

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12.22.93

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SECRETARY OF LABOR  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEC 17 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Ricki concurs with doing this, but after the State of the Union.

*[Handwritten signature]*

John Podesta

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LABOR SECRETARY ROBERT B. REICH

SUBJECT: Your Participation in the Labor Department's "What Works" Conference - January 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, or 28, 1994

I will host a conference on "What Works" in re-employment and training programs in January 1994, here in Washington, either immediately before or immediately after the State of the Union. I'd like you to participate, if you possibly can -- a keynote address or any other capacity.

The purpose of the conference is to highlight successful examples from around the nation of how people are getting new and better jobs. Participants (workers who have gained new jobs, state employment agencies that have "reinvented" themselves, businesses that have helped their employees find new work) will offer evidence that re-employment and job re-training programs can and do work; they will also explain what doesn't work and how to avoid failures. Our goal is to demonstrate that your comprehensive re-employment and retraining legislative proposal is based on experience and research. The message will be tightly focused on "what works."

It's important to communicate this message both to the members of Congress and congressional staff, state and local elected officials, and to labor, business, and community leaders who will attend this conference, as well as to the public. The public is eager for answers to the problem of structural unemployment. The Los Angeles Times poll that I gave you this week found that one-third of respondents identified job training for the unemployed as the one thing they would like to see you and Congress accomplish this coming year.

Your participation in the conference will make it newsworthy, and help get the message out. It will also provide an opportunity for you to show your leadership on the new jobs and re-employment issue.

I hope you can participate in the "What Works" conference. If you're so inclined, I'll work with Ricki Seidman to find an appropriate time on your schedule.

Yes ☒

No ☐

copy.  
Ricki  
- Bob Reich

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

12/30

mark-

Ron Klain would  
be perfect for  
this. He could also  
help Lee Brown w/ drugs.  
John

Personal



6 5  
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 6, 1993

TO: Mack McLarty

FROM: Carol H. Rasco *CHR*

SUBJ: Violence/crime/personal safety/family values/community/and  
all its various other names

I had told you I would give some thought to the issue of one person as a contact for the above multi-named initiative. I have considered the issue over the weekend and want to ask that we as an administration not name a single person as the coordinator at this time.

First, at the risk of sounding solely "turf" oriented, I feel that area is domestic policy at its core and to name someone outside Domestic Policy Council staff would be inappropriate. Secondly, it spans a number of areas within Domestic Policy itself, one of which will be the report by the Interagency Task Force. I believe it is important to receive that report at the end of the month and work with that report in addition to whatever decisions are made about welfare reform in order to put together a suggested plan for this wide ranging initiative for the new year which Domestic Policy staff will put together and have for presentation to the President by the end of the first full week in January.

In the meantime, I think the three parts with designated leads outlined by you in the meeting with the Attorney General last week are moving along nicely.

If you wish to talk about this further and/or there should be any change in the plans/timeline outlined above, I will be in the office on Tuesday. I will have to leave the 8:45 a.m. meeting Tuesday about 9 a.m. at the latest as my daughter has just received her first trimester's grades and having obtained all A's she will be recognized at a 9:30 a.m. honors convocation at her school on Tuesday which this proud mother will not miss. I'll be back in the office by 10:30 a.m. or so.

Thank you.

93 DEC 30 AIO : 44

To Herie  
Dorahue  
OMB

Could you pass this along to  
the appropriate person.  
How's a  
smart  
guy.

December 28, 1993

Dear John:

It was good to see you at Pines of Rome last night; one of the few  
benefits of being corralled in the waiting area.

As I mentioned, I am now doing freelance consulting. I should  
have added that I also have been trying to get back into public  
service. As a Gore supporter since 1988 and interested in  
policy/management issues, I tried to wangle a spot with his NPR,  
but could not afford to be a volunteer for 6 months. I now have  
pending applications for Director of Congressional Affairs for the  
Library of Congress; and Chief, Operations and Support Branch  
of the National Security Division at OMB.

Enclosed is my resume, should you become aware of an opening  
for which you think I might be suited. Thanks.

Best wishes for the New Year.

Alan

John  
Rohde



**ALAN R. SCHWARTZ**  
3727 Northampton Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20015  
(202) 244-9694

## **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

1992- **Chief Operating Officer**  
1993 **Vice President — Policy and Implementation**  
New American Schools Development Corporation

Managed daily operations of this non-profit corporation founded by America's largest corporations to fund innovative school reform programs. NASDC's FY 1993 operating budget: \$23.9 million, including \$3.9 million for internal operations and \$20 million in funding for 11 contracts with nationally prominent education reformers designing programs to be implemented in sites throughout the Nation during 1993-1995. Managed staff of 15, and supervised six outside consulting firms providing government relations, development, public relations, research and related assistance.

1990- **Counselor**  
1992 **Office of the Federal Inspector**  
Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System  
U.S. Department of Energy

Provided legal and policy advice to the Federal Inspector, who is appointed by the President to coordinate federal permitting for the construction of a 4,800 mile pipeline designed to bring North Slope natural gas to the lower 48 states. Represented OFI with U.S., Alaskan and Canadian regulatory agencies, and the four project sponsor consortia. Evaluated the continuing need for this 15 year-old regulatory mechanism, and researched and prepared a January 1992 Report to the President that recommended the abolition of the OFI and the repeal of its underlying authorities to return this project to marketplace forces. On an assignment basis, I also provided the Office of the Deputy Secretary of Energy analyses of budget and management systems and practices.

1989- **Counsel**  
1990 **President's Commission on Aviation**  
**Security and Terrorism**

Investigated and evaluated aviation security, consular, and counter-terrorism policies and practices for this Presidential Commission created to examine the bombing of Pan American Airways Flight 103. Developed and presented policy options and recommendations for Chairman Ann McLaughlin and the seven member Commission; was sole advisor to U.S. Senator/Commissioner, and drafted or edited the majority of the Commission's Report to the President. Advised House and Senate authorizing committee staff in the negotiation of the Aviation Security Improvement Act of 1990, which implemented the Commission's recommendations.

1983- **Partner**  
1988 Nash, Railsback & Plesser

Represented and provided advice to corporate, government and individual clients in business planning and negotiations, in litigation and before regulatory agencies and Congress -- focusing on government information policies, biotechnology, consumer product and energy regulation, antitrust, intellectual property and federal administrative law.

1982- **Deputy General Counsel**  
1983 National Cooperative Bank

Provided legal and policy advice to the Board of Directors and senior management of this Congressionally chartered non-depository bank; reviewed decision documents to assure consistency with legal requirements and NCB policies; supervised junior Bank attorneys; and supervised outside counsel in the Bank's litigation and in regulatory matters (securities, labor, tax and bank supervision/audit).

1979- **Special Assistant to the General Counsel**  
1981 U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission

Provided the General Counsel advice on a range of legal and policy issues, and represented the Commission in litigation, and before Congress and OMB. Advised Chairman and Commissioners on proposed regulatory and enforcement matters; served as U.S. delegate to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development ("OECD") Committee on Consumer Policy and Working Party on Product Safety. Drafted and presented on behalf of the United States a proposed OECD-wide policy on the exportation of banned consumer products; negotiated the agency's 1981 reauthorization legislation.

1977- **Ford Foundation Fellow - Staff Attorney**  
1978 Georgetown University Law Center  
Institute for Public Representation

Graduate fellow and staff attorney; supervised 6-8 third year law students working on 10-12 matters in a clinical administrative law program. Major cases included a class action against the Government Printing Office under Title VII, and several FOIA matters.

1976- **Law Clerk**  
1977 Honorable Stanley S. Brotman  
United States District Court (D.N.J.)

## EDUCATION

LL.M. 1978 (Administrative Law)  
Georgetown University Law Center  
Ford Foundation Fellowship

J.D. 1976 Cum Laude  
University of Pennsylvania Law School  
Semester Externship, Center for Law  
and Social Policy  
Dean Jefferson B. Fordham Human Rights Award

B.A. 1973 Summa Cum Laude, Phi Beta Kappa  
State University of New York at Buffalo

## PUBLICATIONS AND REPORTS

*The Report of President's Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism*,  
submitted to the Thomas Jefferson Program in Public Policy, William and Mary  
College (November 9, 1990) (in publication)

*Analysis of Constitutional Due Process Requirements and U.S. Department of  
Defense Policies and Procedures for the Denial and Revocation of Security  
Clearances* (June 9, 1987) (report prepared under contract with the  
Department of Defense)

Admitted to Practice: District of Columbia (active) and Pennsylvania (inactive)  
Graduate: National Institute for Trial Advocacy





THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12.23.93

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

December 22 1993 DEC 22 P7:34

*CR 1/2/94  
Review  
advised  
B.*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lloyd Bentsen *LB*

SUBJECT: Progress Report on Gun Dealer Licensing

This memorandum is in response to your directive addressing the subject of gun dealer licensing. Your memorandum directed the Department of the Treasury and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) to take whatever steps necessary, to the extent permitted by law, to ensure compliance with the present licensing requirements of the Gun Control Act of 1968. Additionally, you directed me to report progress on the implementation of these initiatives within 90 days and annually thereafter.

Subsequent to my receipt of your memorandum, I directed ATF to develop a course of action addressing each of the strategies which you enumerated and to periodically report to me their progress. Attached is ATF's original proposal to implement your firearms initiatives, and the initial progress report on the implementation of their proposal.

These initiatives are already having a measurable impact on the Federal firearms licensing system. For the first time in years, the total population of Federal firearms licensees has actually decreased. While the numbers remain unacceptably high, we are confident that when all of these initiatives are implemented, we will continue to see a decrease in the Federal firearms licensee population. These initiatives will ensure that only those persons who have a reasonable expectation of engaging in a firearms business will be issued a Federal firearms license.

Attachments

3 12 93 61:33

# BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS



## PROGRESS REPORT ON IMPLEMENTING THE PRESIDENT'S DIRECTIVE ON GUN DEALER LICENSING

Recently, the President issued a memorandum to the Secretary of the Treasury stating that the Secretary will direct the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) to take whatever steps are necessary, to the extent permitted by law, to ensure compliance with present firearms licensing requirements. The memorandum listed a series of specific initiatives that should be addressed and directed the Secretary to report progress on the implementation of the initiatives within 90 days and annually thereafter.

The following is a synopsis, as of October 31, 1993, of the actions that have been implemented or are in the process of being implemented.

- The Firearms and Explosives Licensing Center (FELC) has begun conducting computer queries with State departments of motor vehicles to verify the drivers license numbers of all applicants for a Federal firearms license (FFL). This will enhance our ability to accurately identify applicants for an FFL.
- The FELC has implemented the use of an automated address verification system (CODE 1) which will allow ATF to identify applications for an FFL that use non-existent addresses for proposed business premises.
- Application for firearms license, ATF Form 7, is currently being modified to require additional information, including fingerprints, photographs, past places of residence, diagrams of proposed premises, zoning requirements, lease agreements and any restrictive covenants. The modified form is presently in review. It is anticipated that the target date of 12/31/93 for completion of the redesign will be met.
- ATF will require the submission of the redesigned Form 7 for all FFL renewals until all licensees have provided ATF with the information required by the revised Form 7.



- **ATF is in the process of modifying ATF F-8, Renewal of Firearms License. The new form will be completed by 12/31/93.**
- **A separate application and license for collector of curios and relics have been developed. The application and license will make it clear that the license may not be used to deal in firearms.**
- **A liaison program with various State/local regulatory and enforcement agencies has been established. Each Compliance area office has established contact with the various licensing, revenue, and local law enforcement offices within their jurisdiction to enhance our efforts in ensuring compliance with the Gun Control Act of 1968.**
- **Liaison with State and local agencies will be maintained to assist in verifying that an applicant for a license has the requisite business premises.**
  - **ATF has initiated and maintained working relationships with numerous State/local enforcement and regulatory agencies. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) has been drafted to aid in the reduction of firearms licensing and trafficking problems and is being transmitted to the participating governors along the Eastern seaboard for signature.**
- **ATF has developed a program with a goal of conducting full field investigations of all FFL renewal applications located in designated high crime areas, to ensure compliance with licensing requirements.**
- **Proposals have been submitted to the Bureau of Justice Assistance to secure grants to State and local agencies to assist ATF in investigating applicants for an FFL.**

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 23, 1993 DEC 23 P7:57

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Katie McGinty & Bo Cutler  
SUBJECT: Administration Proposal for  
the Reauthorization of Superfund

Look good -  
Does UP agree -  
If so, go forward  
If not, tell him  
position - B

This memorandum sets forth for your approval a proposed Administration position on reauthorization of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA)—commonly known as "Superfund." While this memorandum represents a consensus among the many agencies concerned with Superfund, that consensus will inevitably be revised and amended in response to the concerns of Congress and interested groups. In short, this memorandum sets forth our *initial* position in what will be a complex legislative negotiation.

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT

CERCLA expires at the end of this fiscal year; the Superfund taxes on the oil and chemical industries expire a year later. Virtually all interested parties agree that it is imperative that CERCLA be reauthorized in this Congress. Our goal is to introduce a new CERCLA bill, with the support of Congressional leaders, in February 1994.

II. BACKGROUND

CERCLA was enacted in 1980 in response to widespread concerns that improperly disposed wastes threatened human health and valuable natural resources, such as groundwater aquifers. Under CERCLA, 200 disposal sites have been fully restored and 3,500 actions to remove wastes have been completed.

The costs of CERCLA have been underestimated since the program's inception. When enacted in 1980, CERCLA was widely regarded as a program of modest size: most believed that the Act would involve several hundred waste sites and less than \$2 billion in federal funds. By 1992, however, 1,300 sites had been placed on CERCLA's National Priorities List (NPL) for Superfund cleanup and annual costs to the economy of the program totaled almost \$7 billion, including:

- \$1.6 billion in Superfund costs;
- \$3.2 billion in CERCLA-mandated cleanups by other federal agencies (primarily DoD and DoE); and
- \$2.0 billion in costs to private parties, which directly perform cleanups at 70 percent of the sites.

While estimates vary widely, the total costs of cleaning up the 3,000 sites projected to be included in the NPL over the next 30-40 years will likely total \$130-150 billion. Cleanup costs for federal facilities will likely total an additional \$200-300 billion.

Government officials, business leaders, environmentalists, academics, and others have sharply criticized CERCLA. In particular, these criticisms have focused on:

- Unnecessarily expensive cleanups--The average cost of remediation at an NPL site is \$27-29 million.
- Excessive transaction costs--CERCLA has generated massive amounts of litigation--enforcement litigation, contribution litigation, and insurance litigation. A widely-cited RAND study found that transaction costs total 19-27 percent of all CERCLA costs.
- Unfair liability rules--The broad reach of CERCLA's retroactive, strict, joint and several liability scheme has been criticized as unfair and inefficient.
- Inadequate community involvement--CERCLA has been criticized for providing inadequate opportunity for input from those most likely to be affected, namely, the local community.

Our proposed plan to reform CERCLA, set forth below, addresses all of these concerns.

### III. PROPOSED INITIAL ADMINISTRATION POSITION ON CERCLA REAUTHORIZATION

Given the complexity of the CERCLA regime--with its impact on everything from federal facilities management to abandoned mines, from insurance law to cancer-risk assessment--our consensus package is intricate. This memorandum focuses on the two most contentious and fiscally most significant areas of reform: the process for assigning and financing liability under CERCLA, and the standards and processes governing the cleanup of NPL sites.

#### A. Reforming the Liability and Allocation Systems: Reducing Transaction Costs While Enhancing Fairness

*The Status Quo.* In general, CERCLA currently involves three classes of litigation:

- enforcement litigation, in which EPA pursues the major potentially responsible party (PRP) or parties;
- contribution litigation, in which the initial potentially responsible party seeks partial recoveries from other PRPs; and finally,
- insurance litigation, in which each PRP seeks to recover from its insurer.

In each class of litigation, there is substantial uncertainty--about both the facts and the law; accordingly, litigation costs tend to be large.



