congress. This will expand the President’s options in developing strategy and allow the President to take more political risk in moving the nation forward. The President will send the vast majority of his proposals to the Congress first, but with the National Advisory Referendum he will be able to take a few proposals to the people first. More options mean more power for the President to pass his legislative agenda.

10. The National Advisory Referendum will shift some of the moral responsibility for solving problems from government to the people as a whole so that we can collectively solve our problems.

When social problems are viewed as the government's problem, people tend not to take on a personal sense of moral responsibility. A National Advisory Referendum can shift more of the responsibility to the people themselves who have a moral obligation to shoulder this responsibility and collectively make the decisions to solve our social problems. If we are to resolve some of our deepest social problems such as those which involve poverty, the people themselves must be actively involved in accepting moral responsibility as a national community for finding solutions. The National Advisory Referendum will help us move away from the idea that we as individuals don't have any responsibility to solve these intractable problems.

The National Advisory Referendum process will give the President the power to seek public support for solutions to these problems. During the process of debate and discussion among the people, civic and religious groups will be actively involved in raising the moral consciousness of the people. This will have far reaching effects as we move into the next century.

People cannot be expected to take moral responsibility for the problems of our national community if they are not given the opportunity to participate in making decisions to solve our problems. **The concept of community responsibility must be expanded to embrace shared decision-making.**

11. The polls show that people are in favor of a national referendum.

The *Business Week*/Harris Poll of March 13, 1995, found that only 30% of the American people believed that "the U.S. government usually represents the interests of the American people," while 63% of the people believe that the U.S. government usually "represents special interests."

A *Los Angeles Times* poll of November 5, 1995, found that 69% of the people agree with the statement that "people like me have almost no say in the political system."

The Gallup Poll reported in the *Washington Post* on May 24, 1981, found that people favored by a 2 to 1 margin a constitutional amendment to create

a national citizen initiative right which would allow voters to place binding issues on the national ballot when 3% of eligible voters signed a petition.

A more recent poll by the Americans Talk Issues Foundation which was reported in the *Washington Post* in 1995 found that the same two-thirds majority favors having binding national referendums.

12. The National Advisory Referendum will strengthen our mutual sense of community by creating a structure for a National Town Meeting where we as a nation discuss the issues and then tell our elected officials what we want them to do.

Putting an issue on the ballot for a non-binding advisory vote by the public would be like holding a National Town Meeting where we as a nation can come together to form a consensus on public policy. By coming together as a national community to vote on public policy questions, we will strengthen our common ties, which bind us as a community and as a nation.

13. A National Advisory Referendum where millions of people vote is better than any poll or focus group in giving elected officials input on what the people want.

Polls and focus groups provide elected officials with a flawed sampling of public opinion even when they are scientifically valid for one simple reason: polls don't educate people prior to sampling their opinion. Moreover, when campaigns are run to involve people in a decision-making process, people often change their minds. Polls designed to gauge public opinion so that policy judgments can be made can't reflect the dynamics of a democracy, which has not yet been engaged. If there is no means to educate the public, the polls will reflect the views of an uninformed public. Therefore, a National Advisory Referendum has the benefit of moving our nation forward by creating a process which will help educate the public about more important public policy issues.

An excellent example of this polling flaw took place in Colorado during the 1996 elections. A right wing out-of state organization came into the state to place on the ballot a "parental rights" proposal giving parents the right to control their child's education, discipline and so forth. When the initiative was placed on the ballot the public opinion polls showed that an

overwhelming majority supported it. Yet after the campaigns of both proponents and opponents were run, the people voted it down by a wide margin. If elected officials decide policy on the basis of polls, they are making decisions on the shifting sands of public opinion which changes as people are given new information about the pros and cons of particular policy options. Polls can play an important role in a democracy to point elected officials in a particular direction, but they should never be cited as a legitimate reason for opposing giving the people as a whole a referendum process to forge a public consensus.

14. Thomas Jefferson first proposed the concept in 1816.

In 1816 Thomas Jefferson wrote a letter to Samuel Kercheval praising the New England Town Meeting concept as “the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation.” He stated that “the whole is cemented by giving to every citizen, personally, a part in the administration of the public affairs.”

Jefferson then put forth a plan to hold meetings simultaneously throughout the land so that the collective voice of the people could be gathered: “The mayor of every ward, on a question like the present, would call his ward together, take the simple yea or nay of its members, convey these to the county court, who would hand on those of all its wards to the proper general authority; and the voice of the whole people would be thus fairly, fully and peaceably expressed, discussed and decided by the common reason of society.”

Jefferson’s proposal for a National Advisory Referendum process was framed in the Kercheval letter in a discussion of how to keep our Constitution relevant by making “periodical repairs, from generation to generation, to the end of time, if anything human can so long endure.”

Jefferson says of each generation, “they have a right to direct what is the concern of themselves alone, and to declare the law of that direction; and this declaration can only be made by their majority.”

While Jefferson talks about a representative convention to make the “periodical repairs”, he clearly does not leave the decision-making to the exclusive discretion of the elected representatives to the convention. Jefferson’s vision is to create a process where everyone participates in a

direct way. He asks, "But how to collect their voice? This is the real difficulty." He rejects "meetings . . . so large that few will attend." Rather, he envisions small "ward" divisions modeled after the New England Town Meetings which are small enough that every citizen could attend and cast their "yea or nay" concerning the proposed changes to the Constitution.

While Jefferson set forth his democratic architecture to maximize democratic decision-making when making changes in the Constitution, the process can easily be adapted for anything of national concern through a National Advisory Referendum held at each general election.

Jefferson's focus was on the principle for "collecting their voice" so that the "voice of the whole people would be thus fairly, fully, and peaceably expressed, discussed, and decided by the common reason of the society" rather than focusing on the method. Jefferson's genius was that when proposing a principle, he also thought about the practical side of implementing it to make it workable in a functioning democracy.

Jefferson would be the first to say we should adapt his principle of "advisory" voting on the issues to the practical considerations of our time rather than be chained to his ideas for small meetings. His principles of including everyone into the process of decision-making should be our guiding light rather than his 1816 means of bringing our nation together through neighborhood meetings. As Jefferson himself said, " But I know also, that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors. It is this preposterous idea which has largely deluged Europe in blood."

Today we can take Jefferson's principles of democratic reform written in 1816 from the chief architect's perspective of our first 40 years as a democracy and implement them for the next Millenium in the form of a National Advisory Referendum. Jefferson believed that for democracy to survive, it must constantly change with each generation "so that it may be handed on, with periodical repairs, from generation to generation, to the end of time."

As we stand on the doorstep of a new Millenium, the time has come to build a bridge to the 21st century on the firm foundation of Jefferson's plans to give people a direct say on the issues through an advisory voting process.

15. It's inevitable that someday we will create a national referendum.

The march toward democracy is unstoppable over time, whether blocked at home or abroad. The right of people to control their own governments is so fundamental that it will overcome all obstacles in its path over the long term of history. Democratic decision-making has two fundamental components, which have been with us since the very beginning of this country: voting for representatives and voting on issues.

At the local level people have been voting for representatives and voting on issues even before the United States of America was formed. One only has to look at the New England Town Meetings for historical proof that Americans exercising their democratic rights never limited themselves to merely voting for representatives to make all the decisions for them and have a rich tradition of voting on issues throughout our history.

The desire to vote on issues beyond the local level prompted people in nearly half the states to change their state constitutions to allow citizens to vote directly on issues through citizen initiatives and referendums.

Currently, the twin democratic rights of voting for representatives and on the issues exist at the local and state level. There is no doubt that it is only a matter of time that the evolution of our democracy will once again expand citizen voting rights to include voting on issues at the federal level just as it was expanded from the local to state level in the early part of the 20th century.

Since the march to expand democratic participation is unstoppable, President Clinton has a unique opportunity to provide the vision needed to move our democracy forward into the 21st Century by proposing an expansion of the democratic franchise to vote on federal issues through a National Advisory Referendum.

16. President Clinton has a chance to join the same historically great Presidents as Washington, Lincoln, and F. Roosevelt by ushering in a fundamental change in the way we govern ourselves.

In an article in the December 15, 1996 issue of the *New York Times Magazine*, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. asked historians to rate the Presidents. Washington, Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt were judged as Great, while Jefferson, Jackson, Polk, T. Roosevelt, Wilson and Truman, were judged as near great.

After noting that the current consensus is that President Clinton is ranked among the average, Schlesinger offers this historical advice:

“To make a mark on history, let Clinton liberate himself from polls and focus groups. Let him put his first-rate intelligence to work on the hard issues. Playing it safe, taking it easy, sticking to the middle of the road may make for a more comfortable second term. But following this course would put Clinton alongside William Howard Taft and Rutherford B. Hayes on the ratings list. Only boldness and creativity, even if at times foiled and frustrated, will earn him a place among the nine immortals.”

The proposal for a National Advisory Referendum meets this historical test of tackling the tough issues with boldness and creativity. For decades politicians have failed to address the continuing alienation the majority of people feel from their federal government. People have been clamoring for more control and have gravitated to negative proposals like term limits simply out of political exasperation. Term limits address the symptoms of an unresponsive, isolated, insulated federal government, but do nothing to give people more actual control over the policies, which are the root of their frustration.

Politicians from both parties continue to practice “savior” politics: Vote for me and I will save you from the bad guys. But no one on the national stage has sought to solve the underlying problem of citizen alienation, which even President Clinton has talked about in his speeches. In a speech to Glendale Community College students in 1996, the President said, “Washington is far away. It’s easy to become alienated from it.”

During a speech to Iowa Democrats, President Clinton said, "We have to find a way to come together. If we do, there is no stopping us." The way to come together as a nation is to create a mechanism where we as a people can come together to forge a common consensus for public policy as Thomas Jefferson first envisioned in 1816 as revealed in a letter to Samuel Kercheval. (See point Number 14 above.)

President Clinton spoke about Jefferson's ideas during a visit to Monticello January 17, 1993, where he noted that Jefferson believed "people should be able to participate by voting every day or in small groups." When a student named Rowena queried the President about his Jeffersonian views, the President said he wanted to be "faithful to Jefferson's idea to shake things up once every generation." Then again on January 20, 1993, during a lunch in Washington, President Clinton echoed the ideas of Thomas Jefferson when he said, "Once in a generation we are called upon to redefine the public interest and the common ground."

The National Advisory Referendum is a practical, workable proposal for the 21st century to allow our nation of 265 million to come together on the issues as Jefferson envisioned almost two centuries ago. Moreover, it would shake things up in our democracy to provide a new vibrant dynamic between the people and their elected representatives at the national level in the best tradition of Jefferson's idea for periodic peaceful revolutions to move our nation forward.

President Clinton said in Monticello that during his 1992 presidential campaign, "Jefferson was associated with the populism of his day and so we chose him as a symbol of the populism of our campaign." But Jefferson is more than a symbol for President Clinton. The President bears his name-- William Jefferson Clinton.

President Clinton is the only President in the history of our nation to bear Jefferson's name and share his populist ideals. The President is in a unique historical position to revive the populist participation proposal which Jefferson put forward in 1816 to expand democratic participation and make the New England Town Meeting a model for national decision-making.

It's impractical today to hold a series of town meetings to vote on a common issue as Jefferson envisioned in 1816. But we can as a nation come

together to vote on issues in a National Advisory Referendum and through our discussions and deliberations create a 21st century version of a National Town Meeting.

It is inevitable that someday some President will succeed in creating a national referendum. That change, though marginal in nature, would be such a monumental shift in “dynamic-power” to the people it would forever change the way we make national decisions. There is no doubt that such a monumental shift in “dynamic” power away from Congress to the people would vault that President to become one of the great Presidents in our nation’s history.

All the Presidents who have been judged as “great”, Washington, Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt were involved in either creating, preserving or shifting power: Washington pulled this nation together from the very beginning; Lincoln held it together when it was torn apart; and Franklin Roosevelt both created new federal powers and shifted more power to the national government.

A National Advisory Referendum would be such a huge shift in power that it would forever shape the future of our country in the same magnitude that Washington, Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt have done in their times. President Clinton called for a huge power shift in his first inaugural address when he said that we must “reform our politics, so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people.”

But it will take turning these great words into great deeds to make President Clinton one of the great Presidents in our nation’s history. The National Advisory Referendum would “reform our politics, so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people.”

If the President’s stirring call during his first inaugural address was to be the guiding vision of this President, then the National Advisory Referendum can be it’s fulfillment and the “Bridge to the 21st Century” upon which all Americans can, for the first time in the history of this great nation, walk across to forge a public consensus for our common destiny.

This truly would be a monumental shift in power--A great deed.

17. During the 1996 campaign President Clinton agreed that a national referendum would be an extension of his concept of community and in 1993 endorsed a national advisory referendum for the people of Russia as proposed by President Boris Yeltsin. Moreover, at a July 1999 fundraiser in Aspen, Colorado at the home of Senator Dianne Feinstein, President Clinton expressed interest in the idea of creating a National Advisory Referendum to give the people a greater voice.

President Clinton said in his State of the Union address for 1996, "We must go forward as one America . . . and try to find common ground." During the Presidential campaign for 1996, President Clinton talked continually about his vision of community where we as a people come together as a nation to forge a consensus for our future.

However, for the President's vision of a national community to survive, it must be turned into a structural change. Presidential visions fade with time; visions turned into structures last for all time for all to see. The key to turning President Clinton's vision of a national community of people caring for each other is to create a decision-making structure for this community.

The National Advisory Referendum is the decision-making structure upon which President Clinton can turn his vision of a national community into reality. Structures create a community. Without a decision-making structure where people can take direct responsibility for their national community, the President's vision will be illusory and lost for history.

Both Jefferson and President Clinton share the same vision for our national community. Jefferson said, "And the whole is cemented by giving every citizen, personally, a part of the administration of the public affairs."

Jefferson added, "I am not among those who fear the people."

While attending a fund-raiser for Tom Strickland, Democratic candidate for U. S. Senate in Colorado, I briefly spoke with the President about the idea for a national referendum. I said, "Mr. President, just think of the national referendum as an extension of your concept of community." The President paused for a moment and then said, "I agree."

On July 24, 1999, at the Aspen home of Senator Dianne Feinstein, I again spoke to the President about Jefferson's idea for a National Advisory Referendum process. After introducing myself to the President and reminding him that we had met at a fundraiser for Congressman Richard Gephardt in St. Louis in 1996 and again in Denver at a fundraiser for Tom Strickland where we talked about Jefferson's idea for a National Advisory Referendum, the President said, "One of my staff members told me you would be here." I said, "Mr. President, you share Jefferson's name. With the National Advisory Referendum, you can share Jefferson's legacy on democracy." The President said he remembered our meeting and talked about how he envisioned the National Advisory Referendum, "I would put out 3 issues every 4 years for the people to vote on. And since it would be non-binding, it wouldn't require a constitutional amendment." I responded, "Yes, Mr. President that's exactly right."

But the President has done more than just talk positively about Jefferson's ideas for a National Advisory Referendum. In fact, the President actually endorsed a National Advisory Referendum on March 3, 1993 for three national issues--for Russia--as proposed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. A review of the 3 ballot issues makes it clear that the national referendum was advisory: 1) "Do you have confidence in Russian President Boris Yeltsin?" 2) "Do you approve of the socio-economic policy carried out by the president of the Russian Federation?"; and 3) "Do you consider it necessary to carry out early elections for the president (and the deputies) of the Russian Federation?"

If President Clinton believes that a National Advisory Referendum is good for the Russian people, doesn't it also stand to reason that he should support a National Advisory Referendum for the people of the United States to express their will on some of the issues facing our nation?

On the night President Clinton was first elected, November 3, 1992, he showed his conceptual support for giving people more power over government by saying to the crowd assembled at the Governor's Mansion, "We must reform the political process, reduce the influence of special interests, and give more power to the people like you here tonight."

The best way to reform the political process to empower people is to change the structure of government itself by creating a mechanism that transfers power directly to the people. Giving people a chance to vote on national

issues would fulfill what President Clinton promised the people on the day he was first elected.

The National Advisory Referendum meets the three stated goals of the President--to reform the political process, to reduce the influence of special interests, and give more power to the people.

18. The National Advisory Referendum will help the President achieve the goals he established for his second term as expressed in his Inaugural Address, January 20, 1997.

Each of the following quotes are consistent with giving the people a new national voice on public policy issues through a mechanism which will allow everyone to participate in deciding the direction of public policy:

“We must keep our old democracy forever young.”

“At the dawn of the 21st century, a free people must now choose to shape the forces of the Information Age and the global society; to unleash the limitless potential of all our people; and yes, to form a more perfect union.”

“Today we can declare government is not the problem and government is not the solution. We, the American people, we are the solution.”

“We need a new government for a new century humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves.”

“Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century.”

“Will we be one nation, one people, with one common destiny or not?”

“And in this land of new promise, we will have reformed our politics so that the voice of the people will always speak louder than the din of narrow interests regaining the participation and deserving the trust of all Americans.”

"America demands and deserves big things from us, and nothing big ever came from being small."

"And so, my fellow Americans, we must be strong, for this is much to dare."

"Yes, let us build our bridge, a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise."

Not only will the proposal for a National Advisory Referendum help the President achieve these goals by building a new structure for citizen participation in shaping public policy, but the President can also propose that for the first National Advisory Referendum in November of 2000 that the first three issues to be placed before the people in an advisory vote be three of the President's proposals which were not approved by the Congress during the last 8 years. For example, the President could propose:

- 1) Any one of the gun control measures which the President proposed after the tragedy at Columbine High School and which failed to pass Congress;
- 2) Any one of the Medicare or other health care reforms which Congress failed to pass; and
- 3) Any one of the most important endeavors since the President Clinton was elected which Congress failed to pass.

19. The National Advisory Referendum is the "express lane" for the "Bridge to the 21st Century."

During the Presidential campaign of 1996, President Clinton said he wanted to build a bridge to the 21st century. If the President builds a traditional two-lane bridge for the Democrats and Republicans, there will be more traffic jams and gridlock on the bridge just as we have had on the bridge built for the 20th century. The time has come to build a bigger bridge with a third lane--**an express lane directly to the people**. The proposal to give the President the power to refer 1 to 3 issues to the people at every general

election for an advisory vote would create a badly needed **express lane** for the President and the people of the United States, allowing them to bypass the Congress when there is a legislative traffic jam on the bridge.

The President could use one of the standard Democratic and Republican lanes for the vast majority of his proposals. But when he finds that a few of his important ideas are being bogged down in the political traffic on the bridge, he would have the power to shift over to the **express lane** and go right to the people.

The fast paced world of the 21st century requires a bigger bridge with an **express lane** for the President and the people.

20. The National Advisory Referendum will provide an effective response to Republican ideas of limiting government at the federal level.

The Republican rise to power since their devastating defeat after Watergate has been built around the ideas of limiting the role of the federal government--less government, less taxes, less spending, and more local control--and, portraying the Democrats as the party of the defenders of big government, high taxes and out of control spending. The issue, however, is not whether the federal government is big or small, but whether it is doing what the people want, big or small.

Even though it is easy to argue that there are many "big" things that government does which benefit the public, e.g., food safety and Medicare, the risk of losing to a slick negative campaign causes most politicians to shy away from supporting an expanded role for government.

The National Advisory Referendum will give progressive politicians a way to build support for an expanded federal role by giving people an opportunity to vote for specific programs for the federal government. If the people vote for them, then Congress should enact them, be they big or small. In addition, referenda allow other groups to get involved in a public way. It takes some of the heat off elected officials and lets others get involved in educating the public. It brings about a more informed electorate and makes progressive politicians less vulnerable to the liberal-label attacks by conservatives.

If we fail to create a public decision-making mechanism like the National Advisory Referendum we will slow the pace of progressive change. Progressives who dare to propose expanded federal programs like national health care over the next decade are more likely to be defeated by conservative opponents running negative campaign ads to scare the public even before the progressives can build a legislative majority. By creating an "express lane" to the people, a progressive idea can be put forth directly to the people to gain the public support necessary to build a legislative majority.

Without a consensus building mechanism like the National Advisory Referendum, progressive politicians will more likely be marginalized by the middle and, as a result, our future will be compromised.

The National Advisory Referendum will give progressives new mobility and freedom to win the big games. In football terms, the National Advisory Referendum is like the West Coast passing offense. If progressives try to grind it out on the ground, they will lose to the bigger bodies that free agency money has produced for the conservatives. You can beat a bigger, stronger team with an effective passing game. The National Advisory Referendum is the passing attack progressives need as we enter the 21st century. The people are excellent receivers.

21. The National Advisory Referendum can be used to promote national health care reform and other proposals from the President.

The problem with first going to the Congress with fundamental changes affecting powerful economic interests is that they can distort the issues and run an effective misinformation campaign that thwarts the public interest. This is what happened to national health care reform. The problem is that there currently is no other way but to take your case to the Congress while trying to win the public relations battle with the public.

If we add a mechanism to our system of decision-making allowing the President to put 1 to 3 advisory issues before the people during each general election, the President would be able to first take his case to the people, beat the special interests at the ballot box, and get a mandate from the people to move forward.

The passage of a National Advisory Referendum would give new life to national health care reform. The President would be able to place before the people a national health care reform proposal either during the election of 1998 or 2000. The President should pick a winnable part of the past program such as the following:

Are you in favor of requiring companies with 15 or more employees to provide health insurance to their full-time employees?

Yes

No

This issue demonstrates how the President could put a proposal before the people, run a campaign for its approval, and then push it through the Congress after winning the mandate from the public.

22. The National Advisory Referendum will help replace the break down of big party, big interest group representation of the past several decades.

When President Clinton spoke at the Tom Strickland for Senate fund-raiser, he talked about how big interest group representation was breaking down. Not only was the era of big government at an end, but the idea of having a big interest group represent you, be it a party or a labor union, was also breaking down, the President said. People are more interested in the issues than the labels and affiliations.

The President is correct. Government by interest group is breaking down. In the past several decades people were effectively represented by the institutions to which they belonged. Not only did we have a representative form of government, **but also we had a representative form of participation.** People joined a labor union or a local political organization like a city ward. The people participated in the group whose leaders would in turn represent the members within in the world of government.

Now, more than ever before, we need to create a new mechanism where people can more effectively participate and represent their own interests directly to the government. The advances in computer technology and the

Internet will speed these trends along. And that is why the National Advisory Referendum is an idea whose time has come.

The National Advisory Referendum allows people to represent their own views directly without being a member of another group. In addition, the National Advisory Referendum will provide a mechanism for collective action by the national community. While the Internet and other advances in technology will empower people with access to information, for the foreseeable future, we will need some other way to come together as a nation rather than merely plugging into the Internet. The National Advisory Referendum is a practical way for millions of people to collectively participate in a democratic decision-making process.

23. The National Advisory Referendum will help counterbalance the influence of big money in politics.

It will always be easier for special interest groups to buy influence with Congress than with all the American people. While groups with money may still be able to fool the people some of the time in voting against their own interests by running a campaign of misinformation, it is far more likely that people will on most issues be able to figure out what is in their own self-interest.

While no system of democratic self-government has ever been designed as fool proof, the people are the best protectors of their own self-interest. As Thomas Jefferson said, "I am not among those who fear the people."

24. The National Advisory Referendum will help move our democracy away from labels, e.g. "tax and spend liberals," to the issues.

By having issues on the national ballot, people will be able to focus on the issues and not just the labels pinned on politicians by their opponents. When issues are on the ballot, it forces interest groups to educate the public about their positions and brings policy questions to the forefront of public debate. Having people debate the merits of national issues would have a positive enlightening affect on the voters and would diminish the impact of the politics of name calling and labeling.

25. The National Advisory Referendum will give second term Presidents more power to enact proposals in their last 2 years than ever before.

If the President had the power to refer 1 to 3 issues to the public, he would have more leverage with the Congress during his second term. If the Congress refused to enact the President's program in the first two years of the second term, the President would be able to take up to 3 of those issues directly to the people during the mid-term elections. This would create an entirely new dynamic for the President and give him more power in working with the Congress for passage of his second term agenda.

In addition, the President would also have the power to set the issues agenda for the Presidential election at the end of his term. This would significantly increase the leveraging power of the President in his final two years in office of his second term. Currently, the President has little leverage in his last two years in office of his second term.

26. Giving people the right to vote on national issues can become the next great civil rights movement for political equality in participation.

Too often the discussion of civil rights involves issues only affecting a minority of the population. Giving people the right to vote on national issues is an expansion of political rights for all Americans which will promote political equality. When there is an issue on the ballot, each vote will have the same equal impact, whether you are rich or poor. With respect to the issue on the ballot, the collective vote of the individual will be more powerful than the behind-the-scenes influence of interest groups.

To give people the right to vote on national issues would be an expansion of everyone's civil rights. At a time when many people question the value of many targeted programs favoring one group over another, the push for a National Advisory Referendum can be seen as the beginning of a democratic civil rights movement where everyone gains. This movement would encompass other issues to improve political equality in the United States such as campaign finance reform.

27. The National Advisory Referendum is the wedge issue for separating those who favor the power elites in our country from those who favor the people themselves.

When you get down to the bottom line, there is only one issue involving a National Advisory Referendum: do you trust the people? If an elected official does not trust the people enough to participate in a non-binding advisory referendum, how can he then say he can represent their interests? Those who don't trust the people to participate in a non-binding vote favor an elitist form of government over a populist form of government.

Conservatives have been using liberal elitism as a wedge issue against the Democrats. During the 1996 presidential campaign, Bob Dole said the difference between himself and President Clinton was that "Bob Dole trusts the people and Bill Clinton trusts the government." Newt Gingrich said on January 20, 1995, "Our goal is to disperse power so the people can decide."

The National Advisory Referendum will give the Democrats an important wedge issue to determine whether their Republican opponents are democrats with the small "d" or demagogues with a big "D". Elitism can be either liberal or conservative. The National Advisory Referendum can be a wedge issue to determine whether people are liberal elites or conservative elites. The American center, however, is not defined by liberal or conservative elites but by common sense-minded people. Elitism has no place in a democracy where public policy must be derived from the consent of the governed.

Too often elitism has been confused with leadership. In a democracy leadership is about forging a public consensus for public policy. Leadership is educating people so that a new consensus emerges for public policy that enjoys public support. Leadership is not dragging the people kicking and screaming into a future they do not want, no matter how right the public policy may seem to its proponents. Zealous righteousness, from either the left or right, is dangerous to a democracy where majority consent must be the basis for public policy.

Thomas Jefferson spelled out in his first inaugural address how the balance between majority will and minority rights must be maintained in a democracy.

“All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority in all cases is to prevail, that will, to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression.”

It is time to recognize that enlightened social policy means that the people themselves are brought into the consensus of decision-making. It is time to understand that leadership is not the prudent exercise of social authority over people but rather the ability to persuade the people to willingly follow the chosen path and facilitate their participation in determining its direction. It is time to understand that any political party, which does not have trust and confidence in the people, does not have any legitimacy to claim it represents their interests.

With a National Advisory Referendum, the President would lead, the people would decide, and Congress would act on the will of the people.

28. The people will benefit greatly with increased participation with no significant increase in the cost of government.

From a cost/benefit perspective, the National Advisory Referendum wins hands down. Giving people the right to participate in a national referendum would cost very little since the voting would take place at already scheduled general elections. There would be insignificant costs in coordinating the ballot issues with the several states.

29. Other nations allow their citizens to vote on national issues.

The people of Switzerland vote on numerous national issues every election.

In 1995 the President of France was given the power to refer issues to the people in a national referendum.

The people of Ireland have held national referendums.

The people of Sweden have held national referendums.

In 1993 Russia held a non-binding advisory referendum on 3 issues, which was endorsed by President Clinton.

The United States is a leader in democratic self-government. We should continue that role by creating a National Advisory Referendum as a way of expanding popular participation for the 21st century.

Ironically, the only national referendum held in the United States was sponsored by the Postal Service to determine which Elvis stamp would be issued (over one million people voted!) Shouldn't the people have the right to vote on more meaningful issues like health care?

30. The time is right to give people an advisory vote on national issues as we enter a new age of technology and information.

As the information age continues to explode into the next century, the people will continue to have access to more and more information. C-span, the Internet, information data banks and web-sites for interest groups and campaigns are just a few of the many new ways people are getting information about public issues which were never envisioned even 20 years ago.

Information is the currency of democracy. The more people are informed, the more they are capable of participating in making decisions. While access to information has expanded exponentially, the way we make decisions at the federal level has remained the same as it was over 200 years ago.

As people gain access to more and more information, they will demand the right to participate more and more in the decision-making process of government. The process of expanding information and demanding more participation are part of the same democratic equation. You can't have the former without the latter. Data flow and decision-making are part of an unstoppable evolution for the 21st century.

Today over 100 million Americans have access to the Internet. We are fast approaching the day when we as a nation can come together on the Internet without waiting for Congress to embrace a more participatory democracy. If Congress fails to act to establish a formal National Advisory Referendum

process for every general election, the President will be able to go directly to the people for an advisory vote on the Internet to create a working model for the future of citizen participation and force Congress to pass the National Advisory Referendum proposal. While Congress fails to act, voting kiosks could be set up in public offices and publicly-funded libraries to provide Internet voting access for those without computers. In other words, if Congress fails to act, the technology can quickly be put in place to create an advisory voting process. Once people start voting on issues at the first general election, those members of the Congress and Senate who blocked the bill for a National Advisory Referendum will be vulnerable to defeat as blocking the doorway to expanded democratic decision-making.

