

THE WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF DOMESTIC POLICY
JUL 25 1990

CAROL H. RASCO
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

To: Pat

Draft response for POTUS and forward to CHR by: _____

Draft response for CHR by: _____

Please reply directly to the writer (copy to CHR) by: _____

Please advise by: _____

Let's discuss: _____

For your information: _____

Reply using form code: _____

File: _____

Send copy to (original to CHR): _____

Schedule ? : Accept Pending Regret

Designee to attend: _____

Remarks: Call & tell Kevin I thoughtfully employed reading the paper on the OPC & thank him for sending me a copy. Tell him to

regret very much we
have no positions on DPC
but I will certainly
pass along his resume
to Personnel. Wish him the
best fame.

File resume under

Resumes; copy under "DPC"
Pr

July 14, 1994

Ms Carol Rasco
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Policy
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Rasco:

Enclosed is a copy of the Independent Study of the Domestic Policy Council that Jennifer Cable and I did last semester at Gettysburg College. Without your help and the help to your staff it could never have come about, we both thank you very much. I have since graduated from Gettysburg and have been pursuing a position in Washington D.C.

Last year I was an intern with the Treasury Department's Legislative Affairs office and the previous I worked for a "think tank" developing programs about congressional functions. Education and legislative affairs are issues that interest me and in which I would like to begin working. I also have a comprehensive knowledge of the U.S. criminal justice system and the challenges which face the U.S. every day. I believe that I could be very effective in any position relating to these issues.

If you have any information or know of any opportunities which may be available I would very greatly appreciate any assistance you could give me in my job search. I realize that you are very busy and, however if you could give my resume some consideration I believe that you can see my drive and ambition. I am hard working and a quick learner.

If you have any questions please call me at P6/(b)(6).
Once again thank you and I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,



Kevin MacMillan

File: APC

The Domestic Policy Council of the
Clinton Administration

By:

Kevin MacMillan and Jennifer Cable

Independent Study Project For: Dr. Shirley Ann Warshaw

May 9, 1994

I have neither given nor received any unauthorized aid; nor have
I witnessed any violation of the Honor Code.

The office of Domestic Policy was created during the Nixon Administration in the 1970's. Over the years it has changed in size and structure, but the concept has remained the same, to have an office within the White House to deal with the domestic policy issues of the United States. In the past twenty-one years, through six Administrations, the office has expanded and branched out from its inception. There have been both highly successful and almost ineffectual domestic policy offices. From very formal organizational styles to fluid open systems the operating structure of the domestic policy office has changed with every Administration.

This paper will focus on the Domestic Policy Council (DPC) in the Clinton Administration. We will examine the formulation of this office during the transition as well as the continued changes that have been occurring in the DPC. We will also look at the major players in this process and their backgrounds. Interaction between the Departmental and the White House staff as well as the relationship between the Cabinet Secretaries and the Cabinet-rank members of the DPC will be evaluated. The policy development process and the "new style" of leadership that President Clinton has developed will be explored and scrutinized. During our research we spoke several members of the Clinton DPC including the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, Carol Rasco, and several of her deputies. This Administration has not only proposed to radically improve the state of society with such

initiatives as Health Care reform; but has attempted to do so with an entirely new structured and styled DPC.

PLANNING FOR THE DPC

Welfare reform, Health Care for all, Crime Prevention, Affordable Education... these are the issues that the Clinton Campaign were founded on and ultimately were elected on. Once Bill Clinton was elected, these were the commitments that the Administration was bound to uphold during its first years in office. The DPC was established to work on these issues, and to get them passed into law. During the transition, there were a few select individuals who were mandated to formulate the DPC and to decide how to pursue the issues promised during the campaign. Conversations with members of past Administration, including Stu Eisenstat, the Carter DPC Director, members of Congressional offices, and special interest groups were conducted in order to examine the development and structure of past offices, and begin planning the new one. In addition, a working manual was compiled that focused on the domestic policy agenda. Current members of the DPC that played an important role in establishing and developing the Council were Carol Rasco, Bruce Reed, Bill Galston, Jose Cerda, and Paul Weinstein.

The transition team decided to incorporate all the policy

making bodies within the White House under the title of the Office of Policy Development (OPD). This office was then broken into three specific areas, the DPC, the National Economic Council (NEC), and Environmental Policy. The establishment of a separate office for economic issues "enabled the DPC to focus on more specific issues."¹ Now the DPC no longer has to deal with the economic aspect of domestic policy, a more focused domestic policy agenda could now be developed. Issues that involve both economic and domestic policy attention are dealt with through joint cooperation between the two offices. Although there are separate offices and spheres for each Council, they remain close and continue to work together on policy development. The NEC and the DPC share not only authority over some issues, but their staff are headquartered in the same hallway of the Old Executive Office Building (OEOB), and some even share office space; thus creating a collegial atmosphere and an ability to work together and communicate on issues without territorial disputes.

THE DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL

The membership of the DPC is another aspect that has changed in this Administration. In the past, only Cabinet Secretaries sat on the Council and chaired the meetings in the absence of the

¹ Phone Interview with Bruce Reed, April 22, 1994.

President or Vice President. President Clinton has decided that in addition to Cabinet Secretaries, there are the new Cabinet-rank appointees and several other White House staff members on the Council as well. The members of the Council, according to the Executive Order establishing the council, are: the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of Agriculture- Mike Espy, the Secretary of Commerce- Ron Brown, the Secretary of Education- Richard Riley, the Secretary of Health and Human Services- Donna Shalala, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development- Henry Cisneros, the Secretary of the Interior- Bruce Babbitt, the Attorney General- Janet Reno, the Secretary of Labor- Robert Reich, the Secretary of Transportation- Fredrico Pena, the Secretary of Treasury- Lloyd Bentsen, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs- Jesse Brown, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency- Laura Tyson, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget- Leon Panetta, the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy- Carol Rasco, the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy- Robert Rubin, the Assistant to the President and the Director of the Office of National Service- Eli Segal, the Senior Advisor to the President for Policy Development- Ira Magaziner, the Director of National Drug Control Policy- Lee Brown, and finally the National AIDS Policy Coordinator- Christine Gebble.² As we have noted above this addition of non Cabinet level staff is a new twist to the structure of the DPC.

² Federal Yellow Book, Fall 1993, p. 1-25.

The creation of the Cabinet-rank offices was done because Clinton felt that their positions should have elevated status, as the issues were extremely important in this Administration³. These people give the "opportunity for those specific issues to be highlighted and to be part of the conversation going on among the Cabinet agencies. Without them, the Secretaries would not have the time or the energy to focus on those particular issues in the level that one would hope."⁴ This is another reason why these members are on the Council. The additionally members of the White House staff have also been named to the Council because "the staffers on the Council are a genuine working part of the group, and had to be included."⁵

The Council serves as a forum where the Cabinet Secretaries and Cabinet-rank officials who have an interest in domestic issues meet periodically in order to make sure that everyone knows what is going on in all of the other Departments⁶. It is an opportunity for the Cabinet Secretaries who implement and oversee policy to communicate with and comment to the White House staff inside the gates that design the policy. The DPC is designed to reduce the inherent tension between those who develop and those who execute policy. The Council brings these two sides together to produce policy options for the President that effectively achieve the goals

³ Phone Interview with Bill Galston, April 15, 1994.