***The Proposed Reform of the Allocation System.*** We propose reforms that would essentially bring together the first two classes of litigation into a single process and, at the same time, enhance the fairness of the current regime. The highlights of this system include:

- Parties that contributed very small amounts of waste would either be exempted from liability or offered early settlements.
- The remaining parties would then participate in an "allocation proceeding" in which a neutral third party would assign each PRP a share of liability based on several factors including the quantity and toxicity of its wastes.
- The allocation decision would then serve as the basis of a settlement offer by EPA to each PRP.
- Any settling PRP would both surrender its right to pursue contribution litigation and receive protection from contribution litigation. More importantly, the settling PRP would, subject to certain conditions, be offered protection from future liability for newly discovered harms.
- As an additional incentive to settlement, the Government would pay for the "orphan share"--the share of liability attributed to an identified but insolvent party--when the other parties at a site settle.
- The Government could sue any non-settling party under the rule of joint and several liability, rendering that party potentially liable for part or all of the "orphan share."

We believe this scheme will significantly reduce contribution litigation and related transaction costs, while at the same time enhancing the actual and perceived fairness of CERCLA.

***The Proposed Reform of the Insurance-Litigation System.*** We also propose replacing the current insurance-litigation system with a settlement fund, financed through a tax or fee on property and casualty insurers.<sup>1</sup> (The idea of such a tax was originally suggested by the insurance industry.) Under this system,

- A tax would be imposed on insurers in order to establish a new Insurance Settlement Fund.
- The statutory objectives of the Fund would be (i) to ensure settlement of insurance claims by at least 95% of all PRPs who have CERCLA liability and who participate in the new allocation process, and (ii) to ensure substantial interstate equity in such settlements.
- The Fund would offer to settle insurance claims with PRPs at an established rate (e.g.,

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<sup>1</sup> We currently estimate that the tax would be \$500 million per year; however this may be an underestimate, as natural resource damages and other factors have not yet been taken into account.



50 cents on the dollar).<sup>2</sup>

- Any party accepting this settlement would waive its insurance claims; any non-settling party could sue its insurers, with the Fund reimbursing the insurer for up to the amount of the original offer.

In part because insurance litigation is governed by state law, insurer liability is highly uncertain. These uncertainties--and the insurers' obligations to reinsurance companies--fuel extraordinary transaction costs: studies estimate that more than 80% of all insurer CERCLA costs are attorneys' fees. Our proposed reform seeks to take advantage of that situation by settling claims at a level higher than most PRPs would receive through litigation, but at a cost less than or equal to insurers' current expenditures. Accordingly, we believe that this proposed reform will not only reduce transaction costs, it will also redirect monies that are currently being spent for attorneys' fees toward the cleanup of hazardous wastes.

*Views of Interested Groups.* Comprehensive Superfund reform recommendations have been issued by two groups: the National Commission on Superfund (Commission) which includes CEOs from manufacturing, chemical, petroleum, insurance, and banking industries, as well as environmental, scientific, community, and labor leaders, and the National Advisory Council on Environmental Policy and Technology (NACEPT), which was convened by EPA and involves a wide range of interested parties. The recommendations of these groups provide a strong indication of where the political center exists on Superfund reform issues.

With regard to reform of the allocation process, the Commission and NACEPT, as well as some PRP groups, favor a more formal, binding, and elaborate administrative-adjudication system, most likely because such a scheme would function as a proportional liability system that would reduce their liability. We believe such a scheme would both be more expensive to administer and increase Superfund's liability. Congressional leaders are likely to view the proposed reforms of the allocation system as generally positive, but be somewhat skeptical of the budgetary impacts of a federally funded "orphan share."

With regard to reform of the insurance-litigation system, the Commission has not endorsed the concept but has indicated its willingness to pursue it. With respect to our specific proposal, the insurance companies have generally supported this approach, but urge several revisions, most designed to encourage settlement and reduce the level of settlement offers. Reactions by individual PRPs have been mixed, reflecting the varying strength of the PRPs' claims against their insurance carriers. Obviously, the appropriate level of settlement offers (and the total amount of the tax) is a matter of great sensitivity. With your approval, we will discuss these issues further with both insurers and PRPs. Our goal would be for the insurers and the major PRPs to negotiate these issues and propose to us acceptable numbers. Several major

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<sup>2</sup> Our initial position is that the amount that the Fund would offer to PRPs in settlement of insurance claims would be capped at 80% of a PRP's total costs.

players have indicated their interest in this kind of approach. Finally, Congress and environmental groups are likely to respond favorably to this solution, so long as this reform reduces neither the speed of, nor the monies available for, cleanups.

The principal issue presented by this proposal concerns its financing. Our proposal, we believe, offers a plausible resolution of insurance-litigation problems, but requires a tax or fee on the insurance industry. Some on Capitol Hill and in the industry may well criticize this, however, as "yet another tax." While we could hope to secure significant industry support for this proposal, we will not be able completely to avoid this criticism because it is nearly certain that not *all* of industry will be supportive.

**B. Reforming the Remedy Selection Process:**  
**Protecting Human Health and the Environment While Reducing Costs**

**The Status Quo.** In general, the cost of cleaning up sites is viewed as unnecessarily high for the following reasons:

- The statute does not specify a standard national level of cleanup and instead establishes a complex framework based on other state and federal standards, as well as other factors, which sometimes leads to excessive cleanup requirements, protracted site-by-site evaluation and debate over goals.
- CERCLA establishes a preference for treating, as opposed to containing, contaminated materials at all sites.
- There is no mechanism for weighing future land use in cleanup decisions at individual sites, which has meant that almost all sites are cleaned up to very protective residential standards.

**The Proposed Reform of the Remedy Selection Process.** We propose reforms that would protect human health and the environment while at the same time substantially reducing cleanup costs and inefficiencies. Highlights of our proposed reforms include:

- EPA would develop national health standards in the form of a range of protectiveness for cancer risks and for other health effects.
- EPA would develop national cleanup levels for the most common contaminants found at sites. The levels would fall within the protective range of the national health standards and would be developed using several factors including cost.
- Realistic, as opposed to overly conservative, assumptions and practices concerning risk would be used to establish the national standards and cleanup levels.
- Cleanup levels and remedies would be based on post-cleanup land uses (*e.g.*, residential or industrial) that would be determined with substantial community input.
- The current complex framework of state and federal standards ("applicable, relevant, and appropriate requirements") would be eliminated in favor of uniform national health standards.



- At each site, a comparison of the benefits and costs of alternative remedies would be a factor in choosing the appropriate remedy, consistent with the approach of your Executive Order on Regulatory Planning and Review.
- The preference for waste treatment and permanence as a requirement in selecting remedies would be replaced with long-term reliability as one of several balancing factors in making such selections.

**Views of Interested Groups.** Most groups generally agree that costs should be recognized more explicitly in cleanup decisions. The Commission and NACEPT have not, however, recommended using cost as a factor in setting national cleanup levels, which they believe should be strictly health based. The public health community and some members of Congress agree. In short, we will be criticized by some groups for "placing a price on lives." While we recognize the potential for this criticism, the agencies participating in this process agreed that the high cost of the Superfund program requires that cost be included when decisions are made concerning the level of risk that will be tolerated.

Instead of weighing cost as factor in setting national cleanup levels, NACEPT and the Commission would include cost as a factor in selecting remedies at individual sites. However, they have not gone so far as to state that costs and benefits should be compared.

The Commission recommends that  $10^{-6}$  (a one-in-a-million added risk of contracting cancer) should be the health protection goal in remedy selection. This is at the most stringent end of EPA's current range for cancer risk of  $10^{-4}$  to  $10^{-6}$  for Superfund. Our proposal is to retain the flexibility of a range for cancer risk and to introduce a range for other health effects. Because setting a range for other health effects is not current practice, we will face a hurdle, both technical and political, in adopting it.

There is general agreement that the current statutory preference for permanence and treatment should be modified, but replacing it with long term reliability as a factor in remedy selection may be controversial. The Commission and NACEPT propose limiting the preference for treatment to "hot spots" or areas with high levels of contamination. Some Congressional staff would prefer to keep the preference for permanence in some form to ensure EPA requires treatment in circumstances they consider appropriate. We believe that our proposal will protect human health and the environment but allow EPA the discretion to use other than treatment remedies where appropriate. Elimination of applicable state standards in favor of uniform national standards (unless states fund the incremental cost) will be controversial with states and some members of Congress.

#### IV. COST IMPLICATIONS AND BUDGET IMPACT OF THE PROPOSED REFORMS

Final cost data on the proposed reforms are currently not available. At this time, however, OMB estimates that the proposed reform of the allocation and remedy selection systems would reduce public and private costs at NPL sites by 9 to 14 percent per year, including:



- a reduction in private costs of \$600 to \$730 million per year (a reduction of 27% to 33%);
- an *increase* in public costs (due primarily to orphan share funding) of \$180 to \$250 million per year (an increase of 10% to 14%).

In addition, NEC staff estimate that the proposed reform of the insurance-litigation system would reduce total costs by an additional 4 to 5 percent (by reducing private transactions costs by \$150 to \$200 million). We also anticipate proportional reductions in the costs to other federal agencies charged with cleaning up federal facilities (better estimates of these savings will be completed in the next few weeks).

Overall, this proposal would be budget- and deficit-neutral, as increases in public expenditures would be offset by increases in tax revenues (generated by reduced corporate deductions for cleanup costs).

#### V. RECOMMENDATION

We recommend that you authorize us to present this package as the Administration's initial position in the reauthorization of CERCLA. We are establishing a process for managing continuing negotiations with Congress and with other interested parties.

        Agree

       Disagree

       Need to Discuss

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

93 DEC 23 PM 2:15

December 24, 1993

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT E. RUBIN *WR*

SUBJECT: G-7 JOBS CONFERENCE

I want you to know that planning is proceeding for the jobs conference that we will host this March. Attached is a working agenda for the conference that was recently shared with the other G-7 countries. Note that you are scheduled to open the jobs conference with an address on your jobs agenda.

We sent a small team to Europe, and then Canada, to explain our views and receive other countries' input into the conference. The responses we received were very constructive. We will also solicit input from Japan, the remaining G-7 member.

I have asked our conference co-chairs (Lloyd Bentsen, Ron Brown, Bob Reich, and Laura Tyson) to develop in further detail their agenda. The NEC process will continue to be used to ensure coherence and consistency between the parts of the conference.

① Must have something on US unemployment.  
is there a counterpart in Europe?  
what can we learn in areas of disinvestment

② we need to get together people w/ ideas  
on jobs including some who have criticisms  
we are not going forward w/ a jobs program  
to get their ideas (e.g. Thurston, Rohatyn, Jackson, <sup>then</sup> Markham,  
M. Porter, Cong. Black & Hygiene caucus leaders).

③ Must have something on <sup>other</sup> ways for  
NEC, relationship of global comp, structural unemployment,  
cost of fringe, etc to this problem.



## G-7 JOBS CONFERENCE

### DAY ONE

9:00 - 10:00    Presidential Address    Rubin, introduction.

Exact subject to be determined: US Jobs Agenda and the international economy.

10:15- 12:15    Opening Session: The World Employment Problem,  
Tyson, chair.

First hour is 20 minute presentation by chair followed by five minute presentation by each member. Second hour is discussion.

- o    **Why are we here:** Weak global demand and increases in both cyclical and structural unemployment. Relationship between macroeconomic fundamentals and structural problems.
- o    **Nature of the unemployment problem:** Empirical overview; what is happening in the economy and labor market.

Theory and description of EC, US, and Japan, including major similarities and differences. OECD study.

12:15 - 1:45    Lunch Special Session: Aging work force/youth unemployment.

Panel of outside experts from Business, Labor, Academe from G-7 countries.

2:00 - 4:00    The Global Economy: Trade and Jobs    Bentsen, chair  
First parallel session.

Initial remarks by chair, followed by presentation by two lead discussants, after which floor opened to comments.

- o    **Growth and domestic demand:** Discussion of fiscal/monetary policy effectiveness.
- o    **Economic and financial integration:** Has the nature of job creation changed because of growing integration in the world economy?
- o    **International trade and competition:** Uruguay Round completion; post-UR agenda.

2:00 - 4:00      Technology, Innovation, and the Private Sector  
Brown, chair,    Second parallel session

Initial remarks by chair, followed by presentation by two lead discussants after which floor opened to comments.

- o    **Technology and innovation:** forces for job enablement, reorganizing work, and industrial restructuring. What government role is appropriate?
- o    **Role of small and medium companies:** do they play a unique role in economic growth and job creation?
- o    **Infrastructure and R&D:** appropriate area for government action? Relation to job creation.
- o    **Regulatory policies:** balancing other social mandates with job creation, employment levels:
  - health
  - safety
  - environment
  - competition

4:00 - 4:15      Coffee Break

4:15 - 6:30      Labor Markets, Programs, and Policies    Reich,  
chair

Initial remarks by chair, followed by presentation by three lead discussants after which floor opened to comments.

- o    **Labor market institutions**
  - wage structure/flexibility
  - bargaining institutions
  - work rules
  - high performance workplaces
- o    **Human Capital**
  - school to work/vocational/apprenticeship
  - skill levels and employer retraining
  - active labor market policies/adjustment
  - self reliance and community
- o    **Social safety net and flexibility**
  - unemployment, disability and pension benefits
  - payroll taxes and financing
  - incentive structures and mobility

8:00 - 10:00      Dinner      Address by noted expert (or free)



DAY TWO

9:00 - 11:00     Closing Sessions: An international Jobs agenda?  
Bentsen, chair

- o     What has worked: lessons learned
- o     What has not worked: areas for further development
- o     The politics of unemployment and job creation
- o     Public understanding and public education
- o     Building coalitions for change
- o     Implementing an international jobs agenda

Press Conference

Joint photo op with loose chairman's statement afterwards.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

93 DEC 27 A9:12  
December 27, 1993

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT E. RUBIN *My RER*

SUBJECT: Year-End Thoughts on the NEC

The NEC, established by you as a major institutional innovation in government process, has now been functioning for a little over a year, beginning with the first announced appointments in Little Rock, and this memo shares a few year-end thoughts with you. (Someone familiar with past White Houses told me that the NEC has lasted longer than either of the two previous efforts to provide similar White House coordination of economic policymaking.)

As would be sensible for any new enterprise, we are taking stock at the end of the year to see what we have done well, what we have done less well, what we can do differently and what our agenda should be for 1994. That effort will be conducted by the core Cabinet and White House members of the NEC, key NEC staff, and White House political and communications people, in a series of meetings. Hopefully, this process will encourage us to think creatively about our initiatives and the best way to pursue your overall economic agenda.

*win have  
done  
by  
1/2/94*

The early part of the NEC's first year was spent establishing ourselves institutionally and carrying out your mandates to coordinate economic policy decision-making and to provide proper weight to economic considerations in areas that traditionally have underweighted economic impacts. Fortunately, from the very beginning, the NEC and the NSC have had an excellent working relationship, so that the merging of economic and foreign policy considerations has gone extremely well. Similarly, while the NEC and the DPC have had fewer matters of joint concern, that relationship has also worked well. As the year progressed, the NEC and the OEP and EPA began developing a better working relationship, and I think that these relationships are now positioned to provide a balanced approach to decision-making in these areas, e.g., superfund.

At about the middle of the year, the NEC began to include the political and communications people on a regular basis, giving us a fully rounded approach to our issues and enabling the NEC to serve as a forum for political and communications discussion of economic policy matters. The integration of economic, political and communications perspectives will continue to be heavily emphasized, going forward.



Looking ahead, now that the relationships with Cabinet agencies and other White House policy councils and the political and communications people have been well developed, a major challenge is to maintain the effectiveness of these relationships. That, in large measure, is dependent on all concerned feeling that the NEC, though imperfect like all things in life, is a better model for conducting economic policy development than the other possible models, e.g., internal warfare, all agencies reporting directly to you, dominance by one agency, or coordination through one agency rather than the White House (often tried but never very successfully).