Currently, TCI (recently merged with AT&T) and Microsoft are developing the technology to merge television, computers and the Internet to expand access to information and entertainment options. However, once this technology is rolled out, it can be turned into a decision-making mechanism for public policy formation. Through television and Internet technology, the President would be able to hold a National Town Meeting to discuss a national issue and ask people to cast an advisory vote to help gauge public opinion. The day when the President asks everyone to provide input through an Internet web-vote is just around the next bend of the century.

The technology for collecting web-votes is already in place. Commercial web-sites are already asking people to participate in making decisions. The Biography Channel allowed people to program the channel for a week by voting in several different categories from sports heroes to political leaders who they wanted to see on television. ESPN gave viewers the same opportunity to program a week of ESPN Classic sports shows and ESPN regularly asks viewers to vote on who was the greatest athlete for a particular category. *Time Magazine* asked readers to vote on the Internet for the 100 people who had the greatest impact (good or bad) in the 20th Century.

While more and more people participate in voting on commercial web-sites and feel empowered by their participation, it will be only a short period of time before people will demand the same participatory rights from their government.

Government leaders who fail to see the emerging technology as a model for greater public participation in policy formation will be left in the dustbins of

history. Our democratic future will be one of greater, not lesser, public participation in government decision-making.

While the technology of today will allow greater public participation in policy formation, holding a televised meeting with an instant Internet vote would be a weak and unacceptable substitute for a National Advisory Referendum where campaigns for and against are run prior to the actual vote at the time of elections. Instant voting, while useful for gauging public opinion, is not democracy in action. Democratic decision-making requires informed choices to be made after consideration of all the issues both pro and con. It requires time to think, time to reflect, time to listen, time to talk. Democracy is at its best as a deliberative process, not as a push-button technology.

Having a participatory web-site is nothing like holding a National Advisory Referendum where competing ideas are put to the test of public consideration and decision. However, the idea of voting on the web can be a model for forming a National Advisory Referendum every general election where we come together as a nation to participate in shaping public policy.

Our old democratic bridges from the past 200 years were built for smaller traffic volumes of elected officials and interest group representatives. Today we need a new democratic bridge, one that will handle all the people coming together as a nation to cross the bridge at the same time.

Thomas Jefferson first drew up the blueprint for an expanded democratic bridge in 1816 when he put forward the concept of a collective group of local meetings where the people voted on the issues. The National Advisory Referendum is the modern version of this simple idea and built upon the same solid foundation that government works best when it is derived from the consent of the governed and where every person feels himself a part.

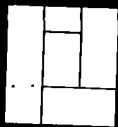
We seek to build upon our democratic traditions to form a new mechanism in which we as a people can begin to collectively search out our common destiny. As we boldly begin a search for a new consensus, we are guided by our most fundamental principles and seek to give contemporary meaning to the words, "We the people."

This is the bridge to the 21st century where everyone can walk across. Thomas Jefferson waits to greet us on the other side.

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Tuesday, March 7, 2000
12:00 to 1:30 p.m.

**Child Care for Young Children:
A First Look Across States**

Beth Frerking (moderator)
Casey Journalism Center for
Children and Families

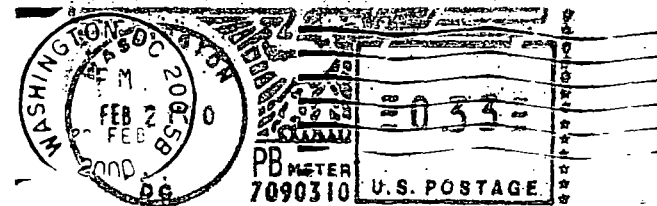
Gina Adams
Urban Institute

Joan Lombardi
former director of the Child Care Bureau,
U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Sheri Steisel
National Conference of State Legislatures

URBAN INSTITUTE
2100 M Street, N.W., Fifth Floor
Washington, DC 20037

R.S.V.P. (202) 261-5709



→ TO: Ann O'Leary
on WW, 2nd fl

Andrea Kane
Associate Director for
Domestic Policy
White House Domestic Policy
Council
OEOB 212
17th & Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20502



- (ATTACHED) 5/19/99 from **Anna Eleanor Roosevelt**, sending info re March of Dimes teen pregnancy activities. She would welcome opportunity to talk further with you. Thanks for getting Sarah to call her and Jennifer Howse at MOD. Looks like we may have a project partnership in the works. Great!

✓ See To Nicole Palmer for followup



March
of Dimes
Saving babies, together

*March of Dimes
Birth Defects Foundation*

1901 L Street, NW Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036
Telephone (202) 659-1800
Fax (202) 296-2964

May 19, 1999

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Office of the First Lady
Old Executive Office Building
Room 100
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Hillary,

Pursuant to our recent discussion, I thought you might be interested in the attached information on March of Dimes teen pregnancy activities. I would welcome the opportunity to talk further with you about effective initiatives to address the issue of teen pregnancy.

Sincerely,

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt
Trustee
Chair, Public Affairs Committee

Attachment

Thank for getting Sarah to call
me and Jennifer Howse at MOD.
Looks like we may have a project
partnership in the works. Great!



Office of Government Affairs
1901 L Street, NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036
Telephone (202) 659-1800
Fax (202) 296-2964

1998 March of Dimes Teen Pregnancy Activities

The March of Dimes is engaged in numerous national and local initiatives to reduce unplanned teen pregnancy and improve the quality of services to pregnant and parenting teens. In addition, many chapters conduct public and professional education, serve on coalitions, and advocate for policies and programs that positively impact teen pregnancy prevention efforts.

In 1998, March of Dimes chapters awarded a total of \$6,276,644 in community grants to address maternal and infant health needs. Of these funds, \$1,610,535 was directed at teen pregnancy prevention and services for pregnant and parenting teens, comprising 25% of all chapter grant funds. Nationwide, 84% of chapters funded or participated actively in local teen pregnancy initiatives awarding 329 grants. The average grant size was approximately \$5,000. All of these funds were raised locally.

The states that awarded the most funds in this area (over \$50,000) are: California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, North Carolina, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

The following chapters made the largest investments: Southern California (Los Angeles), South Florida (Fort Lauderdale), Georgia (Atlanta), Greater Illinois (Chicago), Western Carolina (Statesville), South Carolina, North Texas (Dallas), Texas Gulf Coast (Houston) and Virginia.

Attached is a grid that lists individual grants of \$10,000 or more in the areas of teen pregnancy prevention and services for pregnant and parenting teens.

The March of Dimes has also developed a community program called Project Alpha in collaboration with the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity. Project Alpha engages adolescent males in discussion about male responsibility related to sexuality and pregnancy. This program is primarily designed for African American adolescent males. Attached is a more detailed program description.

**1998 Chapter Community Grants- Individual grants of \$10K or more
Services for Pregnant and Parenting Teens**

Chapter	Grant Topic	Amount
North Texas	Case management for pregnant and parenting teens	\$41,946
Virginia	Resource program for pregnant and parenting teens	\$29,953
North Texas	Bilingual prenatal education for pregnant teens	\$25,080
Texas Gulf Coast	Prenatal education and case management for pregnant teens	\$23,930
North Texas	Services for pregnant teens	\$22,625
Southern CA	Education series for teen fathers	\$19,500
Texas Gulf Coast	Case management for pregnant teens	\$19,438
North Texas	Prenatal education for pregnant teens	\$19,040
Southern CA	Outreach and education for pregnant teens	\$17,643
Greater Illinois	Services for pregnant teens	\$17,000
Texas Gulf Coast	Prenatal and parenting education program for teens	\$16,500
Southern CA	Education and support for pregnant teens	\$15,900
Texas Gulf Coast	Prenatal counseling for teens	\$13,000
Texas Gulf Coast	Program to reduce preterm labor, prematurity and infant death	\$12,500
Greater Illinois	Parenting education for teens	\$11,056
Greater Illinois	Services for pregnant teens	\$10,000
Utah	Breastfeeding peer counselor program for teen mothers	\$10,000
Kansas/West MO	Mentor program for pregnant and parenting teens	\$10,000
South Carolina	Mentoring program for pregnant teens	\$10,000
NC Florida	Case management program for pregnant teens	\$10,000
Berks County, PA	Education and support for pregnant teens	\$10,000
Central Ohio	Post-partum home visiting for teen parents	\$10,000
Northern Ohio	Prenatal and parenting program evaluation	\$10,000
NC Florida	Prenatal counseling and case management for pregnant teens	\$10,000
NC Florida	Shelter for pregnant, homeless teens	\$10,000

**1998 Chapter Community Grants- Individual grants of \$10K or more
Teen Pregnancy Prevention**

Chapter	Grant Topic	Amt
South Carolina	Development of teen pregnancy prevention councils	\$61,934
North Texas	Teen pregnancy prevention for high risk youth	\$35,584
North Jersey	Teen pregnancy education for students and training for teachers	\$24,945
Western Carolina	Sexuality and AIDS education	\$22,740
Western Carolina	Program to reduce unplanned pregnancies and STDs	\$20,160
Western Carolina	Program to reduce teen pregnancy and STDs	\$20,000
Central Jersey	Family planning education for adolescent males	\$16,286
Greater Illinois	Teen pregnancy prevention- peer educator program	\$16,000
Georgia	Pregnancy prevention program at teen health clinic	\$15,470
South Florida	Pregnancy prevention program for chronically ill teens	\$15,019
South Florida	Teen pregnancy prevention (Carrera model)	\$15,000
South Florida	Teen pregnancy prevention program for youth in foster care	\$14,000
Georgia	Teen pregnancy prevention (abstinence/risk reduction)	\$13,753
South Carolina	Teen pregnancy prevention mentoring program	\$12,500
Greater East TX	Teen pregnancy prevention	\$10,000
Central Ohio	Teen pregnancy prevention	\$10,000



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Project Alpha

Project Alpha is an educational program for adolescent males conducted collaboratively by Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., and the March of Dimes.

Program Goals

The goals of the program are to assist young men with making responsible decisions. The program encourages participants to increase healthy lifestyle behaviors by learning about the consequences of teen pregnancy, anatomy and physiology of the human body, and the importance of fatherhood.

Project Alpha is designed to provide a supportive network that allows young men to examine their current value system with a view to maximizing their self-respect, their respect for others and a sense of responsibility that links consequences with actions.

Project Alpha is geared to teen-agers who will be able to share what they learn with their peers. It involves community-based agencies, organizations, leaders and institutions.

Project Alpha can be conducted in a one-day conference, a retreat, or as an on-going school or community-based program. The sessions are led by volunteers, along with community leaders, doctors, lawyers and clergymen.

Project Alpha has three main components

- Knowledge Building - Information about human reproduction and development and the psychosocial and legal consequences of teenage pregnancy gives participants a sound factual framework.

Resource Center

- Motivation-Participants are encouraged to clarify their values, set goals, and make decisions that are consistent with these goals.
- Taking the Message Back-The program urges young men to learn the facts, understand responsibility and share information with peers, family members, and their communities.

To learn if the Project Alpha program is available in your community, please call your local March of Dimes chapter or the Alpha Phi Alpha chapter.

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., is the nation's first Greek-letter fraternity established by black college students. There are more than 700 chapters worldwide.

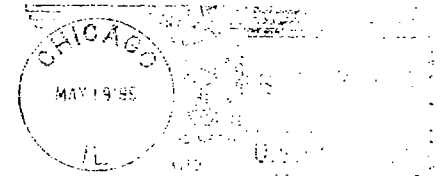
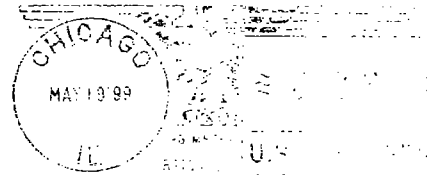
For more information about the Project Alpha program call the March of Dimes Community Programs Division at (914) 997-4461. Fax (914) 997-4501 E-mail Commprog@modimes.org

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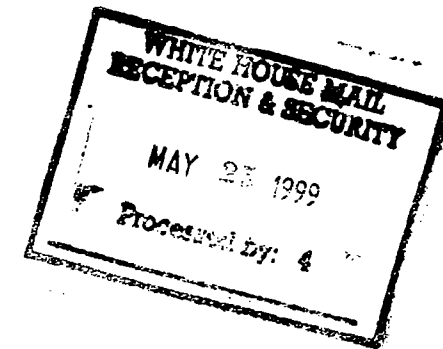
1901 L Street, NW Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Office of the First Lady
Old Executive Office Building
Room 100
Washington, D.C. 20500 - 2010



Return Service Requested



**THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

ID# 407595
PAGE 1

DATE RECEIVED:

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE JIM JEFFORDS

SUBJECT: URGES THE PRESIDENT TO SUPPORT A MAJOR "EARLY LEARNING" INITIATIVE TO ENSURE THAT EACH INFANT AND TODDLER ENTERS SCHOOL READY TO LEARN

		<u>ACTION</u>		<u>DISPOSITION</u>		
<u>ROUTE TO:</u> <u>OFFICE/AGENCY</u>	<u>(STAFF NAME)</u>	<u>ACTION</u> <u>CODE</u>	<u>DATE</u> <u>YY/MM/DD</u>	<u>TYPE</u> <u>RESP</u>	<u>C</u> <u>D</u>	<u>COMPLETED</u> <u>YY/MM/DD</u>
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS	LARRY STEIN	ORG	1999/12/29			

ACTION COMMENTS _____

DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL	BRUCE REED <i>Nicole</i>	RSA	1999/12/29			
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ACTION COMMENTS _____

ACTION COMMENTS: _____

ACTION COMMENTS: _____

COMMENTS

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: 1

MEDIA: LETTER

INDIVIDUAL CODES:

REPORT CODES:

USER CODES:

ACTION CODES:

A - APPROPRIATE ACTION
C - COMMENT/RECOMMENDATION
D - DRAFT RESPONSE
F - FURNISH FACT SHEET
I - INFO COPY/NO ACT NECESSARY
R - DIRECT REPLY W/ COPY
S - FOR SIGNATURE

DISPOSITION CODES:

A - ANSWERED
B - NON-SEPC-REFERRAL
C - COMPLETED
S - SUSPENDED

OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

TYPE RESP = INITIALS OF SIGNER
CODE = A
COMPLETED = DATE OF OUTGOING

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO RECORDS MANAGEMENT (ROOM 72, OEOB) EXT-62590

KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS MANAGEMENT.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 17, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR BRUCE REED
DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL

FROM: CHARLES M. BRAIN
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Enclosed please find a copy of a letter that was sent to the President from Sen. James M. Jeffords (R-VT) and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA).

I do not believe this letter requires a Presidential response at this time. Please review the attached letter and respond directly to the Member(s) of Congress. Please forward a copy of the response to the Office of Records Management, Room 72 Old Executive Office Building.

Thank you very much for your assistance in this matter. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Courtney Crouch, Office of Legislative Affairs, at 456-7500.

Enclosure

United States Senate



407595

December 8, 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

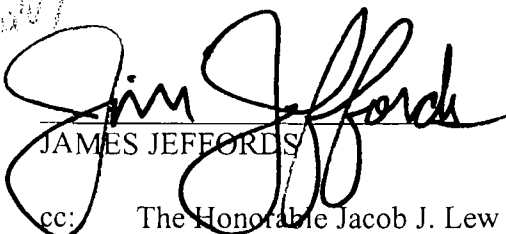
Thank you for continuing to call attention to medical research confirming that connections within the brain are, for the most part, formed during the first years of life, and that proper stimulation between ages 0 and 5 builds the foundation for a lifetime of learning. The 1990 goal set by the National Governors' Association—that every child should enter school ready to learn by 2000—cannot now be met. Nevertheless, the goal has served as an effective catalyst for increased interest in early learning. A wealth of information exists today to demonstrate that the states are on the right track. As Chairman and Ranking Member of the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee, we urge you support a major “early learning” initiative to ensure that each infant and toddler enters school ready to learn.

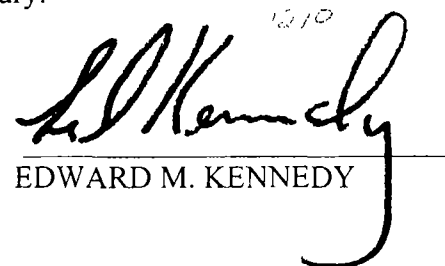
With only 2 in 5 eligible children participating in Head Start, 1 in 100 eligible children participating in Early Head Start, and 3 in 20 eligible children receiving care subsidized by the Child Care and Development Block Grant, these core programs must continue to grow if we are to fulfill our basic commitment to early learning. Parenting education and support, early childhood literacy, and expansion of existing early learning programs and activities are essential parts of early learning that are missing in most parts of the country. And while many European nations have built early learning infrastructures to coordinate the various necessary programs, these infrastructures are missing in most of our communities.

In addition to expanding existing programs (an investment on the order of \$2 billion a year) a substantial investment of new federal dollars is needed to build an early learning infrastructure and fill the gaps left by existing programs. Millions of children will grow into more intellectually capable, productive, and responsible citizens as a result of our actions now. Indeed the long term security of our nation depends on the generations we educate today.

In the coming years, our nation can be expected to face a wide range of challenges that will test the limits of our national creativity, intellect, and determination. The potential of early learning to vastly improve each of these essential aspects of American life makes it worthy of inclusion in the first State of the Union Address of the new century.

Sincerely,

130407

JAMES JEFFORDS
cc: The Honorable Jacob J. Lew

1210

EDWARD M. KENNEDY

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 17, 1999

Dear Senator Kennedy:

Thank you for your letter to the President supporting a major "early learning" initiative to ensure that every infant and toddler is adequately prepared to enter school.

I have shared your views with the President and his other advisors, and you will receive a response in the near future. In the meantime, if I can be of assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Chuck Brain".

Charles M. Brain
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Deputy Director for Legislative
Affairs

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 17, 1999

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter to the President supporting a major "early learning" initiative to ensure that every infant and toddler is adequately prepared to enter school.

I have shared your views with the President and his other advisors, and you will receive a response in the near future. In the meantime, if I can be of assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Charles M. Brain
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Deputy Director for Legislative
Affairs

The Honorable James M. Jeffords
Chairman
Committee on Health, Education, Labor
and Pensions
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Office of the Administrator for Child Care
General Services Administration
Phone: (202) 208-5119
Fax: (202) 208-5430

Bonnie Storm
Senior Policy Advisor
GSA

Fax

To: Ann O'Leary	From: Bonnie Storm
Fax: 456-2878	Pages: 3
Phone: ~~456-2878~~ 6275	Date: February 24, 2000
Re: Child Care Executive Order	CC:

☐ Urgent ☒ For Review ☐ Please Comment ☐ Please Reply

Ann,

When Susan Clampitt, Eric Dodds and I were over to see you last week, we talked about a child care Executive Order. You asked for a 2-page justification of why we needed an Executive Order. Below is our initial justification. I'd be happy to discuss it with you if you have any questions. Next time Eric comes over to the WH, he'll bring you the original document. Or if you send me your e-mail address, I'll e-mail it to you. It was nice meeting you the other day.

Bonnie

208-5119

A Federal Child Care Executive Order

Federal child care is the largest employer-sponsored child care program in the country. In Federal agencies, including the Department of Defense, over 1,000 centers serve nearly 208,000 children on a daily basis. The Military Child Care Act of 1996 provides health, safety and facility guidelines and mandates accreditation of each center and criminal background checks for all employees at military child care programs.

No such standards exist for other Federal employees. Non-DoD agencies use a range of operational approaches, and consequently compliance with standards and accreditation rates vary. Federal child care programs are plagued by inconsistent quality, a lack of compliance with health, safety and facility standards, and inadequate criminal background checks. Unlike the military system, other Federal agencies do not subsidize parental tuition, and in order to address this issue, they should be allowed to explore partnerships with the private sector to reduce the cost to parents.

An Executive Order is needed to:

1. Require the implementation of uniform health, safety and facility guidelines. Mandate accreditation and complete background checks.
2. Provide for consistent oversight through a uniform system for monitoring agency compliance and enforcement.
3. Allow greater flexibility by permitting pilot projects and public-private partnerships to address affordability.

The Executive Order should require the Administrator of the General Services Administration to establish health, safety and facility guidelines for all executive agency child care centers, and those standards should be no less stringent than those required of other licensed child care facilities in the same geographical area.

The Order would also require that Federal child care centers become accredited to ensure the quality of the program for the healthy development of the enrolled children. Accreditation standards are an important benchmark of quality and represent the industry minimum standards for care and education.

To ensure compliance with the proposed standards, the Order should require a single agency with oversight of all Federal child care centers. Consistent evaluation is needed to ensure immediate correction of life-threatening deficiencies and timely corrections to secure children's safety. The Order should spell out procedures to be followed if a Federal center were not in compliance with established health, safety and facility requirements: it should require affected centers to develop corrective action plans and to close the affected portion of any center where there is a life-threatening situation or where circumstances pose a risk of serious harm. Centers should be required to disclose any health, safety, facility or program violations to parents.

President Clinton recognized the Department of Defense Child Development Program as exemplary. DoD contends that the single most effective way of improving and maintaining program quality are through quarterly unannounced inspections and ensuring compliance with standards. The Order should authorize a single agency for such inspections and for enforcing compliance.

The Executive Order should mandate criminal history background checks in all Federally sponsored centers. Some agencies have interpreted the 1988 Crime Control Act as not applicable to their centers because the Act specifically applies to employees. In the case of non-DoD Federal agencies, employees are hired by the child care provider, not the agency. Nevertheless, those employees should pass the same rigorous background check.

Pilot projects would allow agencies to explore partnerships to reduce costs to parents. Agencies should be authorized to enter into agreements with private entities on a pilot or demonstration basis to assist in defraying operating expenses. Testing new kinds of partnerships would improve the ability of Federal agencies to provide the best quality child care at more affordable rates.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 26, 1999

Ann

Nicole
MEMORANDUM FOR ~~BRUCE REED~~
DOMESTIC ~~POLICY~~ COUNCIL

FROM: JANET MURGUIA *JM*
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Enclosed please find a copy of a letter that was sent to the President from Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA).

I do not believe this letter requires a Presidential response at this time. Please review the attached letter and respond directly to the Member(s) of Congress. Please forward a copy of the response to the Office of Records Management, Room 74 Old Executive Office Building.

Thank you very much for your assistance in this matter. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Eli Joseph, Office of Legislative Affairs, at 456-7500.

Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 13, 1999

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE TED KENNEDY

SUBJECT: ENCLOSURES THE EARLY LEARNING TRUST FUND ACT
(S 749) THAT WAS INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE BY
HIMSELF AND SENATOR TED STEVENS

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
LARRY STEIN		ORG	99/05/13	IM	99/05/27
✓ Dp Reed	REFERRAL NOTE:				
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	REFERRAL NOTE:				

COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA: L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1210

MAIL USER CODES: (A) D MA (B) (C)

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*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION          *OUTGOING          *
*                      *                      *CORRESPONDENCE:   *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL  *      OF SIGNER   *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED          *      CODE = A     *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED          *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                      *      OUTGOING    *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                      *                      *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE       *                      *                      *
*X-INTERIM REPLY       *                      *                      *
*****

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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2101

April 29, 1999

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton:

I'm writing to let you know more about the Early Learning Trust Fund Act (S. 749) that Senator Ted Stevens and I have introduced in the Senate. Our goal is to improve the availability and quality of early education programs, so that all children can begin school ready to learn and succeed. Early education is a bipartisan issue, and I am pleased that Senator Stevens and I will be working together on this very important issue.

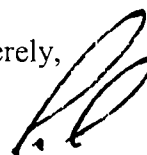
Our initiative builds on your proposal to create an early learning fund. Essentially, our proposal does four things: (1) it enhances the educational services provided by current child care programs and improves the quality of these programs; (2) it builds on the experience of states like Georgia and New York, which are expanding pre-kindergarten services; (3) it expands Head Start to include full-day, full-year services to help children of working parents begin school ready to learn; and (4) it ensures that children with special needs have access to as wide a range of these services as possible.

The Early Learning Trust Fund is designed to enhance the Early Head Start and Head Start Programs, not compete with them. The Trust Fund will supplement, not supplant, these vital early learning programs. We fully support your budget proposal to increase Head Start funding by \$607 million in FY2000. The Early Learning Trust Fund builds on your Administration's solid foundation of increased funding for child care, Head Start, and early education.

Children are our most valuable asset and their education and well-being deserve high priority. In the coming weeks, I hope to have your support for the Early Learning Trust Fund Act, and I look forward to working with you on this bill and other issues of vital importance to the nation's children.

With respect and appreciation,

Sincerely,



Edward M. Kennedy

by hand on always

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

**KENNEDY-STEVENSON
(DODD-JEFFORDS-KERRY)
THE EARLY LEARNING TRUST FUND (S. 749)
[\$10 billion over 5 years]**

PROMOTING EARLY EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND SCHOOL READINESS:

The Early Learning Trust Fund will promote school readiness and improve the accessibility and quality of early childhood education by providing states with additional funds to invest in early education services.

PURPOSE: For children to reach their full potential, they must begin school ready to learn. Scientific research demonstrates that the first three years of life are critical to strong, healthy development. First graders who begin school with strong language and cognitive skills are more motivated to learn to read and benefit more from classroom instruction.

Quality early education improves school readiness by laying a solid foundation for success. The nation's governors realized this a decade ago when they said the country's #1 goal should be to prepare all children to enter school "ready to learn." While it is no longer possible to meet this objective by the year 2000, we must do all we can to meet this first step in education reform, so that remaining elementary and secondary school improvements can have their maximum impact.

THE EARLY LEARNING TRUST FUND: The "Early Learning Trust Fund" improves school readiness by providing states with funding to strengthen and expand their early childhood education programs for children under age six and make the best use of their resources. The Trust Fund provides states with the flexibility to invest in an array of strategies that give young children the building blocks they need in the early years to become good readers and good students. To help young children begin school ready to learn, states may use their funds to support a wide range of activities including:

- strengthening pre-k services and communities so they have the resources necessary to offer children a good start;
- strengthening Early Head Start to address the learning needs of very young children;
- ensuring that all special needs children have access to the early learning services they need to reach their full potential;
- expanding Head Start activities to include full-day, year-round services to help the children of working parents begin school ready to learn;
- enhancing the educational and comprehensive services provided by child care programs

ALLOCATION OF FUNDS: Funds will be dispensed by the Department of Health and Human Services to states based on a formula which takes into account the relative number of children under age six in the state. Governors will receive the grants, and communities, along with parents, will decide how these funds will best be used in the context of their own initiatives and priorities.

PROGRAM OVERSIGHT: The Department of Health and Human Services will oversee the Early Learning Trust Fund in consultation with the Department of Education.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 27, 1999

Dear Senator Kennedy:

Thank you for your letter to the President concerning your legislation, S. 749, the Early Learning Trust Fund Act.

The President has been advised of your concerns, and you will receive a response in the near future. In the meantime, if I can be of assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact my office.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Janet Murguia". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Janet" written in a larger, more prominent script than the last name "Murguia".

Janet Murguia

Deputy Assistant to the President
and Deputy Director for Legislative
Affairs

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

Misc -

Is there anything
we can do with this?

Alvin

Ann -

Re: Youth violence -

Should we pass onto
the campaign?

N

Schubert
MP 62

Alice

Dear First Lady and Mr. President

A small group of concerned citizens is launching a program that has potential to help at risk young adults nation wide.

Please Review the "DRAFT" copies of some literature pieces that a volunteer has assembled.

Due to some health set backs we are struggling with our expansion efforts. The problem is large and the resources are few.

Would it be possible for either of you to come to our town and give us some help. Spending an hour or two with the founders and a couple of the guys would sure put the spotlight on the project.

Our goal is to have the program easily duplicated by others via the internet etc. From what we can tell there is very little out there for the 17-21 year old at risk population. This is not typical Foster care.

Most people would consider writing to you for help as being foolish. However, my belief is that you would probably like to hear from more grass roots projects like ours.

Thank You for your time. - Any help or acknowledgment of our existence would be appreciated.

Skip Mueller
4823 State Road 175
Oshkosh WI 54901

Home 920-231-6829
Work Voice Mail 920-236-6789 X367
Fax 920-236-6793

F Y I

SC

DRAFT Copy of Information being
gathered on Program.

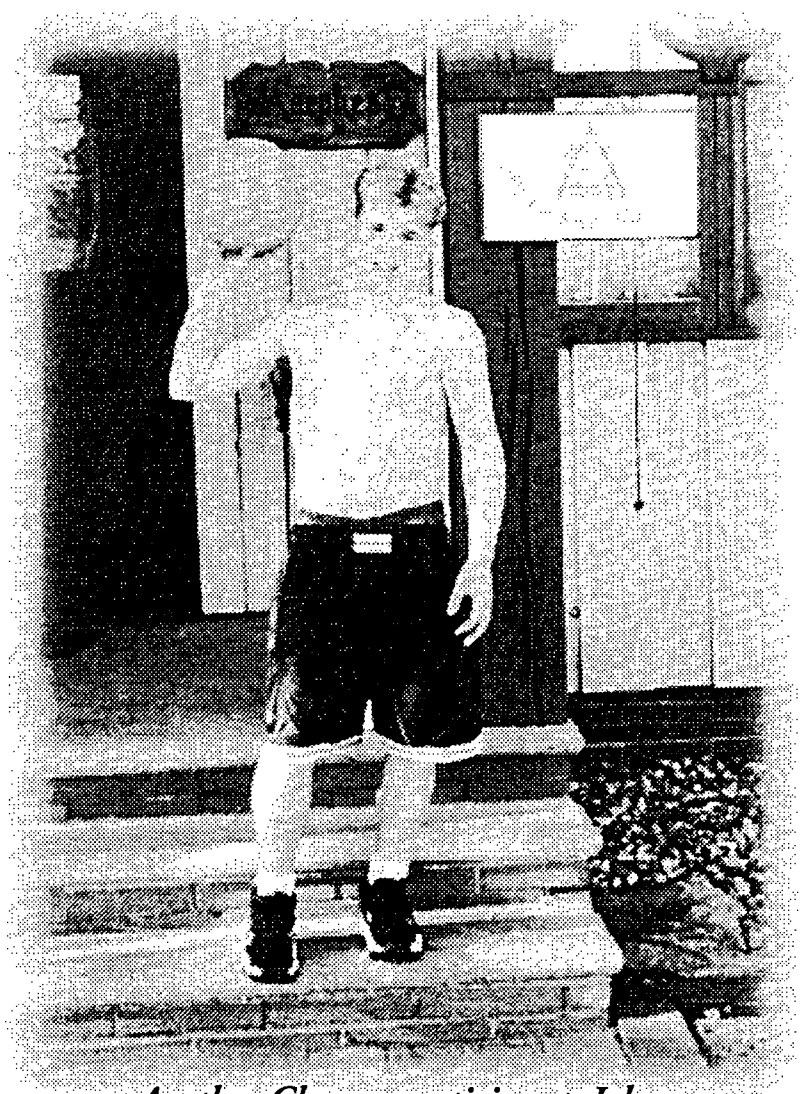
Some of this
information will be
used for Literature Pieces.

