

## **Table of Contents: U.S. Programs Board Retreat February 23-24, 2011**

Tab 1: Overview

- Table of Contents
- Agenda
- Guest biographies

Tab 2: Minutes of September 22-23, 2010, Board meeting

Tab 3: Extreme polarization and breakdown in civic discourse

- Overview of discussion
- Proposals and write-ups of new grants; relevant articles and memos

Tab 4: The role of money in politics

- Memo summarizing recent and planned work
- Letter from Bill Moyers on proposed constitutional amendment

Tab 5: The fiscal crisis in the states

- Overview of discussion
- Brief background on the fiscal crisis and its impacts

Tab 6: State Strategies Initiative to expand state and local work

- Overview of discussion
- Brief background and memos from recent meetings

Tab 7: Excerpt of George Soros' draft introduction to the forthcoming book,  
The Philanthropy of George Soros: Building Open Societies  
(for dinner discussion)

Tab 8: Board oversight and engagement

- List of Board Advisors
- January 2008 delegation of authority from OSI Trustees

Tab 9: Budget discussion and action items

- 2011-2012 budget summary and breakdown by goal
- Drug Policy Alliance grant proposal for Board approval

Tab 10: Background on grantmaking and programmatic strategies

- Index of key grantees
- Memos to Board Advisors from U.S. Programs funds and campaigns, with updates on implementing guidance from the September Board meeting

Tab 11: Docket cover memos, September-November, 2010

Tab 12: Articles of interest from U.S. Programs

**U.S. Programs Board Meeting and Retreat**  
**February 23-24, 2011**

**Wednesday, February 23, 2010**

**New York Academy of Medicine, 1216 Fifth Ave. (at 103<sup>rd</sup> Street), Fifth Floor Board Room**

**BOARD GUESTS FOR THE DAY:**

Drew Westen, Founder, Westen Strategies, Professor, Emory University  
Robert Johnson, Executive Director, Institute for New Economic Thinking  
Steve Coll, President, New America Foundation  
Maria Hinojosa, Founder, Futuro Media Group  
Richard Ravitch, Former Lieutenant Governor of the State of New York  
(state fiscal crisis session only)  
John Bonifaz, Co-Founder and Director, Free Speech for People  
(money in politics session only)  
Jeff Clements, Co-Founder and General Counsel, Free Speech for People  
(money in politics session only)  
Bill de Blasio, New York City Public Advocate  
(money in politics session only)

10:00-10:30 Opening remarks by George Soros

10:30-12:00 Extreme polarization and the breakdown in civic discourse  
Moderator: Aryeh Neier  
Staff snapshot of current work: Ann Beeson and Raquiba LaBrie

12:00-1:30 The role of money in politics  
(includes lunch)  
Moderator: Ethan Zuckerman  
Staff snapshot of current work: Laleh Ispahani

1:30-4:00 Expanding state and local strategies

- The fiscal crisis in the states  
Moderator: Andy Stern  
Staff snapshot of current work: Ann Beeson
- State Strategies Initiative  
Moderator: Deepak Bhargava  
Staff snapshot of current work: Bill Vandenberg and Diana Morris

4:00-6:30 Board oversight and engagement  
**EXECUTIVE SESSION - BOARD MEMBERS ONLY**  
(George Soros and Ann Beeson do not attend)

7:00-9:30 Dinner hosted by George Soros (with outside guests)  
1060 Fifth Ave., enter on East 87<sup>th</sup> Street

Discussion of George Soros's vision

- Reactions to George Soros' draft introduction to the forthcoming book, The Philanthropy of George Soros: Building Open Societies
- Implications for our work

**Thursday, February 24, 2010**

**New York Academy of Medicine, 1216 Fifth Ave. (at 103<sup>rd</sup> Street), Fifth Floor Board Room**

8:00-11:00 Board oversight and engagement (continued)  
(breakfast available)  
EXECUTIVE SESSION – BOARD MEMBERS ONLY  
(George Soros and Ann Beeson do not attend)

11:00-2:00 Report back, budget discussion and action items  
(including lunch)

Budget discussion moderators: Deepak Bhargava

- Amendments and final approval of 2011-12 budget
- Approval of process for Chairman and Board initiated grants