To provide a better process for our members and for decision-making, the NEC functions in accordance with the following principles:

- a) inclusion of all appropriate members with respect to each matter being considered;
- b) full and fair reflection of all views in decision-making and, when decisions are referred to you, in all memos and meetings;
- c) efficiency, to the extent possible, given the breadth of participation (thus, the NEC operates entirely through its relevant small core of most involved members or through groups relevant to the matter at hand, rather than as a committee of the whole, and generally operates with carefully developed meeting agendas); and
- d) creativity, both with respect to particular issues and more general brainstorming.

In addition to better process producing stronger decision-making through consideration of all relevant economic and political input, better process should result in all agencies supporting whatever is agreed upon and should result in proper weighting of economic considerations in what have traditionally been thought of as non-economic areas. Samples abound of Presidents who made poor decisions through unbalanced or one-sided input (Reagan's ignoring of the deficit, or Bush's blind optimism regarding the economy), and of Administrations where agencies went their separate ways, despite a policy decision.

Also, the NEC's effectiveness depends on both the perception and the reality of being the mechanism you use for dealing with economic issues, which has worked well during 1993.

To conclude, I believe it is critical that, in our public discussions with respect to economic matters, you and all of us continue to stress that you have had a broad, comprehensive economic strategy from the very beginning, directed at both the short-term and the long-term, and that all four years of your first term will be spent implementing the various components of that strategy. Your Seattle speech did this exceedingly well.

✓  
agm

Hopefully, with repetition, the message that you have a broad, many-faceted economic strategy will take hold in the media and in the public mind, with the following effects:

- 1) creating greater confidence about both the short-term and the long-term because people believe you understand the problems and have a plan for dealing with them;
- 2) for the same reasons, helping see us through whatever difficulties might arise; and
- 3) tying together various measures that might otherwise be viewed as unconnected, such as GATT, displaced worker programs and deficit reduction.

On a final note, the NEC will have ups and downs, like anything else, but we feel that it has worked well and grown in 1993 and recognize that continued effectiveness will require vigorous attention to the needs of the process, as well as to the substantive issues.

I agree with this. One  
weakness I see is that I don't think  
we have a system to solicit & take  
seriously new / different ideas for dealing  
w/ intractable problems (e.g. black youth  
unemployment, discrimination in inner cities/  
underclass) or to provide me a chance to  
meet w/ outside thinkers on a regular basis.  
Otherwise I think it's going  
well

Frequent  
usage for  
NEC



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

November 16, 1993

12.23.93

Mr. President

Copy of letter from Kathy Karpan  
you requested.

*copy to  
Went  
Marsha  
Scott  
FW*

*Need to  
sign to  
Mar - Fy*

*Mar - Fy*

bmc

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*guy  
list*

November 3, 1993

Nancy:

Attached is a letter from Kathy Karpan, one of the President's earliest supporters, which covers a note to the President re: our Interior Department policies. I thought I'd pass it on to you to handle however you see fit.



Linda Moore  
Political Affairs  
ext. 6500





KATHY KARPAN

Secretary of State  
Cheyenne, Wyoming 82002-0020

October 27, 1993

Ms. Linda Moore  
Political Affairs  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Linda:

Enclosed is a copy of correspondence I recently received from Donna Connor of Rawlins, Wyoming. In her letter, she is expressing her frustration at the proposed Range Reforms and has sent the letter to President Clinton. However, she has asked me to also forward the letter to ensure that the President would indeed see it. Last Saturday I saw Donna at the University of Wyoming homecoming parade, and I promised faithfully to get this letter to the President. I would appreciate any assistance you can provide in this matter.

Thank you in advance.

Sincerely yours,

Kathy Karpan  
Secretary of State

KK/atn

cc: Donna Connor  
121 East Maple Street  
Rawlins, WY 82301

Margy White  
Deputy



The Capitol  
(307)777-7378

*Linda -  
I'll be back to  
DC in early December -  
Hope I can get my  
White House  
tour then!*

121 East Maple Street  
Rawlins, Wyoming 82301  
October 20, 1993

The Honorable Kathy Karpan  
Secretary of State  
Capitol Building  
Cheyenne, WY 82001

Dear Kathy,

The enclosed letter expresses my support of the ranchers as best I can. The ramifications of what I heard tonight are frightening, and we must band together as best we can.

Kathy, while I have sent this off special to the White House, do you have anyway of assuring that the President would indeed read it? Please help if you can!

As ever,

*Donna*  
Donna Connor

RECEIVED  
WYOMING  
STATE

93 OCT 22 11 51 P



121 East Maple Street  
Rawlins, Wyoming 82301  
October 20, 1993

President Bill Clinton  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Clinton:

I returned to my roots today and I was deeply moved. I attended a rally held in my old home town of Baggs, Wyoming. This rally joined together men, women and school children to express their frustration at the proposed Range Reforms.

These honorable and decent people are threatened that their very way of life will be extinguished. The proposals of Interior Secretary Babbitt and BLM Director Baca pose very real threats to the people of the West. These officials are not serving the people well, and Mr. President, they are not serving you well either.

What I witnessed today was a spontaneous community meeting. I wish you could have been there. Please, Mr. President, show the wisdom you demonstrated in the spotted owl controversy. It is time you intervened on the side of reason and compassion in this problem. Come to Wyoming, come to the Little Snake River Valley, listen to these people.

Respectfully,

Mrs. Donna Connor



The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Brussels, December 20, 1993

Dear Mr. President,

The Board of Vesalius College of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel would be deeply honored if you could accept an invitation to exchange views in an international "town hall" setting with students and the American community in Belgium on the occasion of your upcoming trip to Brussels. The event will take place in the auditorium of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. Our scheduling is flexible and dependent on your availability.

We would be honored if you could accept this opportunity to speak to domestic and international issues with a cosmopolitan mix of globally minded students and leading American expatriates in Belgium. This Vesalius College Forum will be entitled "An American Town Hall Meeting Abroad". The forum will consist of a brief introduction by a moderator, followed by a 30 minute question and answer session.

Our liaison in Washington D.C. is Robert B. Berntsen (who can be contacted at 202-775-1796). We look forward to a positive response and a rewarding exchange of views.

Yours sincerely,

R. Van Aerschoot, Ph.D.  
Chairman of the Board



Vesalius College  
Vrije Universiteit Brussel  
Pluinlaan 2  
B-1050 Brussels  
Belgium

Phone: (32) 2/641 28 21  
Fax: (32) 2/641 36 37

In association  
with Boston University

For Ricki Seidman  
with itah

From T.H.  
Podesta  
for your action



### Vesalius College Abstract

Vesalius College is a constituent school of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, the Flemish division of the University of Brussels, founded in 1834. The College prides itself on the most rigorous academic standards of all American-style, four-year, liberal arts colleges in Europe today. It is here that traditional European Humanism and American verve and innovation meet, in a cosmopolitan setting, well suited to stimulate tolerance and a global outlook. Vesalius graduates receive Bachelors degrees in association with Boston University and go on to the best American schools, such as Columbia, and Johns Hopkins. We perceive our mission as preparing tomorrow's leaders for the truly global challenges of the future.

### Tentative Schedule

|         |                                                                                                                            |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| :00-:05 | Greeting by Board Members of the University, American Chamber of Commerce, American Club of Brussels, and Democrats Abroad |
| :05-:10 | Enter Auditorium                                                                                                           |
| :10-:15 | Moderator: introductions and presents format                                                                               |
| :15-:45 | Question and answer session                                                                                                |
| :45-:55 | Exit auditorium, farewell to authorities                                                                                   |

Total time = :55 minutes

Reception



Vesalius College  
Vrije Universiteit Brussel  
Pleinlaan 2  
B-1050 Brussels  
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Phone: (32) 2/641 38 21  
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*In association  
with Boston University*



PETER B. KOVLER  
1250 24TH STREET, N.W., SUITE 300  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037  
PHONE 202/857-7810  
FAX 202/466-3079  
15 December 1993

93 DEC 15 P5:35

John Podesta  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
White House, West Wing  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear John,

Per our conversation, enclosed are some materials which show a bit about my background - and why I'm so nuts to make this birthday a spectacle.

If you have any luck with getting me in to see the President, I'd be grateful.

Thanks,



Peter Kovler

*Ricki what are we doing?  
How about a clergy  
breakfast?  
Tom*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1993

Peter B. Kovler  
Suite 300  
1250 24th Street, N.W.  
Washington. D.C. 20037

Dear Peter:

Thank you for your letter of November 18. Hillary and I were delighted that you and Judy could join us for dinner and a movie. We had a wonderful time.

Thanks, too, for your comments about my speech in Memphis. I appreciate your very good suggestion about Martin Luther King's birthday. I will carefully consider your idea, and I appreciate your sharing it with me.

I'm sending along a copy of the Memphis speech.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

PETER B. KOVLER  
1250 24TH STREET, N.W., SUITE 300  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037  
PHONE 202/857-7810  
FAX 202/466-3079  
18 November 1993

President William J. Clinton  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW  
East Wing, Suite 200  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

You and Mrs. Clinton were incredibly gracious and kind to include Judy and me in your dinner plans on Saturday night. For lifelong Democrats such as ourselves it had particularly great significance. We are grateful to you for giving us what is certainly the most unforgettable "dinner and a movie" of our 18 years in Washington.

Our brief talk about Black on Black crime - in conjunction with that heartfelt and well received Memphis speech - caused me to think that in 60 days the Administration could take greater charge of this issue.

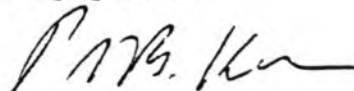
January 17 is Martin Luther King Day. It should be used as a centerpiece of this Administration's vigorous effort to stop crime. That holiday should be a living memorial to King, not a nostalgic one.

Using the name of a great American historic figure for a contemporaneous cause is a strategy which requires timing. Having successfully organized and chaired FDR's Centennial Committee in 1982 - (when FDR's values and leadership were arguably under their greatest assault since his death) - I believe that the moment now exists to "exploit" Dr. King's name... for the purpose of going at the violence and crime problems.

A series of speeches or events connecting you and Dr. King and the effort to stop violence could resonate throughout the country. (The polls can't be that far off when they say that crime is the highest concern of the people.)

Your days are as busy as those of any human being and I apologize for taking up so much of your reading time. Again, I thank you and Mrs. Clinton for your hospitality.

Sincerely yours,



Peter B. Kovler



# ry, Speeds Plans for Roosevelt's Centennial

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so persuaded Ar-  
the historian; Ar-  
he poet; Arthur

Miller, the playwright; Senator Ed-  
ward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts  
and Roosevelt's three surviving sons —  
James, Elliott and Franklin Jr. — to  
join the centennial committee.

Mr. Kovler was appointed president  
of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Cen-  
tennial Committee without much fuss.  
As an independently wealthy man  
whose parents owned the James B.  
Beam Distilling Company, Mr. Kovler  
was one of the few members of the com-  
mittee who could afford to devote the  
better part of a year to planning the  
celebration.

Lived in Awe of Roosevelt

Mr. Kovler, who said he had lived in  
awe of Roosevelt since boyhood, when  
he first read about the New Deal, has  
been meeting frequently here with di-  
rectors of the Smithsonian Institution,  
which will serve as unofficial head-  
quarters of the nationwide celebration.

The Roosevelt centennial will involve  
more branches of the Smithsonian than  
any event since the nation's Bicenten-

nial celebration in 1976, Smithsonian  
spokesmen said. At least seven of its  
museums and special-study programs  
are planning to sponsor Roosevelt ex-  
hibits and shows next year.

One of the most elaborate exhibits is  
scheduled to open here at the National  
Museum of American History on Jan.  
30. Working from what one official de-  
scribed as a "Roosevelt-as-communi-  
cator" theme, museum curators hope  
to have ready, among other displays, a  
recreation of the White House study  
from which Roosevelt made his famous  
"fireside chat" radio speeches begin-  
ning in 1933.

Smaller celebrations are planned for  
the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in  
Hyde Park and the Little White House  
Museum in Warm Springs. Roosevelt  
died in his vacation home at Warm  
Springs on April 12, 1945.

Puzzled Over Late Start

The Hyde Park library, the deposi-  
tory for the Roosevelt Presidential  
papers, has been planning a centennial

celebration for more than a year. But  
its director, William Emerson, said he  
was puzzled why the national planning  
had taken so long to begin.

"I suppose," said Mr. Emerson, a  
former history professor at Yale, "that  
hero worship is now out of style."

To give the Roosevelt centennial na-  
tional scope, the planning committee  
has reserved hotel rooms and ball-  
rooms in seven cities across the coun-  
try for next Jan. 30. The reservations  
will be offered for fund-raising dinners  
and parties "to the sort of interest  
groups that President Roosevelt would  
have supported," Mr. Kovler said.

The organization of a centennial cele-  
bration in New York State, which  
Roosevelt served as a State Senator  
from 1910 to 1913 and as Governor from  
1928 to 1932, will begin next month. Wil-  
liam Cunningham, appointments aide  
to Governor Carey, said membership  
invitations would be sent out next week  
for a special advisory panel to plan the  
state's festivities.



## Weekly Earnings



AVERAGE WEEKLY PAY of factory workers in October remained steady at \$321.53, the same as the revised figure for September, the Labor Department reports.

## All of Us Are Busy, But Is This Any Way To Honor F.D.R.?

His Approaching Centennial  
Is Ignored by Government  
From President on Down

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Doesn't anybody know it's almost time to celebrate Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 100th birthday?

Not too many people do. At least, there hasn't been a big rush to put on an official celebration for Mr. Roosevelt of the sort usually accorded famous Presidents. It was, after all, F.D.R. who built the modern U.S. political state, and right now Ronald Reagan is trying to pull some of it apart (even as Mr. Reagan, an old Democrat himself, adopts some of Mr. Roosevelt's style). This administration's presidential hero is Calvin Coolidge, who cut taxes repeatedly and took naps daily.

So the Roosevelt celebration will be informal, somewhat disorganized and maybe a little earthy, not unlike F.D.R.'s own way of doing things. Coordinating the celebration is Peter Kovler, a 29-year-old heir to the Jim Beam distillery fortune, who just decided it was the right thing to do.

The big day is Jan. 30, the 100th anniversary of Mr. Roosevelt's birth at the family estate at Hyde Park, on the Hudson River, in New York.

Mr. Kovler says there has been a kind of "national amnesia" about Mr. Roosevelt's centennial. "When I started looking at it, nobody else seemed to know—not the Smithsonian, not Harvard, not the Democratic Party. The only people who seemed to know were his children and some people at Hofstra University who were planning a symposium."

Actually, the Smithsonian Institution is planning an F.D.R. celebration. Susan Harrington, the coordinator, says it isn't so much that people forgot the centennial, "it's just we were all remembering it quietly and going about it our own way. It took Peter to pull it together and make it the national event it's going to be."

The celebration may even cause Congress to do something about the F.D.R. memorial, first proposed in 1946. The Senate Rules Committee will hold a hearing on the memorial Dec. 8, and authorization of the \$23.5 million project here may follow. The F.D.R. Memorial Commission has been in business since 1955; its only employee, Dorothy Martin, comes to work every day. "We hope the centennial will give us a boost," she says.

Traditionally, Americans have overindulged, if anything, in birthday celebration for their most famous Presidents. The George Washington bicentennial in 1932 was a rouser. The official bicentennial commission's final report, contained in five volumes, notes that there were an average of 16,000 separate bicentennial events every day during the nine-month celebration, or a total of 4,760,345 "separate and distinct programs."

Events included the gathering of nut seeds at the various Washington shrines for distribution around the world. It was sponsored by the National Nut Tree Planting Council. The American Tree Association planted 35 million trees in the Founding Father's honor. Twelve Washington postage stamps were issued, and people bought seven billion of them in 1932 alone (from which the government made a tidy profit of \$1 million).

And the nation's largest homing-pigeon race, called, appropriately, the Bicentennial Futurity, began at 6 a.m. on Oct. 9, 1932, on the Washington Monument grounds. Some 10,000 birds were "liberated."