The Case
for

"Another Chance"

*"My life was
really going
downhill fast,
but I never
really stopped
to think
about what
my future
would hold."*

Another Chance participant
John



Another Chance participant, John

Statement of Promise

(Another Chance participants must sign this promise)

I, _____, a resident of Another Chance program, promise the following:

- I promise to always be open and honest in my relationships with others.
- I promise to sincerely do my best to maintain my physical, mental, and spiritual fitness.
- I promise to contribute in a positive way to the community in which I live, both through my work ethic and the way people view me through my actions.
- I promise to always be a positive encouragement to my peers and find the good in others.
- I promise to honor God, country and traditional family values at all times.

I understand that I am making a commitment to myself.

signed

The Case

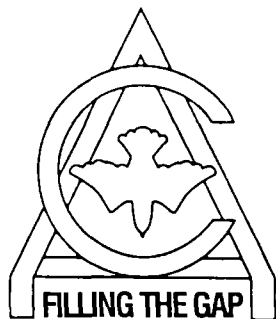
Everywhere we look, our children are under assault: from the breakup of families, from neglect and violence, from the temptations of alcohol, tobacco, and drug abuse, and from obstacles including alienation, greed, and spiritual emptiness. While problems like these are not new, the number of destructive forces confronting young men and women has skyrocketed in recent years, causing many to stumble in their transition to productive adulthood...

Another Chance is Born

After years of experience with children and at-risk youth, Don and Marion Koepke retired from foster care. Then they received a call from one of their former foster "sons". He had returned to the same environment he had been in before entering Rawhide and was falling back into his old habits. He hated the path he was going down -- drugs, gangs, sex, failing grades -- but had no resources to escape. He called and asked if he could come "home." The Koepkes said yes. After he moved back, he got a job, got involved in church and church youth activities, got his driver's license, and enrolled in college. He entered the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, planning to be a counselor or a social worker. He developed a strong faith in God.

In one of many heart-to-heart gabfests, this young man told Don, "*thanks for giving me another chance. I wouldn't have made it if you hadn't.*" From that statement, Another Chance was born.

The Another Chance logo, designed by Marion Koepke, says it all with the dove and the words "Filling the Gap."



ANOTHER CHANCE

Another Chance ————— 1. ————— Filling the Gap

neglect

*breakup of
families*

temptations

violence

drug abuse

suicide

alcohol abuse

alienation

teen pregnancy

*spiritual
emptiness*

Futures at Risk

For many people, the transition between childhood and adulthood is an extremely difficult time -- one characterized by despair and defeat, by unrealistic expectations, and by a lingering sense of failure. As a result, many young people are in danger of reaching adulthood unable to maintain a job, unable to sustain a meaningful relationship, and unable to handle the diverse responsibilities of modern-day living. One term often applied to these individuals is "at risk," which means in danger of not acquiring the skills needed to be a productive, self-reliant citizen.

An estimated 15 million American adolescents today are at risk of joining gangs, of being sent to prison, of needing government assistance, and of costing society a staggering amount of money. Fortunately, with a combination of tenacity and timely intervention (and often through the involvement of a caring adult) approximately half this group will overcome the odds and go on to lead productive lives. It's the other half where trouble occurs.

Every person in this high-risk subgroup -- some 7.5 million strong -- costs society about a million dollars over a lifetime per individual in jail and remedial-care costs, or an estimated \$7 trillion by 2050. Much of this "investment" begins at an early age... money spent in early intervention programs operated by government agencies and human service providers.

Despite the effectiveness of certain aspects of the juvenile correction system, many of the serious problems are stubbornly resistant to government cures. For example, only a fraction of resources is aimed at rehabilitation or restoring and redirecting the lives of people likely to live another 50 - 70 years. Furthermore, due to tight budgets, **funding is often exhausted before problem behaviors can be overcome.** People are "lost in the system" or "fall between the cracks" -- situations with serious long-term implications, for those involved and for our entire communities.

A Vital Opportunity

Every day, headlines involving young adults remind us of three vital facts:

- The future of society -- our collective future -- depends on responsible, productive citizens. These kinds of citizens don't just happen; they are guided, nurtured, and supported.
- The youth-to-adult transition years, before negative patterns are firmly established, there is brief but vital opportunity for intervention and corrective action.
- The most important work with adolescents takes place on a steady, ongoing basis -- in our homes, in our neighborhoods, and in our community organizations.

These facts, recently prompted a group of local citizens to create "Another Chance". Another Chance is a nonprofit organization that seeks to help young men and women make a critically important transition: from high-risk adolescents who enter the program to people on the pathway of becoming responsible adults who emerge from the program. The best indication of the success of this approach is that it has been taking place quietly and informally in our communities for several decades. The challenge now is to replicate, sustain, and expand this modest effort. That's where Another Chance comes in.

Key Benefits of Another Chance

Another Chance will provide five key benefits. Another Chance...

- increases the likelihood of educational and career success;
- provides an opportunity to practice new, healthy, productive living patterns;
- exposes participants to a spiritual element in their lives;
- enables participants to experience an effective family role model; and
- prevents young adults from re-entering the criminal justice system.

Measures of Success

Most participants will navigate their transition within three months.

To "graduate," participants must...

- have a plan, a sense of direction and aspirations; have set and met goals;
- have exhibited a degree of introspection, self knowledge, self confidence, and a healthy attitude about life;
- have experienced and adjusted to the "shock" of loving standards and expectations;
- have developed the ability to give and get respect;
- have developed improved living skills (for example, have set up a bank account, have a valid driver's license, have the ability to gain access to community services, etc.);
- have started to create a new circle of friendship and support;
- have started to make the transition from a life without direction to enrollment in school, from school to a job, or from a job to a trade / career; and
- have secured more permanent housing and have an income or a sustainable means of financial support.



Craig Smoll, social worker from Rawhide Boys Ranch, presents Another Chance Alumni with mechanics tools which will be used during his studies at Fox Valley Technical School.

*"Sad to say, I was
sinking slowly -
financially,
spiritually,
emotionally,
and every
other way you
can think of.
Since I've been
with Another
Chance a lot of
great things
popped up in
my life. You
can bet that
when I got the
chance, I
grabbed it."*

Purpose of Another Chance

The purpose of Another Chance is captured in its mission statement: *to service and assist, through love and example, high-risk young men and women in the skills required to function independently and harmoniously in a traditional family environment to include a balance in physical, mental, and spiritual growth, so as to be productive contributing members of the community.*

At its inception, Another Chance will serve Wisconsin with the goal of having 40 families participating within five years. Another Chance host families will open their homes -- and their lives -- to two high-risk youth for an average stay of three months.

In many cases, Another Chance participants will have been released prematurely from a treatment facility or program due to a reimbursement period expiring. Young adults in this situation often find themselves "backsliding" and resuming a dangerous lifestyle. They cannot re-enter their previous program and most have nowhere else to turn.

The purpose of Another Chance is to provide these young adults with a positive, short-term transition... a supervised "internship" in adult living. The program offers participants an opportunity to synthesize, assimilate, and practice much of what they've experienced in group settings. It provides a vitally important "aftercare opportunity" to those prepared to voluntarily benefit from it.

"I had some good times and some bad times growing up, but not nearly as challenged as these young kids. They need to gain the self-esteem to believe that they



Todd Mueller, owner and president of F.W. Mueller Drugs, is seen here holding the first Another Chance Change for Change Jug. In addition to being the first jug site, Todd is also a Founding Donor and has been helping to get the Another Chance story out through special events and raffle promotions.

can do it. This program will give high-risk younger folk the opportunity to become contributors to our society."

--Todd Mueller, owner
F.W. Mueller Drugs, Oshkosh
As quoted in the
Oshkosh Northwestern

Meet Another Chance Founders, Don and Marion Koepke



Don and Marion Koepke have been married for 38 years and have three children and ten grandchildren. They have lived in Outagamie County for most of their adult lives.

Marion's primary occupation is a homemaker. She served for ten years on the Outagamie Human Services Board, chaired the AODA Committee, and worked for two years on the Rawhide Telethon, serving as secretary for one year. She was also secretary of the Concrete Pipe Corporation Board of Directors, served on the Board of Christian Women's Club, and Concerned Women for American. She loves to oil paint and play the organ.

Don owned and operated Concrete Pipe Corporation. He was the National Marketing Director for both Scientia Corporation and Petrolon Corporation. He served in the Army and the Reserves as a Second Lieutenant and was called up for the Berlin crisis. Don and Marion have been volunteers at Rawhide for approximately 25 years and Don served as chairman for two Rawhide Telethons. Don has served on the Board of Directors of Valley National Bank and United Cerebral Palsy. He was the Exalted Ruler of Elks #337 and worked with handicapped children in U.C.P., special Boy Scouts, and Plamann School. He and Marion founded their own company, Visions Unlimited of America, Inc. Don loves to fish and play guitar.

Don and Marion were licensed foster parents for Outagamie County, a licensed treatment home for the State of Wisconsin, and a C.A.T.C.H. home for Rawhide. Altogether, 26 foster children have passed through their home and stayed in their hearts during the past three decades. Don has suffered through major health challenges including two serious automobile accidents, alcoholism, three heart bypass surgeries, and lymphatic cancer. Don's strong faith in God, his positive outlook on life, and indomitable spirit saw him through each of these trials.

As Founders of Another Chance, Don and Marion greatly appreciate the initial Founding Board and Advisory Panel. Their commitments made official non-profit status and start-up fund raising possible.

Founding Board of Directors

Don L. Koepke
Chairman/Vice-President

Marion R. Koepke
President/Treasurer

Deborah Cudworth
Public Defenders Office

Harold Gensler
Badger Highways Co.

Larry Medema
Life Insurance Agent

Marcia Medema
Secretary

Kim Rose

Steve Rose
Author/Speaker

John Setser
Business Owner

Micky Setser

Dave Zentner
Zentner's Amoco

Dan Minnick
Rawhide, Inc.
(Advisory member)

Transforming Lives

Unfortunately, there are many examples where, despite our best efforts, the care, treatment, and supervision provided our young people has not enabled them to make a successful transition to adulthood. The goal of Another Chance is to provide some of these young men and women with an exceptional opportunity -- **perhaps a final opportunity** -- to transform their lives. **Entire communities benefit when young adults begin to lead fulfilling and productive lives.** Our entire society benefits when these people become self-reliant citizens. Are we willing to invest now to prevent greater spending on welfare, prisons, and shelters? Are we prepared to capture this opportunity to alter young lives? **Are we ready to provide for Another Chance?**

Choose to Share Through Another Chance

Another Chance offers many excellent, flexible choices to accomplish your philanthropic and charitable objectives. Another Chance is a charitable vehicle that exists to serve at risk youth. A wide variety of ways to share are available to meet virtually any situation, including:

Outright Gifts

Gifts of money, securities, personal property or real estate represent simple, convenient ways to donate and receive maximum tax advantages.

Bequests

Cash or property given through a will is usually fully deductible for federal estate and state inheritance tax purposes. Another Chance can also be named as the residuary beneficiary of your estate or be named in a charitable remainder trust created by the will.

Life Insurance

By naming Another Chance as the irrevocable beneficiary of a life insurance policy, you are entitled to an immediate tax deduction in the amount of the cash value of the policy. Insurance premiums paid thereafter are deductible as charitable gifts.

Memorials

Gifts made in memory of a deceased person or in honor of a living person are permanent testimonials.



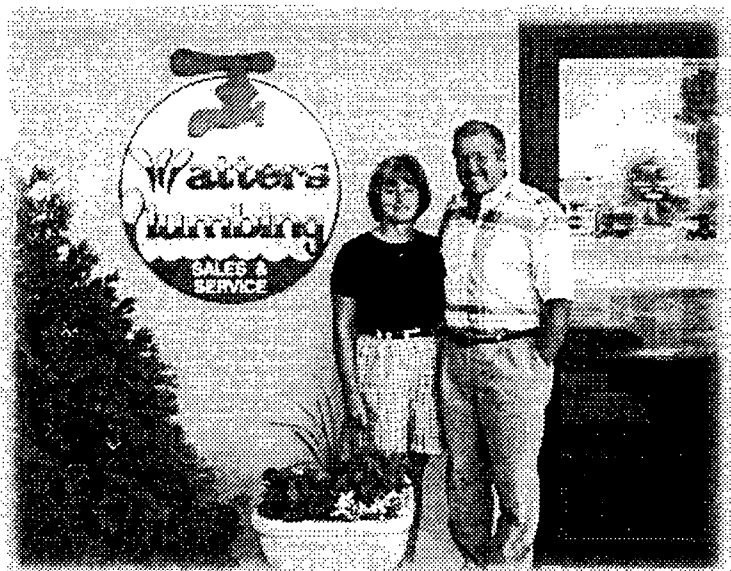
Pictured is Dave Rathsack, General Manager of Bakers Square in Appleton. By becoming an In Kind Founder, helping with a special event and employing past Another Chance participants, Bakers Square has demonstrated a commitment to the community.

Founding Donors

A special category of Founding Donor was established by the Board of Directors to acknowledge those visionary leaders who contribute \$1,000 or more.

The first 100 Founding Donors will be recognized using various methods which will include name recognition on the Another Chance community display. Founding Donors will also be recognized annually as the reason Another Chance exists and is able to serve the community today and in future years. There are two Founding Donor Categories:

- Cash gifts of \$1,000 or more
- Combination cash and in kind gifts totalling \$1,000 or more



Cal and Kelly Watters of Watters Plumbing are the first Founding Donors of Another Chance.

Co Founders (Cash gifts - In Kind donations or combination totalling \$500-\$999)

The Co Founder level of giving was created as a way of giving recognition to another level of donor. Co founders will be given recognition on the community board and more than likely will develop into sustaining donors in future years.

Donors (Any size donation up to \$499 cash or in kind gifts)

To make sure that everyone in the community was given the opportunity to contribute, the Board created the Donor Category which is expected to be a major cornerstone of the annual appeal.

Special Event In Kind Donors

To satisfy the promotional and fundraising needs of the special Events committee the Board of Directors created this special category to recognize those individuals and businesses that contribute to making Another Chance special events so successful.

Another Chance administrators are available to assist with questions you may have about these and other opportunities for giving. Please contact:

Another Chance

W5450 County Tk JJ

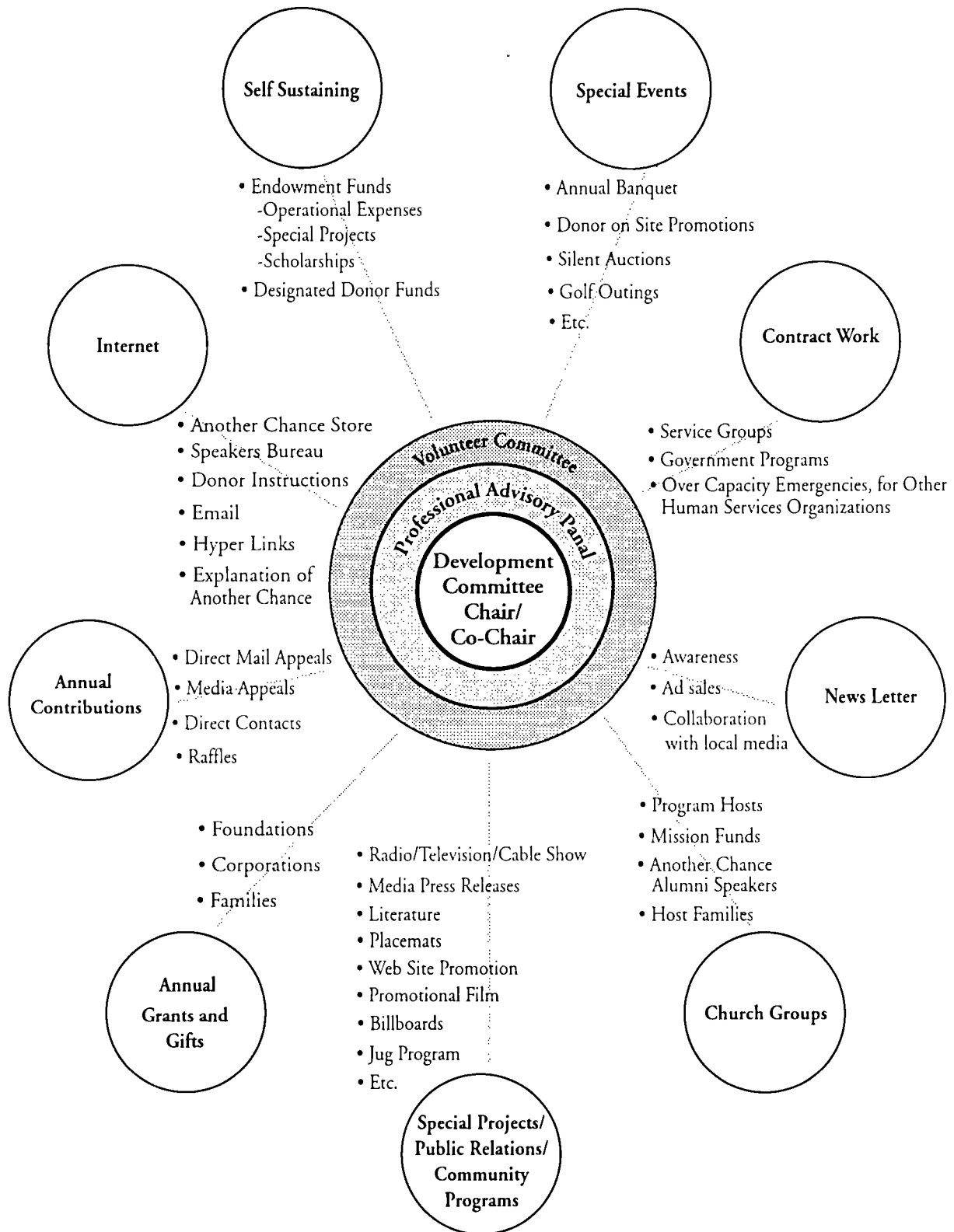
Appleton WI 54915

(Phone) 920 / 734-5219

(Fax) 920 / 734-5695

www.anotherchance.net

Fund Development Strategies



Testimonials From Another Chance Participants

"Hello. My name is Pete. In February, I talked to Ma and Pa Koepke about how my life was going. Sad to say, I was sinking slowly -- financially, spiritually, emotionally, and every other way you can think of. They explained Another Chance, to me and asked me if I would be interested. I said that I wasn't so sure about incarcerating myself. It was only a couple of years ago when I got out of a program. But for some reason I was on my way to live with Ma and Pa two days later."

"Since I've been with Another Chance a lot of great things popped up in my life. And you can bet that when I got the chance, I grabbed it. I'm seeing progress in my work. Before I came to this program, I couldn't keep a job for more than a week. Boy, it's nice to see the same people working with me for awhile. I even stayed long enough to get my first raise. Another thing I've seen grow is my love for the Lord. Since I've been in Another Chance I've been going to church and growing in Christ as much as possible. And knowing that our Father works in mysterious ways, I am now facing a chance to go back to school to become a diesel technician, not to mention my GED. One last thing I can say is if you get Another Chance like I did, and you turn it down, then I think you need more help than Another Chance could offer anyway."

Pete

"I came to Another Chance in March, 1998. Before that, I was living in an apartment with eleven other people. That's pretty much how I've been living ever since I got out of Rawhide a year ago. I've lived everywhere from Wisconsin Rapids to Appleton. The whole time I have been into drugs very heavily, especially weed. I smoked and sold a lot of weed in the past year. My life was really going downhill fast, but I never really stopped to think about what my future would hold. I had lived in Appleton before so I knew some people in the area. I came to Appleton and decided I needed to find a job if I wanted to sell drugs. I asked a guy I knew to help me find a job."

"A couple days before I came to the Koepke's, I decided I didn't want to be involved with drugs anymore. I met with a friend from the past who said that he knew some people who could help me out. He picked me up for breakfast a couple days later and introduced me to Don and Marion Koepke. They showed me their house and talked to me about the program. I could sense that these people might actually be able to help me if I let them. We said our good-byes and about half an hour later I called them and said that I would like to enter the program. I moved in and my life has been going uphill ever since. They have helped me to build a future for my life and now this fall I am going to college to study law, which has been a dream of mine for a long time. I really appreciate the Koepkes and what they are going to do with this program. I guess I can say truthfully, if it wasn't for Don and Marion Koepke and God for giving Don a vision and laying Another Chance on his heart, I might not be alive right now."

John

"I lived with the Koepkes in the final months of a Rawhide program. After graduating, I went back to my home town. I was doing fine. I was going to school and had a job. However, that only lasted for a while. I was slipping and I noticed it. When I quit going to church, I knew that I was doing really bad. I kept in contact with Don and Marion Koepke throughout this time. I knew that if I ever needed anything I could count on them. I started college and was doing a little better, but still not good enough. I started to miss class a lot. My grades went down very quickly and I felt that I needed God back in my life. Don Koepke and I met up during this time. He saw, and I knew that I was troubled by the way I was living my life. A week after we met, I called Don and told him that I wasn't liking the way things were going. Don asked me, "Well, what do you want to do about it?" I hesitated to say it, but I knew I had to ask. "Well, I was wondering if I could move in with you for awhile." A week later I moved in and knew I was on my way back to being who I wanted to be. Don and Marion helped me out a lot, and I was happy they were willing to do this for me. I have learned to care a lot more for people. I have learned much about God's love through the Koepke's. I have no say on where I would be now if the Koepke's had not let me come to live with them. I am thankful that God was watching over me the whole time and knew when enough was enough. So did I."

Omar

Will You Help Another Chance Say Yes?

We just received another call requesting that Another Chance place an at risk young adult with a loving caring family that would help them in the final step from at risk to productive community member. We had to say "no, not at this time due to a shortage of funds."

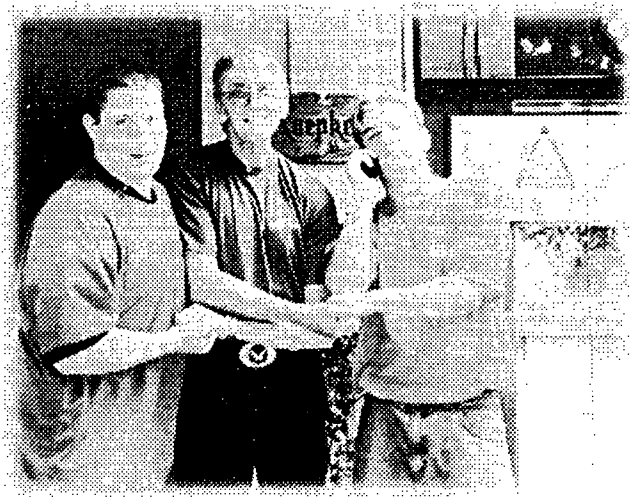
Although we are very happy with the results achieved by Another Chance, it still hurts when we have to turn away a young life knowing that this may be the last opportunity anyone has to impact a potential backward slide by a young adult reaching out for help.

Another Chance "Fills the Gap in Services" offered by the community to at risk young adults. That's why, for example, a social worker from Winnebago County called again requesting Another Chance to work with youth that "aren't quite ready yet" for living alone without parental type guidance and love.

You can join others that are making it possible for Another Chance to **say "yes"** when other social workers, concerned family members or organizations call for help.

Please review the following gift giving categories and choose the level of help you feel comfortable with. All gifts no matter what size are appreciated with deepest gratitude.

*Skip Mueller, Member
Another Chance
Development Committee*



Don Koepke and a couple of the guys committing to a life long lifeline because someone said yes. Your gift now will have an impact on young lives and the community.

Funding Sources

Company / City	Founding Donor
American National Bank, Appleton	
Appleton Papers	X
Badger Highways / Harold Gensler, Appleton	X
Jack & Nancy Beilfuss, Appleton	X
Margie Beilfuss, Appleton**	
Calnin & Gross, John Calnin, Appleton	
Cell One, Appleton**	
Century Signs, Walter & Sandy Hess, Appleton**	
Cheese Hut / Rich Van Handel, Appleton	X
Clean Tech of WI / John & Micky Setser, Appleton	X
Community Foundation / Fox Valley Region, Appleton	
Karen Darow, Appleton	X
D & D Landscape / Gene Dorn, Appleton	
Fabel Truck & Repair / Scott Fabel, Appleton	X
Freimuth Masonry, James & Marcella Freimuth, Appleton	X
Charles & Pat Green, Contractors	X
H.J. Jennerjohn Auctioneers / Herman & Grace Jennerjohn	X
Integrity Christian Centre, Appleton	X
James & Donna Koehnke, Fairfax, Virginia	X
O.J. Krull & Sons, John Krull, Black Creek	X
Jerry & Gladys Long, Appleton	X
F.W. Mueller Drugs / Todd Mueller, Oshkosh	X
David & Helen Nowell, Appleton	X
Rawhide, Inc., New London	X
Steffens Electric / Norbert Steffens, Appleton	
Sincerely Yours / William & Sharon Steffen, Oshkosh **	X
Target Stores	X
Wal-Mart, Oshkosh**	
Watters Plumbing / Cal & Kelly Watters, Menasha	X
Kathy Weber, Desktop Publishing & Graphic Design, Oshkosh **	X
Wittuhn Printing, Dan Wittuhn, Appleton**	X
Zentner's Amoco / Dave Zentner, Appleton	X

X -- "founding donors" indicates a gift of \$1,000 or more

** -- in-kind donors

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Audio Plus, Oshkosh
Bakers Square, Appleton
Callahan's, Oshkosh
Cinema 10, Oshkosh
CJ Trophy, Oshkosh
The Chalice, Oshkosh
Delta Restaurant, Oshkosh
Classic Edge, Oshkosh
Family Video, Oshkosh
Fratello's, Oshkosh
Freinds, Oshkosh
Friar Tucks, Oshkosh
Jansen's Bar and Grill, Oshkosh
Jeff's on Rugby, Oshkosh
Lara's Tortilla Flats, Oshkosh
LaSure's, Oshkosh
Mr. Cinder's, Oshkosh
Oshkosh Lanes, Oshkosh
Pizza Hut, Oshkosh
Roxy Supper Club, Oshkosh
Titan Shell, Oshkosh
Uvatan, Oshkosh
Wal-Mart, Oshkosh
Winemaker, Oshkosh
West Wisconsin Diner, Appleton



Pictured is Dave Rathsack, General Manager of Bakers Square in Appleton. By becoming an In Kind founder, helping with a special event and employing past Another Chance participants, Bakers Square has demonstrated a commitment to the community.



A charity raffle is part of Another Chance Special Project Fund Raising. This Particular raffle is being sponsored by the Oshkosh VFW post 1908. Others lending support to the project include a local car dealership and many individuals who have made a commitment to promoting the raffle.

Questions and Answers About Another Chance

Q: Does Another Chance duplicate programs already available? How will Another Chance complement existing programs?

A. Another Chance "bridges a gap" in services and programs currently available to help young adults. It will work closely with the full range of available programs -- and invite participation from businesses, churches, service clubs, and individuals not currently involved -- to provide a critically important extension of services.

Q: How will Another Chance participants gain access to the program?

A. Most will be referred into the program by churches, by human service providers (for example, Rawhide, the Salvation Army, Catholic Social Services, Lutheran Social Services), by government agencies, or by organizations in an over-capacity situation. Generally, participants will have encountered the juvenile justice system, will have experienced involuntary incarceration, and will have experienced a group living arrangement. Since Another Chance is a voluntary program, only those candidates that demonstrate a strong desire to succeed will be accepted. Basically as one participant stated, "they would beg to get in."

Q: How can I support Another Chance?

A. People unable to volunteer time as committee members or host families can provide support for the program through a financial contribution. Several levels of gift support have been established, including a "Founding Donor" category, which includes gifts of \$1,000 and more, although gifts of all sizes are encouraged. Tax deductible gifts can be sent to Another Chance, or a representative will meet with you to discuss other gift giving options. There are also many ways for companies to participate -- for example, by hiring a program participant, by making a cash or in-kind contribution, or by providing release time during work for a program volunteer. (Another Chance: W5450 County JJ, Appleton WI 54915, 920-734-5219)



Don (left) and Patrick (right) enjoying an apple pie night at Baker's Square in Appleton. Spending time together just talking is a critical element of the Another Chance Program.