⁴Phone Interview with Kathi Way, April 15, 1994.

⁵Interview with Carol Rasco, April 24, 1994.

⁶ Phone Interview with Bruce Reed, April 22, 1994.

of the Administration, and will be enacted into law by Congress.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DPC

The Executive Order that created the DPC also specifies that, "The President, or upon his direction, the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy (the Assistant), may convene meetings of the Council. The President shall preside over the meetings of the Council, provided that in his absence the Vice President, and in his absence the Assistant, will preside."⁷ We have learned through our research that the President has only presided over one DPC meeting however he does occasionally pass through during the meetings. The Vice President has never chaired a DPC meeting thus Carol Rasco has been the usual chairperson. This too is a vast departure in that we have discovered in past Administrations a member of the Cabinet would preside at these meetings. One would be lead to believe that this may cause some tension and rivalry between the Cabinet members and the staff, however according to the White House this is not so.

The functions of the Council will be, "(a) the principal functions of the Council are: (1) to coordinate the domestic policy-making process; (2) to coordinate domestic policy advice to

⁷Executive Order #12895, August 17, 1993.

the President; (3) to ensure that domestic policy decisions and programs are consistent with the Presidents stated goals, and to ensure that those goals are being effectively pursued; and (4) to monitor implementation of the President's domestic policy agenda. The Assistant may take such actions, including drafting a Charter, as may be necessary or appropriate to implement such functions."⁸ The Executive Order continues to state that all domestic policy must go through the Council and that the Council will operate through "established or ad hoc committees, task forces or interagency groups."⁹ These have come to be known as working groups, and are established on an ad hoc basis.

The Domestic Policy Council meets bi-weekly usually every other Monday from 5:30 to 6:30, in the Roosevelt Room of the White House. These meetings usually last approximately an hour, thus they are not really policy development meetings, but rather a chance to make sure the lines of communication are open. These are basically information sharing meetings and give the opportunity for the DPC members to discuss overlapping issues. It is interesting to note that sitting on the DPC is every Cabinet Secretary except for the Secretaries of Defense and State, and that full Cabinet meetings are usually held only once a month, however there is no set schedule for cabinet meetings. Also the President usually presides over the full Cabinet meetings. Thus it seems as if the DPC would almost take the place of a Cabinet meeting. Because most

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

of the domestic policy information sharing is already done full cabinet meetings probably focus more on foreign policy rather than domestic policy, and give the cabinet members a chance for some media attention.

The Vice President does not usually attend the DPC meetings, however his chief of staff, Jack Quinn, is usually in attendance and he does have two aides that concentrate specifically on domestic policy, Gregory Simon and Elaine Kamarack. They are always invited to attend and participate in the policy formulation process. The office of the Vice President on domestic policy works closely together with the White House DPC staff to develop policy and examine all options. "Reinventing" government and environmental policy issues are matters that the Vice President is most concerned with and always involved in. The involvement of the Vice President in policy development in the Clinton Administration is, for the first time, one of participation and responsibility. This is a dramatic change from any of the past Administrations, in that there was little if any involvement by the Vice President or his staff in the decision making process of the White House.

STAFF BACKGROUND

The staff of the DPC is headed up by Carol Rasco, the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy. Ms. Rasco has been

called a determinedly low profile domestic policy advisor, who doesn't bother much to network. She may not need to network because of her close relationship with the President. Ms. Rasco has worked for Clinton in various positions on his gubernatorial administrations over the last ten years. She received her B.A. in psychology from the University of Arkansas. Ms. Rasco is the highest ranking woman in the Clinton Administration and it is believed that she is the person that can best gauge how the President will react to a policy proposal.¹⁰ Ms. Rasco is described as more attuned to process-knowing what information Clinton will need and devising a strategy for legislative success than to the particulars of policy outcomes. No ideological label fits her, a former colleague said, describing her as "not a creator of policy. She is much more an implementer."¹¹ Prior to working with then Governor Clinton Ms. Rasco taught in the Arkansas public schools and lobbied in Arkansas for the rights of the disabled. To counter press reports that Ms. Rasco was only given the job because of the President's drive for diversity, Clinton described her as "the only person I ever seriously considered."¹² Other than overseeing the daily operations of the DPC, Ms. Rasco usually meets about two times a week with the President to keep him informed on policies being pursued and their status.

These weekly meetings between the President and Ms. Rasco are

¹⁰ National Journal, June, 19, 1993, p. 1462.

¹¹ National Journal, January 23, 1993. p210.

¹² Ibid

yet another unprecedented addition to the organization of the White House and the DPC. During these meetings, depending on the issues, Ms. Rasco will occasionally invite members of her staff to attend these meetings, when that person is the one who will follow up on the President's suggestions, "so that facts and opinions don't have to go through someone else."¹³ Usually one of the Senior Aides to the President are in attendance at these meetings, but that also varies with the issue and schedule of each aide.

Under Carol Rasco are the two Deputy Assistants for Domestic Policy, William Galston and Bruce Reed. Dr. Galston is an academic from the University of Maryland. He received his B.A. from Cornell and his M.A. and Phd. from the University of Chicago. Dr. Galston has worked on four presidential campaigns, and has written several books on public policy. He is in charge of such issues as national service, education, job training and children and families.¹⁴ Bruce Reed attended Princeton University and became a Rhodes Scholar. He served as deputy campaign manager for policy in the 1992 election, and was also policy director at the Democratic Leadership Committee where he met Bill Clinton when Mr. Clinton was chairman of that organization. Mr. Reed focuses on welfare reform, campaign financing, crime and drugs, urban problems and "reinventing" government.¹⁵

Kathi Way and Jennifer Klein are the two Special Assistants to

¹³Interview with Carol Rasco, April 24, 1994.

¹⁴ National Journal, June 19, 1993 p. 1465

¹⁵ Ibid.

the President for Domestic Policy, the next level of staff on the DPC. Previously, Ms. Way worked for the Governor of Delaware for seven years, and then the National Governors Association, which is where she met President Clinton. Although she is a Republican, she is loyal to the President and to achieving the mandate of this Administration. Ms. Way focuses on welfare reform, agriculture, children and families, labor and health care issues. Ms. Klein graduated from Brown University and then Columbia Law School. After practicing law for several years in New York, she came to Washington to work primarily on health care reform with the First Lady's office.¹⁶

There are eight Senior Policy Analysts who each have specific area issues that they primarily focus on within the Council. Brian Elliot attended Brown University and then became an attorney; he is involved with the environmental issues. Jose Cerda worked on the campaign for Clinton, and deals with issues concerning crime and drugs. Both Christine Heenan and Lynn Margherio work primarily on health care reform issues. Michael (Mike) Schmidt is a detailee from OPM who is working on the Council for the year. Donsia Strong is an attorney who used to work for the Judiciary Committee and specializes on the immigration issues. Paul Weinstein, Jr. also used to work on Capitol Hill, and was on Gore's staff before coming to the Council. Jeremy Ben-Ami is the newest addition to the staff of the DPC and is a detailee from HHS. He focuses on issues primarily dealing with welfare reform, aging/social security, and

¹⁶Phone Interview with Jennifer Klein, May 2, 1994.

homelessness.