Wilson and Teddy

The Woodrow Wilson centennial in 1956 was somewhat more restrained. But even it was marked by the issuance of a stamp, the dedication of a Woodrow Wilson bridge here and the release of thousands of balloons over Czechoslovakia crammed with 250,000 copies of Slobodna Europa, a miniature newspaper reminding Czechs and Slovaks of Mr. Wilson's great role in world affairs. The S.S. President Wilson steamed around the Pacific on a special Wilson cruise.

The first Roosevelt's centennial—Teddy's—was held in 1958 and was highlighted by the greatest fireworks show the capital had ever seen. Medora, N.D., staged a folk drama called "Old Four Eyes." And New Bedford, Mass., held a parade and bonfire, all arranged by J. William Caneen, the superintendent of the municipal incinerator.

Active on the Roosevelt commission was Vice President Richard Nixon. Hermann Hagedorn, the commission director, noted in his final report that Mr. Nixon's dedication "left in the commission director's mind the picture of a high-minded and vigorous public servant after T.R.'s own heart."

Honoring F.D.R. is more difficult, be-

Please Turn to Page 21, Column 1



# Is This Any Way to Honor F.D.R. On 100th Anniversary of His Birth?

*Continued From First Page*

cause he seems to be as controversial today as he was when he was President. Source, a bellicose publication of the Republican National Committee, went out of its way in its Oct. 19 issue to call the proposed Roosevelt memorial an "eyesore" and to call the former President "the great chiseler."

Ground for that memorial—the site is the Tidal Basin's "cherry walk" between the Lincoln and Jefferson memorials—was set aside years ago. But the first two designs were rejected. The one now before Congress is the work of San Francisco landscape architect Lawrence Halprin. It isn't a traditional monument at all, but a 1,000-foot-long walkway with a meandering granite wall and open "rooms" containing sculptures of President Roosevelt and quotations and tumbling waterfalls.

All that needs to be done now is for Congress to authorize it and then appropriate the money to build it. The memorial's Senate sponsors, who include Republicans Mark Hatfield of Oregon and Charles Mathias of Maryland, hope the Senate Rules Committee will approve the project at its Dec. 8 meeting. But no action is scheduled in the House, and no one on either side expects the money to be appropriated during a time when the budget is so tight.

## Reagan's Role

It would help, Roosevelt partisans say, if President Reagan took an interest in the memorial and in the centennial celebration. After all, they note, it was Mr. Reagan who turned to F.D.R. for inspiration in his acceptance speech at the Republican convention in July 1980. And Mr. Reagan's advisers say they aren't so much interested in tearing apart F.D.R.'s New Deal. Their real target is Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

So far, though, Mr. Reagan hasn't responded to invitations to take part in various F.D.R. programs. An indication of the administration's attitude might be the State Department's refusal to allow F.D.R. exhibits in U.S. embassies and consulates.

And so it appears the celebration will be an informal, private party.

Taking the lead is the Smithsonian Institution, with or without the President's support. The Smithsonian Institution is the only organization with federal backing for an F.D.R. celebration—a special congressional appropriation of \$200,000. The theme of the Smithsonian's celebration, which will last for months, will be Mr. Roosevelt's role as a communicator. "He communicated masterfully," says Miss Hamilton, the program coordinator. "He was the first President to use the radio as a tool for mass communica-

tions. He was the first to fly in an airplane to a national convention. He was the first to appear on television."

In the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, they will re-create the White House studio from which the President made his now-legendary fireside chats, using some of the original equipment. Next to it will be a representative living room of the era, with a radio on which the broadcast might have been received. The car that was specially fitted for F.D.R. to drive—many people never knew he had been crippled by polio—will be displayed.

## WPA Art

The Museum of American Art will put on a show of Depression art by artists who were subsidized by the WPA. And the Hirshhorn Museum will display the works of five major artists, still busy today, who got their start with the WPA. Among them: Willem de Kooning.

The Smithsonian's folk-life unit will try to re-create some of the entertainment that was featured at White House parties and dinners during the Roosevelt years. Included will be the dinner for King George VI and Queen Elizabeth that was highlighted by Kate Smith's singing of "The Moon Comes Over the Mountain." One of the performers at that dinner, the folk singer Alan Lomax, will take part in the re-creation, which will be held Jan. 30 at the National Museum of American History.

That, of course, is just part of it. There will be lectures and displays and traveling shows. Books will be publicized and TV documentaries produced. Other organizations will participate, ranging from F.D.R.'s alma mater, Harvard University, to the March of Dimes, F.D.R.'s favorite charity.

Young Mr. Kovler, who got the ball rolling, comes from a strong Democratic family. He says he has been "in awe" of F.D.R. since he began reading about him when he was a boy. He learned more about Mr. Roosevelt when he worked for two New Dealers—Illinois Rep. Sidney Yates, 71, and Philip Klutznick, 73, the former Secretary of Commerce.

"When I decided we had to do something about Roosevelt's centennial," he says, "I looked around and I seemed to be the only one with the time for it."

He expects it to be an educational experience. His own wife, he says, was uncertain about which Roosevelt—Teddy or F.D.R.—did what, when and to whom. Now she knows.



*The Washington Post*  
Tuesday, July 7, 1981

# *The FDR Connection*

## Planning the Centennial

By Michael Kernan

It began when one of Peter Kovler's friends happened to remark that his birthday was Jan. 30, and did he know it was Franklin Delano Roosevelt's birthday too, in 1882.

"Why, FDR's centennial is coming up next year," Kovler mused. "I wonder what's being planned."

He found out soon enough: Nothing was being planned. So the 29-year-old former Department of Commerce speech writer decided he would start something himself.

"I was appalled," he said on a visit to a former boss, Rep. Sidney Yates (D-Ill.), this week. "These things usually start cranking up two or three years in advance. For Teddy Roosevelt they had an enormous national

See FDR, C10, Col. 4



*Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1940*



# FDR Fans Plan Centennial Fete

*FDR, From C1*

committee and special observances in every state and many cities, magazine articles, parties, all kinds of stuff. They did almost as much for Wilson and for Lincoln's sesquicentennial, also in the '50s. But FDR — nothing. It was an atrocity."

With the help of Yates, like him a Roosevelt admirer, Kovler quickly formed a committee. You always have to have a committee. He enlisted the likes of Thomas (Tommy the Cork) Corcoran, an old New Deal stalwart, W. Averell Harriman, Edward Kennedy, Archibald MacLeish, playwright Arthur Miller, Joseph Rauh, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., R. Sargent Shriver, Adlai Stevenson III, Studs Terkel and the Roosevelt clan.

Things are snowballing. Yates rushed a \$200,000 planning appropriation through Congress. Kovler, a wealthy heir (James Beam Distilling Co.) with some free time, was named president of the centenary project. Officials at the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, the summer home complex at Campobello Island and the Little White House Museum at Warm Springs, Ga., were alerted. And the Smithsonian, unofficial headquarters for the centenary, already has outlined its most elaborate effort since the 1976 blowout.

For instance, the Museum of American History plans to reproduce the "fireside chat" scene, the White House study from which FDR, the master communicator, took his case to the people via radio. The WPA and other Roosevelt landmarks will be celebrated in exhibit and film. The Museum of American Art, the Hirshhorn Museum, the National Portrait Gallery, Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Associates and the Woodrow Wilson Center plan to take part in the yearlong activities. A postage stamp may be issued. Studies of the current significance of the New Deal are in the works.

In New York State, where Roosevelt served as a state senator and as governor, a centennial program is



*Peter Kovler; by James K.W. Atherton — The Washington Post*

gearing up, with an advisory panel to be formed this month.

"We've asked the president and vice president to be on the committee," Kovler said. "I hope to hear in a few days. Of course, Reagan drew on Roosevelt's speeches in the campaign, and he used to be a supporter."

Ever since he was a boy, Kovler has been a fan of the man he calls "this century's greatest president." As an under-30, he feels he is something of an anomaly, for, to many young Americans, Franklin Roosevelt is just a name in a history book to be confused with Theodore, an Aquarius along with McKinley, Harrison and Lincoln. For those over 45, he ventured, FDR is still a controversial figure, not so much for his leadership in World War II as for his systematic

expansion of the executive branch into a mighty administrative complex, his introduction of the imperial presidency.

"He was always associated with the idea of a compassionate, activist government, an idea that has fallen from favor recently. Some people are definitely ill at ease to be honoring him at this particular time. But in general, the response has been terrific."

Kovler intends to disband the committee after the final celebration, on the 50th anniversary of the Roosevelt inaugural, March 4, 1983. "I don't believe in institutions lasting longer than they have to," he said. "After all, I'm not a public relations type. I've never flacked in my life. I see myself less an entrepreneur than a guerrilla."

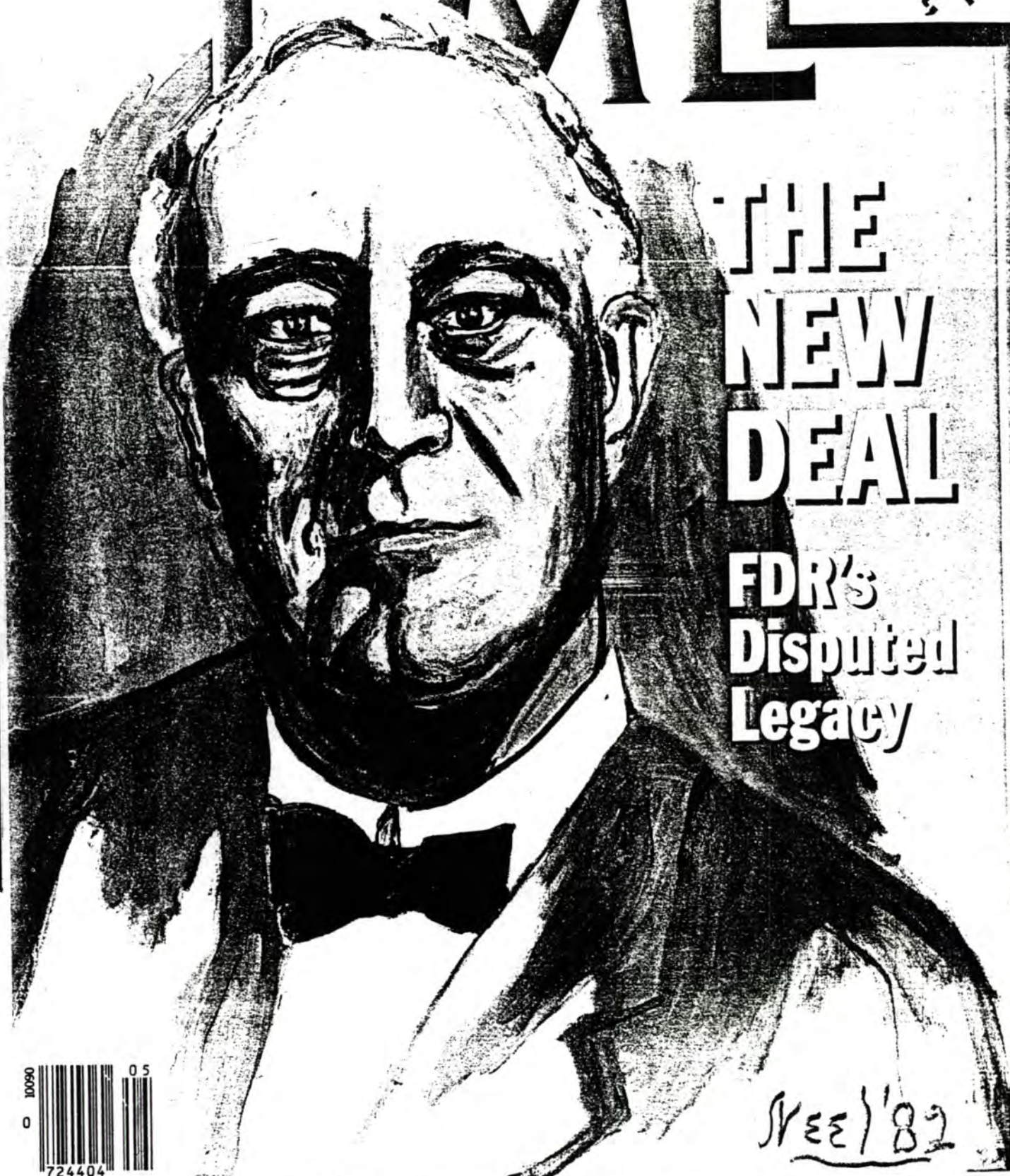


# TIME

**LEATHER CHIC**  
Supple, Soft,  
Sexy

## THE NEW DEAL

**FDR's  
Disputed  
Legacy**



*See '82*



COVER STORY

## F.D.R.'s Disputed Legacy

*A new look at the New Deal, how it changed us and what it teaches us*

Joint sessions of the Congress of the United States are rare and stately rituals, and it is rare indeed that they occur twice within a few days. This week, with a fanfare of ironies and contradictions, that ceremonial conjunction is taking place. On Tuesday, Jan. 26, President Ronald Reagan appears on Capitol Hill to deliver his State of the Union address, proclaiming once again his determination to cut back on Big Government, on Government spending and Government intervention in people's lives. Two days later, the two Houses of Congress reassemble to commemorate the 100th birthday of the man generally credited (or blamed) for creating the era of Big Government: Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Reagan likes to use such occasions to indulge his penchant for quoting Roosevelt, the hero of his youth, bending to his own purposes one of the famous Rooseveltian phrases about the forgotten man or the generation

that has a rendezvous with destiny. The speakers at the F.D.R. commemoration, by contrast, generally regard Reagan as a doctrinaire conservative determined to tear apart the entire Roosevelt heritage.

Roosevelt assumed leadership during one of the greatest crises in modern history—a crisis that seemed to mark the total breakdown of the American system—and his response to that emergency changed the nation's ways forever. In the tumultuous period still known as the Hundred Days, he pushed through Congress a broad array of legislation, ranging from the reform of the nation's banks to the reorganization of the entire farm system. Yet as the expected battles in Congress over new taxes and budget cuts will make clear, the arguments of 1932 still shape the state of the nation in 1982. This is the disputed Roosevelt heritage.

**S**am Rosenman still remembered two decades later that he had sent out for some hot dogs. Day was already dawning, and the beefy young lawyer had been waiting all night with Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt at the executive mansion in Albany for the news that the presidential nomination had been won. Two secretaries lay asleep on sofas. The first three ballots at the Democratic Convention in Chicago had failed to bring Roosevelt victory, but Rosenman decided to take the hot dogs and a pot of coffee into a nearby dining room and work on the Governor's acceptance speech.

As Rosenman labored on, sourly wondering from time to time whether the speech would ever be delivered, he did not realize that he had somehow happened upon the phrase that was to name a whole era and a whole philosophy of American Government. "I had not the slightest idea that it would take hold the way it did," Rosenman recalled, "nor did the Governor when he read and revised what I had written." But when Roosevelt flew through dangerous headwinds to Chicago to accept the nomination—the first time a victorious candidate had ever gone before a convention—the delegates hungrily awaiting leadership roared at his declaration: "I pledge myself to a new deal for the American people."

NEW DEAL said the next day's headlines. Rollin Kirby of the New York *World-Telegram* summed up the reaction with a cartoon, which showed a troubled farmer with a hoe looking up into the sky at an airplane bearing the incantatory words NEW DEAL. It was a message of hope at a time when a naturally optimistic people seemed to be slipping into despair, and with good reason. In the three years since the great stock market crash of 1929, national income had plunged by more than half, from \$87.4 billion to \$41.7 billion. Unemployment had soared to 4 million in 1930, 8 million in 1931, 12 million in 1932—one-quarter of the entire work force—and in stricken cities like Chicago the figure went as high as one-half. FORTUNE magazine estimated that 27.5 million Americans had no regular income at all. More than a million of the jobless roamed the country as hobos. Ugly clusters of tin-can shanties known as "Hoovervilles" sprouted in the midst of New York City's Central Park. Penniless men tried to sell apples on street corners. Many talked of revolution.

And now there came before the Democratic Convention of 1932 a man who was so wasted by polio that he could not stand erect without leg braces, but who promised his stricken nation "a new order of competence and courage," and who declared: "This is more than a political campaign; it is a call to arms."