## Guests Biographies

The following guests will attend all of Wednesday's substantive discussions:

### **Steve Coll**

Steve Coll is President of New America Foundation and a contributor to *The New Yorker* magazine. Previously he spent 20 years as a foreign correspondent and senior editor at The Washington Post, serving as the paper's managing editor from 1998 to 2004. He is the author of six books including *The Deal of the Century: The Break Up of AT&T* (1986); *The Taking of Getty Oil* (1987); *Eagle on the Street*, based on the Pulitzer Prize-winning account of the SEC's battle with Wall Street (with David A. Wise, 1991); *On the Grand Trunk Road: A Journey into South Asia* (1994); *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (2004); and, *The Bin Ladens: An Arabian Family in the American Century* (2008).

Mr. Coll's professional awards include two Pulitzer Prizes. He won the first of these, for explanatory journalism, in 1990, for his series, with David A. Wise, about the SEC. His second was awarded in 2005, for his book, *Ghost Wars*, which also won the Council on Foreign Relations' Arthur Ross award, the Overseas Press Club award, and the Lionel Gelber Prize for the best book published on international affairs during 2004. Other awards include the 1992 Livingston Award for outstanding foreign reporting; the 2000 Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Award for his coverage of the civil war in Sierra Leone; and a second Overseas Press Club Award for international magazine writing. Mr. Coll graduated Phi Beta Kappa, Cum Laude, from Occidental College in 1980 with a degree in English and history. He lives in Washington, D.C.

### **Maria Hinojosa**

For 25 years, Maria Hinojosa has helped tell America's untold stories and brought to light unsung heroes in America and abroad. In April 2010, Ms. Hinojosa launched The Futuro Media Group with the mission to produce multi-platform, community based journalism that respects and celebrates the cultural richness of the American Experience.

As the anchor and managing editor of her own long-running weekly NPR show, *Latino USA*, and anchor of the Emmy Award winning talk show *Maria Hinojosa: One-on-One* from WGBH/ La Plaza, Ms. Hinojosa has informed millions of Americans about the fastest growing group in our country. Previously a Senior Correspondent for *NOW* on PBS, and currently a contributing Correspondent for *Need to Know*, Ms. Hinojosa has reported hundreds of important stories – from the immigrant work camps in New Orleans after Katrina, to teen girl victims of sexual harassment on the job, to the poor in Alabama. Ms. Hinojosa has won two Emmys, the Robert F. Kennedy Award for Reporting on the Disadvantaged, and the Edward R. Murrow Award from the Overseas Press Club for best documentary for her groundbreaking *Child Brides: Stolen Lives*. In 2009, Ms. Hinojosa was honored with an AWRP Gracie Award for Individual Achievement as Best TV Correspondent.

During her eight years as a CNN correspondent, Ms. Hinojosa took viewers into communities that had never been shown on television. Three times over the past decade, she has been named one of the 100 Most Influential Latinos in the U.S. by Hispanic Business magazine. Ms. Hinojosa is the author of two books including a motherhood memoir, *Raising Raul: Adventures Raising Myself and My Son*. She was born in Mexico City, raised in Chicago, and received her BA from Barnard College. She is married to the artist German Perez. They live with their son and daughter in Harlem, New York.

### **Robert Johnson**

Rob Johnson serves as the Executive Director of the Institute for New Economic Thinking (INET) and a Senior Fellow and Director of the Global Finance Project for the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute in New York.

Mr. Johnson is an international investor and consultant to investment funds on issues of portfolio strategy. He recently served on the United Nations Commission of Experts on International Monetary Reform under the Chairmanship of Joseph Stiglitz. Previously, Mr. Johnson was a Managing Director at Soros Fund Management where he managed a global currency, bond, and equity portfolio specializing in emerging markets. Prior to working at Soros Fund Management, Mr. Johnson was a Managing Director of Bankers Trust Company managing a global currency fund.

