

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. letter	To Anne Bartley from Madeline Leonard (1 page)	11/23/93	Personal Misfile
001b. photograph	Re: Cloutier Agency (2 pages)	n.d.	Personal Misfile
002a. letter	To Hillary Rodham Clinton from Alfred Gellhorn re: candidate for AIDS Policy Director (1 page)	05/18/93	b(6)
002b. letter	To Philip Lee from Alfred Gillhorn re: candidate for AIDS Policy Coordinator (1 page)	05/10/1993	b(6)
002c. letter	To Carol from Anne re: candidate (1 page)	05/16/1993	b(6)
002d. memo	To Anne Bartley from candidate re: AIDS Policy Coordinator Position (1 page)	05/16/1993	b(6)
002e. statement	Re: candidate (1 page)	01/1993	b(6)
002f. profile	Re: candidate (1 page)	n.d.	b(6)
002g. resume	Re: candidate (3 pages)	n.d.	b(6)
002h. memo	To Tom Goodwin from candidate re: qualifications (5 pages)	05/10/1993	b(6)
003. letter	To candidate from Anne Bartley re: status (1 page)	10/25/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Vermeer
OA/Box Number: 10252

FOLDER TITLE:

MV Correspondence 1993-1994 Anne Bartley [loose] [2]

2013-0534-S

ry1706

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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J

Divider Title: _____

Janice Johnson

July 21, 1993

Dear Anne,

Thank you for taking the time from your busy schedule to meet with me last Friday. It was most helpful. Our First Lady is fortunate to have you working for her. —

My first choice would

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PRESERVATION

Still be the National Council of the Arts, however, I do understand there are many qualified people who would also like to serve.

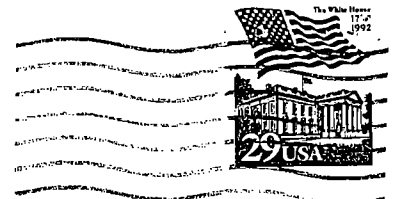
I will call you when I plan to be in Washington and perhaps it would be beneficial to meet with Anna Steele or Mr. Holmerson.

Again, many thanks for your help.

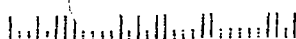
Sincerely, Janice

*Two Rockledge Road
Laguna Beach, California 92651*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



*Anne Bartley
Room 100
Old Executive Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C.
20500*



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1993

Mr. James Joseph
Chief Executive Officer
Council on Foundations
1828 L Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Jim:

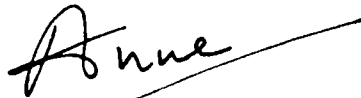
Enclosed is a resume for Nancy "Bitsy" Folger. In recent conversations she has confidentially let it be known that she is very interested in working with the new Corporation for National and Community Service. As you know, she has been the main reason for the financial and community success of the Children's Defense Fund's fundraising events. She brings with her incredible skills in organizing as well as a vast network of colleagues and donors.

Due to her multifaceted life, she works as a consultant. It would be a shame not to utilize her skills in some fashion as you create and develop the Corporation. National and Community Service means a lot to her. I would hope you have a chance to talk with her directly on this matter. I'd be glad to assist you in any way I can.

It was good visiting with you last week at one more of CDF's, and Bitsy's, successful events.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Anne". A long horizontal line extends from the end of the signature to the right.

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 11, 1994

Mr. James Joseph
Council on Foundations
1828 L Street NW
Washington, DC 20036-5168

Dear Jim:

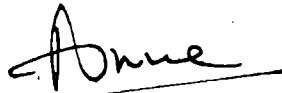
Enclosed is the Briefing Book for the Liaison Non-profit Network. These were sent out to the Liaison Network last week. I wanted to make sure you saw a copy. Please thank Lauren Cook for her help in producing this.

I am looking forward to the meeting called by Steven Minter, Chair of the Committee on Community Foundations with a few others from the Liaison Network later this month.

As always, Lauren has been very helpful, not only with the creation of the Briefing Book and helping with the dinner but also with so many other things.

I hope you are enjoying a good summer.

With Best Wishes,



Anne Bartley
Assistant to the
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady

cc: Lauren Cook

Sent 7/12/94
w/ briefing book
also to Lauren

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

14 September 1993

Ms. Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Anne,

I spoke to Tom Troyer and he says you all are as legal as legal can be. I also had lunch with Waletzsky last week and he says that your life-long commitment to doing the right thing is unquestionable. He also told me that you and he started the Scrivner awards - that's a helluva credit!! I'll try to help out in an appropriate way.

On another matter at the White House, I thought that perhaps you could give some guidance. Three months ago I sent a letter along with a recently published book and some old (even ancient) articles about my work to John Emerson at the Office of Presidential Personnel. Even though several people have asked him to respond - and even though I have called several times - I have not heard a word.

I'm not much on clamoring, but I am big on common courtesies. If you have any advice, I'd be grateful.

Crime

USA Today
willing to pay

All the best,

Pt
Peter Kovler

*file Kovler
articles?
file
Kovler AB
in
correspondence*

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1993

In America

BOB HERBERT

Blacks Killing Blacks

On Monday, in a high school on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, the Rev. Jesse Jackson stood on the stage of a nearly filled auditorium and spoke to the ache in the heart of black America.