It was exactly half a century ago this summer that the call to

arms was sounded, and half a century ago this fall that it was answered. Roosevelt swept the bewildered Herbert Hoover out of the White House by a landslide of 472 electoral votes to 59. The new Congress too was ready for bold leadership—ready indeed to give up much of its own authority—and in Roosevelt's legendary first hundred days he won approval of 15 major legislative innovations. Many of the New Deal's experiments failed or faltered into limbo, but others became part of the steely armature of American life. Social Security, minimum wages, insured bank savings, the right to join labor unions—these are just a few of the lasting results of Roosevelt's New Deal. For better or for worse, Washington took on a basic responsibility for planning and managing society, for maintaining the nation's prosperity, and for the equitable sharing of that prosperity. What Roosevelt called the "forgotten man" would be forgotten no longer.

**I**t was exactly a century ago, on Jan. 30, 1882, that the man who worked this transformation was born to wealth and ease in a Hudson River estate at Hyde Park, N.Y. Destined for Groton, Harvard, the law and a life of comfortable obscurity, he became instead not only the President and creator of the New Deal but also the architect of a new political coalition that elected him to four terms and remained in control of Washington for more than two decades. As commander of the Grand Alliance that won World War II, he established the U.S. as the unchallenged leader of the free world. He was, says one young admirer named Peter Kovler, "as great a hero as a nation ever gets."

Kovler, 29, a distillery heir who sports a bushy mustache and bushy optimism, was born seven years after Roosevelt's death. When a friend, who happened to have been born on Roosevelt's birthday, told him last summer that it would soon be the F.D.R. centennial, Kovler began asking what celebrations were being planned. To his amazement he learned that virtually nothing was being done. The U.S. seemed to be suffering what Kovler calls a "collective amnesia." Says he: "It has been so long since we have taken a President seriously that we may have forgotten how."

So Kovler used his contacts as a former congressional and Commerce Department aide to start organizing a Roosevelt centennial committee, which ended up including such luminaries as Senator Edward Kennedy, Diplomatic Troubleshooter Averell Harriman, Roosevelt Aide Benjamin Cohen, Poet Archibald MacLeish and the three surviving Roosevelt sons. Kovler even lobbied an appropriation of \$200,000 through Congress to help promote a series of celebrations later this month. In addition to the joint session of Congress, the events will include these:



## Special Section

► There will be a wreath-laying ceremony at Roosevelt's birthplace in Hyde Park, and a birthday cake will be served where he died, in Warm Springs, Ga., the mineral-water health resort that he regularly visited for treatment of his physical afflictions.

► The Smithsonian Institution will stage six large exhibitions of Roosevelt memorabilia. The Library of Congress, the National Archives and the Corcoran Gallery will mount shows of their own. So will Harvard, the Universities of California, Texas, Illinois and at least a dozen more.

► The March of Dimes will honor its founder with a dinner in Washington. The Democratic National Committee will stage a fund raiser in New York. So will a gaggle of other organizations, ranging from the Indiana Democrats to the port of Oakland.

In contrast to past presidential centennials, however, the Roosevelt celebrations conspicuously lack one major participant: the incumbent President. Ronald Reagan, whose unemployed father got a job as a minor New Deal official, has scheduled a White House lunch for some of the Rooseveltians attending the joint session of Congress, but he did not accept any invitations to attend the various festivities. The Republican National Committee publication *Source* even disparaged the anniversary events by denouncing Roosevelt as "the great chiseler." Thus the controversy surrounding F.D.R. refuses to die.

"The snow of '29 wasn't real snow," said one of Scott Fitzgerald's sad young men. "If you didn't want it to be snow, you just paid some money."

The easy money of 1929 characterized the carefree spirit of the Jazz Age, and so did the stock market, which seemed to keep climbing forever upward, faster and faster. During the last 18 months of the great bull market, General Electric rose from 128 to 396, RCA from 94 to 505. Anyone who could not afford to pay

could buy on margin for as little as 10% cash. The market suddenly stopped climbing on Sept. 3. Then came a month of hiccuping declines, then the wild, shouting, shoving anarchy of "Black Thursday." By the end of the month, \$32 billion in paper values had simply disappeared.

"The fundamental business of the country is on a sound and prosperous basis," President Hoover said the day after Black Thursday. He was expressing the standard and perfectly correct view that Wall Street is quite different from the U.S. economy as a whole. But the U.S. economy suddenly seemed just as stricken as Wall Street. The index of manufacturing production sank from 127 in June 1929 to 97 a year later. Farm income dropped even more. In 1930, 26,355 business firms went bankrupt. Hoover kept saying it was a temporary problem. "Gentlemen," he told some visitors that year, "the Depression is over."

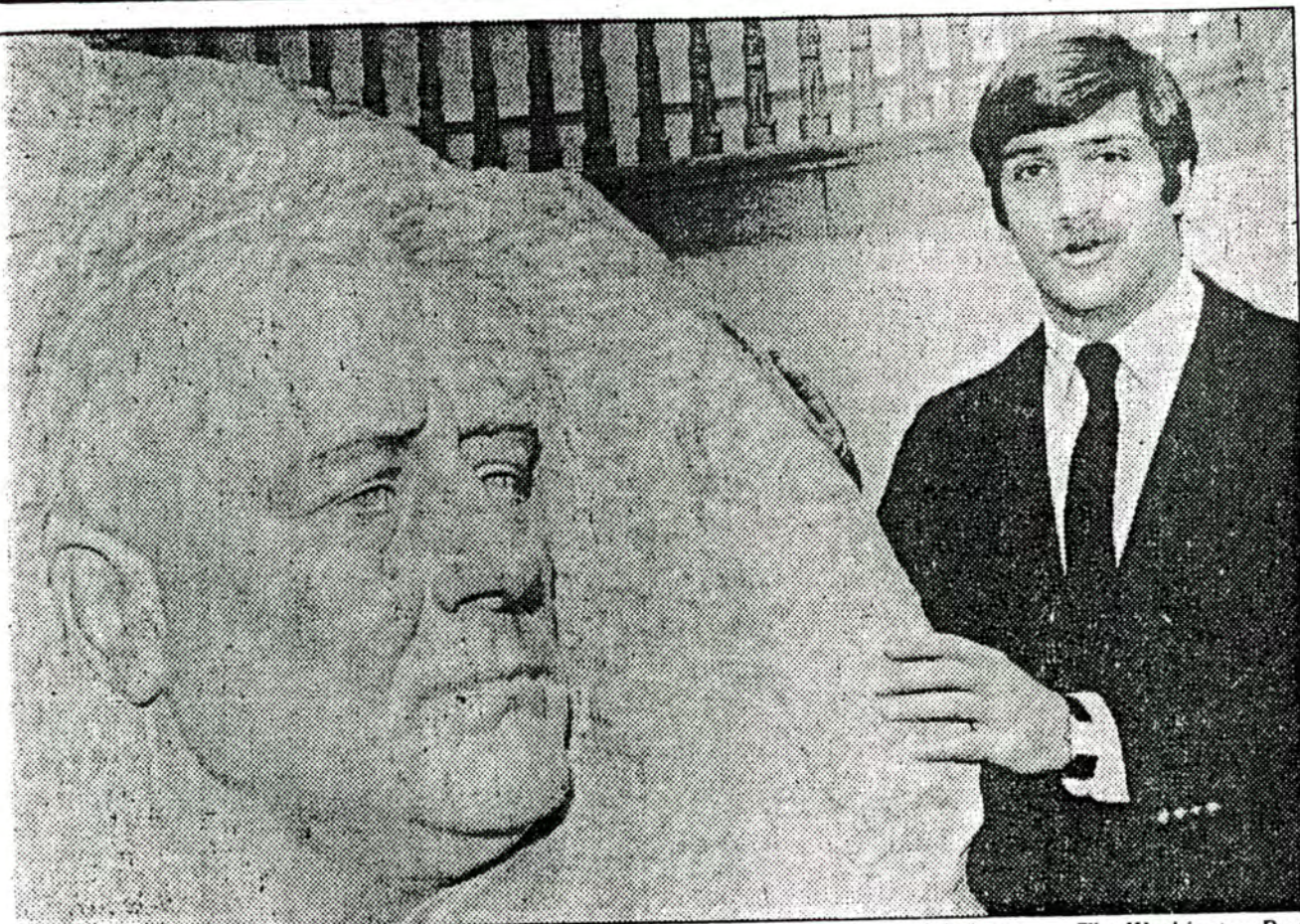
Economists debate to this day about what caused the Great Depression. A prevailing view, persuasively argued by John Kenneth Galbraith, is that the technological increases in productivity throughout the 1920s (up 43% per factory man-hour) were not matched by increases in wages and thus in the public's capacity to consume (factory pay rose less than 20%). The collapse of the overinflated stock market therefore started a downward spiral in both demand and the ability to pay. Conservative economists like Milton Friedman, on the other hand, blame the Federal Reserve System for failing to expand the money supply sufficiently in the wake of the stock market crash.

Hoover was rather dour by nature—Secretary of State Henry Stimson described a White House meeting as "like sitting in a bath of ink"—and he insisted that reduced spending and a balanced budget would end the slump. "Nobody is actually starving," Hoover said. "The hobos, for example, are better fed than they have ever been." Other U.S. officials were equally astute.

The Depression suddenly brought millions of Americans face to face with stark ruin. From left, apples sold by jobless on Washington street corners; unemployed Detroit worker pleaded for help; breadlines stretched for blocks in New York City; farm mother lacked food for her children







Peter Kovler with Joe Davidson's sculpture of Franklin Roosevelt; by Harry Naltchayan — The Washington Post

## Homage to a Hero

By Ann L. Trebbe

His office is bare. There is no typewriter, no portrait of a smiling wife, no pictures on the walls, no books on any shelves. There isn't even a stack of paperwork waiting to be done. A desk and a phone sit alone in a room in the Smithsonian's Museum of Natural History.

But that's all he needs, says 29-year-old Peter Kovler, breaking into a laugh to assure you he likes it that way.

As Saturday, the 100th birthday of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, nears, Kovler, chairman of the National FDR

### Peter Kovler & the FDR Centennial

Centennial Committee, executive director of the Congressional Committee for a Joint Congress and heir to the Jim Beam fortune, has seen his days become filled with a final frenzy.

A typical recent day went in part like this:

- 8:45 a.m. He's having breakfast at home with his wife, Judy. The phone

rings. It's a committee member to discuss an FDR centennial problem.

- He gets to his office . . . A woman in San Mateo County, Calif., is on the line saying she saw a small item in a San Francisco newspaper about the FDR centennial. She wants to organize some Democrats to spend the evening together. How should she do it?

- Off to Capitol Hill for a meeting, lunch and press conference with Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.) and Sen. Jennings Randolph (D-W.Va.).

- Middle of the afternoon, working

See KOVLER, C9, Col. 1



# Gearing Up for the Final Frenzy of the FDR Centennial Plans

KOVLER, From C1

from the office of Rep. Sidney Yates (D-Ill.). He gets through a call to the secretary in his Chicago office and dictates a letter about celebrations in Miami, Denver, San Francisco and Chicago.

Kovler's friends, when they are able to slow him down, jokingly call him Franklin. A playwright friend recently gave him an FDR coloring book. His wife has started a scrapbook.

"FDR is full-time now," Kovler says earnestly, leaning over a ketchup-drenched hamburger he ordered at lunch. With the next bite, he tallies the count of FDR-related phone

calls on an average day. "Dozens," he decides.

Last summer when Kovler, who was born seven years after FDR died, began to wonder what was being planned to recognize the anniversary of Roosevelt's 100th birthday, he found out that virtually nothing was being planned. The former Department of Commerce speechwriter was shocked and decided to start something himself. Soon he found himself head of the whole centenary project.

There's no doubt that Kovler's admiration of the former president got him the job. But there must be some reason a nice-guy-from-

Chicago-too-young-to-have-been-there is in the midst of a Roosevelt hoopla like this. He says his parents didn't hang FDR's portrait above the mantel. Bread lines were never a part of his life, and although his father talked about FDR and his mother cried when he died, he was just one among many other heroes in the household. Patriotism is his defense.

"There's nothing wrong with patriotism," Kovler says, even though he describes growing up at a time when patriotism was apt to be mocked.

"I just assumed he was everyone's hero," Kovler says, his widening blue

eyes a perfect match with his faded jeans. "Don't you think?"

Everyone's hero or not, Congress appropriated \$225,000 to fund the commemorative festivities, including the Smithsonian's observance, which in size will be second only to its Bicentennial celebration. But in terms of presidential commemoratives, according to Kovler's research, it doesn't come close to Herbert Hoover's in 1974 when \$7 million was spent.

"A considerable amount," says Kovler, his bushy brown mustache hovering over every word. "And a considerable amount for a figure I think everyone would say paled in

comparison — to put it mildly — to Franklin D. Roosevelt."

But Kovler is more than pleased with the celebration plans, which include lectures, films, a three-hour television documentary and numerous exhibits, especially since he found out it usually takes three to five years to properly coordinate a tribute of this scale. He's convinced it will be a celebration fit for a president.

"It's common knowledge that Roosevelt saved the nation through two of the most major crises of the century," Kovler says, the hamburger long gone, but the FDR talk still flowing, "and that he was to America

like Churchill to England, like Lincoln to the 19th century.

"I would like people to remember that there is nothing criminal about government," Kovler says. "Most people think that now, somehow, the government is the devil's tool, and I think you can show by teaching history, this history — the New Deal — that government is not the devil's tool."

Kovler walks out onto the snow-covered sidewalk. He stops and turns around, an envelope tucked under his arm.

"Do you know where the Federal Express office is?"

Peter Kovler's got some last-minute FDR mail-outs.

VISIT THE 5th ANNUAL



# Nursing Job Fair

Thursday, January 28 and  
Friday, January 29  
10 a.m. to 6 p.m.  
Saturday, January 30  
9 a.m. to 2 p.m.



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

and admitted that the last time a suspected yakuza was caught with heroin was in 1979, when three tattooed Japanese were nabbed at the Honolulu airport carrying 1.3 kilograms in cigarette cartons. (All are now serving Federal prison sentences.) Furthermore, Japanese officials said the Americans had no evidence of links between the yakuza and U.S. mobsters and concluded that the U.S. lawmen were overreacting—both at the Tokyo conference and in their testimony before the Senate committee. "There wasn't a single concrete case to support

what they were saying," said Takahiro Yamada, assistant director of the narcotics division of the Japanese National Police Agency. "There may be a potential, but from the information we have now, I don't see it developing."

**'Hoods':** U.S. authorities remain unmollified—and they are plainly worried that as the modern yakuza evolves, with younger members more likely to speak English and less likely to sport tattoos and missing finger joints, they will be in a better position to infiltrate U.S. drug rings and evade U.S. agents. Japanese officials have cooperated with the Americans, giving them the names

of 50 yakuza convicted of crimes and promising others on a case-by-case basis. But Tokyo has balked at a U.S. request for a complete roster of suspected gang members on the ground that many of them have never been arrested for crimes. That leaves U.S. lawmen largely to their own devices in dealing with the yakuza, and the American cops have few illusions about the new opposition. "There is nothing mysterious or exotic about them," says Honolulu police officer Richard Nagao. "They're just hoods."

MELINDA BECK with MARTIN KASINDORF in Honolulu, KIM WILLENSON in Tokyo and MARY LORD in Washington



Roosevelt on his 58th birthday (1940): A centennial celebration

## The Unforgotten Man

Americans love a birthday party—and the bigger the bash, the better. Consider major celebrations of birthdays for the centennial births of former presidents. The 1932 George Washington bicentennial lasted nine months, and its commission, in a five-volume report, emphasized that the celebration consisted of more than 4.7 million "separate and distinct programs." For Woodrow Wilson's centennial in 1956, a stamp was issued, a bridge was dedicated and thousands of balloons containing miniature newspapers extolling Wilson's role in world affairs were dropped over Czechoslovakia. Two years later the Theodore Roosevelt centennial was the occasion for one of the largest fireworks in the history of Washington, D.C. Even the much-maligned Herbert Hoover rated a \$7 million Congressional appropriation to build a library for his centennial in 1974.