Mr. Johnson served as Chief Economist of the U.S. Senate Banking Committee under the leadership of Chairman William Proxmire (D. Wisconsin). Before this, Mr. Johnson was Senior Economist of the U.S. Senate Budget Committee under the leadership of Chairman Pete Domenici (R. New Mexico). Mr. Johnson was an Executive Producer of the Oscar winning documentary, *Taxi to the Dark Side*, directed by Alex Gibney, and is the former President of the National Scholastic Chess Foundation. He currently sits on the Board of Directors of both the Economic Policy Institute and the Campaign for America's Future. Mr. Johnson received a Ph.D. and M.A. in Economics from Princeton University and a B.S. in both Electrical Engineering and Economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

### **Drew Westen**

Drew Westen, Ph.D., is a clinical, personality, and political psychologist and neuroscientist, and Professor in the Departments of Psychology and Psychiatry at Emory University. He is the founder and principal of Westen Strategies, a strategic messaging firm, and co-founder of Implicit Strategies, a market research firm that assesses unconscious responses to messages and advertisements. He formerly taught at the University of Michigan and Harvard Medical School and is the author of three books and over 150 scientific articles. His book, *The Political Brain: The Role of Emotion in Deciding the Fate of the Nation*, has had a substantial impact on messaging strategies in politics and business and around the world, and provides the scientific basis of the unique messaging approach of Westen Strategies. He has applied this approach in research with over 30,000 voters over the last four years on most of the major issues of the times, from

national security, economics, job creation, abortion, immigration, affirmative action, gun safety, the role of government, disparities in health, to the needs and interests of children.

He frequently comments on political and psychological issues on radio, television, and in print, in venues such as CNN, MSNBC, CBS, NPR, PBS, the Washington Post, Adweek, and The New Republic, and is a frequent contributor to the Huffington Post. He has advised a range of candidates and organizations, from presidential and congressional campaigns to major nonprofit organizations, such as Families USA, the AFL-CIO, the AARP, Media Matters, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, America's Voice, the NRDC, Project New West, the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee, and the Democratic Senate Caucus. He co-leads the Progressive Talent Initiative, a media training program for progressive commentators on television and radio, with Media Matters, which is training dozens of progressives to maximize the effectiveness of their communication on all of the major television channels and cable networks.

The following guests will attend for discrete sections of Wednesday's discussions (the agenda item for which they are attending is noted):

**Richard Ravitch (for the discussion on the state fiscal crisis)**

Richard Ravitch is a lawyer, businessman, and public official who has been engaged in both private and public business for more than 40 years. He began his career in the construction business, supervising the development, financing, and construction of over 45,000 units of affordable housing in New York, Washington, DC, Puerto Rico and other locations. In 1975, he was appointed by Governor Hugh Carey to serve as Chairman of the New York State Urban Development Corporation (UDC), a "moral obligation" financing and development agency with 30,000 dwelling units under construction, which had become insolvent and faced the first municipal bankruptcy since the 1930s. Mr. Ravitch designed the first municipal bailout plan and restored the State's fiscal credibility.

Mr. Ravitch assisted New York City and State officials in resolving the City's defaults in the 1970s. He negotiated long-term federal guaranty arrangements with President Ford's administration and acted as an intermediary between the City and the leadership of the municipal unions and their pension funds. In 1979, Mr. Ravitch was appointed Chairman and CEO of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), New York's regional urban and suburban transportation system. Following his MTA service, Mr. Ravitch led an effort to recapitalize The Bowery Savings Bank, once the nation's largest mutual savings bank. He arranged for its acquisition from FDIC by an investor group and he served as Chairman and CEO. Subsequently, Mr. Ravitch was retained by the owners of the Major League Baseball clubs to serve as President of the Player Relations Committee to advise them on the creation of a revenue sharing plan and proposal to the players.

Mr. Ravitch helped create the Corporation for Supportive Housing and served as its Chairman for a decade. He served as Co-Chair of the Millennial Housing Commission, created by Congress to examine the federal government's role in meeting the nation's growing affordable housing challenges. In 2008, at the request of Governor Paterson, Mr. Ravitch chaired a commission that designed a plan to finance the MTA. Mr. Ravitch recently completed serving as Lieutenant Governor of the State of New York

**John C. Bonifaz (for the discussion on money in politics)**

John Bonifaz is the Co-Founder and Director of Free Speech for People, a national, non-partisan campaign to strengthen self-government and democracy in America by reversing *Citizens United v. FEC* and corporate rights doctrines that unduly leverage corporate economic power into political power. Mr. Bonifaz is also the Legal Director of Voter Action, a national voting rights and election integrity organization. Voter Action is the lead organizational partner for Free Speech for People. Prior to joining Voter Action, Mr. Bonifaz worked with the National Voting Rights Institute (NVRI), an organization he founded in 1994. NVRI served as a prominent legal and public education center dedicated to protecting the right of all citizens to vote and to participate in the electoral process on an equal and meaningful basis. From 1994-2004, Mr. Bonifaz served as NVRI's executive director and from 2004-2006, he served as NVRI's general counsel.