Q: Why are young adults being released prematurely from existing programs?

A. In most cases, participants are released when the period of government reimbursement expires -- young adults being released by a specific date rather than when they are ready.

Q: In three months, can Another Chance make a difference in a young person's life?

A. Yes, because Another Chance is aimed at meeting two overriding objectives: 1) to eliminate "backsliding" into a dangerous lifestyle again, which happens when people move back into an unhealthy environment; and 2) to cement progress and carry forward lessons learned through previous programs that might otherwise be lost. One reason Another Chance can make such a huge difference is the strong motivation of program participants eager to navigate their challenging transition.

Q: Is Another Chance a nonprofit organization? Are contributions tax deductible?

A. Yes, Another Chance is set up as a nonprofit 501 (c) (3) corporation, which means that contributions are deductible to the extent provided by law.

Q: What is the anticipated age range of Another Chance participants?

A. Almost all participants will be between the ages of 17 and 21.

Q: Is Another Chance a new program? Is it up and running already?

A. The organization, the name, the structure, and the proposed scale of the program are new. The approach, the methods, and the importance of the family setting are not. *According to John and Jan Gillespie, founders of Rawhide, "Don and Marion Koepke began Another Chance about 30 years ago when they started working as foster parents and fundraisers with Bart and Cherry Starr. They just never officially named what they were doing."*

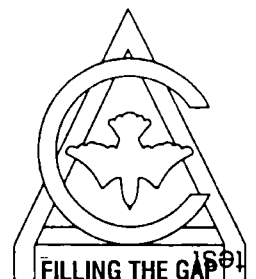
In the last three decades, the Koepkes have worked with 26 at-risk youth. Their goal today is to share their knowledge and experience with other concerned parents willing to open their hearts and homes to perpetuate this success story.

Q: How will Another Chance result in a better community?

A. When we improve the life of a young man or woman...when we help them make the transition from troubled adolescence to productive adulthood...we not only touch that life, we also affect the lives of all with whom he or she comes in contact. In this way, qualities and benefits passed to (and through) Another Chance participants go on and on and on.



Jason (left) and Don (right) enjoying a meal and conversation at West Wisconsin Diner after Don picked up Jason from his new job. Jason became a participant in October 1998. Without Another Chance Jason would be in an adult prison as of November 1998 according to Deborah Cudworth, Client Services Specialist with the Office of the State Public Defender. She stated that their office made over 70 calls trying to place Jason in a family environment.



Change for Change

Community Jug Program

This special project is a fund raising and community awareness tool. Businesses that display the Another Chance Jugs and act as collection points for general public donations will be recognized throughout the year in fund raising literature and media campaigns. To learn how your business can benefit while helping Another Chance, please call Skip Mueller at (920) 236-6789 ext. 367 or contact him through the Another Chance general administration office.

Initial Jug Locations:

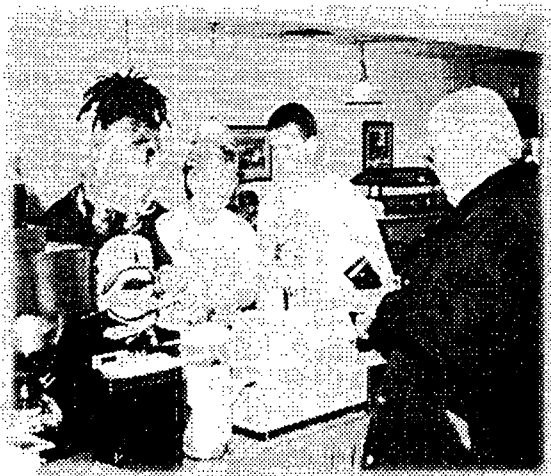
F. W. Mueller Drugs
317 North Sawyer, Oshkosh

West Wisconsin Diner
3011 W. Wisconsin Avenue, Appleton

Zentners Amoco Service
3640 W. College Avenue, Appleton



Dave Zentner is a founding board member and his Amoco station in Appleton is a jug site for Another Chance. He is also refurbishing a car that will be used by Another Chance participants and helping to promote the first Another Chance raffle.



Pictured from left, Sue Jennerjohn, Judy Saunders, and Pete, an Another Chance participant, help a customer at the West Wisconsin Diner in Appleton. The Diner management gave Pete a job to help with his new start in life. West Wisconsin Diner is also a participant in the Jug Program to help raise funds for Another Chance.



Employees of F.W. Mueller Drugs, Manager Donna Brehmer, pictured left, and Assistant Manager Margaret Raddatz, pictured right, show off the T-Shirts worn by employees on Mondays to help create awareness and raise funds through the Community Jug Program piloted in Oshkosh by Pharmacy owner Todd Mueller.

Oshkosh Northwestern

SUNDAY, MAY 3, 1998

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JOE SIENKIEWICZ/OF THE NORTHWESTERN

PETE PHILBRICK, right, can play the electric guitar and is showing John Maciejewski where to position his fingers when playing. They both live with Marion and Don Koepke in their home in rural Appleton.

'Another Chance' gives youths another chance

Program privately funded, looking for help

BY SANDY MICKELSON
OF THE NORTHWESTERN

High-risk youths returning to the community after court-ordered programs often have no place to go.

No families. No money. No jobs.

Because of that, former foster parents Marion and Don Koepke of rural Appleton have started a program called "Another Chance." It's exactly that — another chance to make something of a life that's going nowhere. Another chance to break

the bond to gangs and violence, to theft and drugs

Don Koepke knows first-hand what's needed. A recovered alcoholic, he wants to use that knowledge to help youths. But he says other families need to get involved.

"Everybody wants the government to solve the social problems," Don Koepke said. "We wouldn't need that. We need homes. I don't know what would have happened to me if I hadn't had another chance."

The man with the hardy handshake quivered. His voice faltered, his eyes glistened.

"We helped 26 foster children in 30 years," he said. "We can touch, with our proposed budget, more than 300 lives a year."

The organizational statement for "Another Chance" targets Winnebago and Outagamie counties, with two youths to a home and five homes, at a cost of \$12,000. In five years, it would increase to 40 homes and a cost of \$100,000. Average

length of stay would be three months.

The program offers troubled youths a room, meals, clothes and transportation to jobs, school, church youth groups and/or good recreation while they try and turn their lives around. A privately funded venture, there are no time limits and no strings attached. Youths may remain in the program until they are ready to venture out on their own in a productive manner.

All that is required is a promise to

be part of the family, including chores, politeness and hugs. They promise to be open and honest with family members and discuss all aspects of family life, from faith to the future.

They also promise to break ties with former "friends."

"Up until now, these guys have been hearing the click of the handcuffs and the pounding of the gavel," Don Koepke said. "When they come here, the first thing we tell them, 'We don't care where you've been. We only care where you're going.' We focus on today forward."

Dan Minnick of Rawhide Inc. in New London said a critical age for at-risk youths is 16 to 26, especially when there's no family support when the youths leave court-ordered programs.

"They're faced with getting out there and making it on their own," Minnick said. "Don's trying to organize families willing to take these guys in and mentor them and get

Another chance

Projected five-year costs for "Another Chance," a privately funded program which places at-risk youths in foster homes. Home costs are based on \$1,200 per month, per youth with no more than two youths in each home.

	Cost per home per month*	Administrative cost per month
First year	\$12,000 (five homes at \$2,400 per month)	\$1,800 (approximately 15%)
Total first-year cost: \$138,000		
Second year	\$24,000 (10 homes at \$2,400 per month)	\$2,880 (approximately 12%)
Total second-year cost: \$268,800		
Third year	\$50,000 (20 homes at \$2,500 per month)	\$5,000 (approximately 10%)
Total third-year cost: \$550,000		
Fourth year	\$75,000 (30 homes at \$2,500 per month)	\$7,500 (approximately 10%)
Total fourth-year cost: \$825,000		
Fifth year	\$100,000 (40 homes at \$2,500 per month)	\$10,000 (approximately 10%)
Total fifth-year cost: \$1,100,000		

SOURCE: Another Chance

NORTHWESTERN A

them through that difficult time."

Todd Mueller, who owns F.W. Mueller in Oshkosh, is helping Don Koepke raise funds for "Another Chance."

"I had some good times and some bad times growing up," Mueller said. "But not nearly as challenged as these young kids. They need to gain the self-esteem to believe that they can do it. This program will give high-risk younger folk the opportunity to become contributors to our society."

Taking control of their lives brought two men to the Koepkes' door already. John Maciejewski is 18. Pete Philbrick is 20.

"I woke up one morning and decided I should start making something out of life," Maciejewski said. "I needed some help and I needed a job and a place to stay."

Both Maciejewski and Philbrick had been involved in gangs, drugs, theft and other criminal problems while they were teens and spent time at Rawhide under court order. After leaving, each lived on his own but had trouble making a living and staying out of trouble. Both eventually found their way to the Koepkes.

Maciejewski now plans a career in law.

"They introduced me to a new dream, to a lot of things," he said. "I went to a retreat at Integrity Christian Center at Spencer Lake Bible Camp and I gave my life to Christ there. It was an incredible week end."

Philbrick's aspirations include a career as a diesel mechanic.

While at Rawhide, Philbrick came to the Koepkes in the CATCH program — Community Alternative Transitional Children's Home — and left as soon as possible, glad to be back on his own.

"But I failed big time," he said. "It's not easy."

Asked by the couple if he wanted to be part of "Another Chance," he agreed. No thought involved. It was, he said, a lifeline, and he's not only got a job and school lined up he's found a faith he never knew.

"I'm a Christian," he said. "My relationship with God is he's just a friend that will never stab you in the back."

Sandy Mickelson may be reached at (920) 426-6671.

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Tom Phillip
Katie J. Wolfe

Investigator
Michael H. Phillips
Client Services Specialist
Deborah K. Cudworth

October 28, 1998

TO Whom It May Concern:

I am a Client Services Specialist employed with the Office of the State Public Defender. A major part of my job is to look for and secure alternatives to incarceration for select juvenile and adult cases.

Under the new Juvenile Justice Code in Wisconsin, seventeen-year-olds are considered to be adults. They are in fact sentenced as adults. Additionally, younger youth are often waived into adult court. In the case of seventeen-year-olds, many of these youth are not emotionally or mentally mature. Often these youths are not serious offenders and may be still in need of services typically offered in the juvenile system.

These youth can also be "locked out of" structured treatment programs in the adult system because seventeen year olds are too young and immature to get into these programs. They are also locked out of all of the juvenile services because they're considered adults. Younger youth who are waived into adult court can also be affected.

ANOTHER CHANCE was critical in assisting one seventeen year old boy who other wise was likely to be sent to prison. This boy was small in stature and quite immature for his age. While this boy had committed several petty burglaries with younger youth, he had never previously been in trouble with the law. He came from a broken home where there was alcoholism and neglect. This boy had no prior record. He had not had the benefit of previous counseling or juvenile services. This boy was recommended to go to prison by the Department of Corrections.

Unless our office could find a structured home for this youth, he was destined to an adult prison. None of the residential treatment homes could take this boy due to his age. Over seventy calls and countless hours were spent in an attempt to place this young man. No one would take him. There was no funding. He was no longer considered a juvenile. He was too young and immature for the limited adult programs.

By the time I found out about ANOTHER CHANCE there was four days until sentencing. Our client would likely be sent to an adult prison if a program could not be found. ANOTHER CHANCE is exactly what this boy needed. They offer adult role models, a home setting, structure, supervision, and guidance. They are offering this adolescent a chance to build a productive life. ANOTHER CHANCE was perfect for our client. The court listened to what this program could offer and felt it was worthwhile for this boy and the community. He was also given a highly intensive probation structure with an imposed prison sentence held over his head.

This program is greatly needed in the community. There are so many cases like this one that our office handles. We handle cases where the offenders are young, immature, non-violent and can not be placed due to being blocked from resources. Our client would likely not have survived or benefited from prison. Instead, ANOTHER CHANCE is offering surrogate parental role models, structure, and guidance. Not only has this boy been given another chance, he's been given a better chance.

Sincerely,

Deborah K. Cudworth

Deborah K. Cudworth, M.S.S.W., C.I.C.S.W.
Client Services Specialist

Another Chance Gift Commitment

Personal Information: (Please Print)

Print your personal or business name(s) exactly as you wish it to appear in Another Chance literature, certificates and community displays.

Name(s) _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

Phone Number (____) _____ - _____

Gift Payment Options:

- My tax deductible gift today is \$ _____
- I/we pledge a total of \$ _____ which we will pay in _____ semi-annual or _____ quarterly payments of \$ _____.

My initial pledge payment gift of \$ _____ is enclosed.

Gift form: _____ Check _____ Cash _____ Other

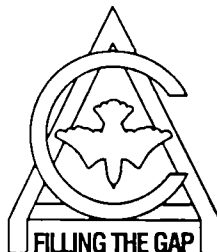
My gift is: _____ In Memory _____ In Honor of: Name: _____

Please make check payable to: **Another Chance**

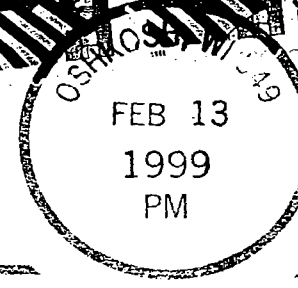
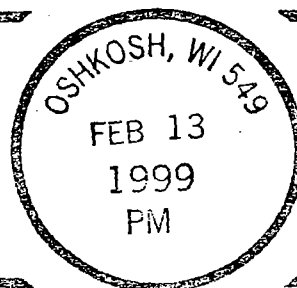
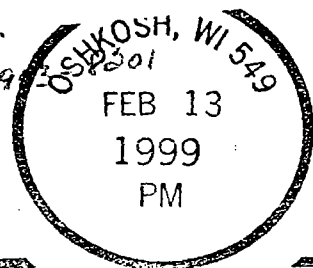
Signature _____

Date _____

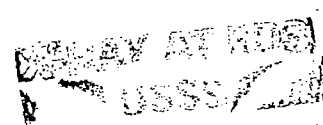
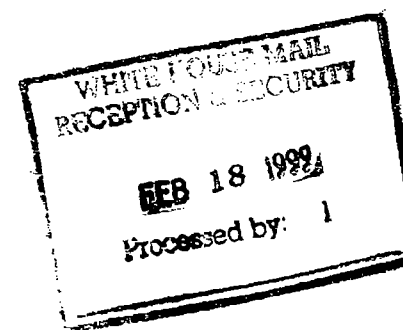
Solicitor (Please print) _____



ANOTHER CHANCE



First Lady and Mr. President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW,
Washington, DC 20500



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

TOM W. RYAN
144 Willowleaf Drive
Littleton, CO 80127

303-973-5077 (Fax) 303-932-6010
ryandenvr@msn.com

October 3, 1999

Mr. Eric Liu, Deputy Director
Domestic Policy Council
The White House, West Wing, 2nd Floor
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. Liu:

Thank you for your call earlier this week about my proposal to resurrect Thomas Jefferson's 1816 idea to create an advisory referendum process into a modern-day National Advisory Referendum on issues chosen by the President.

This is the most important letter you will ever receive--for how often can you hold in your hand a proposal that can change the course of history? Let me explain these bold statements.

Your call to me was an important catalyst. After thinking about your call, I came up with a modification in the proposal to make it politically practical for Congress to pass the National Advisory Referendum legislation in time for the 2000 year elections giving President Clinton an historic place in the evolution of American democracy.

The President has a unique moment in history when he makes his State of the Union speech in January 2000. He will be closing one Millenium and beginning another Millenium. While others may expect to see President Clinton merely deliver the last of his State of the Union addresses to close out his presidency, I see an unprecedented moment in democratic history which will not take place for another 1000 years.

The President must grasp this historic opportunity and provide the American people a vision worthy of the moment. The President

cannot just focus on programs to close down his term, but must tie the past and future together with a visionary speech which will ring throughout all of history.

President Clinton can do that by ending his term where he began when he visited Monticello January 17, 1993 promising to be "faithful to Jefferson's idea to shake things up once every generation." The President said at Monticello, "Jefferson was associated with the populism of his day and so we chose him as a symbol of the populism of our campaign."

But Jefferson can be more than a forgotten symbol for President Clinton's campaign. Jefferson's ideas to forge a public consensus on public policy issues by having people cast advisory votes on public issues can become the crowning achievement of President Clinton's presidency. Moreover, it can forever transform President Clinton's concept of community into a mechanism for national decision-making.

I have come up with a practical plan to make this proposal possible.

Since our talk, I have come up with a revised proposal to have the President pick 2 issues and the Congress pick 2 issues for the first National Advisory Referendum for November 2000 with the power reverting exclusively to the President for all subsequent referendums. See enclosed revised draft. This will take partisan politics out of the political equation. The President can offer to walk across the bridge to the 21st century hand-in-hand with the Republican leaders of the Congress, not as political opponents, but as Americans walking across the bridge to seek out our common destiny for the future.

Moreover, if the President introduces this proposal at the State of the Union address, he can clearly show the American people that this proposal is not about gaining partisan advantage, but about opening up the doors of democracy to the people so that we as a nation can come together to forge a public consensus for public policy.

The President can "rock the house" of American democracy while millions of people watch at home with the most important change in the way we govern ourselves since Thomas Jefferson penned the Declaration of Independence.

You are holding in your hands an idea to expand public participation in representative democracy with the power to change the course of history for all time. You are holding in your hands an idea first proposed by Thomas Jefferson in 1816 which has been lost to history for over 180 years. You are holding in your hands an idea which will make President William Jefferson Clinton a man for the Millenium.

You said on the phone that one of the ideas being considered is a "blue ribbon commission" to come up with ideas to expand public participation in government. With all due respect, another report from another blue ribbon commission coming in the last year of President Clinton's term will soon be lost in the dustbins of history.

There is another path to choose.

Instead of proposing a commission which will be lost in the dust of history, President Clinton needs to dust off the unfinished citizen participation plans of the greatest democratic architect this world has ever known—Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson's plans have been on the shelf for over 180 years but are as relevant today as they were to Jefferson in 1816 when he used the New England Town Meeting concept of self-government, where people cast advisory votes on issues of public concern, as his model to reform the very American democracy he helped create—calling the advisory voting process of the New England Town Meetings "the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation."

President Clinton's speech to create a National Advisory Referendum will shine like a beacon for all the world to see and cast a bright light on the Clinton presidency. The stronger the light of a Clinton/Jefferson plan to expand democratic participation, the weaker the impeachment shadow will be on the President's legacy.

I live in Denver where John Elway set a record of nearly 50 fourth quarter comebacks, including one to beat the Green Bay Packers in Super Bowl XXXII. President Clinton has been referred to as "the comeback kid". The last year of President Clinton's presidency is

like the last 2 minutes of a football game. It's a time when the offense has to play a well-strategized game to keep the defense back-pedaling. This is not a time for marginal plays for more marginal programs; this is a time for a dramatic play to put the ball in the end-zone.

While others may think President Clinton's last State of the Union address will be a time to wind-down his presidency, he can surprise everyone one more time with a bold plan to reform American democracy with the plans of Thomas Jefferson which will shine like a beacon for all the world.

There is no better time to announce a plan for a National Advisory Referendum than at the State of the Union address when he can reach beyond the members of Congress in attendance to the American people watching at home.

By doing so, President Clinton will be forever linked with Thomas Jefferson. As I told President Clinton when I spoke with him in Aspen—"You share Jefferson's name; by proposing a National Advisory Referendum you can share Jefferson's legacy on democracy."

With the advent of Internet technology, the timing could not be more perfect for the President to set forth a new vision for American democracy. People are seeking new ways to participate in shaping public policy.

Yesterday I received an e-mail (see enclosure) from my niece Stacey May with a petition being circulated on the Internet to persuade Congress to maintain funding for the National Endowment of the Arts, National Public Radio and PBS. By the time I got the petition, 769 people had signed. Only just recently, a person would have had to stand at a busy street corner for days to collect that many signatures (note that the Supreme Court has upheld the property rights of shopping mall owners to prohibit petitioning at malls where hundreds of people gather making Internet petition gathering a wave of the future.)

A few days ago my wife Evonne received a fax from "21st Century Fax Ltd.", asking her "to vote" by fax for or against "more effective gun control laws." The fax said the "vote" was being faxed to over 4 million people in the United States. No longer are faxes being sent individually. They are being faxed by computers to computers—over the Internet to reach millions of people.

People want to participate more and with the development of new Internet technology the demand to play an active role in shaping public policy will grow stronger in the future.

The Nielsen/Net Ratings estimates 101 million now have access to the Internet. On September 15 the Denver Post reported that AT&T plans to build 26 new "Internet data centers" across the country to handle the interactive needs of business. Once these centers are built in the year 2000, the infrastructure can also be used by government for our democracy.

People are already voting on-line through commercial web-sites. Both the Biography Channel and ESPN Classic allowed viewers to program their channels for an entire week by voting on which shows they wanted to watch.

The enclosed article on Nokia's new model 7110 mobile phone is a window to the future of cell-phone technology. Nokia is based in Finland where 60% of the people have cell phones compared to 25% in the US. Finland is expected to have 100% cell phone penetration by the end of the year 2000.

The new Nokia 7110's are called "third generation" cell phones. With the model 7110, people are able to access the Internet with just a few flicks to check stock prices, send e-mail, and purchase items.

Ilkka Raiskinin, Vice President for business development says, "Mobile phones are a platform just waiting for additional services and content." If you can access the Internet by phone to make secure purchases and stock trades, voting by phone will also be possible.

Someday in the future people will not have to go to the polls. Secure commercial transaction technology for the Internet can be used as a

way of allowing people to vote from their computers or over the advanced cell phones described above.

ATT's cable subsidiary (TCI) is developing set-top boxes which will turn the television into a portal for the Internet making computers and televisions into a combined technology.

Alta Vista, Free PC and NetZero are all offering free Internet access for those willing to see advertising on their screens hastening the day when the digital divide will be bridged by the commercial power of advertising similar to network television of today.

Oracle has announced plans to develop a \$250 computer for schools. Once this becomes commercially available, it will make access to the Internet the cost of a television set and accepting free advertising.

When the President makes his State of the Union address in January 2000, he will have a unique opportunity to talk about how the technology of the Internet will impact our democracy and the way we make decisions.

But President Clinton has a choice to make.

The first is to merely encourage the development of an interactive democracy where the government becomes more accessible as a result of changing technology.

The second is to provide a focal point for the interactive democracy of our future—holding a National Advisory Referendum every two years. People can then use the technologies of the Internet to seek out information about the issues, join advocacy groups through their websites, participate in on-line forums about the issues, and organize around the issues via the Web and in their communities.

However, if Congress fails to pass a National Advisory Referendum bill, President Clinton could hold the first ever National Advisory Referendum on the Internet. This can be used as leverage to gain approval of the National Advisory Referendum in Congress. If Congress fails to act, not only would they be blocking legislation giving people the right to cast votes on the issues in our national

elections, they would be carving themselves out of having any say in the issues picked by the President for an Internet-based National Advisory Referendum to be held the same day as our national elections in November 2000. For those without computers, Internet voting kiosks could be set up in federal buildings, such as Social Security offices, around the country.

Either the Republicans join with the President in supporting a National Advisory Referendum bill where they can take mutual credit with the President and pick 2 of the issues for the year 2000, or they will be blamed for standing in the way of one of the most historic advancements of democratic rights in our nation's history.

This is a time for an historic speech, an historic proposal, an historic moment. By transforming Jefferson's ideas to give people the right to cast advisory votes on the issues into a proposal for a National Advisory Referendum, President William Jefferson Clinton will become a man for the Millenium.

The National Advisory Referendum will change the course of history.

Everything is now up to you.

History is in your hands.

Sincerely,

Tom Ryan

P.S. The President is like the Supreme Court for our democracy. I would like the opportunity to meet with you and the President for oral argument on Thomas Jefferson's ideas. He's the client, I'm just his attorney. I would like to meet with you before December 11th when I will be meeting President George Bush at my company's Christmas Party in Chicago (see enclosure). I want President Clinton to make history. I don't want to be tempted to give this idea to President Bush for his son. However, I am torn by the realization that though I am a strong Democrat, Thomas Jefferson's ideas are for all Americans.



FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1999

FREE PCS: Free-PC will announce today that it will ship 20,000 free personal computers with Internet access and e-mail by the end of the year. Recipients must give the company detailed personal information, such as age, residence and interests, and agree to receive advertising that stays on the computer's desktop. Applications for the computers will be accepted on the Internet at www.free-pc.com.

CHEAP PCS: Oracle is developing a low-cost computer to serve schools, CEO Larry Ellison says. The Pentium-based computer will cost \$250 with a monitor and \$150 without one. It also includes a CD-ROM drive. The company producing the computer would probably be spun off from Oracle, Ellison says.

Written by Sara Nathan from staff and wire reports

USA SNAPSHOTS®

AltaVista offering free Internet access

By Janet Kornblum
USA TODAY

PALO ALTO, Calif. — AltaVista, one of the 10 most popular Internet sites, Thursday became the first major site to offer free Internet access.

In an effort to reel in more customers, AltaVista is forgoing the \$19.95 to \$21.95 a month companies typically charge to connect you to the Internet. It hopes to make up the lost subscription revenue by getting advertisers to ante up more.

Microsoft President Steve Ballmer hinted at a recent

meeting with analysts that Microsoft would consider such a service for its MSN. But it's not clear whether other Internet powerhouses, such as Yahoo, Excite At Home and Lycos, will follow AltaVista's lead. Offering free service is considered financially risky and can raise sticky privacy issues, depending on what information people must reveal when they sign up.

Even America Online, which offers free access in Europe, has no plans to do so here, says spokeswoman Tricia Primrose.

Consumers who use AltaVista's service will be required to

start surfing the Web from its home page. Users also will have a constant ad in the corner of their computers.

The service also includes a MicroPortal, a small window that sits on the screen and lets a user access certain shopping and search sites. The MicroPortal also contains banner ads. If a user shuts it down, the user will be logged off the site.

AltaVista will not sell the information consumers give to it when they register, but it will deliver ads based on the places that the consumer shops, says AltaVista spokesman David

Emmanuel. Privacy experts have objected to such practices, but Emmanuel said because a user's name won't be linked to surfing habits, it won't violate privacy.

All Internet companies are fighting an escalating battle for consumers. The key to making money in the Internet space is to attract users to your properties and keep them there as long as possible, maximizing the possibility that they will see more advertising and purchase goods and services.

It is not clear whether companies that offer free Internet

access — such as start-ups FreePC and NetZero, which had 1.17 million users at the end of June — can make up the money they spend to acquire a customer with the ads they get.

Several free or nearly free Internet access companies have failed. Analyst Lisa Allen of Forrester Research said she's skeptical about the service. "The revenue potential doesn't seem to be clear."

But AltaVista's Charles Rashall says that with 38 million monthly users, the company is confident it can make enough on free access.

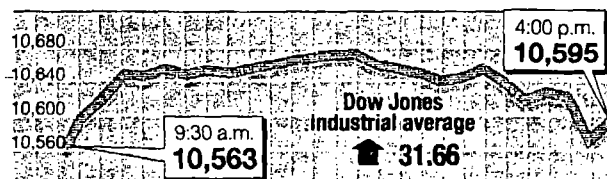


WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16, 1999

MONEYLINE

A QUICK READ ON THE TOP MONEY NEWS OF THE DAY

Tuesday markets



Index	Close	Change
Nasdaq composite	2414.67	↑ 16.36
Standard & Poor's 500	1301.16	↑ 7.16
Treasury bond, 30-year yield	6.11%	↑ 0.02

Market Scoreboard with currencies, 4B

WEB TRAFFIC: Internet Web traffic, which took a dip in April, rebounded in May, according to Nielsen/NetRatings, which measures Web performance. Numbers had dipped 4% in April but rebounded 8.7% in May. Nielsen/NetRatings estimates 101 million people had Internet access in May, vs. 95.8 million in April.

Internet centers to grow

AT&T aims to expand Web hosting services

By Lisa Zaffarese
Bloomberg News

NEW YORK — AT&T Corp., the No. 1 U.S. long-distance telephone company, plans to build as many as 26 new Internet data centers to keep up with booming demand for Web-hosting services.

AT&T will add centers in Washington, Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, Phoenix, Los Angeles and Seattle. It's also doubling the size of its centers in New York, San Diego and San Francisco. The new sites will begin business by the end of next year.

The centers will run on New York-based AT&T's high-speed Internet network, which is one of the fastest in the world. In June, the company announced that it will expand the capacity of the network in the first half of 2000.

AT&T said the centers will provide business customers with new network-based Web applications, which haven't been announced. The company already offers services such as SecureBuy for secure on-line ordering and payment and InteractiveAnswers, which allows Web site visitors to connect to the business's call center.

AT&T also said it's testing new technology that aims to speed the delivery of Web pages to visitors.

(Revised draft to include Congress for 2000 National Advisory Referendum)

**Proposed Legislation
to Give the President of the United States the
Power to Refer to the People up to Three
Issues for a National Advisory Referendum to
Give People a Greater Voice in Government
and to Forge a Common Consensus on
Matters of Public Policy.**

Section 1. The President of the United States may at his sole discretion submit to the voters of the United States two issues for a non-binding advisory vote of the people at the general election to be held in November of the year 2000.

Section 2. The Congress of the United States may at its sole discretion submit to the voters of the United States two issues for a non-binding advisory vote of the people at the general election to be held in November of the year 2000. The Congress shall certify to the President of the United States the two issues to be included in the advisory referendum. The President shall refer the two advisory issues, without subject to veto, to the several states under Section 5 of this Act.

Section 3. The President of the United States may at his sole discretion submit to the voters of the United States one, two or three issues for a non-binding advisory vote of the people to be held at any general election for the Congress of the United States beginning in the year 2002.