But what about FDR? Peter Kovler, a speechwriter in Carter's Commerce Department last year, decided to find out what was being planned for the 100th anniversary of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's birth on Jan. 30, 1982. Kovler, 29, who considers FDR "as great a hero as a nation ever gets," was stunned to discover the answer: nothing. When it came to the four-term President who fathered

the New Deal—the most far-reaching economic and social program in the nation's history—and who led the United States from a "day of infamy" to victory in World War II, the country seemed to have "a case of national amnesia," says Kovler. "Somehow people forgot." After calls to institutions and organizations found all but a handful unaware of the upcoming centennial, Kovler resolved to remedy the oversight.

He established a national committee that includes famous New Dealers and contemporary political heavies and pried \$200,000 out of the current Congress to finance a celebration. The result is a year of programs, exhibits and events, most of them coordinated by the Smithsonian Institution, to commemorate FDR. Kovler expects the centennial highlight to be a joint session of Congress on Jan. 28 devoted to FDR's Presidency—an "interesting juxtaposition," he suggests, with President Reagan's State of the Union Message before the same body earlier that week. Reagan, who cast his first four Presidential votes for FDR, obviously has little affinity for the tenets of the New Deal today. The President says he first supported Roosevelt because of FDR's campaign promises to cut back Federal spending and return power to local governments. And playing revisionist historian, he suggests that the New Deal approach probably would have been temporary—"in the nature of medicine for a sick patient," Reagan said in a recent Public Broadcasting Service interview. "I think had he lived, and with the war over, we would have seen him [FDR] using government the other way."

Not everyone is enthralled with the notion of an FDR centennial. The conservative *National Review* dubbed Kovler a "lout" for his efforts and speculated that a true celebration in the FDR mold would be "bureaucratic, Cabinet-rank, unconstitutional, more expensive than any before and perpetual so that our children's children can help pay for it a hundred years from now." Such lingering hostility to FDR, particularly in an era that Kovler believes to represent a gigantic political shift away from New Deal values of "a government that aids the poor and hungry," may account for the absence of centennial fanfare. Susan Hamilton, who coordinates the Smithsonian effort, attributes the nation's forgetfulness to "this funny period of non-hero worship." Whatever the reason, she credits Kovler with singlehandedly founding the FDR centennial and turning it into a national event. "It would have been a day of sorrow," says Kovler himself, "if we'd had a Roosevelt centennial without giving it the attention it deserves."

MARK STARR with MARY HAGER in Washington

Kovler at FDR memorial: Show and tell





THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Almon*

**DATE:** 29 December 1993

**NOTE FOR:** Melanne Verveer  
Ricki Seidman

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you  
for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

What is the state of Mr. Grant's health?  
Can we postpone the award until the July  
announcement?

*Paul*

Paul Richard

Thank you.

**JOHN D. PODESTA**  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
(x2702)

cc: *Tony Lake*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 20, 1993

MR. ~~PRESIDENT~~:

Enclosed is a memo from Tony Lake suggesting that you consider awarding the Presidential Medal of Freedom to James Grant, Executive Director of UNICEF, during tomorrow's UNICEF event.

We agree with Tony that Mr. Grant is deserving of the Medal of Freedom. In fact, he, along with Cesar Chavez, is on the list of Medal candidates for next July's award ceremony. However, we feel that including the award of the Medal of Freedom in tomorrow's ceremony may detract from the message of the UNICEF event, particularly the awards to the six American health heroes. Therefore, we suggest that you consider postponing the recommended award to Grant until July 1994.

*Paul*

R. Paul Richard

→ Hi's -  
Then how can that offer  
B



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12 21 93

December 21, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA  
R. PAUL RICHARD *pr*

SUBJECT: MEDAL OF FREEDOM FOR JAMES GRANT

Maggie Williams was of the view that adding a Medal of Freedom ceremony to the UNICEF event would change the focus of the event. She also agrees that presentation of the Certificates of Commendation to the American health heroes would be diminished if they were presented in the same ceremony as the medal.

You requested an update on Mr. Grant's illness in connection with Tony Lake's recommendation that you award the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Grant during tomorrow's UNICEF event. According to the First Lady's office, Mr. Grant suffers from pancreatic cancer. However, his energy level is high, and there is no expectation that his condition will deteriorate significantly over the next few weeks. We therefore recommend that a medal ceremony for Mr. Grant be scheduled for sometime in January.

*[Handwritten signature]*  
*[Handwritten initials]*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 12/20

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓

SUBJECT: UNICEF Event on December 21: Recommendation that  
You Award the Medal of Freedom to James P. Grant,  
Executive Director of the United Nations  
Children's Fund (UNICEF)

Purpose

To recommend that you consider awarding the Medal of Freedom to James Grant at a White House event scheduled for December 21.

Background

UNICEF EVENT ON TUESDAY

On Tuesday, you and the First Lady will be hosting an East Room event in conjunction with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). At the event (which is the subject of a separate memorandum to you from Carol Rasco, Alexis Herman and myself), you will 1) receive UNICEF's 1994 State of the World's Children report, 2) reaffirm in prepared remarks the U.S. commitment to children's health both in the United States and abroad, and 3) recognize six American "health heroes" who have made unique contributions internationally to the field of children's health.

Participants in the event will include several cabinet secretaries, a children's choir and other children who have connections to UNICEF, the "health heroes" and other invited guests. We also expect substantial media coverage.

You will receive the UNICEF report from James Grant, UNICEF's Executive Director and probably the world's foremost advocate for children's health and development.

In view of your commitment to health care reform and Jim's remarkable accomplishments in the area of children's health and development, I suggest you consider using the Tuesday event to present Jim with the Medal of Freedom.

JAMES GRANT'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Over the past fifteen years, no individual has done more than Jim Grant to promote the principle that children's health and

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff



development must be a high priority for the governments of the world. In the mid-1980s, UNICEF led a campaign initiated by the World Health Organization to vaccinate 80% of the world's children under the age of two years against six common childhood diseases. (UNICEF estimates that vaccination rates for all six diseases prior to the campaign hovered at 25% or below.) The 80% goal was accomplished by 1990 and put in place delivery systems that could save the lives of many millions of children by the end of the decade.

Jim was the driving force behind the World Summit for Children, a gathering of more than 150 world leaders (including President Bush and 70 other heads of state), in which governments committed themselves to achieving a set of children's health objectives and to adopting national plans of action to implement the goals. Those national plans (including one we have established for ourselves) are now being implemented and form guideposts to measure progress in this crucial area.

Prior to joining UNICEF, Jim served as director of a number of prominent organizations involved with development issues and also served as a senior official of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), where his energy, commitment and vision were legendary. He has written widely on development, has played a critical role in shaping international thinking and efforts on these issues and has received many awards and other honors for his accomplishments.

#### RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to award James Grant the Medal of Freedom at Tuesday's event.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab I Biography of James P. Grant of UNICEF



United Nations Children's Fund. Fonds des Nations Unies pour l'enfance. Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para la Infancia.  
Детский Фонд Организации Объединенных Наций. 联合国儿童基金会. منظمة الأمم المتحدة للطفولة

JAMES P. GRANT

Biographical information

James P. Grant assumed office as the third Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund and Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations on 1 January 1980, succeeding Henry R. Labouisse.

Mr. Grant draws upon a long and distinguished career in the field of development which began with service in China in 1946 and 1947 for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. He came to UNICEF from the Overseas Development Council, which he served as President and Chief Executive Officer since its establishment in 1969.

Mr. Grant had previously served with the United States Agency for International Development (AID) as an Assistant Administrator (1967-1969) and as Director of the AID programme in Turkey with the personal rank of Minister (1964-67). He was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs (1962-1964) and a Deputy Director of the International Co-operation Administration (AID's predecessor) with responsibility for world-wide programming and planning (1959-1962). In addition to his work in China and Turkey, his overseas assignments included service as Director of the United States aid mission in Sri Lanka (1956-58), and Regional Legal Counsel resident in New Delhi for United States aid programmes for South Asia (1954-1956).

Mr. Grant has served as director of a number of organizations involved with development issues, including the Commission on Participation in Development of the World Council of Churches, the International Voluntary Services, the Pan American Development Foundation, the Institute of Current World Affairs, Save the Children and the Foreign Policy Association. He served as President of the Society for International Development from 1979 to 1983. He was a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation and Johns Hopkins University, and a member of the Trustee Visiting Committee, School of Nutrition, Tufts University.

Mr. Grant received a B.A. from Berkeley in 1943, and a Doctorate in Jurisprudence from Harvard University in 1951. He received honorary degrees from the University of Notre Dame and Hacettepe University in 1980, Maryville College in 1981, from Tufts and Denison Universities in 1983 and University of Maryland in 1986. He was also awarded an Honorary Professorship in 1983 from the Capital Medical College of China. He has received a number of awards, including Distinguished Public Service, USAID (1961), Rockefeller Public Service (1980), Gold Mercury International, 1984 by ICC - International Organization for Co-operation, Rome and Lome, the Presidential Citation of the American Public Health Association in 1985 and the Hunger Award from Brown University in April 1989. He was also awarded the Command of the National Order of Mali in October 1989. In 1990 he received the E.H. Christopherson Lectureship Award on International Child Health from the American Academy of Pediatrics; The Diplomatic World Bulletin's 1990 Award of Distinction; and the Leonardo d'Oro Award.

A large number of publications dealing with development matters have been authored by Mr. Grant.

He was born in China in 1922. He has three sons by the late Ethel Henck Grant. In July 1989 he married Ellen Young.



*Chen*

DATE: 12/29

TO: Bob Rubin

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA  
Assistant to the President and  
Staff Secretary

Did you ever  
do anything with  
this?

JDP

November 12, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ROBERT E. RUBIN, National Economic Council

FROM: KENNETH D. BRODY, Export-Import Bank *Ken Brody*

SUBJECT: Economic Stimulus Through Credit Availability

The long term lesson of last week's elections is that absent voter optimism about the economy, it is easy to conduct an anti-incumbent campaign. Seldom will an incumbent have the advantage on secondary issues, such as crime, where voters will be unhappy no matter how strong the record of the incumbent (witness Florio and gun control record).

Last week also saw the strongest set of economic indicators in some time. Unfortunately, but predictably, the bond market reacted by anticipating long-term inflation with an uptick in interest rates, a development if it takes hold that could undermine the recovery.

There is nothing more important for policy and political reasons than to keep the recovery going. Concern about the deficit makes fiscal stimulus difficult at best. Concern about inflation makes it unlikely that the Fed will ease the money supply any further. The most promising remaining source of stimulus is the commercial credit sector. Early in the Administration, a credit-easing initiative was announced. It does not seem to have paid large dividends, perhaps because it came before the budget deficit reduction package and before the heads of the regulatory agencies were in place.

I, therefore, respectfully suggest a serious, quiet reexamination of the credit availability issue with a particular emphasis on small and medium size business. An interagency group headed by NEC and Treasury should be tasked with the job. The CEA, Agriculture, the bank regulatory agencies, SBA and Exim should participate. The SEC and government-sponsored enterprises should participate to the extent consistent with their governing statutes.



*Man.*

**DATE:** 12/29/93

**NOTE FOR:** George Stephanopoulos and David Dreyer

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you  
for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

**JOHN D. PODESTA**  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
(x2702)

cc:

GS Ltel Fy

Source: The Hotline  
Thursday, December 9, 1993  
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12 23.93

===== POLL UPDATE =====

\*15 L.A. TIMES: CLINTON APPROVAL RATING HITS 55%  
1,612 adults surveyed 12/4-7; margin of error +/- 3% (LAT  
release, 12/8).

|             |     |     |     |     |                  |     |
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------------|-----|
| U.S. DIR.   | ALL | DEM | IND | GOP | ECONOMY IS ...   |     |
| Right dir.  | 37% | 49% | 34% | 30% | In recession     | 66% |
| Wrong track | 52  | 43  | 54  | 59  | Not in recession | 29  |

|             |          |     |          |     |          |
|-------------|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|
|             | OVERALL  |     | ECONOMY  |     | FOREIGN  |
| CLINTON JOB | NOW 6/93 |     | NOW 6/93 |     | NOW 6/93 |
| Approve     | 55%      | 42% | 50%      | 36% | 46%      |
| Disapprove  | 35       | 49  | 39       | 52  | 39       |

|              |           |  |           |  |                   |
|--------------|-----------|--|-----------|--|-------------------|
|              | NOW       |  | 6/93      |  | NOW               |
|              | FAV/UNFAV |  | FAV/UNFAV |  | FAV/UNFAV         |
| Bill Clinton | 59% / 31% |  | 44% / 43% |  | Al Gore 52% / 18% |
| Ross Perot   | 33 / 55   |  | 47 / 38   |  | Bob Dole 36 / 21  |
| H.R. Clinton | 55 / 21   |  | -- --     |  |                   |

|                                       |     |      |      |      |
|---------------------------------------|-----|------|------|------|
| CAN BETTER HANDLE U.S. MAJOR PROBLEMS | NOW | 6/93 | 1/93 | 4/91 |
| Democrats                             | 33% | 34%  | 43%  | 27%  |
| Republicans                           | 25  | 32   | 27   | 41   |

IF CONGRESS AND PRES. COULD DO ONLY ONE THING NEXT YEAR ...

|                             |     |     |     |     |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                             | ALL | DEM | IND | GOP |
| Job training for unemployed | 33% | 34% | 33% | 26% |
| Health care reform          | 24  | 34  | 22  | 14  |
| Anti-crime bill             | 20  | 15  | 21  | 25  |
| Welfare reform              | 15  | 11  | 16  | 25  |
| Campaign finance reform     | 4   | 2   | 4   | 5   |

|                           |                                 |                    |     |     |     |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| DUE TO CLINTON, THIS YEAR | HOW EFFECTIVE HAS CLINTON BEEN? |                    |     |     |     |
| U.S. in better shape      | 24%                             |                    | ALL | DEM | IND |
| U.S. is worse off         | 10                              | Very/Somewhat      | 65% | 81% | 60% |
| No difference             | 63                              | Not too/Not at all | 32  | 17  | 36  |
|                           |                                 |                    |     |     | 50  |

|                             |     |     |     |     |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| CLINTON IS TRYING TOO HARD  | ALL | DEM | IND | GOP |
| To please liberal Dems      | 20% | 10% | 19% | 37% |
| To please conserv. non-Dems | 7   | 9   | 8   | 6   |
| Striking the right balance  | 49  | 63  | 43  | 40  |

|                                   |                             |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| CLINTON TOO WILLING TO COMPROMISE | IS HE WORKING HARD TO BRING |
| CONVICTIONS FOR POL. ADVANTAGE?   | FUND. CHANGE TO GOVERNMENT? |
| Yes 47%                           | Bring change 50%            |
| No 39                             | Business as usual 41        |

|                     |     |     |     |     |                    |
|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|
| CLINTON HEALTH PLAN | ALL | DEM | IND | GOP | ASSAULT WEAPON BAN |
| Approve             | 52% | 68% | 47% | 39% | Favor 71%          |
| Disapprove          | 31  | 15  | 36  | 51  | Oppose 24          |



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 12/28/93

TO: CAROL RASCO  
MELANNE VERVEER

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA  
Assistant to the President and  
Staff Secretary

daa

Claims

have USA review?

get reply - a final answer to us

B

December 20, 1993

Dear Mr. President and First Lady, Hillary Rodham-Clinton:

Greetings from Nashville, Tennessee. We have asked a great favor of our friend Rachel in passing this information to you and hope that you have not found her impertinent in doing so. We realize that this is a little unorthodox, but could foresee no other time that we might have direct access to the President of the United States and the First Lady.

In August of this year we founded *daa, diversified artists advocates*, in an effort to channel the talents and energy of the Nashville arts communities. As artists, it has been obvious to us for quite some time that, short of writing a check to a favorite charity or possibly volunteering for a one-time effort, there was no substantial and on-going way in which we might contribute to the fight against so many of the problems facing our world today.

