

D. Hochschild

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Number of Pages, including cover sheet 5FROM: David Hochschild
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E-MAIL: career_services@harvard.eduNOTES: Tom, nice to finally talk to you today.For a writing sample, I thought you might enjoy reading
two of the essays I wrote for the Kennedy School application.
They'll also give you a little clearer idea of who I am.
Looking forward to meeting you in person soon.- David

David Hochschild
Essay #2

In the fall of 1993, fresh out of Swarthmore and in search of some fulfilling work, I took an internship with the San Francisco Mayor's Office. It was there that I began to appreciate the full extent to which people rely on government. The Office of Community Services, to which I was assigned, was the central nervous system of San Francisco's frenetic city government. We advised city residents how to find help for everything from towing abandoned cars to starting small businesses. A few summers earlier, I had witnessed a similar degree of reliance on government in Washington DC where I worked for the office of Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D - San Francisco).

In light of all that government does, I find it surprising that it has become such an unpopular institution. Last spring, I read a book called We're Right, They're Wrong by James Carville who makes the case that society urgently needs a pro-active government. He describes a series of federal programs ranging from the National Health Service Corps to the Direct Student Loan Program, which comprise the uncelebrated bedrock supporting the nation's health and stability. The notion that government's domestic role is both vital and irreplaceable, despite America's anti-government mood, resonates strongly with my own views. I believe that the vilification of the federal government that has become so popular in recent years is itself the real threat.

I see anti-government cynicism all around me. Most of the inner city youth I have worked with regard the government as little more than a conspiracy against them. It is the same at the San Francisco County Jail, where I am a volunteer teacher. None of the inmates in my class, many of whom have received federal assistance at one time, have the slightest faith in their government. Far from being an eccentricity of those at the bottom of the ladder, this feeling of distrust has become the norm and not the exception in America. It explains why Americans today are more likely to think of themselves as taxpayers instead of citizens. The large scale loss of faith in government greatly concerns me because I see it leading to the undoing of our sense of national unity and the decline of our ability to achieve social progress. As public confidence continues to erode, the government becomes steadily less inclined to play the kind of instrumental role in social change that it did during the civil rights movement or the struggle for child labor reform.

Clearly, the task of those of us in my generation who plan on going into public service is to win back America's faith in its government. I am coming to policy school largely because I want to be part of this effort and also because I believe there is a great deal the government can do when it comes to the issue that concerns me the most - renewing America's inner cities.

Much of my work experience in relation to urban poverty has been with youth. I spent most of this year working for a non-profit organization in San Rafael, CA providing an after school job-training program that allowed the disadvantaged kids to earn credits toward weekend trips to the outdoors. My job, which consisted of grant writing and supervising four staff and a pool of 125 volunteers was, for the most part, fulfilling. Despite being successful in providing opportunities for the Latino population we served, I was frustrated by the lack of cooperation between the agencies working to improve the community. Consequently, I felt our efforts had a limited impact. My experience there raised some questions for me about how to promote collaboration to have an effect that endures.

I hope to find some of the answers in policy school. When I visited the Kennedy School in November I noticed that most students have been seasoned by a few years of work experience before they come to the school. That appeals to me because, given the diversity of experience that I saw in the student body, I would have as much to learn from what my classmates have done as from the course work. I'm also drawn to the discussion-based classes and group projects because both are characteristics of an approach to education that has worked well for me both at Swarthmore and as a Coro Fellow.

On a more practical level, I am applying to policy school because I know that to be effective in public service, I will need to be equipped with a more extensive set of analytical skills than I now have. The Coro Fellowship taught me a great deal about how to understand complex organizational structures and to make the group process work. But I stand on shaky ground when it comes to analyzing economic models, for example. That is precisely the kind of skill that I believe will be crucial in working on the urban issues that I am interested in.

In addition to seeking new skills, I am applying to the Kennedy School in search of some intellectual refueling with people who are serious about learning and thinking about contemporary policy issues. My best ideas have been born in environments that foster meaningful discourse. I hope to find that kind of atmosphere at Harvard and to gain both a renewed understanding of the urban problems that concern me and a mastery of the tools that will make me proficient at working on them. Ultimately, through the results-oriented public service, I hope not only to improve the lives of those living in America's inner cities but to play a role in regaining the country's faith in its government.