Section 4. The purpose of the advisory referendum is to give people a greater voice in shaping national policy by directly participating in a vote

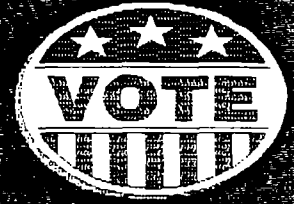
on issues referred to the people by the President of the United States. Issues submitted by the President may include proposed federal legislation, regulations or executive branch policies. Any issue referred to the voters of the United States shall be written in such a way that a "yes" or "no" vote may be taken.

Section 5. The President shall submit to the election authorities of the several states the issues for the advisory vote of the people no later than 120 days prior to the general election. The issues submitted by the President shall appear on the ballot in close proximity to the election of the Senators and Representatives to the Congress of the United States.

Section 6. Any state receiving federal funds shall participate in any referendum referred to the several states by the President of the United States as a condition for the continued receipt of federal moneys.

Section 7. Enforcement of this act shall be by a writ of mandamus in federal district court.

NATIONAL GUN CONTROL POLL



- We are conducting a nationwide opinion poll on gun control.
- We are faxing over 4 million voting forms throughout the country.
- Please make copies of this form and pass them to friends and colleagues.

To vote, simply check one of the boxes below and fax your vote back to us. Alternatively you can post your vote to us at the address below.

WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE MORE EFFECTIVE GUN CONTROL LAWS ?

YES

Please Check

NO

Please Check

Fax to: 1-900-370-3200

Fax to: 1-900-680-3200

Calls to these numbers cost \$2.95 per minute, a small price for greater democracy. Calls take approx 1 or 2 minutes. Your views are important. We make sure that decision makers are hearing them!

Your votes will be presented to the President, the Attorney General, Congress, Handgun Control Inc, the NRA and the Governors of all 50 states of the Union.

The total votes received will be available at the end of the poll at www.pollresults.co.uk

Poll commissioned by 21st Century Fax Ltd, 1204 Third Avenue, Suite 108, New York, NY 10021.
To ensure that you are consulted on further national issues simply fax us your vote. If you do not wish to participate in any further polls, please call toll free 1-800-606-5720.

Tom W. Ryan

From: Pronto Design <pronto@inch.com>
To: Aaron Cohen <aaron@concretemedia.com>; Arshes Anasal <suredit@idt.net>; Barbara Penning <brpenning@earthlink.net>; Bill Costello <bill@manhattancolor.com>; Brian Snapp <Brian.Snapp@wiley.com>; burn what's left <chip1@idt.net>; Carole Cleaver <ccleaver@earthlink.net>; cloud <claudiam@morgenwalke.com>; Colleen Porth <NOSTRADAMUS13@prodigy.net>; Cynthia <CWolff@pclient.ml.com>; Evonne Ryan <proadvisor-ryan@msn.com>; Jim Behm <JBehm1942@aol.com>; Kathy Jordan (a.k.a. Rigby) <Mahagonny@aol.com>; Lian Mier <LMIER@tams.iit.edu>; Lisa Wolff <LaughWolff@aol.com>; Mairi Brown <mairi.brown@aexp.com>; Mamie Wielage <Mamie.Wielage@wiley.com>; Martin Behm <behmm@medlib.iaims.georgetown.edu>; Paul Moscarella <pmoscare@ix.netcom.com>; Paul Rosen <prosen@macconnect.com>; Robert Schneider <reschneid@aol.com>
Sent: Monday, September 20, 1999 10:27 AM

On NPR's Morning Edition recently, Nina Totenberg said that if the Supreme Court supports Congress, it is in effect the end of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). Next, there's the question of Congressional funding for National Public Radio(NPR), NEA & the Public Broadcasting System (PBS). PBS, NPR and the arts are facing major cutbacks in funding. In spite of the efforts of each station to reduce spending costs and streamline their services, some government officials believe that the funding currently going to these programs is too large a portion of funding for something which is seen as not worthwhile. Currently, taxes from the general public for PBS equal \$1.12 per person per year, and the National Endowment for the Arts equals \$.64 a year.

A January 1995 CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll indicated that 76% of Americans wish to keep funding for PBS, third only to national defense and law enforcement as the most valuable programs for federal funding. The

Senate and House Appropriations committees each have 13 subcommittees with jurisdiction over many programs and agencies. Each subcommittee passes its own appropriation bill. The goal each year is to have each bill signed by the beginning of the fiscal year, which is October 1.

The only way that our representatives can be aware of the base of support for PBS and funding for these types of programs is by making our voices heard. Please add your name to this list and forward it to friends who believe in what this stands for. This list will be forwarded to the President and the Vice President of the United States.

This petition is being passed around the Internet. Please add your name to it so that funding can be maintained for the NEA, NPR & PBS.

HOW TO SIGN & FORWARD: IT'S EASY Please keep this petition rolling. Do not reply to me. Please sign and forward to others to sign. If you prefer not to sign, please send to the e-mail address indicated below.

DON'T WORRY ABOUT DUPLICATES This is being forwarded to several people at once to add their names to the petition. It won't matter if many people receive the same list as the names are being managed. For anyone who thinks NPR/PBS is a worthwhile expenditure of \$1.12/year of their taxes, a petition follows.

If you sign, please forward on to others. If not, please don't kill it, send it to the e-mail address listed here:

wein2688@blue.univnorthco.edu
<mailto:wein2688@blue.univnorthco.edu>> or kubi7975@blue.univnorthco.edu

****If you happen to be the 150th, 200th, 250th, etc. signer of this petition, please forward a copy to:
wein2688@blue.univnorthco.edu <<mailto:wein2688@blue.univnorthco.edu>> .
This way we can keep track of the lists and organize them. Forward this to everyone you know, and help us to keep these programs alive.

Thank you!

NOTE: It is preferable that you **SELECT** the entirety of this letter and then **COPY** it into a new outgoing message, rather than simply

671) Debra Spinelli LA, CA
 672) Rika Ohara, Los Angeles, CA
 673) Alan Rich, Los Angeles, CA
 674) Tina Pelikan, New York, NY
 675) Juan Gomez, Los Angeles, CA
 676) Fredrik Nilsen, Los Angeles, CA
 677) Jackie Sharp, Los Angeles, CA
 678) Kathleen Frasca, Burbank, CA.
 679) Ilayne Lucas, Burbank, CA
 680) Barbara Leaver, Antigua, Guatemala
 681) Sue H. Patterson, Antigua, Guatemala
 682) Margaret Carpenter, Washington, DC
 683) Linda Schuck, San Francisco, CA
 684) Lizzie Bradley, San Francisco, CA
 685) Nancy Shott, Portola Valley, CA
 686) Marsha Portnoy, Barrington, IL
 686) Gayle Olsen, Tokyo, Japan (formerly Chicago,IL)
 687) Robert J. Carlson, Overland Park, KS
 688) Royce Saltzman, Eugene, OR
 689) Diana J. Leland, Minneapolis,MN
 670) Gunilla Luboff, Bynum, NC
 671) Jerry M. McCoy, Stillwater, OK
 672) Jonathan Miller, Oak Park IL 60304
 673) Jay Kilby, Oak Park, IL 60302
 674) Gilbert V. Herman, Oak Park, IL 60302
 675) Neesa Sweet, Highland Park, IL 60035
 676) Donna Brooks Lucas, Winnetka, IL 60093
 677) Tracey D. Hughes, Brooklyn, New York 11217
 678) Kalyn J. Johnson, Brooklyn, New York 11217
 679) Tracey L. Lewis Griffith, IN 46319
 680) Christine Condry, San Francisco, California 94111
 681) Brenda Boudreaux, Oakland, California 94610
 682) John Perry, Memphis, Tn. 38108
 683) Pat Arnold; Chicago, IL 60615
 684) M. Marie Hayes, Kenilworth, IL 60643
 685) Nancy Shepherdson, Barrington, IL 60010
 686) Olivia Wu, Arlington Heights, IL 60004
 687) Steven Pratt, Key West, FL 33040
 688) Anne Hunt, Chicago, IL 60618
 689) Sarah Springett, Rochester, NY 14618
 690) Don Martin, Columbia, MD 21045
 691) Jean Kellogg, Chicago, IL 60657
 692) Sarah Randel, Chicago, IL 60613
 693) Peter Russell, Teaneck, NJ 07666
 694) Michael Franciosi, Houston, TX 77081
 695) Christopher Larkin, Montclair, NJ 07042
 696) Steven L. Williams, Omaha, Nebraska 68132
 697) Doug Paterson, Omaha, NE 68104
 698) Carol Lloyd, Omaha, NE 68132
 699) Leslie Bromberg, Tucson, AZ 85716

700) Daphne Kis, New York, NY 10011
701) David Leffler, New York, NY 10019
702) Gale C. Vance, Downers Grove, IL
703) Dara Greene, San Francisco, CA 94117
704) Cindi Sparks, San Francisco, CA 94117
705) Melissa Manousos, Oakland, CA 94619
706) C. Rus Laich, Royal Oak, MI 48067
707) Charles L. Laich, Lake Orion, MI 48362
708) Diane L. Jenks, Waterford, MI 48328
709) Deborah Cherwonka Lapeer, MI 48446
710) Dianna Walker, Livonia, MI
711) Loretta M. Lammie Toledo, OH 43609
712) Patrick D. Kirkendall, Wauseon, OH 43567
713) Susan B. Chambers, Toledo, OH 43617
714) Kevin Forsythe, Oregon, OH 43616
715) Sandy Forsythe, Silver Spring, MD 20901
716) Marlene Forsythe, Durant, OK 74702
717) Barbara Dodson, Albuquerque, NM 87108
718) Montoya Whiteman, Westminster, CO 80031
719) Sonya Gavin, Longmont, CO 80503
720) Jacqui Benjou, NY, NY 10024
721) Georgia Benjou, NY, NY 10024
722) Amaru Bustamante, NY, NY 10001
723) Daria Rachlin, Rego Park, NY 11374
724) Stephanie Hill, New York, NY 10128
725) Kit Baker, Brooklyn, NY 11217
726) Marian Zazeela, New York, NY 10013
727) La Monte Young, New York, NY 10013
728) David Beardsley, Rahway, NJ 07065
729) John Cummins, Chatham, NJ 07928
730) Adriana Giglio, NY, NY 11215
731) Marcelo Montes Penha, NY, NY 10003
732) Lisa Maya Knauer, NY, NY 10003
733) David S. Gochman, Louisville, KY 40241
744) Rashi Fein, Boston, MA 02116
745) Leonard Fein, Boston, MA 02111
746) David S. Davidson, Bethesda, MD 20814
747) George J. Markley, Fairfield, CT 06432
748) Joan Wachstein, Wilmington, DE 19810
749) Judith O. Rosenkranz, Tampa, FL 33602
750) Mark Strauss-Cohn, Tampa, FL 33609
751) Toby D. Goldsmith, Gainesville, FL 32608
752) Paul B. Levine, San Carlos, CA 94070
753) Fernando Montijo, Redwood City, CA 94061
754) Ozzie Palos, San Ramon, CA 94583
755) Katherine Broner, San Francisco, CA. 94127
756) Michael Schultz, Dover, NH 03821
757) Penny Sherwood, Bristol, VT 05443
758) Martha Bracy, Rockland, ME 04841
759) Lloyd Bracy, Rockland, ME 04841

- 760) Susan Johnson, Kittery Point, ME 03905
- 761) Peter Johnson, Kittery Point, ME 03905
- 762) John Newlin, Brunswick, ME 04011
- 763) Patricia Carton, Brunswick, ME 04011
- 764) Hallie Holland, Brunswick, ME 04011
- 765) Zeke Holland, Brunswick, ME 04011
- 766) Faith Justice Newton, MA 02460
- 767) Thomas Paulucci Brooklyn, NY 11215
- 768) Adam M. Armstrong-Silva Brooklyn, NY 11217
- 769) Stacey May Brooklyn, NY 11201

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS DEMONSTRATE SUPPORT FOR EXPANDING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT DECISION-MAKING

1. The Los Angeles Times found in November 1995 that 69% of the people feel that "people like me have almost no say in the political system."
2. In March of 1995 a Business Week/Harris Poll found that only 30% of the American people believed that the "government usually represents the interests of the American people" while 63% of the people believe that the government usually "represents special interests."
3. A Gallup poll found in 1981 that people favored by a 2 to 1 margin a constitutional amendment to create a national citizen initiative right which would allow voters to place binding issues on the national ballot when 3% of eligible voters signed a petition.
4. A 1995 poll by the Americans Talk Issues Foundation, which was reported in the Washington Post, found that the public still favors binding national referendums by the same two thirds majority found by the Gallup poll in 1981.

WIRELESS NATION

Finland pushes cell phone to high-tech limit



Photo by Markku Ulander, AP, for USA TODAY; photo illustration by Grant Jerding, USA TODAY

COVER STORY

In this technology-driven country, the future is now

With a mobile, users can send messages, surf the Net and even buy snacks

By Marco R. della Cava
USA TODAY

HELSINKI, Finland — Janne Vainio looks and sounds like a serious adult. Then, his mobile phone rings. It plays Lynyrd Skynyrd's rebel classic, *Sweet Home Alabama*.

"This is one of 150 pop songs you can download into your phone to serve as your ring," grins Vainio, 37, vice president of mobile telephone services at Finland's top phone company, Sonera.

"But of course this is a lot more than a phone," he says. "It's a remote control for your life."

As the millennium nears, most of us have put aside visions of commuting like George Jetson or living on Mars. But in the realm of communica-

tions, looking at Finland is very much a glimpse into the future — and Vainio is one of 5 million disciples of a wireless world.

Despite its small size and relative isolation in the Arctic Circle, this Nordic nation is leading the pack in mobile phone technology and its applications. So ingrained is the wireless mentality here that many new homeowners never bother ordering fixed-line service.

Two reasons: First, the country is a laboratory of eager users. An astonishing 60% of Finns own mobile phones, compared with about 25% of Americans. Then, there are the innovative companies. Nokia recently passed the USA's Motorola as the leading supplier of mobile handsets, with 37.4 million sold in 1998.

The result is that Finland, in a few years' time, will pioneer the use of so-called "Third Generation" mobile phones that boast lightning-quick access to the Internet, just as they are currently pushing the envelope with existing models.

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

Finns setting pace for rest of world

Continued from 1A

Today in Finland you can use your phone to:

► Send text messages to other users instead of calling them. SMS (Short Message Service) is exploding, particularly among teens, who like its low cost and classroom-friendly silence.

► Purchase items ranging from mints in a vending machine to a car wash by phoning a number that charges the goods to your phone bill.

► Send instant postcards of yourself by shooting a picture with a digital camera, uploading it to a mobile phone with Internet access, then sending it to Sonera, which for \$1.50 prints the image with your message and mails it.

The goal of the Finnish mobile providers is to make the portable phone as indispensable as oxygen. "No one is betting against them."

"Finland will hit 100% penetration by late 2000," predicts Christian Kern, London-based wireless analyst for Salomon Smith Barney. "For the average person, having a mobile will mean not having to carry an ATM card. It will be your cash, your access to the Net and more."

COVER STORY

Connecting to the Net through a capable handheld unit will revolutionize mobile phone use in the U.S., says Ken Woo, Seattle-based spokesman for AT&T Wireless.

"The Internet drives everything. The killer app (application) that hopefully will push our use up to the level of Finland is high-speed data," Woo says. "There is such a pent-up demand for (portable) data services in the U.S. that voice will just be along for the ride on this one."

Future factory

Stepping into Nokia headquarters, home to 20,000 employees west of downtown Helsinki, brings a shock of recognition.

It is a steel and glass campus reminiscent of Microsoft's wood and glass campus near Seattle, complete with water views and a workaholic corporate culture. (The inside joke is that Nokia's slogan may be "Connecting People," but its staff's reality is "disconnecting families.")

But industriousness has paid off, judging from a lobby display of everything from boxy old phones to shiny new possibilities, from 30-pound 1970s behemoths to the slim Third Generation-wonder, the Nokia 7110, due out in September.

"From ears to eyes," says Ilkka Raiskinen, vice president for business development, setting the 7110 in front of him. In a few flicks, he's on the Internet, checking Nokia's stock price.

"Mobile phones are a platform just waiting for additional services and content," he says.

The future, according to Nokia, includes phones that would take advantage of high-speed data connections to provide videoconferencing. It also includes locator-based services, which amount to your phone acting like a global positioning system for service providers.

The concept is simple: You find yourself in downtown Helsinki and want a good restaurant or hotel. An on-screen prompt offers you a number to call to access the local tourism board's database, check hotel availability and even reserve a room.

"It's not science fiction," says Raiskinen. "All the elements are already there. In a mobile society, your phone is your virtual you."

Banking on such scenarios are Finnish content providers such as Alma Media, which owns a TV station, 30 newspapers and various new-media ventures.

When Timo Saari is not in California working on his Ph.D. at Stanford University (his topic: psychological reactions to communication technology; his thesis: people project human qualities on gadgets), he is helping develop Third Generation visions like this one.

"Your phone will know where you are at all times," he says. "It will provide you information based on your profile. News. Sports scores. Whatever. As you walk a block, ads will flash onto the phone's screen, perhaps a beep alerting you to a sale going on inside a store you've passed. Or as you turn a corner, an alert telling you not to go that way because there's a gas leak."

Saari's vision seems a bit like a digitized version of a stroll through Bill Gates' interactive house, where a clipped-on gadget tells the home's computers just where you are in the house and activates lights and music accordingly.

"I've read forecasts that say that by 2010, people in the U.S. will spend at least half their free time with a mediated experience, where information is coming at you from elsewhere," he says. "So the key is personalized information."

Classroom chaos

As with many trends, the mobile phone revolution is being fueled by kids.

Finnish pre-teens often are given phones by parents who are eager to keep track of their offspring as well as teach them lessons in money management. As a fallback, mom and dad can call a number that instantly shows them their child's bill.

In area high schools, chirping phones are ubiquitous as students text-message each other as a means of social interaction.

This includes passing on jokes (downloaded from area service providers, much like parents download stock quotes and weather forecasts), circulating chain letters and even relaying answers to test questions. This last practice has caused teachers to collect phones before exams.

Kids have become so facile at creating text messages with a single thumb punching a phone keypad that retailers stage promotions where the fastest finger in Finland wins a free phone.

Adults have their own addictions. Esa Puotinen, a banker in his 30s, uses his phone to look at his checking account balance and shoots friends a half-dozen or more text messages a day.

"I would be lost without my phone," he says. "When I leave the house, I take three things of equal importance to me: my keys, my watch and my phone."

Why the Finns, in particular, display such a passion for technology may involve both geography and personality.

When telecommunications developed in earnest in the '70s, Finns were more inclined to pursue wireless options because the costs of running cable to isolated pockets of a vast and frozen nation were daunting.

As a result, wireless became a government and private sector priority. Interestingly, mobile phone services or hardware have never been subsidized here, which some experts point to as the reason for Finland's exponential growth in penetration: As prices fall, more consumers get interested.

The other factor is a national characteristic of polite reserve, seemingly the enemy of chatting away on the phone. On the contrary.

"We see ourselves as quiet people from the countryside who have gradually shifted to the cities in the past few decades," says Pasi Maenpää, an urban sociologist at the University of Helsinki. "Mobile phones have been amazing because they make us talk."

Maenpää has done a variety of studies sponsored by Nokia. His findings include the fact that Finns "want to control the future which is coming at them. There is no broad definition of utopia, only individual definitions of the good life that include choosing when and where and with whom you're in contact."

The national mania for mobile phone use — whether it's downloading a new ringing tone, text messaging a would-be date or simply talking — has in fact prompted some discussion of etiquette.

Some Helsinki restaurants are putting up "no phones" stickers, showing a phone with an X through it; trains have special sections for talkers. Most agree that in church and movie theaters, phones are taboo.

"If there is a Finnish philosophy on this, it's 'don't bother other people,'" says Nokia spokeswoman Marianne Holmlund, who wears her wireless phone like jewelry on a long silver chain and fields an average of five beeping text messages an hour.

"In a country where most people have mobile phones," she adds, "the most important thing to remember is that it has an off button."

Accountable Mail Service (U.S.P.S)**SHEET # 313****LOCATION: Executive Office Building**

CONTROL #	RETURN ADDRESS	ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO DATE, TIME & RECIPIENT	RECEIVED BY
EL186470908	Bonnie Landi Ulster Youth Build Partnership Box 601 Port Ewen, NY 12466	10/22/1999 12:22 pm Malanne Verveer	

Accountable Mail Service (U.S.P.S) - CLARK J -

Version 2.1.5 on s_who00010 using the default configuration on the qpower/qng database with WORD 97 under 800x600 resolution - 10/22/1999
Restricted Rights Notice -- Use, reproduction, or disclosure is subject to restrictions set forth in Contract No. WH6C01.

To Nicole

Ann OL

Call:
Re: 

ULSTER YOUTHBUILD PARTNERSHIP

Box 601, Port Ewen, NY 12466 - (914) 331-6680 Fax (914) 331-4655

HOWARD KORN, BOCES Vo-Tec Director
BONNIE LANDI, YouthBuild Program Director

BOCES, Lead Agent
Children's Home (CHK), Partner
RUPCO, Partner
S.C.O.R.E., Partner
YMCA, Partner

October 21, 1999

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
OEOB - Room 100
Washington, D.C.

Dear First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton:

My name is Bonnie Landi and I am the Director of the Ulster YouthBuild Program located in Kingston, NY. I am sorry I missed you when you met with the young people enrolled in Ulster YouthBuild at the Everett Hodge Center on Monday, October 18th, but I would like to express my sincere thanks for the time you gave them. They have written their own thank you letters to you and I am enclosing them herewith, along with a reproduction of a magazine article recently published about our program.

Ulster YouthBuild has been in existence since January, 1996. We have rehabilitated and entire block of abandoned city-owned houses that have been occupied by low-income first time homebuyers and returned to the City's tax roll. We are extremely proud of the young people who have completed our program. Some of them are attending community college, have entered the military, or are working for local construction companies. One graduate has been hired by the YouthBuild program as a trainer's assistant at our construction site. Another graduate just received an entry level computer graphics designer position in New York City.

As you know, young people in YouthBuild programs receive support through Leadership Development & Life skills Training, Counseling services, GED preparation as well as housing construction skills training. We are a family in a sense because we are all dedicated to the success of these young people in the same way we are with our own children. Because they are aware of that, the atmosphere for learning becomes one they feel comfortable with.

Ulster YouthBuild was not funded by HUD this year, and as a result we are vulnerable and may be in jeopardy of closing. It is important to us, and to all existing YouthBuild programs across the country, that HUD funding for YouthBuild be set at the 75 million dollar level that President Clinton recommended. We would be extremely appreciative of your assistance in expressing our need and encouraging the President to strongly negotiate for an additional 32.5 million dollars for YouthBuild in the Omnibus Bill currently moving through Congress.

Again, thank you for your support of the YouthBuild program.

Sincerely,
Bonnie Landi
Bonnie Landi, Director
Ulster YouthBuild Partnership

Thursday, October 21, 1999

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

My name is James B. Childs. I currently serve as Leadership Development Coordinator for Ulster YouthBuild in Kingston, New York. I am writing, first, to thank you for meeting with us on Monday, October 18, 1999 when you were at the Everett Hodge Center in Kingston. Our young people were impressed with you and your knowledge of our program on a national basis.

It is because of your knowledge and support of YouthBuild that am requesting your assistance in petitioning the President to include an additional 32.5 million dollars in the Omnibus Budget Bill to increase the YouthBuild funding to the 75 million dollar level that he initially recommended.

This request is of paramount importance since many existing programs will not be funded with the 42.5 million dollar level that was adopted by the Congressional Conference Committee. We know this all too well since our Ulster YouthBuild program was not funded this year and the program is at risk of closing if HUD does not receive the 75 million dollar funding.

Again, please urge President Clinton to add to the Omnibus Budget Bill 32.5 million dollars so that YouthBuild can be funded at a level of 75 million dollars in 2000.

I appreciate your attention in this matter and am thankful for having the opportunity to meet you.

Sincerely,

James B. Childs

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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HOME & GARDEN ISSUE

Hudson Valley

APRIL 1999 \$2.50

Making It New

A Rosy
Renovation

YouthBuild
at Work

Four Valley
Artisans
Go Modern

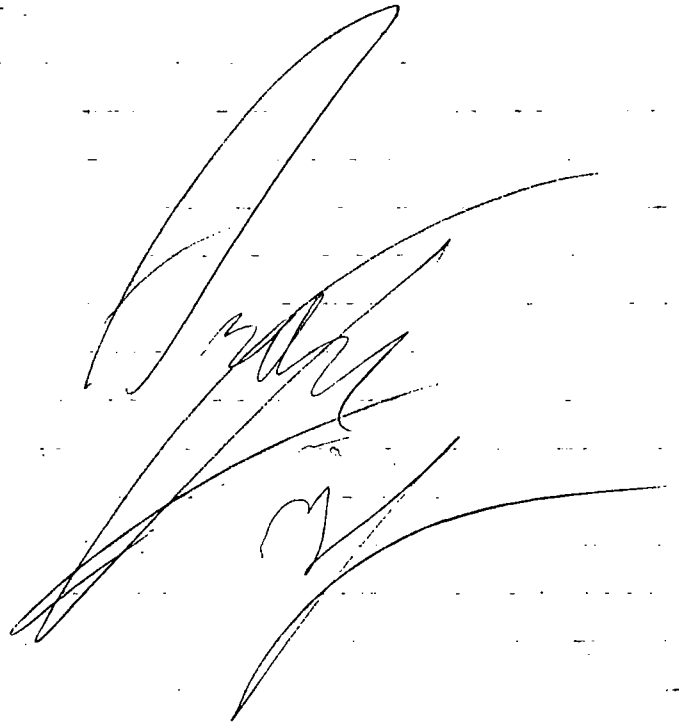


10/21/99

Please Mrs. Clinton. My name is Andrew
and I'm a youth trainee in Ulster County, and
I would like to ask if you could speak to your
husband and encourage him to include an
additional 32.5 mill in the Omnibus Budget to raise
the youth budget in the year 26? please ask for me.

THANK

P.S. you looked well
when you came
to Kingston



ULSTER YOUTHBUILD PARTNERSHIP

Box 601, Port Ewen, NY 12466 - (914) 331-6680 Fax (914) 331-4655

HOWARD KORN, BOCES Vo-Tec Director
BONNIE LANDI, YouthBuild Program Director

BOCES, Lead Agent
Children's Home (CHK), Partner
RUPCO, Partner
S.C.O.R.E., Partner
YMCA, Partner

October 21, 1999

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton:

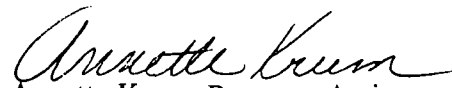
I have been working with Ulster YouthBuild in Kingston, New York as the program assistant since June 1998 and have seen first hand several success stories unfold as a result of the Leadership Development & Life Skills Training, Counseling, GED Studies and the Construction Skills learned in our program. This, and the family like atmosphere shared by the trainees and the dedicated staff helps guide these young people along to better, more productive lifestyles away from the negative influence that had been controlling their young lives.

Many of our young people have graduated our program and are now attending institutions of higher learning, in the military, or working at a local construction company. One graduate has been hired as Trainer's Assistant for our job site and is now setting a successful example for our trainees.

We have not been funded by HUD for this year and it is very possible that Ulster YouthBuild will be forced to close. Please use your influence with the President and encourage him to include an additional 32.5 million dollars in the Omnibus Budget Bill to raise the YouthBuild funding to the 75 million dollar level he recommended.

Your assistance with this is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,



Annette Krum, Program Assistant
Ulster YouthBuild Partnership

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Ann O'Leary
OA/Box Number: 20223

FOLDER TITLE:

Correspondence [3]

2013-0436-S

rc1317

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

10/21/99

Dear Mrs. Clinton,
I am a member of Ulster Youthbuild in Kingston,
New York. I wanna thank you for being supportive
of the program and ask if you will influence
the president to add to the Omnibus Budget Bill 32.5
million dollars so that our Ulster Youthbuild program
will not have to close.

Thank You

(b)(6)

[001]

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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002. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Ann O'Leary
OA/Box Number: 20223

FOLDER TITLE:

Correspondence [3]

2013-0436-S

rc1317

RESTRICTION CODES

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

10/2/99

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

My name is [REDACTED] (b)(6) and I am a member of the West
youthbuild Program in Kingston, New York. It was a honor to meet
you on Monday, October 18th at the Everett Center.

I heard you were a supporter of the youthbuild Program. Anyway
lets get to business. We are looking to see if you can raise the
additional to 75 million so the program can stay in session.
This is extremely important. I am taking my lead through
Youthbuild.

Please urge this through the President

Sincerely

[REDACTED]
(b)(6)

[002]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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003. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Ann O'Leary
OA/Box Number: 20223

FOLDER TITLE:

Correspondence [3]

2013-0436-S
rc1317

RESTRICTION CODES

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Dear First Lady, Mrs. Hillary Clinton

10-21-99

My name is [REDACTED] (b)(6) I am an Ulster YouthBuild trainee. I am writing you this letter because I have a few concerns about my program, and also to thank you for coming to the Everett Hodge center in Kingston NY on October 18, 1999.

Well next I guess I will tell you about my programs funding problem. Right now my program is not being funded enough, our grant was only 42.5 million dollars and we are very short on tools and supplies and we can not function properly. In order to function properly we need 75 million dollars so that all YouthBuild programs can function and educationally prosper, this will help many youth become respected citizens in their communities as they rebuild their neighborhoods.