Senior Advisor to the President for Policy Development, Ira Magaziner, has a B.A. from Brown University and is a Rhodes Scholar. Before joining this Administration, he was a business consultant and currently heads up health care reform. He is expected to guide future policies for this Administration.¹⁷ Mr. Magaziner is in close contact with the office of the First Lady concerning health care issues and is the main strategist for this issue. He doesn't have to report directly to Ms. Rasco and has direct access to the President with regard to this issue. This position is another aspect of the new styled DPC in that Mr. Magaziner sits as a member of the DPC, but is also a member of the DPC staff.

"Personal friendships with a lot of people made a huge difference to me," said a White House aide who worked in Clinton's campaign. "In a fluid place, where we are trying to do a lot, I think these relationships...are important." They serve as channels of conversation and counsel beyond those dictated by job descriptions, and they are often the source for the shifting alliances that are needed internally to get anything done.¹⁸

¹⁷ National Journal. June 19, 1993. p 1462-3.

¹⁸ National Journal, January 24, 1994. p 256.

STAFF ROLES

The structure of the staff of the Council is very informal and the members tend to act on their specific areas of expertise. "The individual members on the council are given substantial responsibility to act on their own because there is a very cumbersome process."¹⁹ The "discretion of the staff members is relied upon greatly to report to their superiors when there is a questionable item... in order to ensure that the President is not put in a tight spot,"²⁰ because they are always acting as a representative of the office of the President, strong emphasis is placed on the personal judgement of the staff to ensure that there are no conflicts within the White House.

Senior Advisors to the President, such as George Stephanopoulos, David Gergen, Bruce Lindsay and Chief of Staff, Mack McLarty all have roles in the development of policy. They are always invited to attend the meetings of the DPC and sub-Cabinet briefings. They will be in attendance on occasion or they will send a representative, "it depends on the issue and the stage of development."²¹ "They are usually aware of the policy development that is going on in all three councils on pretty much a daily basis."²² Every morning there is a senior staff meeting where they are informed about developments in the policies being pursued and

¹⁹ Phone Interview with Bill Galston, April 15, 1994.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Phone Interview with Carol Rasco, April 25, 1994.

²² Ibid.

at what stages they are in. "They have the option of weighing in on issues of particular concern."²³ Bruce Lindsay is the least involved in the domestic policy process of the three senior advisors closest to the President. These men usually are consulted in development of a policy when it is of direct personal concern to the President, or if something needs to be immediately addressed by the President.

Since the DPC meetings are to mainly held to keep the lines of communication open then it is in the working groups that the real policy development takes place. Working groups are formed around specific issues as they develop, and are very informal. They are made up of people on the Council from various Departments that "are going to be involved with that issue, in order that they have some say in the matter before it comes under their jurisdiction."²⁴ The Assistant also assigns who will be on the different working groups as they arise. The goal of the groups "is recognition by the President that people who have to carry out the policy should help design it, so that policy doesn't come out of the White House that the agencies don't like, didn't have any say in, and now must to monitor."²⁵ Each working group varies in the frequency of the meetings, the number of people on the group, and the length of time the group will last; they are all tailored to the specific situation they represent.

²³ Phone interview with Bill Galston, April 15, 1994.

²⁴ Interview with Carol Rasco, April 24, 1994.

²⁵ Phone Interview with Bruce Reed, April 22, 1994.

WORKING GROUPS

Working groups are "formed with a specific goal in mind to come up with legislation to accomplish that goal. Once that goal is reached and the legislation is passed, the working group will cease to exist."²⁶ For example there is a working group on Welfare reform that has thirty-three members from various agencies, and three Co-Chairs. The Chairmen are Bruce Reed, the Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, and two Assistant Secretaries from the Department of Health and Human Services. "All three of the Chairs guide the work of the working group, and they ultimately they report to Rasco who, in turn, reports to the President. As the process is played out, the interim products and recommendations are presented to the Council members for their consideration and input, and then are presented to the President, also on an interim basis."²⁷ These working groups are where the experts and "policy wonks" thrive developing ideas that can be implemented by the Administration. The working groups are encouraged to develop several options to be considered for implementation. These groups usually meet in the OEOB or the departmental offices, depending where they can find an available conference room.

Once a decision has been made by the President, that idea then returns to the DPC so the staff may go to Congress, "to work with the Members, their staff, and the Committee staff getting

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷Phone Interview with Bill Galston, April 15, 1994.

feedback."²⁸ When the proposal is close to introduction, meetings become very frequent to set the strategy for passage by the legislative affairs. Once the legislation is introduced, the DPC is "respectful that it then becomes a process within Congress and [they] leave it to the designated people in the White House. [The DPC] staff takes more of a lead in policy development, but once the bill is written and particularly once it is sent up to the Hill, then it becomes a priority of the legislative affairs office."²⁹ According to former Carter Congressional Liaison, this is "exactly how the process should work, it is textbook organizational material."³⁰ The White House strategy to ensure passage differs depending on the policy being pursued. One example is the different levels of Congressional participation in the working groups. There was a high level of Congressional involvement in the health care reform working group, while there was very little with regard to the welfare reform working group. "White House staff look at the Hill as mostly a necessary evil that needs to be dealt with. But without some serious consultation the proposal, no matter how 'good' will be DOA if you piss off the Chairman."³¹

²⁸Phone Interview with Carol Rasco, April 25, 1994.

²⁹Ibid

³⁰Phone Interview with Bill Cable, May 3, 1994.

³¹Ibid.

PRESIDENTIAL STYLE OF LEADERSHIP

After all of the choices are thoroughly examined and weighed at both the working group level and have been passed through Ms. Rasco, the options then go to President Clinton. The President likes to examine different plans and select from the options, often not agreeing to one plan in its entirety, but combining aspects of a variety into a final plan, in order to ensure that the plan best accomplishes the goals set. "The President has always been his own principle domestic and economic policy advisor."³² This is another departure we have noticed from past Administrations that would present sleek and finished policies to the president with almost no availability for change throughout the process.

The President takes an active role in policy development and according to his aides, is the "the prime policy maker on any given issue, no question about it."³³ Additionally Clinton is "so engaged in domestic and economic policy, the Council is there to make the best recommendations to him, not to be a delegated decision making authority. That, in turn, makes the policy councils more central to the day to day operations of the White House than they have been in the past."³⁴ "It is better to present a proposal and be willing to change" than have a proposal set in stone and not get anything passed.³⁵ The important issue

³²Phone Interview with Bruce Reed, April 22, 1994.