Mr. Bonifaz has been at the forefront of key voting rights battles in the United States for nearly two decades: pioneering a series of court challenges that have helped to redefine the campaign finance question as a basic voting rights issue of our time; leading the fight in the federal courts in Ohio for a recount of the 2004 presidential vote in that state; and prevailing in federal court in Pennsylvania on the eve of the 2008 election to ensure that Pennsylvania voters would receive emergency paper ballots when they faced long lines caused by voting machine breakdowns. Mr. Bonifaz is a 1992 *cum laude* graduate of Harvard Law School and a 1999 recipient of a MacArthur Foundation Fellowship.

**Jeffrey D. Clements (for the discussion on money in politics)**

Jeff Clements is the Co-Founder and General Counsel of Free Speech for People, a national, non-partisan campaign to strengthen self-government and democracy in America by reversing *Citizens United v. FEC* and corporate rights doctrines that unduly leverage corporate economic power into political power. Mr. Clements is also founder of Clements Law Office, LLC, and has represented and advocated for people, businesses, and the public interest since 1988.

Mr. Clements served as Assistant Attorney General and Chief of the Public Protection and Advocacy Bureau in the Massachusetts Attorney General's Office from 2007 to 2009. As Bureau Chief, he led more than 100 attorneys and staff in law enforcement and litigation in the areas of civil rights, environmental protection, healthcare, insurance and financial services, antitrust, and consumer protection. Mr. Clements

also served as an Assistant Attorney General in Massachusetts from 1996 to 2000, where he worked on litigation against the tobacco industry and handled a wide range of other investigations and litigation to enforce unfair trade practice, consumer protection, and antitrust laws. In private practice, Mr. Clements has been a partner in the Boston law firms of Clements and Clements, LLP and Mintz Levin. He also has practiced in Maine. Mr. Clements graduated with distinction in History and Government from Colby College in 1984, and *magna cum laude* with a concentration in Public Law from the Cornell Law School in 1988. He lives in Concord, Massachusetts, with his wife and three children.

**Bill de Blasio (for the discussion on money in politics)**

On November 3, 2009, Bill de Blasio was elected New York City's third Public Advocate. For the prior eight years, Mr. de Blasio served in the New York City Council where he fought to make City Hall more responsive and accountable to New Yorkers.

Bill de Blasio began his work in New York City government as an aide to Mayor David Dinkins. During the Clinton Administration, Mr. de Blasio was appointed Regional Director for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, where he served under former Secretary Andrew Cuomo. In 1999, Mr. de Blasio was elected to the School Board for District 15 in Brooklyn. In 2000, he managed Hillary Rodham Clinton's successful campaign for U.S. Senate. The following year, Mr. de Blasio was elected to the New York City Council where he represented District 39 in Brooklyn for eight years. In the City Council, Mr. de Blasio fought to improve and protect public education and child care. In the spring of 2008, he organized a successful coalition of elected officials, parents, students, and advocates to win back millions of dollars in classroom funding slated for cuts. Mr. de Blasio has also been a dedicated advocate for affordable housing, sponsoring a City law that prevents landlords from discriminating against tenants who depend on Section 8 vouchers to help pay for housing. As the Chair of the Council's General Welfare Committee, Mr. de Blasio spent the past eight years working to protect New York City's most vulnerable populations, including children and the homeless.

Mr. de Blasio holds a Bachelors degree from New York University and a Masters in International and Public Affairs from Columbia University. Mr. De Blasio and his wife, Chirlane McCray, met while working together in the Dinkins Administration. They live in Brooklyn with their two children, Chiara and Dante.