David Hochschild
Essay #3

Last summer, with funding from a foundation in New York, I started the Blue Mountain Youth Leadership Program, a seven day course for boys, ages 15-17, from low-income families in New York City. The goal of the program, which I led with the help of two staff in the wilderness around Blue Mountain Lake, NY, was to create a powerful experience that would develop the self-confidence of the participants and offer an occasion for them to think and talk seriously about their life goals.

In my experience working with disadvantaged youth, I've found that in addition to growing up without material resources, many have a poverty of guidance. I see too many young people from inner city backgrounds who don't know what steps to take to achieve their goals. Even more have a low self-confidence in their ability to succeed. Starting this program was a chance for me to expand the envelope of what these boys thought was possible to do with their lives and to give them a clear picture of what it takes to reach ambitious goals.

Most of the participants, whom I recruited from four public high schools, came from single parent families in East Harlem. Few had spent any time outside of New York City. But all of them were eager to try this new experience. The theme that linked our discussions was leadership and some of the elements that comprise it - initiative, confidence, motivation and team work. We discussed the lives of people like former Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown, who grew up in Harlem, and others like him who had risen from impoverished neighborhoods to lead distinguished lives. One of the culminating exercises we had them do was to write a vision statement, in the form of a self-addressed letter, which we mailed back to them some months later. They took this very seriously. While it was certainly not the first time they had thought about their long-term future, it was a task they seemed to relish. Through these exercises, we tried to convey the message that where they are going matters more than where they are from.

One of the advantages of running the program in the wilderness is that it opens the doors to all kinds of discoveries. One night, I took two of the older boys, Marvin and Jose, out for a night canoe ride. With the composure that comes from being co-captains of their school's basketball team, both of them stand at about 6'2" and, I suspect, were even taller in the eyes of the other boys in the group. But on this evening, they looked awed. On nights in the Adirondacks when there is no wind and the skies are clear, the lake water creates a perfect reflection of the stars above. Sitting inside a canoe gives one the magical sensation of being suspended in space with stars above and below. As we floated in silence, I watched Marvin and Jose, thoroughly absorbed in the stillness. It struck me just how different this must seem to them, having only known the crowded, fast-paced urban life of New York. "*This is what it's all about*", Jose whispered as we paddled back.

Despite successes in engaging the boys in productive activities and discussions, I was frustrated by more practical obstacles like getting some of the less responsible members of the group to do necessary chores such as cooking. Consequently, we did a lot of talking about the responsibilities that are involved when one is part of a team. These problems improved as we began our three day canoeing and hiking trip for the final leg of the program. This chapter of the experience turned out to be quite a challenge. Trudging through heavy rain the first two days gave us the feeling that we might not be able to make it. But, in what turned out to be a fitting analogy to the message we were trying to convey

that week, we did make it, overcoming the obstacles presented by the weather. Finishing the trip, mud-soaked and exhausted, felt like what I have always imagined it would be like to win the Olympics. But the true meaning of the achievement for the boys did not become clear to me until we had our graduation ceremony on the last night.

Each student described how the experience had affected them. Jon, a thoughtful boy of Puerto Rican descent, said that at home he had wondered sometimes just how much he was capable of. He said after this week he knew he could do something incredible. Listening to these boys speak with such confidence and maturity inspired me because I saw that despite growing up amid poverty, crime and broken families, they had a spirit that could make them equal to the challenges ahead of them in life.

Only afterwards did it occur to me that this had turned out to be a leadership program for me as well. To see that the program had made an impact on at least a few lives boosted my confidence. It has had an influence on the course my life as well. Starting next week and continuing until I begin policy school next fall, I will be working for the President's Award, a national youth leadership program in South Africa under Nelson Mandela's office that provides job-training to the country's teenagers. If my experience there is half as fulfilling as the one I had this summer, I'll be happy.

John to meeting
WDR
Letterhead

TOPIC:

**MEETING WITH
CONGRESSIONAL
LEADERS ON TOBACCO**

DATE:

OCTOBER 1, 1997

LOCATION:

**DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION
ROOM**

TIME:

11:15 a.m.

FROM:

**BRUCE REED
JOHN HILLEY**

I. PURPOSE

The purpose of this meeting is to (1) set a bipartisan tone with Congress and (2) emphasize that tobacco legislation should be a top priority for the coming year.