³³Phone Interview with Bruce Reed, April 22, 1994.

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵Interview with Carol Rasco, April 24, 1994.

one must understand however, from the White House's perspective, is whether it's worth it to "fight tooth and nail for an issue and maybe not have it pass, or [to realize] that what is presented for signature is better than nothing."³⁶ This style of leadership that Clinton uses "fits well with the legislative process that has evolved during this Administration."³⁷ The press often calls this waffling or indecisiveness, however according to White House aides the President really wants to understand all aspects of an issue in order to make a judgement.

CONCLUSION

In examining the Domestic Policy Council in the Clinton Administration, we have looked at past DPCs, the current DPC staff, and the organization of the policy development process.

We have seen many new directions in the policy making process in this Administration. The separation of the NEC and the DPC into two autonomous bodies enables both Councils to specialize on their particular policy areas. The addition of White House staff to the DPC, Ira Magaziner, Carol Rasco, Robert Rubin, and Eli Segal, is unprecedented. Also, the fact that Ms. Rasco, not a Cabinet Secretary, chairs the DPC meetings in the absence of the President

³⁶Ibid

³⁷Ibid

and Vice President, shows us that the White House wants to ensure that control of the DPC and its agenda rest with the President and not with the Cabinet. The expansion of the DPC to include Cabinet-rank officials and other Presidential appointees, such as Carol Browner, Laura Tyson, Leon Panetta, Lee Brown, and Christine Gebbie, shows that these offices and the issues they represent receive special consideration by this Administration. Now not only members of the Cabinet, but other administration officials have the opportunity to formulate as well as implement policies. Finally participation by the Vice President in the decision making process proves that the President is willing to share power and responsibility in this Administration. For the first time, the Vice President is a partner in the process, rather than a figurehead and mouthpiece.

Recently the DPC has been through several changes in its daily operations. For its first year in office, the development of the Clinton Administration non-economic domestic policy had an ad-hoc flavor, with Cabinet officials and their chief aides moving in and out of the White House for irregularly scheduled meetings. Part of this frenzied process was due to the pre-occupation of developing a health care bill, though some also attribute the management style to a Democratic White House not accustomed to governing.³⁸

According to a number of senior White House officials, the process in the White House has now evolved to more closely resemble the system used in past Republican Administrations. As one

³⁸ The White House Bulletin. April 19, 1994.

indicator of change in the domestic policy formulation, the DPC is now meeting on a more regular basis. "In the first year we had so many DPC people over here so often working with us on different policy areas that intersected, that we didn't have the first full DPC meeting until the end of the first year." Another senior White House official said, "last year some of the policies such as health care, were commanding so much time on a near daily basis that everybody was seeing each other anyway. This year there is a need for a more orderly approach to make sure those Secretaries share thoughts on continuing policy development. So as a result there is a bit more structure this year than last."³⁹

Other changes include weekly lunches with the Cabinet Secretaries and members of the White House staff. Cabinet members are broken down into broad subject areas including economic policy, foreign policy, human resources policy, environmental, natural resources and energy policy. "These are just private working lunches," explained Ms. Rasco. "They are just times to visit about going on issues. They are not policy making lunches." This is simply another way keeping clear the lines of communication between the White House and the Cabinet Secretaries.⁴⁰

The Clinton Domestic Policy Council has both positive and negative features to it. It seems to us that during the transition there was little planning for the organization and structure of the DPC, in fact it took a full seven months for the executive order

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

establishing the DPC to be announced. We see the focus was on the few issues promised during the campaign, and the jurisdictions for other issues were not designated. Also what seems to be an inconsistent strategy by the White House for passage of policies may have a negative effect on future legislative initiatives. These two elements may be the result of a young Administration not used to governing and staff who are unfamiliar with the inner-workings of Washington. With experience and a willingness to change, which we have seen, these negative aspects may be diminished.

Carol Rasco is a major benefit to the DPC, her experience with working with Clinton and her willingness to work within the system and acceptance of change is an additional advantage to the White House. In our meetings with Ms. Rasco we have seen that she is very personable in nature, yet has the political savvy to succeed in Washington. She heads a very able and highly skilled staff that is both committed to the President's agenda and that of the people of the United States. The familiarity of the staff with one another and their ability to work both independently and as a team helps keep the DPC running smoothly. There are minimal turf wars inside the White House because of these established friendships and acquaintances. The active involvement of the Vice President in the decision making process is another positive change, because there is more of a team effort coming out of the White House to accomplish the mutual goals. The major involvement of the White House staff in the development of the policies and also in the

development of legislation is a good sign for the future of this Administration because it ensures that the agenda is set by the President, and not by the various Cabinet Secretaries who have diverse loyalties and specialties. The additional members of Cabinet-rank in this Administration ensure that a variety of angles and perspectives are examined in a way that has never before been done by a President. All of these pieces of the process are typical of the attitude of this Administration, and the willingness to change. According to Ms. Rasco, "bureaucracies must be fluid or they become stereotypical bureaucracies."⁴¹ The DPC has to always be ready to modify its structure, and will continue to do so in the future. More change for this Administration can be expected, to adjust to new Congressional styles after the elections. Carol Rasco is quick to quote the President in saying that, "democracy is change." That's what this Administration is all about, and that is what will enable the Domestic Policy Council to be successful.

⁴¹ Interview with Carol Rasco, April 24, 1994.