The work of *daa* is two-fold. Community service projects, which we call the **Adventures in the Arts** series, and concert showcases which will serve as benefits for local organizations. Both of these are described in the enclosed materials. Since August, we have completed two **Adventures in the Arts** workshops for centers in two of the largest project areas in Nashville. We are currently planning our first benefit concert. This concert will take place on January 29, 1994, and the proceeds will go to Nashville CARES, an organization which provides money and services to those who are living with AIDS. As you know, the toll of this disease on the arts community is staggering, prompting us to make this cause the benefactor of our first effort. Dr. Douglas Paschall has graciously arranged for us to use the new facilities of Montgomery Bell Academy, where he is the headmaster, for this showcase.

Support for our organization in these first few months has been good. Many local artists have joined and are excited about the prospects of having an outlet through which they can serve the community that supports them. Several local businesses have donated money and services for the Adventures in the Arts programs, and the local media has been kind in covering a relatively unproven organization. However, all of these things do not make it possible, financially, for us to continue the work we have already started, nor fulfill the hopes we have for work in the future.

*diversified artists advocates*

P. O. Box 110314 Woodbine Station Nashville, TN 37222-0314  
(615) 333-6784



At the outset we realized this would not be an easy undertaking. We both work two jobs to help defray the initial costs of the organization. Although this is necessary, it greatly takes away from the time that we would like to be spending in the development of the project. We have spoken with the National Endowment for the Arts and know that we must be an established organization for no less than three years before any aid from this agency could be possible. We have likewise contacted local arts endowment programs, who have similar guidelines. The purpose of this letter and the following information concerning our organization is a plea for help. Perhaps there are other agencies of which we do not know. Perhaps we could receive support from an educational agency and are unaware of this. Perhaps we qualify for a special grant fund set up to assist organizations such as ours. These are things we do not know and have tried to ascertain, but to no avail.

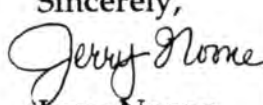
We believe with all our hearts that the work that *daa* has done and wants to continue to do is worthwhile. The look of accomplishment on an underprivileged child's face when he is performing for his friends tells us this. The excitement he shows when receiving a book at the end of the workshop tells us this. And the question, "Are you coming back tomorrow," certainly tells us this.

We want to find a way that we can continue this effort full-time. We are not looking to get rich off this venture, (as artists we have learned to live on little), but merely want the effort to afford us a nominal salary so that we can devote ourselves solely to this work. It is our hope that as you look over the enclosed materials, you too will see the good in what we are doing and that you might have a way in which you can help.

We believe in the future of children and the future of this country. We know that education, of the mind as well as the spirit, is crucial to that future. And we believe that any effort to conquer the social problems of today will only heighten the chances of a brighter tomorrow. These are concerns which we know that you share and are evident in the administration of your roles as our leaders.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter and the materials about our organization. Any help that you could give us in any area would be greatly appreciated. We can be reached at (615) 333-6784.

Sincerely,

  
Jerry Noone  
President

  
Stephen K. Randolph  
Vice President

Enclosures

*daa*  
*diversified artist advocates*

*diversified artists advocates* is a nonprofit organization which makes use of the artistic community to raise not only money, but awareness for some of society's most difficult challenges. Be it the fight against AIDS, child abuse, or the plight of the homeless, to name a few, *daa* gives voice to the artist allowing us to give not only beauty, but hope to the world around us.

Established in August 1993 by co-founders Gerald M. Noone and Stephen K. Randolph, *daa* will endeavor, through biannual benefits and community efforts, to educate as well as help meet the financial responsibilities of those organizations created to face today's social dilemmas. The artists and their affiliates -- from painters to actors, dancers to the technical staff -- will organize and execute these events.

*daa* gives the dance and theatre communities the opportunity to donate financial support, through the use of their art, to organizations dedicated to helping society. These artists, often without the means to make personal donation but with no less the desire, will use *daa* events and the funds they raise to represent their contribution to people who are in need.

Both Jerry and Stephen, who are active in Nashville's artistic community, conceived *daa* as their chance to give back to those who have supported them over the years and to give supports to those who have been less fortunate than they in this respect.

For more information call:

*daa* - 333-6784



## Adventures in the Arts

The **Adventures in the Arts** series was conceived by *daa*, to educate and expose children to the arts, giving them one-on-one experience in the hands of established artists. Through repeat workshops and a diversity of art and artists, it is our goal to lay a ground work of an understanding of the arts, and by building with each return visit, light a spark and inspire the courage for some of these children to follow their dream of a career in the arts.

The **Adventure in the Arts** series will be conducted primarily in government subsidized housing areas where children's dreams are a rarity and the hope of fulfillment sometimes a dream itself. The workshops themselves will take place in safe, familiar surroundings. Many of these communities have centers or shelters which provide, on a daily basis, a secure atmosphere to which the children can turn. We will be taking our workshop into these centers.

The workshops themselves revolve around the two aspects of the arts which the co-founders know best; dance and theatre. Co-founder Jerry Noone has worked extensively in the field of dance (see bios). He will conduct the dance portion of the workshop choreographing a familiar children's story, instructing the children in the art of interpretation through dance. Co-founder Stephen K. Randolph, with his theatre experience (see bios), will work, through the use of improvisation, to bring to life the stories that children know and love. Other guest artists from these same fields will also serve as instructors throughout the day. The exposure to many different artists and personalities will punctuate the views of the co-founders that creativity and a diversity of ideas are essential to the growth of an artist. It is their desire that, through community support and funding, they will be able to expand this project to include not only dance and theatre, but many other aspects of the arts world as well. For example, painting, pottery, and sculpting, to name a few.

The **Adventures in the Arts** series is a day-long event which is culminated in a performance by the children and guest artists at the end of the day. As important to the program as the actual learning process, the performance by the children helps to build self-esteem through the demonstration of the knowledge gained during the course of the day. It also serves as a release, and the acknowledgement of applause and praise for a job well done can only heighten the sense of accomplishment that these children feel. The performance by the guest artists, for the children, will also show the direct application of things learned during the day. It is important that the children associate the performer with the person they have worked with during the day, showing them that artists live all around them, and that aspirations to be like these artists are not out of their reach.



It is our goal for the **Adventures in the Arts** series to become an established program. We plan to set the workshops up on a rotation basis using four centers, such as the Martha O'Bryan Boys and Girls Club in East Nashville. Each center would host six workshops during the calendar year. Through the use of limited centers and return workshops, we believe that our program can be more effective. The continuity of the workshop leaders will help build the trust needed to ensure the return of the participants, and the diversity of the performing artists will ensure the year-long education, yet varying experience, of the same participants.

Other important parts of this program are not easily attained. The gift of the book which each child uses in their workshop is vital to the success of our program. It not only serves as a memento of the day, but more importantly, helps to promote reading, an essential skill in today's society. Because of this elements import, we purchased these books ourselves for our first workshop. As a foundling organization, this was a major expense and one that we would like to have underwritten in the future. We feel strongly that this small token will have a lasting impact long after the workshops are over, and would like to find a way to maintain the giving of these books, through personal sponsorship or funding.

Another element which is vital to our success is the lunch with which we provided each child. Many of these children receive breakfast and lunch through their schools Monday through Friday, but as our workshop takes place on Saturday, this is not an option. For our first workshop we purchased and bagged lunches for forty children, consisting of a ham and cheese sandwich, an apple, a bag of chips, and a canned drink. We are currently seeking help in this area through the food service industry, as we are without the resources to provide this on a continuing basis.

As a token of the day, we had printed and distributed to the children, T-shirts with our **Adventures in the Arts** logo on the front and the name on the center on the back. Although not essential, we feel that by giving the children these shirts we will be creating a group identity, a club of sorts, and foster the return of the participants time after time. It is also our belief that these shirts could help generate interest in the program within the community. Again, this is a great expense, and funding dollars could be greatly used in this area.

The **Adventure in the Arts** series is a worthwhile effort by *daa*, involving the local art community, to help enrich the lives of children. It is our goal, through the repeat experiences of this program, to recognize interest and talent in the arts, and hopefully, to assist in the fulfillment of the dreams of these children.



## *daa* *Benefit Concerts*

From the time of its conception, *daa* has had but one goal; the use of local artists in the fight against some of societies most devastating challenges. As artists themselves, the co-founders of *daa* realize that an artists most valuable assets, time and talent, can be used to benefit others. This only left one question: how?

The answer to this question came in the form of a showcase, done biannually, with a benefactor chosen for each showcase. The benefactors will be chosen based on the kind of good that they are doing for the community themselves. Through helping these organizations, which are already established to meet certain needs of the community, *daa* feels it can do the most good.

The first showcase, a dance concert at Montgomery Bell Academy in January 1994, benefits Nashville CARES. This concert will show the work of dance organizations in Nashville as well as spotlighting local choreographers. The performers in the concert will also be local artists, volunteering their time and talents to make the evening a success. Artists from other areas, such as costumers and technicians, have also consented to give of their time for this worthwhile event.

As the name *diversified artists advocates* indicates, these showcases will not be limited to dance concerts, but as interest in the work continues to grow, can include other areas of the arts such as theatre, performing artists or opera.

Each showcase will be planned separately and the content will be chosen based on the availability and interest of artists in the different sectors of the art community.

*daa* is proud to have embarked on this positive and productive venture, and will be looking not only to the art community for resources, but to the private sector as well, for support in helping to make this a successful undertaking for *daa*, thereby helping those organizations which it chooses to support.

### About the Co-Founders

*Gerald M. Noone*, a native of Scranton, Pennsylvania, started his dance training at the age of five. He worked as a principal dancer for the Ballet Theatre of Pennsylvania under the direction of Mary L. Hepner for seven years before moving to Nashville Ballet where he became a principal dancer. He was a frequent Guest Artist with the "Carlisle Project" and the Central Pennsylvania Youth Ensemble. He was also a member of the 1986 United States Team at the International Ballet Competition in Jackson, Mississippi. Retiring from his career as a dancer in 1992, he turned his interest to teaching and choreography. He is teaching for Vanderbilt University's dance school and recently won Best Overall Choreography for his ballet "Funeral for a Friend" at the 1993 Panoply Arts Festival in Huntsville, Alabama.

*Stephen K. Randolph*, a native of Montgomery, Alabama, began his career in the arts by designing for, and performing in, theatre productions in high school. He graduated from David Lipscomb University in 1985 and began work as a local artist shortly thereafter. He has performed with the Tennessee Repertory Theatre and has worked with Rave Revue Productions, designed sets for Belmont University, and designed costumes and sets for the Capitol Arts Center in Bowling Green, Kentucky. He has a special interest in children and has conducted theatre workshops for them throughout the south. Currently Stephen is a free-lance artist and graphic designer, working for both the private and public sectors.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 12/28/93

TO: THE FIRST LADY  
PATTI SOLICE

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA  
Assistant to the President and  
Staff Secretary



# THE STAR-LEDGER

NEWARK, N.J. 07102

November 17, 1993

*Blaker  
in my  
B*

First Lady Hillary Rodman Clinton  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

It is my pleasure to send you the cover of Parade Magazine's December 19 issue. Parade is one of our family's publications; and we thought you and the President would enjoy the enclosed chromalin copies. As I am sure you are aware, this issue will be distributed by 350 newspapers to more than thirty-seven million households throughout the United States. Our readers will most certainly enjoy President Clinton and your Holiday Message addressed to them, and I bet they love the cover.

On another matter, please excuse my persistence but Walter Anderson told me that with your busy schedule you would welcome a reminder: You may recall that in addition to looking after our newspaper group, I have accepted a year's assignment as Chairman of the Newspaper Association of America. I have previously sent to you an invitation to speak at our National Convention which takes place in San Francisco from April 24 to April 27. Sue Newhouse, Trustee of the New York Public Library and Wellesley College and in her spare time my wife, recently mentioned this invitation to you.

I would again ask you to give it consideration. I believe that 1,500 publishers at a working convention are a significant group to address. Their understanding of the issues certainly affects the understanding of their editors and their readers.

I hope you will excuse this commercial and will be pleased with the President and your picture.

Sincerely,

Donald E. Newhouse

DEN/ba



40-69 Fyl-B

# House passes NAFTA

## COMMENTARY

### Clinton emerges as the big winner

By THOMAS J. BRAZAITIS  
PLAIN DEALER BUREAU CHIEF

#### WASHINGTON

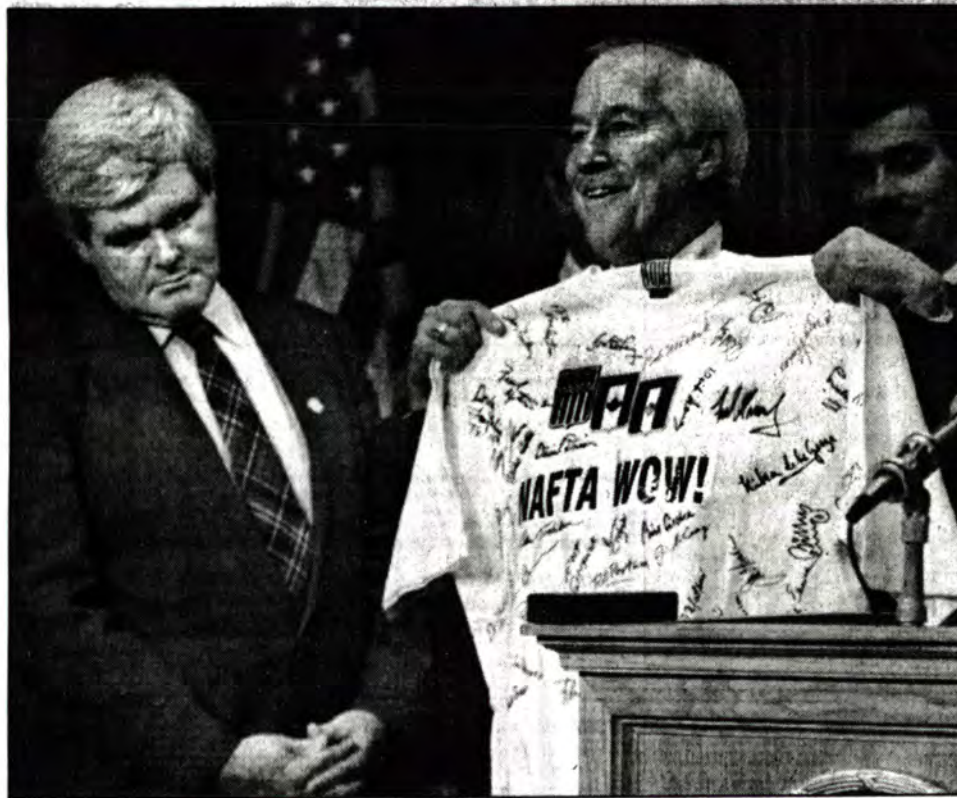
Maybe now President Clinton will get some respect.

Clinton was the big winner on a vote that created a North American common market among the United States, Canada and Mexico. He accomplished this feat even though his popularity is barely above the 43% plurality that won him the presidency.

He won despite strong opposition from influential friends, such as Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, D-Mo., and Democratic Whip David Bonior, D-Mich., and leaders of organized labor, who vowed to make trouble next November for pro-NAFTA Democrats. Clinton stood up to Ross Perot, who warned that his legions of volunteers would "remember in November."

Clinton's arguments prevailed in an atmosphere where the fear of losing jobs spread far beyond the actual potential for job losses.

NAFTA's victory does not come without risk of backlash. Clinton has been accused of "buying" votes. If the economy sours and industries move to Mexico, NAFTA may be a big issue in coming elections, as it was in the recent Canadian election. And, Clinton has made some enemies in his own party.



As House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., left, looks on, Rep. Jim Kolbe, R-Ariz., holds up a T-shirt signed by North American Free Trade Agreement supporters at the Capitol last night after the House approved the measure.

But it would not be a victory worth savoring had it come without risk.