For me, YOUTHBUILD means becoming a better person while I help other people do the same thing. It is very important to me that my program stay open because it is my key to becoming something in life. In closing I would much appreciate your encouragement toward the President to raise the grant to the recommended 75 million dollar level thank you for your time and caring enough to read my letter.

Sincerely Yours,

[REDACTED] (b)(6)

[003]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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004. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Ann O'Leary
OA/Box Number: 20223

FOLDER TITLE:

Correspondence [3]

2013-0436-S
rc1317

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

10/2/99

Dear Mrs Clinton,

I'm a member of Ulster Youthbuild. Ulster Youthbuild is providing a second chance for me. I'm an addict in recovery and my schooling never worked out. I feel this program is a great program for our community. Without an additional 32.5 million dollars in the Omnibus Budget Bill the program is in danger of closing. Without this program I'll be lost.

Sincerely,

(b)(6)

[004]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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005. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (2 pages)	10/21/1999	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Ann O'Leary
OA/Box Number: 20223

FOLDER TITLE:

Correspondence [3]

2013-0436-S

rc1317

RESTRICTION CODES

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Dear Mrs. Clinton

10/21/99

My name is [redacted] (b)(6) [redacted] and I am a member of the Ulster Youthbuild Program in Kingston, New York. Thank you for meeting with us on Monday, October 18th when you were at the Everett Dodge Center in Kingston.

I know you are supportive of the Youth Build program and I would like to ask if you would be willing to speak to the president to encourage him to include an additional 32.5 million dollars in the Omnibus Budget Bill to raise the Youthbuild funding to the 75 million dollar level he recommended.

Mrs. Clinton this is extremely important because many existing programs cannot be funded at the 42.5 million dollar level that was adopted by the Congressional Conference Committee. In fact, our wonderful Ulster Youthbuild program did not get funded this year and if HUD does not receive the 75 million dollar funding for Youth-Build in the year 2000, it is very possible that our program will be forced to close.

This program really helps troubled youths get off the streets and gives the hope for a great future.

~~*****~~
Please Urge the President to add to the Omnibus Budget Bill 32.5 million dollars so that

over

Youthbuild can be funded at a level
of 75 million dollars in the year 2000.

Thank you again,

Sincerely,

(b)(6)



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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Ann O'Leary
OA/Box Number: 20223

FOLDER TITLE:

Correspondence [3]

2013-0436-S

rc1317

RESTRICTION CODES

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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October 21, 1999

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

My name is [REDACTED] (b)(6) and I am a member of Ulster youthbuild Program in Kingston, New York. Thank you for recognizing us October 18, 1999 when you were at the Everett Hodge Center in Kingston.

I know you are a supporter of Youthbuild so can you show me and my fellow Youthbuilders. We would like you to encourage President Clinton to increase our funding by 32.5 million in the Omnibus Budget bill to raise it to the 75 million dollar level he recommended. If not our program will be forced to close in the year 2000.

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

[REDACTED]
(b)(6)

[006]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Ann O'Leary
OA/Box Number: 20223

FOLDER TITLE:

Correspondence [3]

2013-0436-S

rc1317

RESTRICTION CODES

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Ulster YouthBuild

October, 21 , 1999

(b)(6)

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

My name is (b)(6) and I'm a member of Ulster YouthBuild in Kingston, New York. I want to thank you for meeting with us when you were at the Everette Hodge Center on Monday October 18.

I now live In Kingston New York originally from the South Bronx. I had a very rough life from doing drugs to selling drugs. I moved up to Kingston two and a half years ago. I came to Kingston to better my life. I found out about YouthBuild eight months ago. This program is a very good program because It keeps me out of trouble and I cant do drugs. This program has helped out a lot of young adults. This program also teaches us carpentry skills and we can also receive our G.E.D. I would like to get my G.E.D and take up Culinary because I would like to go to C.I.A College. This is something I'm looking forward to.

I know you are a big supporter of this program. So I'm asking for your help in encouraging the President to increase our funding by 32.5 million to reach the 75 million dollar level he recommended. If not our program will be shut down. Thank You for taking your time out to read this letter and once again I would like to thank you for coming up to Kingston to visit us.

Sincerely Yours

(b)(6)

[007]

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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008. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	n.d.	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Ann O'Leary
OA/Box Number: 20223

FOLDER TITLE:

Correspondence [3]

2013-0436-S

rc1317

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Dear Mrs. Clinton,

Hi my name is [REDACTED] (b)(6) I am a member of the Ulster County YouthBuild in Kingston, NY. I would like to thank you for meeting me and my fellow youthbuilders. You said that you like the youthbuild program. I was wondering if you could have a talk with your husband, the President, about a 32.5 million increase in the omnibus budget bill to raise it up to 75 million dollars to level our funds. We were informed that if the bill isn't raised then our program may be shut down.

The program is helping me so far with going to school and getting a better education than I would've got sitting home. This program is also helping me stay out of jail. So if you could help us in any way it would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Jeff Terwilliger

[REDACTED] (b)(6)

[008]

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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009. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

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Uster Youthbuild
From Uster

October, 21, 1999

Hi my name is [redacted] (b)(6) and I'm a member of Uster Youthbuild in Kingston, New Youthbuild. I would like to thank you for taking the time to meet me and my Youthbuild members on Monday October 18 at the Everett Hodge Center.

I know you are very fond of our program and I am happy to hear that. So I am asking if you can encourage the President to give Youthbuild an additional 32.5 million dollars in the Omnibus Budget Bill to raise our funding to 75 million dollars. If we don't get that funding for the year 2000 our program will be shut down.

Youthbuild has done a lot for me. It changed my life and the way I live it, and it taught me construction. I will be getting my God next month and I am looking forward to getting it.

I thank Youthbuild for helping me come to my senses and helping me realize that I can become a success. I would like to see young people like me get off the street and get there life together and if Youthbuild is shut down that won't happen, so please take that in to consideration so our program can stay open.

Yours Truly

[redacted] (b)(6)

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010. letter	Constituent to Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	10/21/1999	b(6)
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10/21/99

Dear Mrs. Clinton

I am a successful youthbuild graduate, class of 92. Since, I have been working as a site trainer. You could only imagine the list of achievements I have made and the goals I've met under the guidance and support of the Ulster Youthbuild Program.

My experience has made a dramatic positive impact on myself, my family as well as my community.

Unfortunately, our program has not been funded this time around and knowing you are a big supporter of youthbuild, I was hoping you could influence the persons of higher power to reevaluate their decision and also fund our program.

I began this letter telling you how much it has done for me, and as we all know, there are many, many more young people that are in desperate need and deserve the youthbuild program to aid them in their lives.

Thank you.

[010]

(b)(6)

Ulster Youthbuild
Kingston, NY

DEAR MRS. CLINTON

10/21/99

My name is John Markle and I am employed by Ulster County YouthBuild in Kingston New York. This is my third year with the program working as construction manager. Recently our program was informed that we would not receive funding for our next cycle. This is a big disappointment to me due to the fact that YouthBuild is and has been successful for 20 years in transforming young peoples lives to become responsible and respectful citizens in their communities.

Without additional funding our program ^{may} cease to exist, leaving many young at risk young people in our community little or no opportunity to better their lives.

On Mon Oct 18th I was honored and privileged to meet you at the Everett Hodge Center in Kingston N.Y., as were my member trainees. You mentioned how much you liked and supported the program. With that I am writing you ask for any support you can give to see that we will continue to receive funding to keep our program alive helping young people.

Yours very truly

John Markle
Ulster Youth Build

10/21/99

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

My name is Valerie Cook. I have been employed by the Ulster Youthbuild Program in Kingston, N.Y. for a year now. It was an honor to have met you at the Everett Hodge Center on October 18, 1999 in Kingston, N.Y. I was also glad to know that you are in support of our program. Because of that, I'm requesting that you speak to the president on our behalf to encourage him to include an additional \$2.5 million dollars in the Omnibus Budget Bill. If we do not get the funding needed, our program will be forced to shut down. There are many young people who benefit from what youthbuild has to offer. I'd rather see the money go to transforming the lives of young people for the better than to see jails being built for these same kids. These young people are our future, let's invest in them and show them that we do care.

Sincerely
Valerie Cook

Financing School-Age Out-Of-School Time Programs with Welfare Funding

by April Kaplan with Heidi Sachs

Background

School-age out-of-school time programs have been an important component in the lives of working parents and families for many years. However, the passage of welfare reform is causing policymakers, researchers, and federal, state, and local program managers to focus new attention on the need for out-of-school programs for school-aged children. Both single parents and two parent families who had previously been home with their children during non-school hours are returning to the work force due to TANF requirements and time limits. Programs for school-age children are necessary for their well-being and are needed to prevent cycling of dependency and teen pregnancies.

The federal government's primary support for out-of-school time programs is through funds from the Department of Health and Human Services and funds from the Department of Education. While these two federal agencies provide the majority of federal funding for out-of-school time programs, other federal agencies also have funds that can be used for school-age child care. Those agencies include: The Department of Agriculture; The Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention; The Department of Housing and Urban Development; and The Department of Labor.

Each of these departments has grants available to states that can be used for a wide variety of programs, including: mentoring programs, recreational activities; before and after school care supervision, and summer programs. More in-depth information on how federal funds can be used to support school-aged, out-of-school time programs is available by contacting Nancy Reder at The Finance Project, 202-628-4200. The Finance Project has developed a database of over 100 federally funded programs that can be used directly for school-aged out-of-school time programs or can be used to support components of these programs.

While program managers and service providers will want to consider the full range of federal resources available, the purpose of this paper is to concentrate on the use of welfare funding streams, specifically Temporary Assistance to Needy Families, Child Development Funds, and Work Force Investment dollars, in supporting school-aged out-of-school time programs.

Policy Issues

Why invest in out-of-school time programs? Expanding out-of-school programs will cost money. However, research suggests that the availability of such programs may be critical to several welfare reform objects.

- Stable child care- a critical component to parents' retention rate in employment
- Safe and supportive environment- an important component to well-being of younger children
- Supervision, support, and services a contributive to high school graduation rates and reductions in teen pregnancies

When and to whom should school-age programs be provided? While traditionally programs for school-aged children are aimed at children too young to stay home alone, and designed to be provided after school until a parent is done with work, this is only a portion of the population which needs services during out-of-school time. School-aged child care programs are needed for younger children, other programs that provide supervision and support are needed for older children and youth. As a result, programs are needed for all students who range in age from 5-18. In addition, services are needed during many different times, including: before school; after school; week ends; non-traditional work hours; summer time; and vacations times.

What types of programs are needed? While the timing of school-aged programs is essential so are the services provided to the various range of age groups. No one program can be geared towards such a wide range of age groups nor can one program meet the wide range of times out-of-school time care is needed. In addition, no one program can meet the social, academic, and personal needs of such a wide age group. Programs need to meet academic, recreational, cultural and developmental needs of each age group.

How can states use TANF funds to provide services for school-aged children during out-of-school time? TANF funds include federal dollars and state maintenance of effort dollars. Both can be used to support out-of-school time programs, however states have more flexibility with maintenance of effort dollars. Federal dollars can be used to purchase or to allow parents to purchase care.

Direct expenditures of TANF funds need to relate to one of the 4 purposes of the act.

- Provide assistance to needy families so that the children may be cared for in their homes or in the homes of relatives;
- End dependency of needy parents on government benefits by promoting job preparation, work, and marriage;
- Prevent and reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies and establish annual numerical goals for preventing and reducing the incidence of these pregnancies; and
- Encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.

For more information on the goals of TANF refer to the Center for Law and Social Policy for National Governors' Association meeting on Using TANF Funding for Children, 6/21/99. For a copy of the packet or more information contact Mark Greenberg at 202-328-5140.

New federal regulations provide significant flexibility, including ability to serve working parents without affecting time limits. As a result, states can construct programs that serve all population groups with a wide range of income eligibility.

Services aimed at goal three are particularly relevant to teens both male and female in the 13-18 age range. For more information on the use of TANF dollars for out-of-school time programs and other programs for teen parents and pregnancy prevention programs refer to "Tapping TANF: When and How Welfare Funds Can Support Reproductive Health or Teen Parent Initiatives" by Marie Cohen, April 1999, <http://www.clasp.org/pubs/TANF/6-517tappingtanf.PDF>; "The TANF Funding Stream: When and How Welfare Funds Can Support Reproductive Health or Teen Parent Initiatives" by Marie Cohen, April 1999, <http://www.clasp.org/pubs/TANF/5-17tanffunding%20stream.PDF>; and Frequently Asked Questions, "Tapping TANF for Reproductive Health or Teen parent Programs", Jodie Levin-Epstein, April 1999, <http://www.clasp.org/pubs/teens/tanffaq.pdf> or 202-328-5140.

For additional information that addresses the use of TANF funds for child care programs refer to, "Helping Families Achieve Self-Sufficiency: A Guide on Funding Services for Children and Families through the TANF Program", <http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/ofa/funds2.htm>.

Currently most states are experiencing significant caseload declines and reduction in the cost of assistance payments. These savings provide an important resource that could be available for investment in out-of-school time programs. For more information on unspent TANF funds in the state refer to the Center on Budget and policy Priorities, "Welfare Balance in the States: Unspent TANF Funds in the Middle of Federal Fiscal Year 1999" by Ed Lazere and Lana Kim, July 19, 1999. <http://www.cbpp.org/7-19-99wel.htm> or 202-408-1080.

How can states use *Child Development Funds (CCDF)* to provide services for school-aged children during out of school time? With the enactment of TANF, all child care funds were blended into one funding stream, the Child Care Development Fund. CCDF has three components: each state will receive a share of \$1 billion in discretionary funding; each state will qualify for "general entitlement" funds, set at the higher of 1992-94 average, 1994, or 1995 federal spending for the IV-A Child Care programs; and each state that maintains its prior level of state spending for the IV-A Child Care programs can qualify to receive additional federal funds above its historic level spending, subject to state match. In addition, States are required to spend no less than four percent of their CCDF funds for activities to improve the quality of child care and earmarks, separate from the four percent quality set-aside, are available to states for funding of child care resource and referral and school-age child care, improving the quality of infant and toddler care, and other quality expansion activities. While TANF funds are very flexible and can be used on any age children, the Child Care Development Funds are more restrictive. These funds may only be used on children ranging in age from birth to 13 years old unless a child is considered to have special needs. In addition to these funds being allocated directly for child care services states may transfer up to 30 percent of the states TANF dollars into the Child Care Development Fund. It is important to note that once these funds are transferred from TANF to CCDF, the TANF dollars have the same restrictions as the original Child Care Development Funds dollars. For more information on the use of CCDF funds and how states are using these funds to support school-aged out-of-school time programs refer to U.S. Department of Health and Human Service, Administration for Children and Families, Child Care Bureau, "Child Care and Development Block Grant, Report of State Plans for the period 10/01/97 to 9/30/99", March 1998. In addition, the Children's Defense Fund had addressed the uses of Child Care Development Fund and other funding streams for school-age out-of-school program in many of their publications. For more information on Children's Defense Fund publications, refer to <http://www.childrensdefense.org> or 202-628-8787.

How can states use *Work Force Investment dollars* to provide services for school-aged children during out-of-school times? This legislation provides an important resource for developing programs for the oldest portion of the school-aged population. While these young people are able to stay home alone, they can benefit significantly from out-of-school programs. Programs can provide them with tutoring, alternative secondary school offerings, paid and unpaid work experience including apprenticeships and internships, occupational skills training, leadership development, and adult mentoring. These skills will help them develop skills and knowledge that may lead them to college degree or to better paying, more stable jobs, thus enhancing their ability to be self-sufficient as adults.

According to the Work Force Investment Act regulations, out-of-school time programs can be operated for school-aged youth who are lacking in basic skills, unemployed or underemployed. It is important to note that alternative school programs do not qualify as out-of-school. Up to 30 percent

of Work Force Investment dollars can be allocated to summer programs. Summer programs must link academic and occupational learning as part of the services provided. Additional information on the use of Work Force Investment dollars can be found in the federal regulations at the Department of Labor, <http://doleta.wdsc.org/whatsnew/wialaw.txt>. For summaries of allowable activities for out-of-school time programs refer to U.S. Department of Labor Workforce Investment Act page at <http://usworkforce.org/wia/default.asp> or the American Association of Community Colleges Workforce Investment Act page, <http://199.75.76.16/leg/legisu/workforce/workforc.htm> or ICESA's Workforce Investment Act page, http://www.icesa.org/subject.cfm?results_sub_id=36.

In addition to Work Force Investment dollars, another work force funding stream available for out-of-school time programs is the Job Training Partnership Act funds, which allows for a range of employment and training services, including an assessment of an unemployed individual's needs and abilities, classroom training, on-the-job training, job-search assistance, work experience, counseling, basic skills training and support services. A portion of those funds is given to a governor's office, and a state may use those funds for child care or after-school care. For more information on using JTPA funds for child care, contact the Women's Division at the U.S. Department of Labor, 202-219-6619 or see <http://www.doleta.gov>.

Who can TANF agencies work with to support out of school time programs? While TANF agencies and child care agencies in states are logical partners in developing out-of-school time programs and provide a significant amount of funding that can be used for out-of-school time programs here are many additional partners and sources of funding that can be used in conjunction with TANF and CCDF funding. States may want to look to state departments of, Education, Juvenile Justice, and Housing and Economic Development, all of which usually have funds to support after-school or summer programs for school-aged children. States may want to involve businesses in either in-kind contributions or in provision of apprenticeship programs to the older portion of children. Additional partners can be: local police departments; faith based organizations and community based groups who may provide a location for children to stay, a structured program, as well as volunteers who will donate time to mentor or care for children; and universities and community colleges.

What services should be provided to school-age children with special needs during out-of-school time? Programs for special needs school-aged children should focus on the same areas as programs geared towards children without special needs such as social needs, environmental needs and skill building, but these programs should be equipped with staff trained and knowledgeable in techniques needed assist various disabilities, have equipment that is geared towards enabling children with disabilities to function more like typically developing children, and support services that will assist children and their families who are in similar situations. A significant portion of welfare families have children with special need and these children are in particular need of out-of-school time programs. Programs geared toward this population are often in short supply and may be a barrier to work. TANF funding as well as CCDF funding can be used to expand out-of-school time programs for children with disabilities. The use of TANF funds to expand out-of-school time care for children with special needs meets the goals of TANF, and while the CCDF may not be used for most children over 13, though these funds can be used for children with special needs, up to 19 years old.

Although there is not much information available on the use of TANF funds and CCDF for school-aged child care that is specifically for out-of-school time care for children with special needs, there are several efforts underway that look at the extra needs of these school-aged children. The Child Care Inclusion Project for Children with Disabilities (MAP Project) offers the opportunity to ensure

that children with special needs, ages birth through 12, will have access to child care alongside their typically developing peers. Kids of All Learning Abilities (KOALA), funded by the Boston School-Age Child Care Project and the Massachusetts Department of Mental Retardation, facilitates the inclusion of children with special needs into after school and recreational programs. For more information on the child care for special needs population and funding streams to support these efforts contact the National Child Care Information Center. 800-616-2242 or <http://nccic.org>.

Research Findings

According to Wellesley College's National Institute on Out-of-School Time, research has identified three major functions of after-school programs; 1) providing supervision, 2) offering enriching experiences and positive social interaction, and 3) improving academic achievement. While not all programs focus on all three functions, research gathered by Smart Kids 4 Our Future and the National Network for Child Care highlights the impact of school-age child care programs and services on student achievement. Research gathered by both organizations indicates that students who are involved in school age care programs show improvements in: social skills, school drop-out rates, academic performance, literacy development, self-confidence, community involvement, and a decrease of negative behavior problems.

While investing in out-of-school time programs is important for providing positive opportunities to children and teens, research has shown the importance of these programs to society as a whole when children are not in a supervised setting. A 1995 study showed that communities with structured activities in which most youth participated in out-of-school time programs were five times more likely to be ranked among the healthiest communities. Though programs differ according to location, several studies show the health of a community is increased because of a decrease in risky behaviors. According to a study done on the Lighted School program in Waco, Texas participation in the program has attributed to decreased juvenile delinquent behavior over the course of the school year and juvenile crime has dropped citywide by approximately 10 percent since the inception of the program. Similar reductions in juvenile offenses were found in studies done in New York City, Baltimore and Los Angeles. Information on these reports and several other studies on high-risk behaviors of children during out-of-school time can be found in, "The Potential of After-School Program", Chapter One, by the Department of Education, <http://www.ed.gov/pubs/SafeandSmart/chapter1.html>

While research findings make a compelling case regarding the importance of school-age care, the Department of Education estimates that there are still 28 million children who have parents that work outside the home, and of that only thirty one percent of children in elementary and 39 percent of middle school parents report that their children attend an after-school program. Other research suggests that the lack of affordable, accessible after-school opportunities for school-aged children means that five to seven million "latchkey children" go home alone after school.

Work Progress

The Making the Most of Out-of-School Time and Extended Services Schools Initiatives of the Dewitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund- The Finance Project received a grant from the Dewitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund to conduct technical assistance activities, including, creating an easily accessible up-to-date knowledge base on financing and sustainability issues and strategies; creating tolls and other technical assistance materials, providing targeted technical assistance to the MOST and ESS sites and networks to address financing and sustainability needs; and share knowledge and technical assistance resources to other state and community leader who are developing out-of-school time and community school initiatives. Contact Barbara Langford, 202-628-4200.

Issues Notes

The Corporation for National Service's "To Learn and Grow Initiative" provides training and technical assistance and a how-to manual in after-school care. For more information, contact To Learn and Grow, Corporation for National Service, 202-606-5000. Information on school-age care activities can be obtained from the National School-Aged Care Alliance, 317-283-3817, School-Age Notes, 615-242-8464, and the Search Institute, 612-376-8955.

In collaboration with the federal government, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation has committed \$55 million to the expansion of the 21st Century Community Learning Center Program. This program is an after-school and summer program that links local public agencies, private industries and non-profits in a partnership to extend learning programs, ensure program availability and integrate learning into after-school programs. For more information on Mott Foundation funding, contact 810-238-5651 or see <http://www.mott.org> or <http://www.wellesley.edu/WCW/CRW/SAC/sp04498.html>. In addition, in the past year, 38 foundations and corporations invested \$11.8 million in initiatives to improve the quality of child care.

Additional activities related to out-of-school time programs are underway at the Council of Chief State School Officers, Children's Defense Fund, Child Care Bureau, Department of Education, National Child Care Information Center, National Community Education Association, Stoney Associates, the United States General Services Administration, and the National Institute on Out-of-School Time. To find out what these organizations are doing and who to contact, contact Joyce Shortt at the National Institute on Out-of-School Time, Center for Research on Women.

Innovative Practices

California, Los Angeles County has approved the use of \$74 million in TANF funds to create an after-school program. Services will be provided at 225 elementary school with large numbers of children on welfare. The program will combine education and recreation. For more information contact John Brendt, Los Angeles County Office of Education, 562-922-6613.

Illinois's Teen Responsibility, Education, Achievement, Caring and Hope (REACH) program is targeted at adolescents ages 10-17 from families who live in high need communities, including families which are working their way off of TANF. The program provides academic enrichment, recreation, sports, mentors, life skills, community service activities, and employment skills training. Teen REACH funds, which are mostly state general revenue funds, are given directly to community-based agencies including schools, boys and girls clubs, social service agencies, and churches.

Massachusetts's TANF funds are used directly for school-aged child care and additional TANF funds have been transferred to the CCDF. Approximately \$40 million of TANF funds are used for child care of which 25 percent goes directly to school-aged child care programs. Of the \$92 million transferred to CCDF, \$23 million will go directly to school-age care programs. The state also uses their TANF funds for children with disabilities who need out-of-school time care.

Michigan uses TANF funds directly for programs, transfers additional TANF funds to CCDF, and uses CCDF that are not transferred from TANF, for before- and after school programs for income eligible parents while they are receiving TANF or at work or in education and training. One of the quality programs is for the expansion of after school programs. For more information on Michigan out-of-school time school aged programs contact Paul Nelson.

Additional states that will use TANF dollars to provide school-age child care, include, **Alaska**, (contact Mary Lorence 907-465-3329) who will use TANF dollars to pay for school-age child care if

parents require this type of care to participate in a work activity and are TANF recipients and **Arizona**, (contact Tony Zebicki 602-542-4248). **Colorado** anticipates the use of TANF funds for out-of-school time programs later in the fiscal year (contact Oxana Golden 303-866-5943).

North Carolina's Department of Social Services in Mecklenberg County has provided support to after-school programs serving children from families that receive TANF assistance. This spring, these programs served 1500 children from kindergarten through 12th grade in 80 program sites. Mecklenberg County Department of Social Services has used TANF funding to support initiative such as the implementation of the Voyager curriculum in programs serving school-aged children. The services have also included transportation to and from the program site, and breakfast and lunch services for children whose families receive TANF assistance. For more information, contact Jake Jacobsen, Mecklenberg County Department of Social Services, 704-336-5253.

Rhode Island has transferred TANF funds to CCDF to pay for child care for a whole range of ages including school-aged children. In addition, Rhode Island uses state general funds for "Starting Right", a program covering subsidized child care with licensed providers for youth ages 13-15. For more information on Rhode Island, contact Carol Ponto, 401-462-2423. In addition to Rhode Island, **Tennessee**, (contact Wendy Moore, Director of Tennessee Families First program. 615-313-4870), and **Pennsylvania** (contact Karen Mabel, 717-787-8691) transfer TANF dollars to CCDF for school-aged children.

South Carolina uses CCDF in collaboration with the State Department of Education for after-school care programs in school facilities, contact Kitty Casoli, 803-898-2570. Additionally, Governor Janklow in **South Dakota** has made grants available through the Child Care and Development Fund to support the start-up of before- and after school programs with priority for school based program facilities. For more information, contact Patricia Monson, 605-773-4766, or 605-773-6834. Information is also available on the web at <http://www.state.sd.us/social/CCS/OST.ost.htm>. **Vermont** and several other states are using CCDF to support school-age out-of-school time programs. More information on the uses of CCDF can be found in "Child Care and Development Block Grant, Report of State Plans for the period 10/01/97 to 9/30/99". Additional information can be found at the National Child Care Information Center, 1-800-616-2242 or on the web at <http://nccic.org>.

Texas, through the use of their Work Force Investment dollars administers Communities-In-Schools of Texas (CIS). CIS is a year-round, in-school program that is a partnership between the private sector, community-based and faith-based organizations, public schools, and local, state and federal agencies. CIS provides supportive counseling, health and human services, parental and family involvement, pre-employment and employment, enrichment activities, and educational enhancement services at elementary, middle and secondary school. For more information contact the Texas Council on Workforce and Economic Competitiveness or refer to Texas's Workforce Investment Act Plan on the web at http://www.twc.state.tx.us/boards/wia/state_plan/state_plan.html.

Utah provides many services to youth through the Work Force Investment Act, including summer employment opportunities. A summer program is currently administered through the Summer Youth Employment and Training Program, providing the groundwork for the services that will be provided under the Workforce Investment Act. Youth will be provided with work experience in paid or unpaid jobs, in the private, public, or non-profit sector. During the school year many groups, including Utah State Office of Education, Job Corps, the State Department of Human Services and the Juvenile Justice agencies, are involved in helping at-risk youth. More extensive details of Utah's Workforce Investment Act are available at <http://www.dws.state.ut.us/PI/WIA/WIA.htm>.

Several other states including Florida, New Jersey, and Wisconsin have outlined out-of-school time programs for youth in their Workforce Investment Act plans. For additional information on how these states and others are addressing out-of-school time needs for youth refer to the Department of Labor, Employment and Training web site at <http://www.usworkforce.org>.

Wisconsin transferred TANF funds to CCDF as well as mixed TANF with CCDF into one block of funding that serves 27 percent of children six and older. The Governors' proposed budget includes \$20 million of TANF funds for community youth grants for after-school programs for at-risk children. For more information on Wisconsin, contact Dave Edie, Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development, 608-267-3708 or fax 608-261-6968 or edieda@mail.state.wi.us.

For More Information . . .

RESOURCE CONTACTS

Center for Law and Social Policy, Jodie Levin-Epstein and Marie Cohen, 202-328-5140, <http://www.clasp.org>.

Children's Defense Fund, Helen Blank at 202-628-8787 or <http://www.childrensdefense.org>

Coalition for Community School, Institute for Educational Leadership, 202-822-8405 or <http://www.iel.org>.

Connect for Kids: <http://www.connectforkids.org/> Contact The Benton Foundation.

DeWitt Wallace Readers Digest, <http://www.wallacefunds.org>

National Assembly of National Voluntary Health and Social Work Organizations, INC, 202-347-2080, <http://www.nassembly.org>

National Center for Education Statistics, <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs97/97590.html>

National Child Care Information Center, Contact Marilyn McGhee, 800-616-2242 <http://nccic.org>

National Youth Employment Coalition, David Brown, 202-659-1064.