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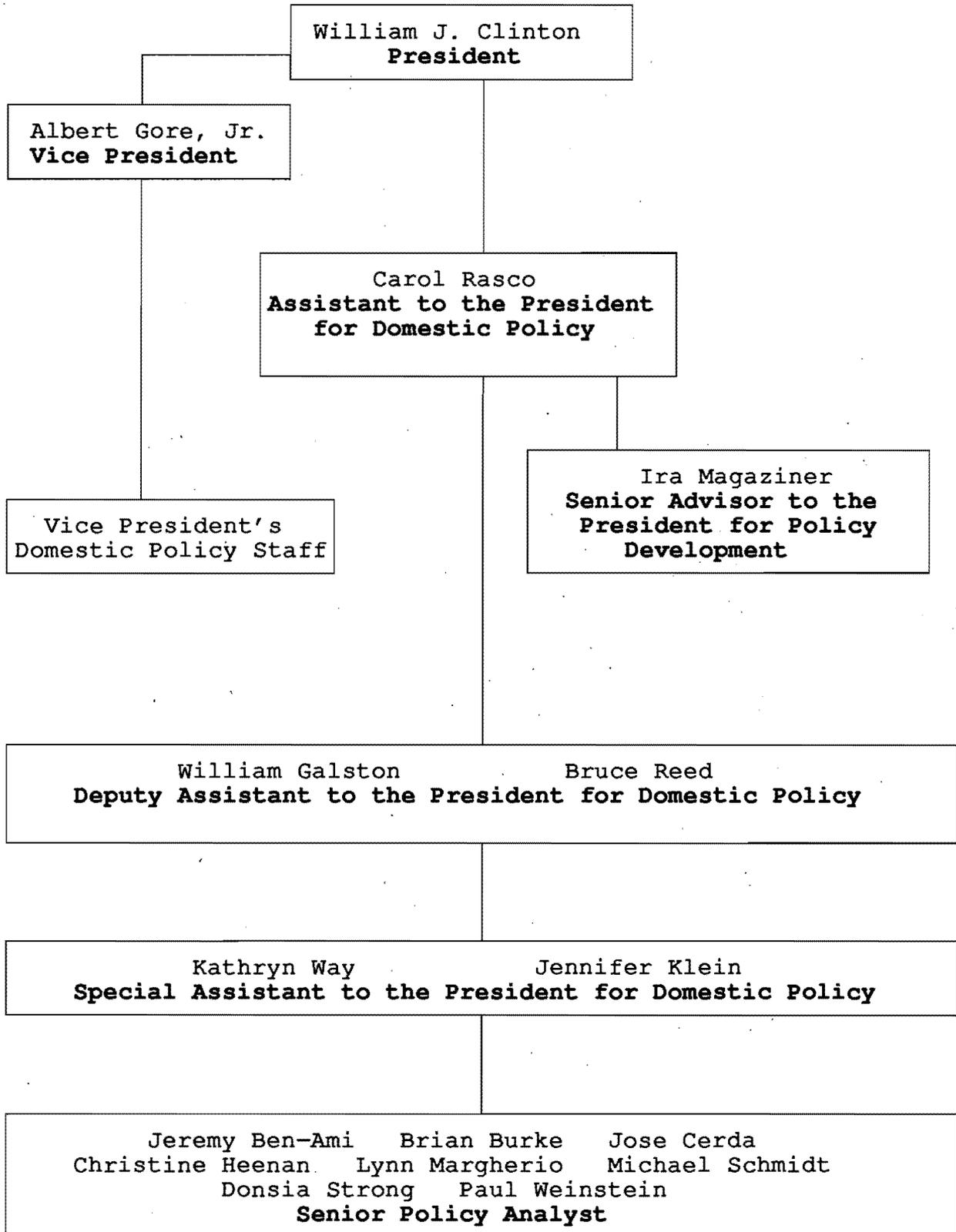
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PROPOSED WHITE HOUSE STAFF STRUCTURE OF THE DPC (May 1994)



File: DPC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 17, 1994

To: DPC Staff
From: Jeremy Ben-Ami 
Subject: Director's budget Review Schedule

The following is the schedule of DPC attendance at Alice Rivlin's budget briefings. As I mentioned, we can only send one representative to each, so if you cannot attend, please let the alternate know so that we make full use of this limited opportunity. Also, if issues come up that would be of interest to other DPC staff, please keep them posted.

Monday October 24

10 am	Economic and Budget Review I	RASCO
- 11:30	(alternate: GALSTON)	
12:30	Economic and Budget Review II	RASCO
- 2:00	(alternate: GALSTON)	

Tuesday October 25

10 am	Fixed Asset Review	_____
2 pm	Trade Promotion Crosscut	_____

Wednesday October 26

10 am	Discretionary - OPM and EXOP	BEN-AMI
2-4 pm	Discretionary - Disaster Relief/FEMA	_____

Thursday October 27

10-12	Discretionary - Environmental	BURKE
2-4	Discretionary - Interior, Corps (alternate: SCHMIDT)	BURKE

Friday October 28

10-12 Discretionary - Drugs, Justice REED

2-4 Discretionary - Urban cross cut REED
(alternate: WEINSTEIN)

Monday October 31

10-12 Discretionary - ETR Crosscut, DOL GALSTON

Tuesday November 1

10-12 Discretionary - Treasury, SBA WEINSTEIN

1:30-3:30 Discretionary - Energy BURKE

Wednesday November 2

10-12 Discretionary - Agriculture, EPA GALSTON
(alternate: BURKE)

1:30-3:30 Discretionary: Commerce/GSA WEINSTEIN

Thursday November 3

10-12 Discretionary - HHS GALSTON
(alternate: BEN-AMI)

2-4 Discretionary - HHS GALSTON
(alternate: BEN-AMI)

Friday November 4

10-12 Discretionary - Infrastructure SCHMIDT

Monday November 7

10-12 Discretionary - Education GALSTON

Tuesday November 8

10-12 Discretionary - R & D crosscut _____

Wednesday November 9

10-12 Discretionary - VA BEN-AMI

2-4 Discretionary - HUD WEINSTEIN
(alternate: BEN-AMI)

Thursday November 10

10-12 Defense I
2-4 Defense II

Tuesday November 15

10-12 Summary of Investment Decisions RASCO
(alternates: GALSTON, REED)

2-4 Entitlements: Military Retirement BEN-AMI

Wednesday November 16

10-12 Entitlements: Health RASCO

2-4 Entitlements: Farm Bill/VA GALSTON
(alternate: BURKE)

Thursday November 17

10-12 Entitlements: Educ, Lab, Welfare REED
(alternate: GALSTON, BEN-AMI)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FYI
DPC Staff
File

October 12, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO BILLY WEBSTER

FROM: Carol H. Rasco ^{CHE} _{RA}

SUBJECT: Planning Calendar

As per your request, the following are the Domestic Policy Council's contributions to the planning calendar for the coming year. The first section contains some definite dates requiring Presidential involvement. We have organized the second section by listing areas in which we believe events should be on the calendar to highlight past achievements and current priorities as well as "one-time" events that might be wise to consider.

(1) VIRTUALLY CERTAIN EVENTS

World AIDS Day - December 1, 1994.

Empowerment Zone Designation Announcement - December 1994.

White House Conference on Aging - May 2-5, Washington, D.C. The President will be asked to participate at the event, most likely on the first day, giving welcoming remarks.

Arkansas/Georgetown Basketball Game - late November 1994. The entire DPC staff is available to advance this event.

National Governors Association -- Winter meeting: January 28-31 J.W. Marriott Washington D.C.; Summer meeting: July 29- August 1 in Burlington Vt.

(2) OTHER PRIORITY EVENTS

We look forward to being involved in thinking through the strategic plan for the President's schedule. Our suggestions here fall into four categories: highlighting (a) past accomplishments; (b) current priorities, (c) attention to the concerns of particular communities as well as (d) several one-time events that the President should consider attending.

(a) Highlighting Past Accomplishments

Reinventing Government

We should mark the one year anniversary of the signing of the Executive Order requiring a reduction of 100,000 federal employees in February of 1995. The second Executive Order increasing it to 252,000 was signed in September, and we could do an event on the one year mark of that one.

Education

We support a series of high profile education events highlighting the successes we have achieved in implementing the lifelong learning agenda. The NEC has suggested four events to promote GOALS 2000 which we support.