II. BACKGROUND

The Administration is in a strong position to push tobacco legislation through Congress over the next year. Your announcement earlier this month united the public health community for the first time and attracted bipartisan support from the nation's attorneys general and many members of Congress. ~~The plan you described is simple and clear, and should command substantial public support, and our main adversary, the tobacco industry, should ultimately accede to our demands.~~

Nevertheless, any tobacco bill will have to make its way through a tangle of overlapping committee jurisdictions and agendas. At least six committees in the Senate and four in the House can lay claim to some piece of this legislation, and dozens of members in both parties have a longstanding interest in tobacco from the standpoint of reducing teen smoking or protecting tobacco farmers. Republicans in particular recognize the political potency of the President's plan, and are very nervous about being trapped into the appearance of defending the industry.

The first step must therefore be to reassure the leadership and key committee chairs like Rep. Bliley that the Administration is indeed serious about passing a bipartisan bill, and not just looking to sandbag them in an election year. The meeting with Congressional leaders, committee chairs, and ranking members is therefore an important opportunity to set the right tone from the outset: you are eager to work together to pass bipartisan legislation as early as possible next year, and we are ready to work in a collaborative fashion to get it done.

Our next step should be for representatives of the Administration (including Secretary Shalala, Secretary Glickman, John Hilley, and Bruce Reed), to meet with the key players in both parties over the remaining weeks of this session, to offer the Administration's expertise and to try

the VP, Erskine,

We're ^{offer Congress} offer an expertise and any other help ^{as you} in translating our principles into bipartisan. A. I'm happy to be of whatever technical help I can be in helping Congress draft legislation. I don't think there is any doubt where I stand. The five principles I set out ^{in my plan} are very clear. There is an argument both ways on whether submitting legislation would make this a more efficient bi-partisan enterprise or not. It didn't seem to work on health care. I am not about playing the ~~blame game~~ ^{blame game} here. I think ~~Members~~ ^{Members} should introduce legislation, hold hearings and move for votes and I will play as constructive a role as possible.

Q. When should a bill pass?

A. It is at the top of my agenda for ^{the coming} this year. There is nothing more important than saving thousands of children from taking up smoking. Three thousand are starting everyday.

Q. Will negotiations include industry?

A. The industry is a piece of this, but there isn't a need to negotiate with them.

Q. What is the role of the VPOTUS?

A. VPOTUS will take a leadership role in the legislation ^{Vice Pres} and in building public support for our plan.
_{The Vice Pres}

Q. Will you ~~accept~~ support limits on liability?

A. I've said repeatedly that a cap on liability ~~shouldn't~~ ^{shouldn't} be a dealbreaker for us. ~~But that's a high price to pay, and~~ we should make sure we're passing it ^{if we're going to do that,} a strong comprehensive plan to cut teen smoking.

This is the 1st time in I can remember Congress asking us to write the bill -

I recall a somewhat different reaction when we sent up legislation on health care.

Attached

1 1/2 pages

DRAFT

THE CHIEF OF STAFF

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: BRUCE REED

ELENA KAGAN

RE: TOBACCO STRATEGY AND WHITE HOUSE SUPPORT PLAN

DATE: SEPTEMBER 30, 1997

This memo ~~outlines~~ outlines a legislative and communications and legislative support for the passage of a tobacco bill containing the five policy elements described by the President on September 17, 1997. The strategy's objective is passage of the bill by early next year.

The plan has three components. First, it lays out a legislative strategy based on the principles that: the bill will require bi-partisan support for final passage; that there will be some opposition to the bill reaching the floor and therefore a sustained Administration message is required; and that the greatest dangers to the bill's passage are delay and opponents' ability to fragment consideration of the issue in various Committees. Second, this memorandum describes a communication strategy to counter Congressional inaction by emphasizing the following themes: children and the health damage they suffer via inaction; the bi-partisan nature of this effort; and the need for Congress to take this matter up promptly. Finally, this memorandum suggests an internal White House working group support structure to further this effort.

1. Goals and Legislative Strategy

This proposal seeks to optimize the opportunities for passage of comprehensive tobacco legislation that includes the President's principles by early next year. The five key elements of the President's plan are: (1) a comprehensive approach to reducing youth smoking including tough penalties if targets are not met; (2) full authority for FDA to regulate tobacco targets; (3) changes in the way the tobacco industry behaves in marketing and disclosure; (4) progress toward other public health goals; and (5) protection for tobacco farmers and their communities.