National and Corporate Foundations That Fund Youth Service Initiatives, 301-608-8098 <http://www.ncfy.com/foundat.htm>

National Dropout Prevention Center, 864-656-2599, <http://www.dropoutprevention.org/>

National Institute on Out-of-School Time, Contact Joyce Shortt, 617-283-2547, <http://www.wellesley.edu/WCW/CRW/SACnoist.html>

National School Age Care Alliance, Contact NSACA Public Policy Committee Co-Charis: Linda Zang, lczang@home.com, 410.767.7813 or Janet Frieling, frieling@ywcaworks.org 206-461-3602, <http://www.nsaca.org/>

Partnership for Family Involvement in Education: <http://pfie.ed.gov/> Contact U. S. Department of Education, Email: Partner@ed.gov

The Finance Project, Barbara Langford and Nancy Reder, 202-628-4200, <http://www.financeproject.org>

The Mott Foundation: <http://www.mott.org> (810) 238-5651

The Child Care Action Campaign: <http://www.usakids.org/sites/ccac.html> (212) 239-0138

The MOST Initiative: <http://www.wellesley.edu/WCW/CRW/SAC/most.html> Contact Joyce Shortt, Project Director, 781-283-2526

U.S. Department of Education 21st Century Community Learning Centers After-school, Weekend and Summer Programs for Youth: <http://www.ed.gov/offices/OERI/21stCCLC/> Send e-mail to 21stCCLC@ed.gov, Fax your inquiry to 202-219-2198

PUBLICATIONS

Center for Law and Social Policy, Mark Greenberg, 202-328-5150

- "Spend or Transfer, Federal or State: Considerations in Using TANF and TANF-Related Dollars for Child Care", January 1998, <http://www.clasp.org/pubs/childcare/spendortransfer.htm>
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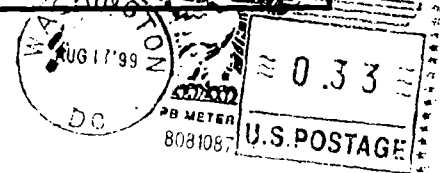
The author wishes to thank Marilyn McGhee and Barbara Langford

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IMPORTANT SURVEY ATTACHED

Since WIN's inception, our web site and other services we provide have vastly expanded, as well as the number of individuals and organizations that utilize our services. In order to make the best use of our limited resources over the next 12-18 months, we need detailed feedback. Your help in completing the attached survey would be most appreciated, as it will help us decide critical issues such as clearinghouse and web site content, the types of publications and the topics to be covered, and the allocation of grant and contracting resources.

YOUR INPUT IS IMPORTANT



1000 Vermont Ave., NW - Suite 600
Washington, DC 20005

Ms. Andrea Kane
White House Domestic Policy Council
Old Executive Office Building, #210
17th Street & Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington DC 20502





MITA- (Multiple Intelligence Teaching Approach)
Reform for Secondary and Higher Education

October 17, 1999

Dear Hillary,

Ellen Weber, (Ph.D.)
Founder, Director

Robyn McMaster,
(M.S.Ed.)
Executive Coordinator

Your interest in education opportunities for New York leads us to share a brain-based model for secondary and higher education renewal. This multiple intelligence teaching approach (MITA), is supported as a cutting-edge model for reform by Howard Gardner at Harvard University.

Due to its success already in education communities, we are launching an international MITA Center with support letters from key leaders in at least five countries.

We thought you might enjoy this model as one practical response to your own education renewal initiatives.

invite

Would you be interested in discussing further our exciting plans for this reform enterprise as it relates to your secondary and higher education initiatives? My phone number is (716) 567-2354.

Sincerely,

Ellen Weber

Ellen Weber (Ph.D.)

Enclosures:

MITA Brochure
Recent Support Letters
Newspaper Column on MITA in Chile

Nicole - Ruby to call

Does this need

*a school district response
or should it get
a simple thank you
letter? Alice*

- Roundtables
- Consultations
- Institutes
- Curriculum
- Media
- Communications
- Distance Education
- Teacher-Training
- Partnerships
- Career Renewal
- Leadership Growth
- Brain-Based
- Books

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

ROY E. LARSEN HALL, 2ND FLOOR
APPIAN WAY
HARVARD GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
CAMBRIDGE, MA 02138

1-617-496-4929 (TEL)
1-617-496-4855 (FAX)

October 5, 1999

To whom it may concern:

Over the past several years, Ellen Weber and I have been in regular contact as she has grown familiar with the theory of multiple intelligences and developed programs based on its precepts. Ellen has been a serious student of the theory and we have had many useful communications in both directions. Nearly all of the early applied work with the theory was developed with particular reference to young children: Ellen has been a pioneer in applying the ideas to secondary schools and colleges and has inspired others to make similar applications.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "H. Gardner", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Howard Gardner

John H. and Elisabeth A. Hobbs Professor of Cognition and Education



ROEHAMPTON
INSTITUTE
LONDON

An Institute of the University of Surrey

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

DEAN: Professor Ron Best BA(Hons), B.Comm(Econ), PhD, Dip.Ed

Roehampton Institute London
Froebel College
Roehampton Lane
London SW15 5PJ

Tel: 0181-392 3000 (*switchboard*)
Fax: 0181-392 3664

To: Ellen Weber, Director
Robyn McMaster, Executive Coordinator,
MITA Center, Houghton College,
Houghton, NY 14744, USA

Dear Ellen and Robyn,

Thank you for your recent letter and papers detailing some of the outcomes of your work at the MITA Centre. As you well know, I have long been an admirer of your approach and am delighted that you are developing the field of multiple intelligence theory right into the very heart of secondary and higher education. You will know, too, that here at the Faculty of Education at Roehampton Institute we have had some success in exploring a small number of the issues involved but we lack the key resources to make the whole-hearted commitment that you demonstrate with your very exciting research and development. There is no doubt that you have both long been realising the centre's potential to make a significant impact in this area of study at both a national and international level. You are to be congratulated on the launch of a fully International MITA Center, and applauded for your search for funding to support and maintain its range of activities.

Do, please, continue your good work and I wish you all encouragement as you tackle this important task. Do keep us in touch with news of progress, both in terms of your research publications and your endeavours to sustain a focal international centre for this work.

All best wishes,

Dr Mike Watts
Professor of Science education,
Centre for Learning and Research in Science Education.

7. 10. 99.

Monday, October 11, 1999

Allegany**LIFE**

Chile reforms through caring communities

Recently I spent a week in Chile to assist Education and political leaders who are making amazing strides to reform high school and college education. To implement change, Jose Pedro, top executive of the largest education system in Chile, encouraged his team to build strong community among themselves before expecting reform to germinate. Pedro envisioned fellow workers to respect one another as a team with one star vision for excellence. These first steps towards liberating an entire nation's education have already produced incredible growth.



Beyond Report Cards

By Ellen Weber

among themselves. Their effort worked so well that top officials in Chile's largest education system lunch together daily. Jose Pedro told me they often simply laugh and enjoy getting to know one

another's hobbies and interests. Not surprisingly, I saw in Chile a growing care and respect among colleagues that is often rare in Western bureaucracies. Respect that carried over to celebrating one another's unique contributions for education reform. Colleagues trust one another, I am told, and so people feel free to take risks necessary for lasting change and improvement. We can learn from their example.

Community creates a rich context for renewal and builds bridges that connect university people and the schools, teachers and parents, faculty across disciplines. When we build community we lower bureaucratic barriers between colleagues so that change does not trickle down but rises up from roundtable discussions. Since colleagues look for consensus before implementing major changes, community prospers. Reformers in Chile, you could say are riding the bus while pushing the bus forward at the same time.

Community welcomes new ideas and learning strategies from

each of us, and celebrates different perspectives. Classrooms which form vibrant communities can help us to function less as an isolation culture and more as a shared culture. A safe place where discussions flourish, where inquiry replaces daily lectures or where we share decision making to determine learning and teaching process. A place where leaders distinguish and respect each person's roles.

Before renewal in our schools occurs, we'll have to revisit, "What is the role of teachers in this community? What role do students play?" Vibrant classroom communities often attempt to do away with what Paulo Friere, one South American expert, calls the banking idea. Friere calls on teachers to replace "banking" views of pedagogy with liberating views. Friere's "banking view" treats students like empty vessels. Teachers deposit ideas and information (mostly through lectures) into students' empty heads. Liberated pedagogy, according to Friere, treats students as in a power relationship to society. Education, which is liberating for

students must be empowering, not oppressive. For Friere, we learn best when we are free to control our own learning, free to take risks, to experiment with new genres, to challenge ideas, learn from our failures and pursue inquiry.

Lasting renewal depends on our ability to create clear visions within caring communities. First we create a circle where people trust each other. A place with open and respectful communication, where we value and celebrate one another. Then we involve others in decision-making. A place where people cherish and are cherished. Business has learned to create prosperous financial communities using these principles, according to expert Robert Levering. Educators in Chile have now stepped out to risk reforms needed to liberate its people through education excellence. Could their attention to community and to learning also help us to renew learning here?

Ellen Weber is the director of secondary education at Houghton College.

***MITA* Vision:**

The *MITA* Center upholds visions for secondary and higher education learning, based on new paradigms and brain research. Profound differences exist about what people espouse as excellent learning and teaching. The *MITA* Center will partner with diverse scholars and learning communities in order to identify and support best practices. The center celebrates and values gifts, abilities and interests of all who share at its roundtables.



Five phases for implementing *MITA*:

- ♦ *Form a question*
- ♦ *Identify goals*
- ♦ *Create a rubric*
- ♦ *Assign an assessment task*
- ♦ *Reflect to adjust*

Several education institutions already use *MITA* in their classrooms. We'd like to invite you to join our roundtable.



Ellen Weber, Founder, Director
Robyn McMaster, Executive Coordinator

MITA Center
Houghton College
Houghton, NY 14744

Fax: 716-567-9570
E-mail: eweber@houghton.edu



MITA

Center

*Multiple Intelligence Teaching
Approach Center for reform in
secondary and higher education*



Providing:

- ♦ *Roundtables*
- ♦ *Institutes*
- ♦ *Curriculum*
- ♦ *Media Communications*
- ♦ *Distance Education*
- ♦ *Teacher Training*
- ♦ *Partnerships*
- ♦ *Career Renewal*
- ♦ *Leadership Growth*
- ♦ *Brain Based Books*

***MITA* Center**
Houghton College
Houghton, NY 14744

Why *MITA*?

Have you wondered how you can form community in your classroom? How you can draw out students' natural excitement for learning as active participants in your class?

It's not a matter of how much we teach, but how much we learn together. *MITA* shows

how to build vibrant learning communities by unleashing unique gifts and abilities within every learner.

The *MITA* Center builds practical bridges that link learners and teachers across cultures, ages and genders. In *MITA* teachers become learners while learn-

ers teach at times. With *MITA* students bring more of their gifts and abilities to achieve deeper understanding of any topic. Rather than just another fad *MITA* relies on solid facts about our brain's optimum potential. Developed from Howard Gardner's research in Multiple Intelligence, it asks not, "How smart am I?" but, "How am I smart?"

To teach well, teachers must know and practice strategies generated from current research about how we learn best. Supporting and mentoring new teachers and sharing responsibility for school renewal is catching on in the most progressive schools. Our challenge is to renew your vision. The *MITA* Center will provide resources and opportunities to support you to achieve secondary and higher education reform.



MITA seeks to celebrate the gifts of diverse people at roundtables of learning



Ellen Weber, PhD, founder and director of the MITA Center at Houghton College.

Currently Ellen Weber is Professor of Education and Director of Secondary Education at Houghton College, author, lecturer, and columnist. She taught for University of Toronto, McGill University and York University. Ellen is also adjunct professor at McMaster University. Combined with her experience in Multiple Intelligence research, 20 years as a high school English teacher, and as a TV and radio guest, she brings invaluable expertise to the *MITA* Center.

Resources available for implementing *MITA*:

Weber, Ellen. (1999). *Student Assessment that Works: A Practical Approach*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Weber, Ellen. (1997). *Roundtable Learning: Building Understanding through Enhanced MI Strategies*. Tucson, AZ: Zephyr Press.

Visit Ellen's website for current *MITA* resources and current articles:

<http://www.houghton.edu/personnel/eweber/ellen.html>

Please contact us for *MITA* information:

Name _____

School/
Business _____

Street _____

City _____

State/ZIP _____

Check your interests:

- ☐ Roundtables
- ☐ Institutes
- ☐ Curriculum
- ☐ Media Communications
- ☐ Distance Education
- ☐ Teacher Training
- ☐ Partnerships
- ☐ Career Renewal
- ☐ Leadership Growth
- ☐ Brain Based Books

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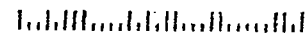
E-mail: eweber@houghton.edu

Web: <http://www.houghton.edu/personnel/eweber/ellen.html>



Ellen Weber, Founder, Director
Robyn McMaster, Executive Coordinator
CPO 477
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Houghton, NY 14744

Office of the First Lady
Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
WA., DC 20500



TOM W. RYAN

144 Willowleaf Dr.

Littleton, CO 80127

303-973-5077 (Fax) 303-932-6010

ryandenvr@msn.com

October 25, 1999

~~July 19, 1999~~

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Verveer:

Enclosed is a birthday wish for the First Lady and an important follow-up letter to my visit with her at the home of Senator Dianne Feinstein in Aspen, Colorado in July of this year.

Thank you for your personal attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Tom Ryan

P.S. The President of my company, John R. Burgess, would like to help elect Hillary Clinton to the Senate in New York. John Burgess has built a \$100 million consulting company in less than 10 years—International Profit Associates. IPA, based in Chicago, is the fastest growing consulting company in the history of American business. I am one of the senior executives—Director of Marketing Development.

Nicole -
He never
stops writing
Ask Eric
how he's
responded p's

TOM W. RYAN
144 Willowleaf Drive
Littleton, CO 80127

303-973-5077 (Fax) 303-932-6010
ryandenvr@msn.com

October 25, 1999

Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Clinton:

Happy Birthday!!!

What better birthday gift than an idea to change the course of history.

When we met at Senator Dianne Feinstein's home in Aspen, Colorado in July, I spoke to you about Thomas Jefferson's idea for a "national advisory referendum" process (see enclosure) where "the voice of the whole people would be thus fairly, fully, and peaceably expressed, discussed, and decided by the common reason of society."

You and the President have the chance to resurrect an idea Thomas Jefferson proposed in 1816 but which has been lost to history for over 180 years!!! Jefferson, like you, saw the nation as a village, and came up with an idea for a national advisory referendum process so that the people could come together to forge a consensus for our common destiny.

Since meeting with you, I have come up with a powerful election-year strategy.

Here's the idea.

At the State of the Union Address in January 2000, the President would propose a National Advisory Referendum (see enclosed draft of legislation) where we as a nation would come together

for the first time in our nation's history. The President would choose 2 issues for an "advisory" vote of the people and the Congress would choose 2 issues. After the 2000 elections, the President alone would chose 3 advisory issues for a national referendum every 2 years at our general election.

When we met in Aspen, I said to you, there is no better way to listen to the people than creating a mechanism where people could cast advisory votes on the issues as Jefferson envisioned.

If the Republicans pass the legislation, you and the President win. If the Republicans fail to pass Jefferson's idea, than they will be shown as blocking the door to expanded democratic rights for all Americans which will create a wedge issue for you and the Democrats in the next election.

Either way, you win.

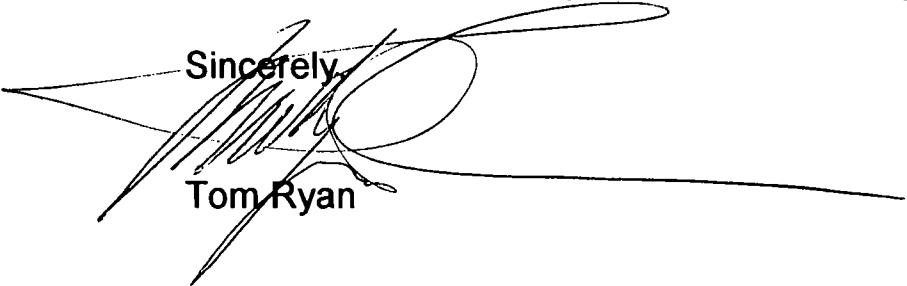
But there's something else for you to consider. President Clinton shares Jefferson's name; with this idea, the President can share Jefferson's legacy on democracy.

When President Kennedy promised to send a man to the moon, he captured the imagination of a nation. Even though the first man landed on the moon during President Nixon's term, President Kennedy got the historic credit because he had the idea.

President Clinton has a chance to become a man for the Millenium by proposing during his State of the Union address in January 2000 to build a new democratic bridge with the plans Thomas Jefferson developed in 1816. The President's speech will ring for all of history.

I respectfully request the opportunity to meet with you and the President about this important idea. History is in your hands.

Sincerely,



Tom Ryan

(Revised draft to include Congress for 2000 National Advisory Referendum)

**Proposed Legislation
to Give the President of the United States the
Power to Refer to the People up to Three
Issues for a National Advisory Referendum to
Give People a Greater Voice in Government
and to Forge a Common Consensus on
Matters of Public Policy.**

Section 1. The President of the United States may at his sole discretion submit to the voters of the United States two issues for a non-binding advisory vote of the people at the general election to be held in November of the year 2000.

Section 2. The Congress of the United States may at its sole discretion submit to the voters of the United States two issues for a non-binding advisory vote of the people at the general election to be held in November of the year 2000. The Congress shall certify to the President of the United States the two issues to be included in the advisory referendum. The President shall refer the two advisory issues, without subject to veto, to the several states under Section 5 of this Act.

Section 3. The President of the United States may at his sole discretion submit to the voters of the United States one, two or three issues for a non-binding advisory vote of the people to be held at any general election for the Congress of the United States beginning in the year 2002.

Section 4. The purpose of the advisory referendum is to give people a greater voice in shaping national policy by directly participating in a vote

on issues referred to the people by the President of the United States. Issues submitted by the President may include proposed federal legislation, regulations or executive branch policies. Any issue referred to the voters of the United States shall be written in such a way that a "yes" or "no" vote may be taken.

Section 5. The President shall submit to the election authorities of the several states the issues for the advisory vote of the people no later than 120 days prior to the general election. The issues submitted by the President shall appear on the ballot in close proximity to the election of the Senators and Representatives to the Congress of the United States.

Section 6. Any state receiving federal funds shall participate in any referendum referred to the several states by the President of the United States as a condition for the continued receipt of federal moneys.

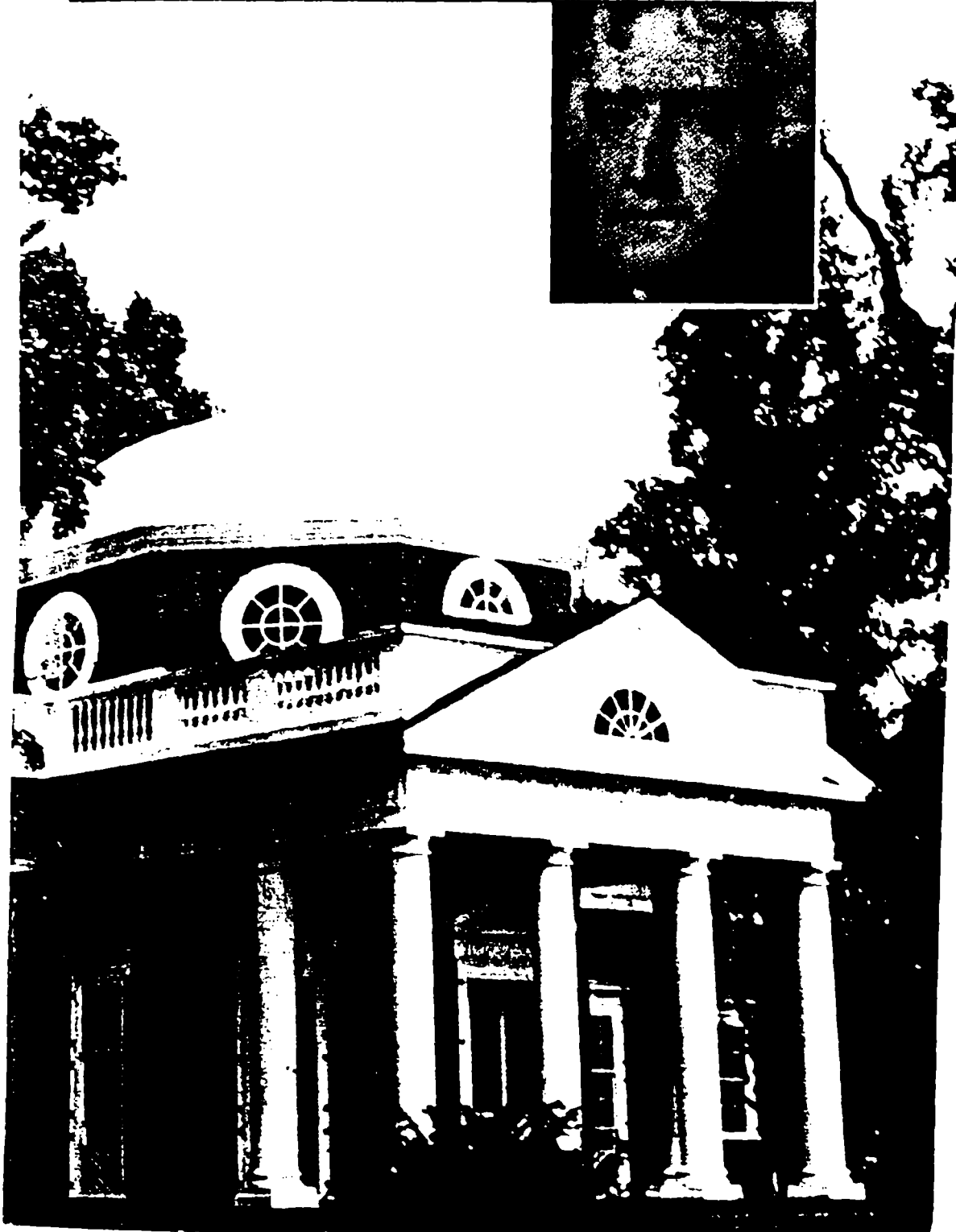
Section 7. Enforcement of this act shall be by a writ of mandamus in federal district court.

THE PORTABLE

Edited by MERRILL
D. PETERSON

THOMAS JEFFERSON

0



lions of human beings has probably been the effect of these convulsions. I did not, in '89, believe they would have lasted so long, nor have cost so much blood. But although your prophecy has proved true so far, I hope it does not preclude a better final result. That same light from our west seems to have spread and illuminated the very engines employed to extinguish it. It has given them a glimmering of their rights and their power. The idea of representative government has taken root and growth among them. Their masters feel it, and are saving themselves by timely offers of this modification of their powers. Belgium, Prussia, Poland, Lombardy, etc., are now offered a representative organization; illusive probably at first, but it will grow into power in the end. Opinion is power, and that opinion will come. Even France will yet attain representative government. You observe it makes the basis of every Constitution which has been demanded or offered,—of that demanded by their Senate; of that offered by Bonaparte; and of that granted by Louis XVIII. The idea then is rooted, and will be established, although rivers of blood may yet flow between them and their object. The allied armies now couching upon them are first to be destroyed, and destroyed they will surely be. A nation united can never be conquered. . . .



To Samuel Kercheval

Monticello, July 12, 1816.

SIR

I duly received your favor of June the 13th, with the copy of the letters on the calling a convention, on which you are pleased to ask my opinion. I have not been in the habit of mysterious reserve on any subject, nor of buttoning up my opinions within my own doublet. On the contrary, while in public service especially, I thought the public entitled to frankness, and intimately to know whom

they employed. But I am now retired: I resign myself, as a passenger, with confidence to those at present at the helm, and ask but for rest, peace and good will. The question you propose, on equal representation, has become a party one, in which I wish to take no public share. Yet, if it be asked for your own satisfaction only, and not to be quoted before the public, I have no motive to withhold it, and the less from you, as it coincides with your own. At the birth of our republic, I committed that opinion to the world, in the draught of a constitution annexed to the "Notes on Virginia," in which a provision was inserted for a representation permanently equal. The infancy of the subject at that moment, and our inexperience of self-government, occasioned gross departures in that draught from genuine republican canons. In truth, the abuses of monarchy had so much filled all the space of political contemplation, that we imagined everything republican which was not monarchy. We had not yet penetrated to the mother principle, that "governments are republican only in proportion as they embody the will of their people, and execute it." Hence, our first constitutions had really no leading principles in them. But experience and reflection have but more and more confirmed me in the particular importance of the equal representation then proposed. On that point, then, I am entirely in sentiment with your letters; and only lament that a copyright of your pamphlet prevents their appearance in the newspapers, where alone they would be generally read, and produce general effect. The present vacancy too, of other matter, would give them place in every paper, and bring the question home to every man's conscience.

But inequality of representation in both Houses of our legislature, is not the only republican heresy in this first essay of our Revolutionary patriots at forming a Constitution. For let it be agreed that a government is republican in proportion as every member composing it has his equal voice in the direction of its concerns, (not indeed in per-



son, which would be impracticable beyond the limits of a city, or small township,) but by representatives chosen by himself, and responsible to him at short periods, and let us bring to the test of this canon every branch of our Constitution.

In the legislature, the House of Representatives is chosen by less than half the people, and not at all in proportion to those who do choose. The Senate are still more disproportionate, and for long terms of irresponsibility. In the Executive, the Governor is entirely independent of the choice of the people, and of their control; his Council equally so, and at best but a fifth wheel to a wagon. In the Judiciary, the judges of the highest courts are dependent on none but themselves. In England, where judges were named and removable at the will of an hereditary executive, from which branch most misrule was feared, and has flowed, it was a great point gained, by fixing them for life, to make them independent of that executive. But in a government founded on the public will, this principle operates in an opposite direction, and against that will. There, too, they were still removable on a concurrence of the executive and legislative branches. But we have made them independent of the nation itself. They are irremovable, but by their own body, for any depravities of conduct, and even by their own body for the imbecilities of dotage. The justices of the inferior courts are self-chosen, are for life, and perpetuate their own body in succession forever, so that a faction once possessing themselves of the bench of a county, can never be broken up, but hold their county in chains, forever indissoluble. Yet these justices are the real executive as well as judiciary, in all our minor and most ordinary concerns. They tax us at will; fill the office of sheriff, the most important of all the executive officers of the county; name nearly all our military leaders, which leaders, once named, are removable but by themselves. The juries, our judges of all fact, and of law when they choose it, are not selected by the people, nor amen-

able to them. They are chosen by an officer named by the court and executive. Chosen, did I say? Picked up by the sheriff from the loungings of the court yard, after everything respectable has retired from it. Where then is our republicanism to be found? Not in our Constitution certainly, but merely in the spirit of our people. That would oblige even a despot to govern us republicanly. Owing to this spirit, and to nothing in the form of our Constitution, all things have gone well. But this fact, so triumphantly misquoted by the enemies of reformation, is not the fruit of our Constitution, but has prevailed in spite of it. Our functionaries have done well, because generally honest men. If any were not so, they feared to show it.

But it will be said, it is easier to find faults than to amend them. I do not think their amendment so difficult as is pretended. Only lay down true principles, and adhere to them inflexibly. Do not be frightened into their surrender by the alarms of the timid, or the croakings of wealth against the ascendancy of the people. If experience be called for, appeal to that of our fifteen or twenty governments for forty years, and show me where the people have done half the mischief in these forty years, that a single despot would have done in a single year; or show half the riots and rebellions, the crimes and the punishments, which have taken place in any single nation, under kingly government, during the same period. The true foundation of republican government is the equal right of every citizen, in his person and property, and in their management. Try by this, as a tally, every provision of our Constitution, and see if it hangs directly on the will of the people. Reduce your legislature to a convenient number for full, but orderly discussion. Let every man who fights or pays, exercise his just and equal right in their election. Submit them to approbation or rejection at short intervals. Let the executive be chosen in the same way, and for the same term, by those whose agent he is to be; and leave no screen of a council behind which to

skulk from responsibility. It has been thought that the people are not competent electors of judges *learned in the law*. But I do not know that this is true, and, if doubtful, we should follow principle. In this, as in many other elections, they would be guided by reputation, which would not err oftener, perhaps, than the present mode of appointment. In one State of the Union, at least, it has long been tried, and with the most satisfactory success. The judges of Connecticut have been chosen by the people every six months, for nearly two centuries, and I believe there has hardly ever been an instance of change; so powerful is the curb of incessant responsibility. If prejudice, however, derived from a monarchical institution, is still to prevail against the vital elective principle of our own, and if the existing example among ourselves of periodical election of judges by the people be still mistrusted, let us at least not adopt the evil, and reject the good, of the English precedent; let us retain amovability on the concurrence of the executive and legislative branches, and nomination by the executive alone. Nomination to office is an executive function. To give it to the legislature, as we do, is a violation of the principle of the separation of powers. It swerves the members from correctness, by temptations to intrigue for office themselves, and to a corrupt barter of votes; and destroys responsibility by dividing it among a multitude. By leaving nomination in its proper place, among executive functions, the principle of the distribution of power is preserved, and responsibility weighs with its heaviest force on a single head.

The organization of our county administrations may be thought more difficult. But follow principle, and the knot unties itself. Divide the counties into wards of such size as that every citizen can attend, when called on, and act in person. Ascribe to them the government of their wards in all things relating to themselves exclusively. A justice, chosen by themselves, in each, a constable, a military company, a patrol, a school, the care of their own poor, their

own portion of the public roads, the choice of one or more jurors to serve in some court, and the delivery, within their own wards, of their own votes for all elective officers of higher sphere, will relieve the county administration of nearly all its business, will have it better done, and by making every citizen an acting member of the government, and in the offices nearest and most interesting to him, will attach him by his strongest feelings to the independence of his country, and its republican Constitution. The justices thus chosen by every ward, would constitute the county court, would do its judiciary business, direct roads and bridges, levy county and poor rates, and administer all the matters of common interest to the whole country. These wards, called townships in New England, are the vital principle of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation. We should thus marshal our government into, 1, the general federal republic, for all concerns foreign and federal; 2, that of the State, for what relates to our own citizens exclusively; 3, the county republics, for the duties and concerns of the county; and 4, the ward republics, for the small, and yet numerous and interesting concerns of the neighborhood; and in government, as well as in every other business of life, it is by division and subdivision of duties alone, that all matters, great and small, can be managed to perfection. And the whole is cemented by giving to every citizen, personally, a part in the administration of the public affairs.