Technology Learning Challenge - On January 11, 1995, the Department of Education will be announcing the Technology Learning Challenge, a new grant program to encourage the development of software and multi-media programming for schools on the information superhighway. The VP will be at this event, but it could become a Presidential event to promote hooking schools up to the information superhighway.

Community Empowerment

In December, 1994, the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) regulations will be finalized. This is the last piece of the President's community empowerment agenda -- Empowerment Zones, Community Development Bank bill and CRA reform. We could do an event to highlight our achievements on this front. The event could also coincide with the nomination announcement of the Administrator of the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund.

Obviously, we will want to have continued events to mark other accomplishments including Crime and National Service.

(b) Highlighting Next Year's Priorities

We should begin to look at events and opportunities to highlight at least three priorities in the coming year: Health Care, Welfare Reform, and Political Reform.

(c) Highlighting Concern for Particular Communities

Elderly/Seniors

We should give thought to a strategic series of seniors events that make use not only of the White House Conference on Aging, but some of the following events as well:

- OLDER AMERICANS MONTH - May 1995 - 30th anniversary of the Older Americans Act. Could be a separate event from the White House Conference on Aging.

- 60th ANNIVERSARY OF SOCIAL SECURITY - August 14, 1995
- 30th ANNIVERSARY OF MEDICARE and MEDICAID
- 1995 has been designated "Year of the Grandparent"
- National Family Caregiver Week is generally recognized during the week of Thanksgiving.

People with Disabilities

The President may have committed to opening the Special Olympic World Games in New Haven Connecticut, around July 3, 1995.

Native Americans

We should demonstrate continued interest and involvement in issues of importance to Native Americans. One opportunity is on November 13, 1994, when the National Congress of American Indians will celebrate its 50th anniversary. At a minimum a Presidential greeting would be helpful. NCAI is the organization the White House worked with to coordinate the April meeting with tribal leaders.

(d) Other One Time Events to Consider

White House Conference on Travel and Tourism - November/ December 1995, Washington, D.C.

Farm Bill Introduction

We will be introducing the Farm Bill on March 1, 1995. We should consider a Presidential event highlighting the administration's proposals.

NGA Children's Event

Governor Dean, the incoming head of NGA, is talking about a summertime meeting (like a summit) on children's issues, perhaps at a midwest college campus.

cc: Erskine Bowles
Mark Gearan
DPC Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1994

file
TO: CAROL RASCO
BILL GALSTON
BRUCE REED

FROM: DPC Staff

SUBJECT: Summary of Staff meeting -- September 27

The attached memo was developed by the staff as a group to summarize our discussion at last Wednesday's meeting and to provide a structure for continuing the conversation at the next meeting on Wednesday, October 6.

While the attached raises many broad and difficult questions which may prove impossible to answer, the discussion itself was helpful to many who participated, and we look forward to the opportunity to continue it with you as well.

Wednesday's staff meeting began a productive and timely discussion on how the DPC can best serve the President in implementing his domestic agenda in the next part of the term.

As we discussed at the summer meeting, over the last two years, we have pursued a series of high profile initiatives including health reform, welfare reform, the crime bill, and an ambitious agenda of education and economic development initiatives. The nature of the work involved in developing and passing legislation forced us to work somewhat independently and led to a degree of fragmentation both in our work as a staff and in our domestic message as an Administration.

A central challenge, at the term's mid-point, is to figure out how our issues interrelate, how to enhance dialogue across agencies and initiatives, and how to balance implementation of what has passed with efforts to pass both old and new initiatives.

Among the questions that came up yesterday:

- . What is the domestic agenda for the next year? What are the overriding themes and principles driving that agenda?
- . What role do we as the DPC play in setting that agenda? Can we help set the priorities or should we be following someone's lead?
- . Given the small size of our staff and resources, how are our energies best spent? A small number of key priority projects or trying to keep our fingers in the entire range of issues? What's the right balance for us between fire-fighting crises, highlighting ongoing management difficulties at agencies, or trying to help guide the "big picture" agenda?
- . Can we play a role in helping improve the way the Administration communicates its domestic message and its accomplishments?
- . Whatever the role, are we best positioned/structured internally and with respect to the rest of the White House to make the President's domestic program successful?

The discussion yesterday focused on some difficult, far-reaching, and somewhat abstract questions. To give the discussion shape so it is helpful, we agreed to articulate some concrete questions and challenges to address beginning at the next staff meeting. For the discussion to be as productive as possible, we will come to the next meeting (10/5) with concrete suggestions for addressing the challenges listed and for moving forward in each area.

I. AGENDA/OUTLINE OF DOMESTIC PRIORITIES/INITIATIVES

There was general agreement that as a starting point for discussion we need a shared understanding of how our initiatives and issues fit together as the "Domestic Policy" of the Administration. A vision of the domestic policy priorities and how they fit together could benefit not only us but the agencies and our attempts at explaining the agenda to the public.

The first step in the discussion, it was agreed, is a common understanding of the broad themes that guide our policies. There was consensus that this is the easy part, although actually articulating those themes might be helpful. The difficulty comes in translating the themes into initiatives and fitting those initiatives together conceptually.

Challenge #1

Come up with an outline of our domestic policy that articulates themes, relates our initiatives to the themes, and prioritizes them -- resulting in a concrete agenda of legislative goals, implementation priorities, ongoing management issues and policy initiatives on which to focus in 1995.

Possible Examples of Concrete Next Steps

- . Ask someone to draft an articulation of our broad themes as a starting point (Bruce?!)
- . Consider producing a document for internal use
 - Kathi mentioned what they called in Delaware "Policy Guidelines"
 - a "plan" outlining our goals and objectives for the coming year
- . Agree to produce a document for external use
 - a Domestic Policy midterm report?
 - other?

II. ROLE

Once we have a handle on the agenda, the next step seemed to be to a discussion of how the DPC best serves the President in accomplishing his domestic agenda, given its size and resources. Differing visions articulated at the meeting:

- pushing legislative priorities to passage:
 - health, welfare, crime, lifelong learning
- ensuring legislative accomplishments are implemented
- general oversight of a range of domestic issues, some highly visible, some not
- responding to policy concerns of major constituency organizations/listening post

Challenge #2

Articulate the mission of the DPC in a way that guides staff in balancing the missions suggested above - long vs. short term priorities, high vs. low visibility projects, policy guidance vs. overseeing agency management/implementation.

III. STRUCTURE

Challenge #3

With a sense of the agenda/priorities developed, and of the appropriate, reasonable role for the DPC, are we best structured and focused, making best use of our people to accomplish the goals? [NOTE: we did not get very far into this discussion, because it really has to follow the first two, but there was definite interest in addressing it down the line.]

IV. MESSAGE

We would like to help play a role in better articulating the administration's domestic agenda and highlighting its accomplishments.

Challenge #4

How can we play a role in articulating the agenda/priorities so it in fact becomes a coherent domestic policy message?