Only a Democratic president could have steered NAFTA through a Democratic Congress — not Ronald Reagan, who proposed it, or George Bush, who negotiated it.

So far in this still-young admin-

istration, Clinton has shown an extraordinary willingness to take big risks for very little immediate political reward.

The deficit-cutting economic plan he got through the Senate by one vote, NAFTA, and health care reform have a common thread: They promise benefits after Clinton is gone from office. As a breed, politicians are motivated by short-

term payoffs. Clinton's vision goes beyond the next election.

Another big winner is Vice President Al Gore, who volunteered to take on Perot in a televised debate. Many say Gore's knockout performance eight days before the House vote turned a tide that had been building against NAFTA. It was a calculated risk that paid off.

SEE WINNER/18-A

### Vote deals big defeat to labor

By TOM DIEMER  
PLAIN DEALER BUREAU

#### WASHINGTON

Gambling that increased trade with Mexico will bring prosperity — not an exodus of U.S. jobs — the House last night approved the North American Free Trade Agreement, handing a sweet victory to President Clinton and dealing organized labor a bitter defeat.

"This is a debate between fear and clinging to the past versus hope and belief in a new future," said Georgia Rep. Newt Gingrich, the Republican whip, who joined a Democratic president to fight for NAFTA. "This debate is in the past traditions of historic bipartisanship. . . . This is a vote for history."

The trade agreement passed 234 to 200 and went to the Senate, which is expected to vote before the Thanksgiving adjournment. Voting for the measure were 102 Democrats and 132 Republicans; 156 Democrats, 43 Republicans and one independent voted against.

Clinton, beaming, lauded the House within moments of the vote. He said NAFTA will "expand our exports, create new jobs and help us assert America's leadership in the global economy. . . . We chose to compete, not retreat, to lead a new world economy, to lead as America has done so often in our past."

The often-vitriolic dispute over the promise of prosperity and the danger of job losses temporarily altered the political landscape and left behind fractured alliances and bruised feelings.

SEE NAFTA/18-A

12/28/93



The labor movement will be tarred as the biggest loser. So what's new? Labor long ago was written off as a toothless tiger.

But most politicians would be wise not to stick their heads between those gums. The amazing thing was not that labor lost, but how close it came to winning. Without labor's opposition, NAFTA would have passed easily.

The dubious honor of biggest loser falls to Perot, the one-time NAFTA backer who took the other side when it seemed expedient. In this case the message ("Be wary of NAFTA!") won wider public acceptance than the messenger (Perot). Right up to the vote, people remained suspicious of NAFTA, but their minds were made up on Perot. He lost whatever credibility he had left.

Among Ohioans, Reps. David Mann, D-1, of Cincinnati, and Tom Sawyer, D-14, of Akron, are winners because they cast hard votes for the agreement.

But Reps. Sherrod Brown, D-13 of Lorain; Marcy Kaptur, D-9, of Toledo, and Eric Fingerhut, D-19 of Mayfield Heights, cannot be blamed for putting their mouths where their money (the campaign variety) comes from. They are friends of labor; true to their friends and, presumably, to their convictions, they voted "no."

The case of Rep. Martin Hoke, R-10, of Lakewood, is a little different. He might have been expected to vote for an agreement negotiated by a Republican president and widely supported by Republicans. But Hoke opted not to anger his heavily Democratic, working-class district.

More than most, Hoke is in a position to appreciate the courage it took for Clinton to put his political future on the line for NAFTA.

# Clinton emerges as the big winner

## WINNER FROM 1-A

If — and this is a big if — the Clinton administration can get on track and stay on track with the U.S. public, the value of Gore's stock as a future presidential candidate has gone up.

Among other winners on the pro-NAFTA side:

■ U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, whose qualifications for the job had been questioned. Not only did he negotiate the side agreements that won some converts, but he worked harder than a door-to-door salesman to sell the deal. He helped recruit Bill Daley, brother of the Chicago mayor, to be the point man.

■ Rep. Bill Richardson, D-N.M., rejected for a Cabinet post in the administration, showed he harbored no hard feelings. After Gephardt and Bonior defected, Richardson took over the whip's responsibility and effectively gathered votes.

■ Not least among the winners is Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., the whip in line to be GOP leader in the House after the next election. Gingrich proved he is more than a bomb-thrower by rounding up the Republican majority necessary to pass a Democratic president's initiative.

To some extent, the losers are all those who voted against NAFTA. Such a vote, by its nature, was against progress and for the status quo. Opponents never quite admitted that having no agreement at all might have damaged working-class Americans more than the short-term damage that will result from NAFTA.





Department of Bioscience  
and Biotechnology  
College of Arts and Sciences  
32nd and Chestnut Streets  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

TEL 215 895-2624 December 6, 1993  
FAX 215 895-1273 215-895-2627

*Katrina  
Brennan*

Honorable William J. Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

This is to update you on the leatherback crisis. The current situation is as follows:

1. The Costa Rican Congress recessed for their election (February) before voting on the law for the Park.

2. The leatherback turtle is declining rapidly in numbers. On our beach- Playa Grande- we are getting 10 a night this week instead of the expected 60. Probable reasons include long term egg poaching, drift net fishing and long line fishing in Pacific, and perhaps El Nino effect.

3. I have talked with U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, The Nature Conservancy, Center for Marine Conservation and staff from Vice President Gore, Senators Wofford, and Lautenberg, Congressmen Saxton, Hughes, and LaFalce. I have received sympathy, but no money to help buy land for the beach.

4. I have raised money (\$3600) through personal appeals to colleagues and friends to pay for guards on Playa Langosta (beach not yet in Park) this season.

5. Action needed-

Urge government of Costa Rica to establish Las Baulas de Guanacaste Park by Law.

Restore funds for environmental projects in Latin America to U.S.A.I.D. budget and direct \$2 million for economic development through conservation of biodiversity at Las Baulas de Guanacaste National Park in Costa Rica.

Urge The Nature Conservancy to participate in project by buying land for Las Baulas de Guanacaste national Park.

6. If action is not taken this season then the leatherback turtle will be lost at Las baulas and the species will go extinct in 23 years.

Thank you for your help in this urgent matter.

Sincerely yours,

*James R. Spotila*  
James R. Spotila  
Betz Chair Professor  
of Environmental Science



**Attorney General  
Lee Fisher**

State Office Tower  
30 E. Broad Street  
Columbus, Ohio 43266-0410

♻️ Printed on Recycled Paper

*Handwritten:*  
J. Lee Fisher  
Attorney General  
Ohio

The Honorable William J. Clinton  
President of the United States  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500







LEE FISHER

December 17, 1993

The Honorable William J. Clinton  
President of the United States  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter that I sent to you last week. I thought I would take the liberty of hand delivering another copy to you. I look forward to discussing this with you in person.

Best regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Lee Fisher", written over the typed name.

LEE FISHER  
Ohio Attorney General

LIF:kem  
Enclosure

30 E. Broad Street, 17th Floor Columbus, Ohio 43215



Attorney General  
Lee Fisher

December 8, 1993

The Honorable William J. Clinton  
President of the United States  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

**The No. #1 concern of Americans today is their personal security.** Although their concern for security certainly includes their economic security, both in terms of jobs and health care, a mother or father's concerns about paying their medical bills are outweighed only by their concern about the personal safety of their family. The bottom line is that Americans, particularly our children, are frightened - whether on the way to school, in their home, or at the workplace. I know you agree that something has to be done.

As Attorney General of Ohio, I have the privilege and awesome responsibility of being the chief law enforcement officer of one of America's largest states. My fellow attorneys general around the country are helping lead the fight against violent crime in tough, creative, and innovative ways. Although I speak only on behalf of myself in this letter to you, I know that all my colleagues, Republican and Democrat alike, want to work with you closely to stem the tide of rising crime and to protect American families.

**The reason I write to you today is to urge you to hold a national crime summit - but not in Washington D.C.** The fact is that people need to understand that crime does not just exist on the streets of New York City, Los Angeles, and the District of Columbia. Crime strikes everywhere - in rural areas, in suburbs, and in the heart of middle America.

**I urge you to hold a national crime summit early next year somewhere in the Midwest - and not surprisingly, I am strongly recommending that you choose the State of Ohio.**

In our office we have developed tough innovative programs such as Operation Crackdown which uses the state's nuisance abatement law to close crack houses and then, working with the local community, to turn crack houses into safe houses for drug-free families. We also developed a creative "fugitive sting" in Cleveland where we were able to rid the streets of more than 300 criminals who had thumbed their noses at the system by jumping bail or violating parole. We have worked to bring high technology tools to law enforcement so that chiefs, sheriffs, and prosecutors can solve crimes



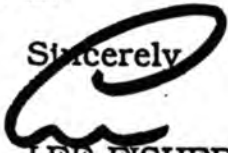
The Honorable William J. Clinton  
December 8, 1993  
Page 2

more quickly and efficiently. And, we have worked with you and many others around the country to continue our effort to take guns out of the hands of the bad guys. Crimes by and against children are a special focus of our office, and next year we will host a statewide law enforcement conference centered on this important issue.

Mr. President, on a more personal note, I would welcome the opportunity to play a leadership role in helping you deal with these most difficult issues, and I urge you to involve other state attorneys general in your national fight against crime. I look forward to hearing from you or a member of your administration at your earliest convenience.

My best personal regards.

—  
Sincerely,

  
LEE FISHER  
Ohio Attorney General

cc: John Hart

Chran

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dreyer  
12/28/93

December 28, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

VIA: JOHN PODESTA  
FROM: BILL GALSTON WAQ  
SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION

In this memorandum I want to make three points that may be relevant as you prepare for your State of the Union address.

**Mood of the Country**

Your speech will occur in the context of a public torn between hope and fear. The principal area of hope is our **economy**, where confidence is growing that your economic strategy is beginning to work--that jobs are at last being created, that incomes are finally rising, and that big-ticket items such as homes and autos are once again within the reach of average families. The principal area of fear is our **society**, where anxiety abounds about the rise of crime and violence, the erosion of families, the disintegration of entire neighborhoods and communities, and (underlying everything else) the weakening of essential values and faith. In his First Inaugural, at the depth of the Great Depression, FDR assured the American people that their troubles involved only material things--not matters of morality and the spirit. Such reassurance would be neither accurate nor believable today.

I believe that in overall tone and approach, your State of the Union speech should reflect this duality of public mood.

o For the economy, the message should be: We're not out of the woods yet, but we're moving in the right direction. Let's use 1994 to build on the solid foundation we've created, by continuing to reduce the budget deficit and open the world to our goods and services while making vital public investments and reinventing the way government conducts the people's business.

o For the society, the message should be darker: We're facing a crisis of values and community, and we have to face up to it. Everything we cherish is in jeopardy if we can't reinforce personal responsibility, family cohesion, community solidarity, and public safety. That's why we need things like tough crime bills, expanded gun control, and welfare reform. But this isn't a matter for government alone. We need community-based organizations and the private sector to join in nothing less than a national mobilization to reweave the tattered fabric of our society.



## **Two Audiences, Two Sets of Objectives**

- o Your speech will have two distinct (though related) audiences, and two sets of objectives.

\* For Congress, the principal objective is to demonstrate that you have a limited, well-defined legislative agenda that both meets urgent national needs and passes the test of legislative feasibility as well as political viability. Right now, members are afraid that they will be inundated with so many administration proposals that they won't be able to process them in a careful and orderly manner. In the State of the Union speech, you have an opportunity to show them that you have in fact made choices and established priorities, and that these priorities represent reasonable benchmarks for the second session of the 103rd Congress.

\* For the people, the principal objectives are: (1) to demonstrate that you continue to understand that many of them are experiencing wrenching, baffling changes; (2) to explain these changes in a way that reduces the mystery and points the way to a better future; and (3) to show that you have a solid plan for seizing and building that future. For example: I believe you should once again explain why the emerging world economy will be filled with opportunity for American workers and firms--but only if our country creates a world-class system of education and training, and only if individual Americans make good use of that system.

### **A Specific Suggestion: Investment in a Reformed System of Education and Training as a Key Objective for 1994**

I believe that the State of the Union address affords you an important opportunity to bring together the pieces of your education and training agenda into a powerful, unified theme.

I rest my case on four propositions.

1. Larger, smarter investments in human beings--from youngsters to dislocated workers are the core of your strategy for creating a more productive and competitive economy and a more decent and unified society. You campaigned on the basis of just such a strategy, and it is now vital to execute it.

2. Legislation to produce fundamental reform in education and training is now on a fast track toward enactment in 1994. Among the key items:

- o Goals 2000 and the School-to-Work Opportunities Act will be approved early next year.

- o The administration's proposals for reauthorizing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have been adopted as the markup vehicle by the Congress and are moving forward rapidly.

o The Department of Labor is on the verge of significant proposals for dislocated workers and "one-stop" consolidation of currently disjointed training/retraining programs.

o The Head Start Advisory Committee report will be out shortly and will serve as the basis of reforming and reauthorizing the program this year.

In short, you will be in a far stronger position this year to argue to Congress and the country that you aren't just pouring new wine into old education and training bottles but are demanding--and receiving--basic reform as the precondition for increased investment. And you can bolster this case by pointing to your national service and student loan programs as examples of fundamental change already achieved that must now be sustained and strengthened.

3. The budget decisions you made last week are fully consistent with the theme of next year as The Year of Education and Training. Consider the basic building-blocks of your strategy: Head Start, Goals 2000, Chapter 1, School-to-Work, Jobs, Corps, One-Stop Career Shopping, Dislocated Workers, and National Service. The aggregate proposed increase in these programs for FY 1995 over 1994 is \$3.0 billion--more than 22 percent! This represents very tangible evidence of a top presidential priority.

4. A coordinated strategy for education and training will make it easier to explain to Congress and the American people what 1994 is all about. The proposal I've sketched would allow you to say that there are four top domestic priorities for 1994: health care, crime, welfare reform, and investment in educated and trained minds. Each redeems a key campaign pledge; each contributes to the overall economic well-being of our country; and each promotes security, independence, and opportunity for all our citizens.



Chron

Dreyer  
12/28/93



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR  
WASHINGTON

93 DEC 28 A 9: 53

MEMORANDUM

December 27, 1993

TO: John Podesta,  
Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary

FROM: Bruce Babbitt *B. Babbitt*

RE: State of the Union Address

The State of the Union would be a good place to develop the theme of security and opportunity that you have touched upon in earlier speeches. You should focus on just the most important domestic themes -- health care, crime, welfare reform and the associated work training concepts, and the economy.

Health care is principally a security issue, but you have and should again characterize it as an opportunity issue -- guaranteed health care provides mobility in the workforce, encourages risk-taking and initiative, and preventive care especially makes all citizens more productive.

The existing welfare system provides some security, but it does so by reducing initiative -- sketch a reform agenda that provides a measure of security (principally for the children) while providing real incentives to join the workforce.

Crime is the ultimate security issue; it can also be used to illustrate the corrosion and destruction of opportunity.

Keep pushing your definition of the entrepreneurial economy -- world competitiveness, forcing new technology, partnerships in research and development. At the same time that we are providing citizens a measure of security, you are asking them to help unleash a new wave of creative work, risk-taking, and innovation.

The same themes -- security and opportunity -- can be used to characterize your efforts abroad. In this new world, the best long-term security investment is to promote democracy and human rights. And the emerging global economy (NAFTA, GATT, the Asian initiatives) can generate opportunity for all, most especially Americans. The global economy is becoming a fact -- the only question is whether America will lead and reap the benefits, or stand by while others reach for world leadership in the coming century.

You should consider talking about a "Second American Century" of international leadership -- while the phrase has a slightly chauvinistic and provocative ring, it is, for just that reason, a nice way to contrast our leadership role in this new world and explain how it differs from the past century.

A final note. As suggested above, I would not be inclined to deal with environmental or natural resource issues as such. However, should you choose to do so, I strongly recommend that you include a sentence or two of very specific language regarding the fair pricing and sustainable harvest of natural resources, including timber, water, minerals and forage, thereby sending an unequivocal signal to many watching members of Congress that we are not backing away from grazing and mining reform.