The sum of these amendments is, 1. General suffrage. 2. Equal representation in the legislature. 3. An executive chosen by the people. 4. Judges elective or amovable. 5. Justices, jurors, and sheriffs elective. 6. Ward divisions. And 7. Periodical amendments of the Constitution.

I have thrown out these as loose heads of amendment, for consideration and correction; and their object is to secure self-government by the republicanism of our Consti-



tution, as well as by the spirit of the people; and to nourish and perpetuate that spirit. I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom. And to preserve their independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make our election between *economy and liberty*, or *profusion and servitude*. If we run into such debts, as that we must be taxed in our meat and in our drink, in our necessities and our comforts, in our labors and our amusements, for our callings and our creeds, as the people of England are, our people, like them, must come to labor sixteen hours in the twenty-four, give the earnings of fifteen of these to the government for their debts and daily expenses; and the sixteenth being insufficient to afford us bread, we must live, as they now do, on oatmeal and potatoes; have no time to think, no means of calling the mismanagers to account; but be glad to obtain subsistence by hiring ourselves to rivet their chains on the necks of our fellow sufferers. Our land-holders, too, like theirs, retaining indeed the title and stewardship of estates called theirs, but held really in trust for the treasury, must wander, like theirs, in foreign countries, and be contented with penury, obscurity, exile, and the glory of the nation. This example reads to us the salutary lesson, that private fortunes are destroyed by public as well as by private extravagance. And this is the tendency of all human governments. A departure from principle in one instance becomes a precedent for a second; that second for a third; and so on, till the bulk of the society is reduced to be mere automatons of misery, to have no sensibilities left but for sinning and suffering. Then begins, indeed, the *bellum omnium in omnia*, which some philosophers observing to be so general in this world, have mistaken it for the natural, instead of the abusive state of man. And the fore horse of this frightful team is public debt. Taxation follows that, and in its train wretchedness and oppression.

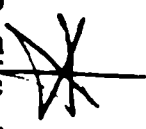
Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the ark of the covenant,

too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I knew that age well; I belonged to it, and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present, but without the experience of the present; and forty years of experience in government is worth a century of book-reading; and this they would say themselves, were they to rise from the dead. I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions. I think moderate imperfections had better be borne with; because, when once known, we accommodate ourselves to them, and find practical means of correcting their ill effects. But I know also, that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors. It is this preposterous idea which has lately deluged Europe in blood. Their monarchs, instead of wisely yielding to the gradual change of circumstances, of favoring progressive accommodation to progressive improvement, have clung to old abuses, entrenched themselves behind steady habits, and obliged their subjects to seek through blood and violence rash and ruinous innovations, which, had they been referred to the peaceful deliberations and collected wisdom of the nation, would have been put into acceptable and salutary forms. Let us follow no such examples, nor weakly believe that one generation is not as capable as another of taking care of itself, and of ordering its own affairs. Let us, as our sister States have done, avail ourselves of our reason and experience, to correct the crude essays of our first and unexperienced, although wise, virtuous, and well-meaning councils. And lastly, let us

provide in our Constitution for its revision at stated periods. What these periods should be, nature herself indicates. By the European tables of mortality, of the adults living at any one moment of time, a majority will be dead in about nineteen years. At the end of that period then, a new majority is come into place; or, in other words, a new generation. Each generation is as independent of the one preceding, as that was of all which had gone before. It has then, like them, a right to choose for itself the form of government it believes most promotive of its own happiness; consequently, to accommodate to the circumstances in which it finds itself, that received from its predecessors; and it is for the peace and good of mankind, that a solemn opportunity of doing this every nineteen or twenty years, should be provided by the Constitution; so that it may be handed on, with periodical repairs, from generation to generation, to the end of time, if anything human can so long endure. It is now forty years since the constitution of Virginia was formed. The same tables inform us, that, within that period, two-thirds of the adults then living are now dead. Have then the remaining third, even if they had the wish, the right to hold in obedience to their will, and to laws heretofore made by them, the other two-thirds, who, with themselves, compose the present mass of adults? If they have not, who has? The dead? But the dead have no rights. They are nothing; and nothing cannot own something. Where there is no substance, there can be no accident. This corporeal globe, and everything upon it, belong to its present corporeal inhabitants, during their generation. They alone have a right to direct what is the concern of themselves alone, and to declare the law of that direction; and this declaration can only be made by their majority. That majority, then, has a right to depute representatives to a convention, and to make the Constitution what they think will be the best for themselves. But how collect their voice? This is the real difficulty. If invited by private authority, or county or district meetings, these divisions are so large that few



will attend; and their voice will be imperfectly, or falsely, pronounced. Here, then, would be one of the advantages of the ward divisions I have proposed. The mayor of every ward, on a question like the present, would call his ward together, take the simple yea or nay of its members, convey these to the county court, who would hand on those of all its wards to the proper general authority; and the voice of the whole people would be thus fairly, fully, and peaceably expressed, discussed, and decided by the common reason of the society. If this avenue be shut to the call of sufferance, it will make itself heard through that of force, and we shall go on, as other nations are doing, in the endless circle of oppression, rebellion, reformation; and oppression, rebellion, reformation, again; and so on forever.



These, Sir, are my opinions of the governments we see among men, and of the principles by which alone we may prevent our own from falling into the same dreadful track. I have given them at greater length than your letter called for. But I cannot say things by halves; and I confide them to your honor, so to use them as to preserve me from the gridiron of the public papers. If you shall approve and enforce them, as you have done that of equal representation, they may do some good. If not, keep them to yourself as the effusions of withered age and useless time. I shall, with not the less truth, assure you of my great respect and consideration.



HUMAN
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Ann

November 13, 1999

Dear Friends and Allies,

As you may know, the past few months have brought quite a number of legal developments that affect the lives of lesbian and gay Americans and their families. The enclosed copy of the Fall 1999 edition of HRC *LAWbriefs* summarizes many of these developments in areas including employment, hate crimes, marriage and family, domestic partnership, gender identity and international issues.

Much of the groundbreaking work showcased in *LAWbriefs* would not be possible without the hard work of our legal allies, including Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, the ACLU Gay Rights Project, Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders, the National Center for Lesbian Rights, the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, and others.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact either of us.

Sincerely,

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LAWbriefs

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND GENDER IDENTITY LAW

Employment—Litigation

Following New Jersey's Lead, Chicago Judge Rules that Ban on Gays Violates Local Discrimination Law. A Cook County, IL, judge ruled that the Boy Scouts' ban on employment of gay people violates the Chicago Human Rights Ordinance. A former Scout was told that being gay would disqualify him from employment with the group; he promptly filed a complaint with the Chicago Human Rights Commission (the Boy Scouts also discriminate against gay scouts and volunteer troop leaders). The court agreed with the Commission that IL law specifically allows municipal ordinances to go further than state law in banning discrimination. The court rejected the Scouts' contention that they constitute a religious group, finding them to be a "nonsectarian organization" that recruits boys from different religious backgrounds. Since Richardson never applied for the job, he was not entitled to individual recovery. Instead, the Boy Scouts were fined \$100 and ordered to end the discrimination against gay people. The Scouts appealed the ruling, and the appellate court ruled that the hiring policy can stand until the court issues a ruling on the merits. The plaintiff in this case is represented by the ACLU. *Chicago Area Council of Boy Scouts of America v. City of Chicago Commission on Human Relations* (8/12/99).

Eighth Circuit Revives Anti-Gay Sexual Harassment Claim Under Title VII. The Eighth Circuit reversed the dismissal of a same-sex harassment claim, finding that plaintiff's claims of anti-gay harassment could possibly support a claim of sex discrimination under *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc.* The plaintiff was taunted by co-workers, who perceived him to be gay. They spread rumors about his sexuality, touched him inappropriately, called him anti-gay names, and exposed him to other inappropriate sexual behavior. The court held that rumors about the plaintiff's sexual orientation could be construed as an effort to "debase his masculinity," thus constituting sexual harassment proscribed by Title VII. Sexual orientation discrimination is not prohibited by Title VII, underscoring the need for Congress to pass the Employment Non-discrimination Act (ENDA). *Schmedding v. Tnmec Company, Inc.* (8/19/99).

Court Accepts Sexual Stereotyping Theory in Anti-Gay Harassment Case. Although ultimately rejecting the claim for lack of severity and pervasiveness, a federal court recently noted that a case of homophobic harassment based on gender stereotyping might be actionable under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The plaintiff was apparently singled out for homophobic taunting because he was effeminate. Co-workers speculated about his sexual orientation based on his perceived gender non-conformity. According to the court, Title VII does not allow discrimination on the grounds that an employee's appearance or behavior does not comport to gender stereotyping. *Spearman v. Ford Motor Co.* (9/9/99). See also *Higgins v. New Balance Athletic Shoe, Inc.* (1st Cir. 1999) (rejecting the plaintiff's sexual orientation harassment claim, but noting that "a man can ground a claim on evidence that other men discriminated against him because he did not meet stereotyped expectations of masculinity"); *Rosa v. Park West Bank* (D. Mass. 1999) (rejecting a claim of discrimination against a bank that refused to process a loan application of a biological man who appeared feminine in dress and manner until he returned to the bank looking more "traditionally masculine" and asserting that requiring someone to change their clothes or denying consumer services based upon dress is not illegal discrimination).

Louisville Employment Ordinance Protecting Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Challenged. The American Center for Law and Justice has filed suit challenging a Louisville, Kentucky, ordinance that extends protected employment status to sexual orientation and gender identity. The suit was filed against the city, the mayor and other officials on behalf of an obstetrician, J. Barrett Hyman, who contends that his Christian beliefs require him to deny employment to anyone who is gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgendered. The suit alleges First, Fifth and Fourteenth Amendment violations, focusing in particular on the plaintiff's right to free exercise of religion. It seeks to declare the ordinance unconstitutional and enjoin enforcement. The case relies heavily on a Ninth Circuit case (currently in *en banc* reconsideration) that held that landlords could use religious grounds to refuse to rent to unmarried couples and not be in violation of an AK marital status discrimination law. Plaintiff also has a standing problem, since no one has been charged with a violation of the ordinance.

Employment—Legislation

Iowa Governor Issues Executive Order Banning Workplace Discrimination Based On Sexual Orientation or Gender Identity. Governor Tom Vilsack (D-Iowa) has issued an executive order that prohibits employment discrimination by state executive agencies on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, race, creed, color, religion, national origin, gender, age, marital status, or physical or mental disability. The order also reaffirms the state's affirmative action policy with regard to ethnic and racial minority groups, and extends affirmative action policies to persons with disabilities. Vilsack's order is the first by a governor to include gender identity.

Kentucky Cities Add Sexual Orientation Discrimination Protection. Henderson, Kentucky, recently approved an ordinance prohibiting discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations based on sexual orientation. Jefferson County, Kentucky (which includes Louisville), also passed an ordinance that outlaws discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity in housing, the workplace and public accommodations. Louisville and Lexington already prohibit sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination. Bowling Green is considering a similar proposal.

California Adds Sexual Orientation to Fair Employment and Housing Code. The California legislature passed a bill shifting the state's prohibition on employment and housing discrimination based on sexual orientation to their most appropriate place in the state code: the Fair Employment and Housing Code. Such a move provides a more logical and efficient means to enforce discrimination claims.

Election Victories On Discrimination Ordinances. Voters in Falmouth, Maine, defeated a proposed charter amendment that would have forbidden the town from making any "ordinance, policy, or regulation regarding sexual orientation." Voters in Spokane, Washington, defeated a measure to remove sexual orientation from the list of protected categories in the city's anti-discrimination ordinance.

Hate Crimes

California Law Protects Students from Harassment and Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation. California has enacted a bill that prohibits discrimination and harassment in schools on the same bases that it currently prohibits hate crimes—race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, disability, sexual orientation and gender (whether real or perceived). The measure is a scaled back version of an earlier bill that failed by one vote. It was resurrected in response to recent high profile acts of hate violence and a study of California Community College students where 18% of male students surveyed indicated that they had either assaulted or threatened with assault someone they perceived to be gay. California joins Massachusetts, Connecticut and Wisconsin in offering such protections to students.

Hate Crimes Prevention Act Killed in Conference Committee. Republican leadership allowed the Hate Crimes Prevention Act (HCPA) to be removed from the Commerce, State, Justice appropriations bill. In July, the Senate passed the HCPA without debate and by unanimous consent. HCPA would add gender, sexual

orientation and disability to the existing federal hate crimes statute, and would eliminate procedural barriers impeding federal officials' investigation and prosecution of these and other forms of hate crimes. Republican leadership omitted the HCPA legislation in conference, where a compromise between the House and Senate versions of the spending bill was crafted. Despite this setback, HRC and its allies continue to push for HCPA to pass before the end of this Congress.

Attacker Found Guilty in Murder of Matthew Shepard, Sentenced to Consecutive Life Terms. Aaron McKinney was found guilty of felony murder, which included second-degree murder, aggravated robbery and kidnapping, in the October 1998 murder of University of Wyoming student Matthew Shepard. The verdict made him eligible for the death penalty, but he received two consecutive life terms without possibility of parole. The sentence was the result of a deal with prosecutors approved of by Matthew's parents, Dennis and Judy Shepard, who agreed to spare McKinney from the death penalty.

Domestic Partnership Developments

Judge Overturns Georgia Insurance Commissioner's Ban on Domestic Partnership Benefits.

A Fulton County judge ordered Georgia Insurance Commissioner John Oxendine to lift his self-imposed statewide ban on domestic partnership health insurance benefits. The judge condemned the commissioner's actions (including refusal to approve any insurance policy providing for domestic partners, even after the Georgia Supreme Court paved the way for such action), calling them unlawful, "outside the scope of his authority," and "an abuse of discretion." The court also adamantly rejected the commissioner's view that non-marital relationships are immoral. Commissioner Oxendine has declined to appeal the ruling, paving the way for both public and private entities to offer domestic partner coverage. The suit was brought by the City of Atlanta and Atlanta Councilmember (and former HRC staff member) Cathy Woolard, who sought benefits coverage for her domestic partner of 11 years. Lambda represented the council member. Robin Shahar (of *Shahar v. Bowers* fame) served as the City of Atlanta's attorney in the case. *City of Atlanta v. Oxendine*.

California Legislature Approves Domestic Partnership Registry. The California legislature established a domestic partnership registry that would authorize state employers to provide health and other employment benefits to domestic partners of state employees. The bill also includes an option for local governments to follow suit. The law would also require hospitals and similar facilities to extend visitation procedures to domestic partners and their families. The bill creates a formal registry with the Secretary of State and also provides a procedure for terminating such partnerships. The *San Francisco Chronicle* estimates that there are 35,000 same-sex couples in the state of California. The bill could face a challenge by statewide referendum.

Unmarried Connecticut Couples Challenge Town Pool's Discriminatory Family Membership Policy. The Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities (CHRO) recently issued a reasonable cause finding in favor of five unmarried couples, gay and straight, who challenged West Hartford's policy denying them a preferential "family" membership rate at the town's pool. Each couple was told because they were not married, they could only join at the far more expensive individual rate. The CHRO found that the policy explicitly discriminated based on marital status by reserving the preferential rate for married couples only, and also discriminated against the three same-sex couples on the basis of sexual orientation. Attorneys from Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (GLAD) are working with New Haven attorney Maureen Murphy in representing the couples in the proceedings.

Family Law—Parenting

Alabama Court Rejects Anti-Gay Stereotypes. An Alabama Court of Appeals rejected a circuit court judge's conjecture that a father seeking custody was bisexual. He denied the allegation, and his wife admitted to never finding him in compromising situations, but said she felt "insecure" when he spent time with his male friends. The judge considered the husband taking "feminine-type furniture" as part of the divorce settlement to be

strong evidence of his bisexuality. The court of appeals rejected this reasoning as being based on conjecture and speculation, and noted that the inference of bisexuality seemed to be the sole grounds relied upon for denying custody to the father. The court of appeals awarded custody to the mother anyway, citing her stricter discipline and attention to the son's grades. *D.L. v. R.B.L.* (7/30/99).

Illinois Appeals Court Rebukes Rogue Judge who Interfered with Adoptions by Lesbian Couples.

An Illinois appeals court affirmed the right of gay and lesbian families to adopt, and in doing so rebuked a judge whose personal biases interfered with attempts to adopt by two lesbian couples. The court chastised County Judge Susan McDunn for "extreme and patent bias against the adoptive parents based upon their sexual orientation." The apologetic court said that Judge McDunn "inflicted anguish on the petitioners and needlessly prolonged what should have been a simple and straightforward process." She ignored the positive recommendations of social workers and appointed the infamously anti-gay Family Research Council to represent the best interests of the children. After the presiding judge removed Judge McDunn from the cases, she refused to relinquish control, issuing orders purporting to void her removal and blocking the adoptions. Judge McDunn has since been removed from active duty awaiting the outcome of a misconduct investigation before the Judicial Inquiry Board. Lambda helped represent the mothers in this case.

Texas Social Worker Files Suit to Ban Foster and Adoptive Placements in Same-Sex Couples' Homes. The Liberty Legal Institute has announced a suit against Texas Child Protective Services (CPS) to restrict the placement of children in households headed by same-sex partners. The suit is being brought on behalf of Rebecca Bledsoe, a former CPS worker who was demoted for removing a child from a household because the parents were lesbians. The group claims that they are trying to prevent the placement of children in households where there is "criminal activity." Texas' antiquated and rarely-used sodomy law has twice been ruled unconstitutional but remains on the books, making homosexual sodomy a Class C Misdemeanor similar to traffic violations or littering. The group also plans to utilize 28 children awaiting adoption or foster care to testify against state placement of children in gay and lesbian households. The ACLU Lesbian & Gay Rights Project has intervened in the suit on behalf of lesbian foster parents.

Colorado Judge Gives Full Parental Rights to Lesbian Partner. A Boulder, Colorado, judge has awarded full parental rights to two lesbian partners even though one of the women has no biological ties to the other's unborn child. Both women will be allowed to place their names on the child's birth certificate and will share parenting duties. Several recent trend-setting decisions across the country have given gay parents legal rights over their non-biological children. The judge based her ruling on Colorado law, which allows people who have no biological connection to a child to assume parental rights in certain circumstances. The couple's daughter will now be eligible for inheritance rights, medical coverage and other privileges from both women.

Transgender/Gender Issues

Court Orders Iowa Medicaid Program to Cover Sex Reassignment Surgery. In *Smith v. Rasmussen* (7/14/99), a U.S. District Court judge ruled that Iowa's refusal to pay for sex reassignment surgery was impermissibly arbitrary and based solely on his diagnosis of gender identity disorder. The court relied on past rulings which held that decisions concerning medical treatment must be made in consultation with one's physician and not by government bureaucrats. Ignoring medical evidence (including the testimony of the plaintiff's physician), the state argued that the surgery was experimental and unnecessary. The court rejected this argument, noting that sex reassignment surgery is used only when medically necessary and typically only in cases of gender identity disorder. This case was the latest in a long line of unsuccessful attempts by the Iowa Department of Human Services to deny funding for medically necessary sex assignment surgery. The judge permanently enjoined the department from denying Medicaid payments for the costs associated with the defendant's surgery.

Supreme Court to Hear Appeal on Violence Against Women Act. The Supreme Court will hear an appeal in *Brzonkala v. Virginia Polytechnic*, a challenge to the constitutionality of the civil rights remedy enacted by

Congress as part of the Violence Against Women Act ("VAWA"). The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals invalidated this section of VAWA as an unconstitutional exercise of congressional authority, though twelve district courts have reached the opposite conclusion. *Brzonkala* is one of a number of cases accepted for the Court's next term addressing the limitations of congressional authority to enact statutes granting a right of action against state entities. An adverse decision by the Court in *Brzonkala* could have two significant impacts. The case will decide the immediate question of the constitutionality of VAWA's civil rights remedy, and may also call into question the extent of congressional power to enact statutes providing individuals with the ability to sue a state entity. Cases raising similar issues on the Court's docket are *Kimel v. Florida Board of Regents*, *Reno v. Condon*, and *Vermont Agency of Natural Resources v. United States*.

Kansas Federal District Court Finds Violence Against Transgendered Male Not Within Coverage of Violence Against Women Act. According to the Kansas Federal District Court, the family of a transgendered prisoner murdered by other inmates cannot recover under a wrongful death action based on the Violence Against Women Act. The inmate was beaten to death by other inmates who singled him out because he regularly dressed and acted as a woman (*i.e.*, his gender expression). While dismissing for failure to exhaust administrative remedies, the court opined that the claim was invalid because VAWA was intended solely to deal with violence against women and because none of the defendants were charged with committing the violence.

Texas Appeals Court Rules That Post-Operative Female Transsexual Is Male, Denies Her Right to Sue for Husband's Wrongful Death. A Texas Appeals court, ignoring medical evidence to the contrary, ruled that a post-operative transsexual female was still biologically male, and therefore could not be legally married to her husband of seven years. The decision had the effect of precluding her claim of medical negligence in her husband's death. Christie Littleton had been through extensive therapy and ultimately underwent sex reassignment surgery in 1980. She had her name legally changed and obtained a court order changing her sex on her birth certificate. In 1989, she married Jonathon Littleton, who was fully aware of her background. The marriage lasted for seven years until he died as a result of a doctor's alleged negligence. The appeals court refused to recognize Littleton's sex change, holding that "Christie inhabits a male body in all aspects other than what the physicians have supplied." The case leaves open the question of how Christie, or any gay or transgendered person could recover for the negligent death of their partner.

See also Schmedding and Spearman cases profiled under Employment – Litigation, above.

International Developments

European Court Invalidates British Ban on Homosexuals in the Military. The European Court of Human Rights has ruled that Britain's ban on homosexuals in the armed forces is a breach of human rights. The court, finding in favor of three men and a woman who were discharged from the British armed forces after they admitted their sexual orientation, said the British policy violated Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights which defends the right to respect for private and family life. The Court labeled the investigations and interviews of the applicants "exceptionally intrusive . . . interferences with their private lives." Though the victory does not change British law, the government must now determine how to be in compliance with the ruling. The British ban on service by homosexuals has long been a source of justification for the similar policy of the U.S. military.

Ugandan President Calls for Arrest of All Homosexuals; Kenyan President Joins Bashing. Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni has called homosexuality "abominable" and recently urged police to round up and charge homosexuals. Homosexuality is illegal under Ugandan law which states that "carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature" is punishable with a maximum sentence of life in prison. Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi also lashed out at homosexuals, saying their behavior is abnormal and contradicts biblical teachings and African traditions. The U.S. State Department issued a statement saying the U.S. would view such arrests as a "serious human rights violation." The release also noted that Uganda is party to the Universal Declaration

of Human Rights and other conventions on civil and social rights. This marks the first time the department has issued a statement regarding the rights of homosexuals abroad.

French Legislature Grants Rights to Non-Marital Partners. French legislators have adopted a law that gives unwed gay and straight couples many of the same rights previously limited to married couples. Proponents said the law would better protect couples, regardless of their gender. The law would let couples file tax forms together after three years; help people bring foreign partners to France; force employers to take couples' joint vacation plans into account; and make partners accountable for each others' debts. The proposition also would make separation easier. A partner who wants to split would be able simply to send a letter of separation to their partner and to the court. Similar legislation already exists in several other European countries.

Other International Notes. The British House of Lords has recognized same-sex couples as families under the nation's rent and eviction laws, meaning that a surviving member of a couple could continue living in the home that had been rented to a deceased partner. The parliament of Ontario, Canada, passed a comprehensive amendment to 67 provincial laws to extend recognition to same-sex couples, thus bringing the province's laws within the requirements of last summer's Canadian Supreme Court ruling that requires spousal support legislation to apply to same-sex couples.

The Military

Soldier Killed in Apparent Anti-Gay Hate Crime. A military investigative hearing into the death of Pfc. Barry L. Winchell at the hands of fellow soldiers has revealed that the murder was most probably an anti-gay hate-crime that was premeditated in cold blood. Early on July 5, 1999, Winchell was found unconscious in the hallway outside his barracks at Fort Campbell, Kentucky. He was beaten repeatedly with a baseball bat, cracking his skull. His alleged attacker, Spc. Justin Fisher, awaits trial on charges of premeditated murder; acting as an accessory after the fact; making false statements under oath; and obstructing the investigation. Servicemembers Legal Defense Network has been at the forefront of this case.

HRC and Allies Petition Senate In Support of Clemency For Airman Douglas A. Gilley, Jr. Airman Douglas A. Gilley, Jr., was arrested in Atlanta in August after fleeing Moody Air Force base out of fear for his personal safety. Gilley had been harassed and received threats from other squadron members as a result of his perceived sexual orientation. He was sentenced to seven months in prison after being found guilty in a court-martial of being absent without leave (AWOL). Prior to going AWOL, Gilley requested that his First Sergeant help him separate from the military, but he received no assistance and instead was told he had to remain in the Air Force. Airman Gilley did not believe he could safely disclose the source of the danger to his First Sergeant, and he believed that the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue" policy prevented him from discussing matters of sexual orientation with him, so he fled. HRC and allies have petitioned the Senate to grant Gilley clemency.

Acknowledgments/Sources: In addition to primary court and legislative materials, sources for the above summaries include Professor Arthur S. Leonard's invaluable *Lesbian/Gay Law Notes*, and materials from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Gay & Lesbian Advocates & Defenders (GLAD), Lambda Legal Defense & Education Fund (Lambda), National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR), Lesbian and Gay Rights Lobby of Texas (LGRL) and Servicemembers Legal Defense Network (SLDN).

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Ann

Wm. & S. in
Fruit box



cc: [unclear]
OPL

From the Storefront to the Churchfront • 82-Acre Site and Future Home of Our New 10,000-Seat Sanctuary

From the Heart Church Ministries

4207 Norcross Street, Temple Hills, Maryland 20748

301-899-9411 • 301-899-2029 (FAX) • 301-899-6126 (TDD)

Dr. John A. Cherry, *Pastor*

November 3, 1999

Mrs. Hillary R. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Grace, mercy and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus the Christ.

It was good seeing you and the President during the recent White House breakfast for religious leaders. Mrs. Cherry and I appreciate having an opportunity to spend time with you and to fellowship with colleagues in ministry. Thank you for extending the invitation and for allowing us to share from the spiritual perspective of leadership.

This letter is written with a two-fold purpose. First, I would like to remind you of our invitation to the First Family to attend our Sunday morning worship service. As I have shared in previous correspondence, we have prayed for you as a congregation and trust that you have felt our prayers. Your presence during the worship service will be a demonstration to the congregation of God's faithfulness in hearing and answering our prayers.

The second reason for this letter is to request your assistance. During the recent White House breakfast for religious leaders, President Clinton encouraged clergy and religious leaders to find new and innovative ways of becoming an extension of what the government is doing. I understood his charge to mean that the church must find a way to be involved in the lives of the people of this country in a manner that will assist the government in the many areas where needs go unmet. In essence, what I heard him say is that the government needs the help of the local church.

Mrs. Hillary R. Clinton
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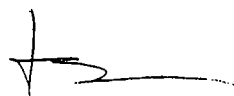
At present, From the Heart Church Ministries is experiencing tremendous growth and development in utilizing a Biblical system of living that networks our spiritual, administrative, and financial resources together with other churches across the country and around the world. Within this Biblical system for living, employment, home purchasing, educational programs, and many other needed services are made available to people in need. Additionally, and most importantly, this system provides family enrichment and personal spiritual development that make it possible for members to be more productive citizens.

Although we are experiencing internal success, because of our size (over 24,000 members) and the magnitude of what we are doing, responses from governmental and federal agencies suggests a lack of understanding and, therefore, a failure to embrace the church functioning in such a manner. This is perhaps not the fault of these agencies because they are accustomed to doing business as usual; however, what we are doing as a local church is not business nor is it usual. The impact of our approach reaches beyond traditional church activity. If we are to be of assistance to the government, we must be able to do what we do and maintain our identity and purpose as a church. We simply want to exercise the freedom to choose a system that works and compliments government efforts.

I took very seriously President Clinton's charge to the religious leaders; therefore, I am requesting your assistance in identifying White House representatives who can be sensitized to what we are doing and effect change where it is necessary. Perhaps there are established councils or committees, such as the Domestic Policy Council, that could be of assistance to us and benefit from what we are doing. I would like to meet with that type of representative council or committee as soon as possible.

Thank you for responding to this request. As I have done in the past I want to remind you and the President of our commitment of friendship and support. Mrs. Cherry and I pray for you consistently and are available to you should you need us. We look forward to your presence during the Sunday morning worship service. Until then, God bless you as you seek to serve Him.

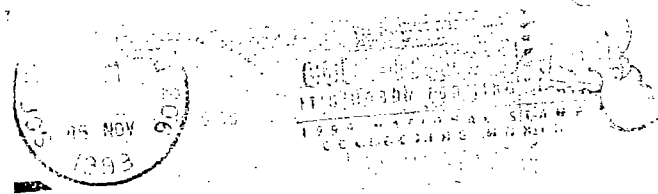
In His Service,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John A. Cherry". The signature is stylized with a large initial "J" and a long horizontal stroke.

John A. Cherry
Episcopal Pastor



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4207 Norcross Street, Temple Hills, Maryland 20748



MRS. HILLARY R. CLINTON
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20500

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