Possible Suggestions for Concrete Next Steps - Message

- . If we develop our "themes" as a helpful framework for our own work, we could consider circulating them as talking points for the administration to use as a consistent framework for discussing domestic policy. [Note: NEC is working on a similar document.]
- . If we decide to produce a document as discussed above, make use of it publicly to frame our work.
- . Meet with other administration offices such as speechwriting, strategic planning/communications, press, and scheduling to discuss how to help in framing the message.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

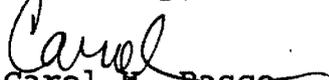
October 27, 1994

The Honorable Donna Shalala
Secretary
Department of Health and Human Services
200 Independence Avenue, SW
Washington, DC 20201

Dear Donna:

I just wanted to let you know that I have invited Shirley Chater to attend the meetings of the Domestic Policy Council from now until the Social Security Administration officially becomes independent. At that time, we will be making her a full member of the DPC. I thought it might be helpful for her to start being exposed to the issues and discussion at our bi-monthly meetings. I know that you have been extremely supportive of Dr. Chater and of the process of making SSA an independent agency, so I am sure you will agree that she should begin the process of becoming a full and active member of the DPC.

Sincerely,



Carol H. Rasco
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Policy

CHR:ram

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 31, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: Carol H. Rasco *CHR*

SUBJECT: Response to Information Request

Thank you very much for the opportunity to provide information about the current staffing and needs of the Domestic Policy Council. As you will see, we have been functioning with an extraordinarily small staff over the past two years - while charged with managing and implementing many of the President's most important initiatives.

Just to recap, over the next year we will be:

- o developing a legislative package for health care reform in coordination with the National Economic Council
- o overseeing the re-drafting and re-introduction of welfare reform
- o managing the administration's activities on immigration
- o developing and helping to manage an entirely new agenda of political and government reforms
- o overseeing the implementation of the crime bill
- o co-chairing and co-managing efforts to pass a revised Re-employment Act, the Farm Bill, and the IDEA re-authorization
- o co-chairing policy groups in areas such as urban policy and education, training, and re-employment
- o co-facilitating the selection and implementation process for the Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities
- o leading major interagency initiatives in policy areas ranging such as disability, veterans, homelessness, and the environment.

These are just the most visible issues. We also provide day-to-day policy guidance on a wide range of issues. To accomplish all this, we have, as you will see, eight policy analysts to support the senior staff. Fully understanding the difficult competing needs of offices throughout the White House, I still hope that through this review some way can be found to augment the Domestic Policy Council staff to provide increased support as we pursue a crowded policy agenda in a non-election year.

file: DPC *Roz*

CURRENT PERSONNEL AND JOB DESCRIPTIONS

According to my latest information from Management, 25 people are on Domestic Policy headcount (both OPD and WHO). One (Greg Lawler) is on a line that actually belongs to the NEC. Therefore, the attached organizational chart and these job descriptions account for 24 positions.

1. Carol Rasco Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy
2. Bill Galston Deputy Assistant to the President
3. Bruce Reed Deputy Assistant to the President
4. Rosalyn Miller Assistant to Carol Rasco
5. Kim Ross Assistant to Bill Galston
6. Cathy Mays Assistant to Bruce Reed
7. Julie Demeo Scheduler/briefer for Carol Rasco

All three of the senior staff have assistants handling phones, correspondence, schedules, etc. Carol Rasco also has a scheduler/briefer.

8. Kathi Way Special Assistant to the President. Kathi is focused primarily on welfare reform and other social services issues. She also plays a vital role on state issues such as health and welfare waivers, flood relief, the attempts to provide regulatory relief and state flexibility.

9. Brian Burke Senior Policy Analyst. Brian handles environmental policy and is the lead DPC staff person managing the farm bill in 1995. He is supposed to be responsible for our interactions with the Departments of Interior, Energy, and the EPA.

10. Christine Heenan Senior Policy Analyst. Christine has been working full time on health care reform, not directly for the DPC. She, or someone in her position, will now be handling health and welfare waivers, disability policy and ongoing non-reform related health issues such as the immunization program.

11. Mickey Levitan White House Fellow. Mickey will be spending his year here assisting Bill Galston with a range of programs from Perkins reauthorization to the farm bill.

12. Gaynor McCown Senior Policy Analyst. Gaynor is responsible for all of our work on consolidating and coordinating programs. This includes the Community Empowerment Board, the Prevention Council, the Oregon Benchmarks, and other similar initiatives.

13. Lynn Margherio Senior Policy Analyst. On leave till January. Lynn too was working exclusively on health care reform, but when she comes back her role (or that of a replacement) will be to work on a series of critical issues including housing and homelessness, veterans policy, and Social Security and aging issues.

14. Mike Schmidt Senior Policy Analyst. Mike is responsible for labor and employment programs, transportation issues, and Native American policy.

15. Steve Warnath Senior Policy Analyst. Steve works on immigration, civil rights, and all other Department of Justice issues. He is also responsible for writing executive orders and Presidential memoranda.

16. Paul Weinstein Senior Policy Analyst. Paul is responsible for economic and community development and plays a lead role in the development of the political and government reform agenda.

17. Jeremy Ben-Ami Chief of Staff. Jeremy is responsible for coordinating the day-to-day operations of the DPC, serving as a point of contact with other White House offices and other agencies, as well as providing day-to-day guidance to staff.

18. Frances Walden Staff Assistant
19. Beverly Petchel Staff Assistant

The policy staff in the OEOB (8 analysts plus Kathi and Jeremy) have the above 2 staff assistants who handle support functions such as scheduling, phones, faxes, etc.

ALSO ON DPC HEADCOUNT

20. Ira Magaziner Senior Policy Advisor
21. Denise Ricketson Staff Assistant to Ira Magaziner
22. Jennifer Klein Special Assistant to the First Lady
23. Pam Cicetti Assistant to the First Lady
24. Coordinator, National AIDS Policy Office

ADDITIONAL NEEDS

As I have indicated, I believe the Domestic Policy Council is under-staffed, particularly for 1995, given the number of major policy initiatives that we are anticipating managing. The following are the most critical needs we have:

Staff

- (1) As I have mentioned to you and to the Chief of Staff, we do not have a line for Jose Cerda, who is our primary staff person for crime and drug policy. He is currently on the payroll of the ONDCP, and they want either him or the line back. The implementation of the crime bill will be one of the most critical items on the domestic agenda next year. We really should have someone here at the White House who is responsible for ensuring that all the Departments and Offices involved in implementation are moving forward together. In addition, there are ongoing legislative and policy issues on this front that will certainly resurface next year.
- (2) Junior Policy Analysts. I have written previously as well about the need to provide some support for the Deputies and Senior Policy Analysts. Our staff is stretched extraordinarily thin given the number of initiatives they are oversee, the number of meetings they attend, and the amount of paper they are expected both to generate and absorb. They desperately need some junior staff who can attend meetings, do some research and writing and generally back them up when three things are happening at once in their areas. As you can see from the above job descriptions, when you cut the staff numbers to the core, we have only eight people who have direct issue responsibilities, and they are expected to cover the entire range of the domestic agenda. Four junior staff would provide meaningful assistance and greatly enhance the DPC's ability to play an effective role in managing the domestic agenda. We are much smaller than similar operations in previous administrations, yet, as you know, this President is more active than any in recent memory on the domestic front. I understand how tight resources are, but I hope you will give serious consideration to our status in reviewing the entire White House staff.
- (3) Detailees. For some reason, we were allocated a very large percentage of detailee lines as opposed to outright hires. Of the 24 DPC headcount, eight are detailee slots. Within OPD, we have nine regular lines and eight detailee lines. Detailees are very hard to find and hire. Agencies give us a very difficult time and make it nearly impossible to fill

vacancies. I would appreciate it, if as part of this review, you could also look at the allocation of detailee positions across offices and possibly allow us to trade some of our detailee positions for outright hires.