While we believe the goal of passage of comprehensive legislation is feasible, a successful strategy will have to account for various attacks that are likely to be employed by Opponents of the fact. We believe these arguments will be of three types. First, political opponents of the President have criticized the President for failing to submit full legislative language to Congress and blamed the President for any delay in passage of a bill. This has been the initial line of criticism following the President's announcement. Second, there is the possibility that opponents of an agreement will attempt to fragment and confuse the issues.

Nevertheless, any tobacco bill will have to make its way through a tangle of competing overlapping jurisdictions and agendas. At least six committees in the Senate and four in the House will take up can lay claim to some piece of this legislation, and many dozens of members in both parties have a longstanding interest in the industry, either in reducing teen smoking or protecting tobacco farmers. Republicans in particular recognize the political potency of the President's plan, and are very nervous about being trapped into the appearance of defending the industry. Our first step must therefore be to reassure the leadership and key committee chairs like Rep. Bliley that we are indeed serious about passing a bill bipartisan bill, and not just looking to sandbag

them in an election year. The Pres's mtg w/ Cong leaders, comm. chairs, & ranking members is an important opportunity to set the right tone from the start: we're eager to work together to pass bipartisan legis as early as possible next year, and we ~~are~~ are ready to work in a collaborative fashion to get it done.

Our next step should be ^{for Sen. Shalala, Sen. ~~Shalala~~ Glickman, and I} to ~~sit down~~ sit down ~~with~~ individually with the key players in both parties over the remaining weeks of this session, to offer the Admin's expertise and to ~~start~~ try to marshal bipartisan coalitions in both houses ~~to~~ to prepare bills for introduction in January. ~~It~~ It is too early to tell which members are ^{in the} best position to lead that effort. ~~Perhaps Bliley~~ ^{Bliley} is the key House Rep., Waxman ^{and} Fazio ~~are~~ are important House Dems; Hatch, Lugar, McCain, Jeffords, Mack, ~~and~~ Campbell, ~~are~~ ^{and} several ^{Rep.} moderates ~~are~~ may be helpful in the Senate; Conrad, Lautenberg, Kennedy, and others are strong ~~to~~ Sen. Dems. Ideally, we can lay the groundwork for a center-at coalition in the Senate, along the lines of Hatch-Kennedy or the Breach-Chafee group, and work closely with Bliley, Waxman, and others in the House.

~~The~~ Senate comm. have already held several hearings on tobacco over the past three months. Sen. Shalala testified before Jeffords' Comm last week. The House may hold hearings ^{in Nov-Dec.} after adjournment.

~~Our~~ Our goal should be to forge a bipartisan vehicle we can endorse in January, and to make ~~tobacco~~ ^{that} legis a central focus of next yrs' SOTU.

INSERT opponents graph from p. 1

eventually permitting perhaps only restricted portions of a bill to advance following lengthy hearings. Finally, opponents of legislation may ^{focus on the points} make substantive attacks such as a law would not adequately protect farmers, that it might lead to restrictions on class action suits, or that it represents a windfall to lawyers. ^{legal fees.}

The Administration has a number of arguments to deploy in response to these expected attacks. The strongest argument, and one supported by research data, indicates that the public is particularly frustrated by partisan bickering in the tobacco dispute, and anxious for solutions that will protect America's children. In addition, this President has a strong history of leadership on smoking issues and can draw upon that legacy in future disagreements with Congress.

The following chronology indicates the sequence in which these arguments might be played out, and the corresponding type of action that the Administration should be prepared to take.

- a). POTUS announces principles for legislation. (Review of Agreement. Completed).
- b). Outreach to Congressional leaders indicating Administration commitment to passing a bill. (On-going).
- c). Public meeting with POTUS/VPOTUS and congressional leaders-- public statement that bill is important to country and should be top priority of next year. (Scheduled for October 1, 1997).
- d). Congressional Action. Hearings begin, many pieces of legislation are introduced-- some bills are comprehensive, others are more limited. (Hearings have begun with Administration witnesses. Few bills introduced as yet).
- e). Administration Action. Administration urges adherence to principles outlined by President. POTUS/VPOTUS events emphasizing need for action-- involve children, farmers, second-hand smoke science. POTUS urges issue not be fragmented and a comprehensive piece of legislation be passed. (VPOTUS has completed one event and has tentative plans for 3 regional events. POTUS to give statement at October 1st event. On-going).
- f). Congressional Action Continues. Larger coalitions coalesce around Senatorial leaders on issue (Kennedy/Hatch likely to emerge as key Senatorial leaders) and House chairman (Rep. Bliley key House Republican).
- g) Administration Endorsements. Administration uses following options to maintain progress of legislation: private meetings to encourage coalitions of legislators and encourage useful combinations of bills, public comment on aspects of pending legislation to indicate support; public comment/events to indicate criticism of pace of progress or negative direction of bill.

h) Congressional Vote Taking. Bills reach committee and floor. (Options for Presidential involvement include Presidential statement, SAP, or invitations to leaders to WH to coordinate/ resolve disputes.)

II. Communications Strategy

Over at least the next several months the crucial communications issue will be encouraging Congress to take up the issue of tobacco. At the initial event on October 1st we recommend emphasizing arguments that suggest it is in Congress' interest to move the legislation and to set a general timetable for action. The twin arguments that achieve this are stressing the bi-partisan source of the concern-- children-- and the need for prompt action.

The President's comments could be structured according the themes of bi-partisanship and the need for quick action, using the following talking points.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|--|
| I. | Welcome. | Glad so many members could come. Demonstrates the breadth of interest. |
| II. | Crucial issue for America's future. | Thousands of kids start everyday. Not about money. |
| III. | Shouldn't be a political issue. | Need for bi-partisanship. |
| IV. | Outline crucial elements for bill. | Reduce teen smoking w/penalties, full authority for FDA to regulate tobacco, change tobacco marketing, broad document disclosure, progress toward other health goals (second hand smoke), protect farmers and their communities. |
| V. | Need for Prompt Action. | This is top of country's agenda. Let's agree we should get it done by next year. |
| VI. | Working Together. | Complex legislation, affects many people, many states. Recognize Congress will hold hearings, but this is too important for us not to get done. |

As suggested above, either during the meeting or in meeting with the press the President

VP town halls
Mtg w/
public health
groups
work w/ other
proponents of
tobacco legis.
who are
planning
free and paid media
campaigns.
SOTU
will mkg w/ tobacco st
members + farmers

is likely to be pressed as to why he didn't submit complete legislation. We suggest the President stress that he set out his priorities for the bill. The five principles he set out are clear. And that Congress should act and hold hearings and get a bill to the floor.

Other likely questions include:

Q. When should a bill pass?

A. It should be at the top of the agenda for this year. There is nothing more important than saving thousands of children from taking up smoking. Three thousands are starting everyday.

Q. Is POTUS just playing politics with this? Why didn't he show leadership?

A. He's taken this issue on from the first, and taken the issue this far, and is confident we will get a resolution of the issue. we will get a bill by working together.

Q. Will negotiations include industry?

A. The industry is a piece of this, but there isn't a need to negotiate with them.

Q. What is the role of the VPOTUS?

A. VPOTUS will take a leadership role in the legislation.

III. White House Structure and Next Steps

Over the next several months the primary actions that the Administration will be required to take are legislative-- to encourage hearings and development of appropriate legislation-- and communications oriented-- to scheduling events to maintain public awareness of the issue. The following structure and working groups have been meeting to plan and develop these operations.

We have already begun holding weekly strategy and communications mtgs on tobacco.

~~Bruce Reed and Elena Kagan of the DPC are coordinating the Administration's response.~~

~~The primary tobacco planning meeting is the Tobacco Strategy Group. It has begun meeting every Thursday.~~ The meeting includes representatives from the DPC, NEC, HHS, VPOTUS, OPL, Intergovernmental Affairs, CEA, Legislative Affairs, Treasury, USDA, and DOJ. The function of the group is to coordinate policy and event planning.

The DPC also holds regular meetings with VPOTUS staff for event scheduling and strategy.

we plan to hold regular
~~In addition there are two weekly telephone conference calls, first with Mike Moore's~~
~~group including (Moore, Scruggs, and Coate), the second with members of the public health~~
~~group including Kessler, Koop, Myers, and leading health organizations such as the American~~
and for mtgs w/ the AGs and with

Heart Association, the American Medical Association, the American Cancer Society. ^{ad} ~~These~~
~~meetings will include the VP staff and HHS.~~ ^

Finally, the DPC will hold specific meetings on legislative, communications, and rapid response issues as they arise.