Other

- (1) Space: Our health care space needs are addressed below. We are concerned about the fate of Room 400, which is where our student interns and volunteers work. We rely heavily on interns to accomplish our work, given the shortage of staff. There simply is no space and there are not adequate phones, computers and other requirements for the interns on the second floor.
- (2) Parking: We have only eight parking passes for twenty-four staff, and there are two staff who drive regularly to work and need parking. I believe we have less parking than the average White House office, and would greatly appreciate being allocated two more spots.
- (3) Mess Privileges: I understand that privileges at the White House Mess are highly sought after and that the Mess is over-subscribed. However, because of the way we structured the titles of the staff at the DPC, our senior policy staff are not special assistants to the President and therefore do not qualify for Mess privileges. However, many of their peers in other offices doing similar work were given the Special Assistant title, and therefore, have Mess privileges. It would be a nice reward for them if I could offer those who have been here a while (six in total) Mess privileges as a reward for their work here. In the scheme of things, this is not critical, but it also may not be too difficult, and I appreciate your consideration.

HEALTH CARE

Bob Rubin and I are submitting the same presentation on health care, as the staffing and other needs of the new health care reform effort are a joint DPC/NEC responsibility.

Staffing

As you know, we have hired two staff on the White House payroll so far -- Chris Jennings and Stacey Rubin. Chris will be serving as the staff director for this effort, coordinating policy development and playing an important role in our legislative and advocacy outreach. Stacey is Chris's staff assistant handling phones, scheduling, and other support.

Bob Rubin has formally requested the authority to hire Kim O'Neill as the third member of the health care team. She will be working for Chris, producing drafts of options papers and other materials to inform the policy and outreach process. We pursued other avenues for Kim's employment, but as you know we were not successful.

We are hoping to bring an agency representative over to be the fourth member of the team, and will let you know within two weeks if that arrangement will work.

Space

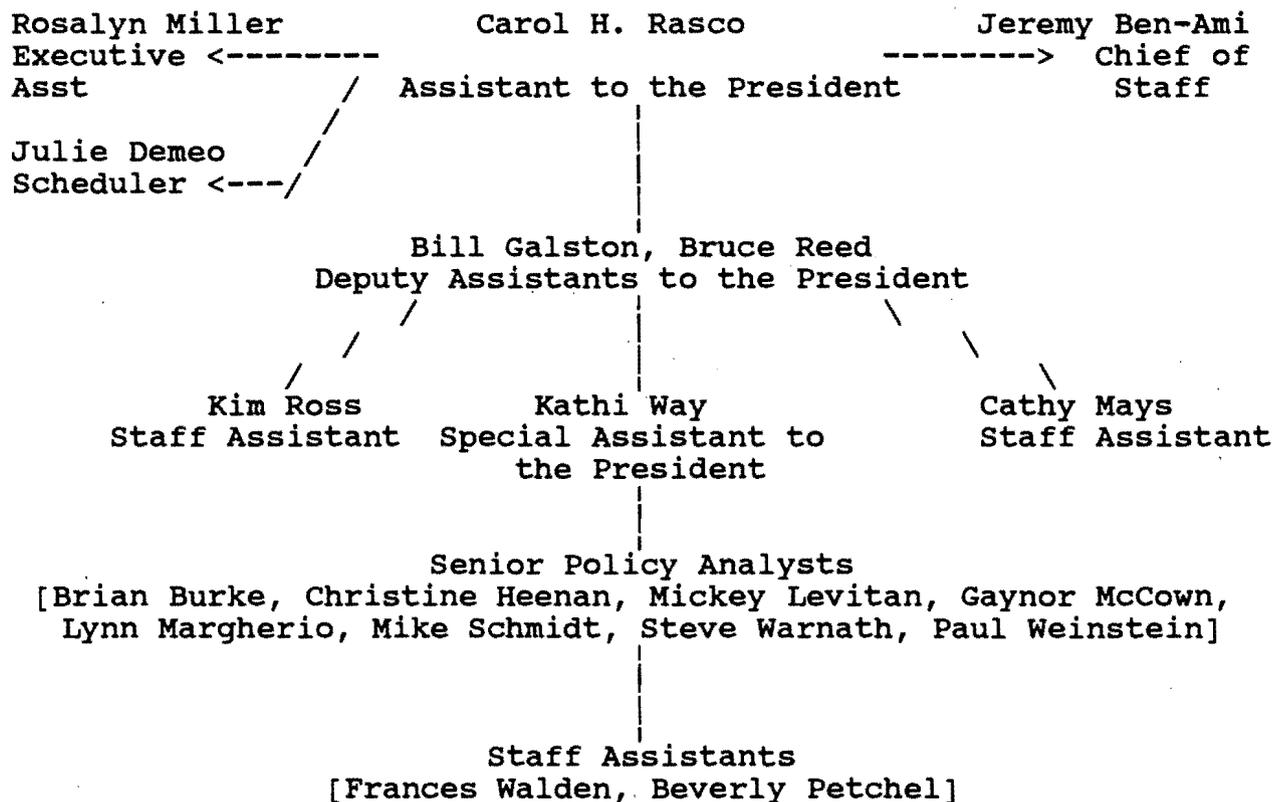
The health reform effort was working out of three rooms on the fourth floor - 484, 486, and 488 - and we are asking to retain those rooms for the coming year as well for the four staff listed above as well as for interns and volunteers who will be supporting the effort. The NEC in particular is very pressed for space and is unable to contribute any space to the health care effort. The DPC cannot find three rooms for this effort in its limited second floor space.

CONCLUSION

Thank you for the opportunity to present this information and to make our case for additional resources. I look forward to the opportunity to discuss this with you in person in more detail in the coming days.

Attachment 1

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
Domestic Policy Council



ALSO ON DPC PAYROLL

Ira Magaziner, Senior Policy Advisor
Denise Ricketson, Staff Assistant
Jennifer Klein, Special Assistant to the First Lady
Pam Cicetti, Assistant to the First Lady
Coordinator, National AIDS Policy Office