For whatever reasons, and they are many and complex, large numbers of black youngsters in America are on a rampage of killing. And they are killing mostly one another.

The mortuaries in black neighborhoods are thick with the residue of homicide — the stunned, the grieving and the dead. Two-year-olds, three-year-olds, teen-agers, young black men and women.

Mr. Jackson told students at the Martin Luther King Jr. High School, "We lose more lives annually to the crime of blacks killing blacks than the sum total of lynchings in the entire history of the country."

It is time, he said, to stop it.

Mr. Jackson is leading a national campaign against violence and other self-destructive behavior by young African-Americans. He believes, correctly, that the struggle to halt the wholesale destruction of a generation of black youngsters demands the same urgency and intensity of effort as the long and ultimately successful fight for civil rights.

He noted that none of the enormous problems that have previously faced blacks in America — not slavery, not lynching, not legal segregation — have been as deadly as today's catastrophic combination of violence, drug abuse and AIDS.

"What faces us today is preventable," he said. "It is within our power to change our behavior."

His campaign is designed to spotlight the problem, to create a sense of urgency and to get the young people — the primary victims and potential victims of the violence — to cry out against it. Mr. Jackson would like youngsters to find ways other than a knife to the throat or a bullet to the heart to settle a dispute, and, perhaps most difficult of all, to turn in their peers who are trafficking in violence and drugs.

Gazing out at the 600 or 700 students in the audience, he said: "How many of you know someone in your age group who is dead because of drugs? Please stand."

About 25 percent of the students stood. A similar percentage rose when asked if they knew of someone who had distributed drugs at school. And about 40 percent of them stood when asked if they knew of someone

who had brought a gun to school.

Mr. Jackson then said, "If you've told some teacher or someone in authority about somebody who is carrying guns or drugs, please stand."

No one stood.

Mr. Jackson told the students that their "code of silence" made their school a sanctuary for those who would commit violence and distribute drugs.

The lesson was not over. The students were asked what they would do if they knew that someone — a teacher, say, or a janitor — had a sheet, a hood and some rope in his locker, or in the trunk of his car. The students called out that they would turn the person in.

"You would expose it," Mr. Jackson said.

"Yes!" came the reply.

Mr. Jackson's response was that "We are far more threatened by the dope than the rope." The Ku Klux Klan is not marching in Harlem or Brownsville or East New York. African-American teen-agers are not being hosed down by Bull Connor or barred from school by George Wallace. The danger is coming from the

*Jackson tells kids:
it's time to stop.*

fellow student with a pistol in his knapsack, or a drug-dealing tenant in the next apartment, or a mugger who works the routes between home and school.

The real purpose of Jesse Jackson's effort is to return the dreams and the ordinary joy of childhood to African-American youngsters. We have waited far too long to confront this problem head on. There are other issues, yes. Poverty, joblessness, homelessness, many issues. And racism is still with us. But it's time to give the horrifying levels of violence, and death among African-Americans, the status of an emergency.

Mr. Jackson's campaign can only succeed if it attains a bandwagon effect, generating more and more attention, excitement and support as it goes along. A rally is planned for Detroit and civil rights-type march for other cities. It won't be an easy effort, but there is none in black America that is more important. □

PETER B. KOVLER
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June 10, 1993

Mr. John Emerson
Office of Presidential Personnel
Old Executive Office Building
Room 151
Washington, DC 20500

Dear John Emerson:

I know that Gary Hart spoke to you about my interest in an ambassadorship in Western Europe and I've attached a resume and articles and a book concerning work I've done in public policy.

Because I'm a bit uncertain about what is supposed to be relevant in this process, the articles have a vast range - from seven op-ed pieces for the New York Times to articles about me and my efforts to observe Franklin Roosevelt's Centennial. While most of the Times articles concern Southeast Asia in the 1970's - my most avid interest in the past few years has been U.S.-European policy.

This is a subject which I have approached as a foundation director rather than as an organizer or writer or government official. Among the efforts we have undertaken have been grants to the Center for National Policy for work to be done by Madeleine Albright and Jenonne Walker (Tony Lake's chief advisor on Europe) on ethnic conflict in Europe; a grant of one million dollars to the Holocaust Museum, arguably the American institution which teaches the most in this country about twentieth century European history; the establishment of the Kovler Center for the Treatment of Survivors of Torture - some of whose patients come from Europe; and grants for documentaries on Klaus Barbie (which won an Academy Award) and for a film on the history of U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations. I believe we are also among the principal donors to the National Democratic Institute, a non-profit organization

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dedicated to strengthening democracy and its institutions. The organization was run for many years by Brian Atwood and its Chairman has been Walter Mondale.

I believe it's only proper to mention that ethnic conflict in our own country has also been a high priority for us. And I think you should know that we are probably the only foundation in the country focusing on Black-Jewish relations - and to that end we gave about \$200,000 to Black voter registration last year. Part of that money was given in the name of a Committee of Blacks and Jews whose membership included two administration officials, Peter Edelman and Stuart Eizenstat. We have been involved in several other non-partisan activities which have also served to strengthen our own democracy. These include being lead funders to the Commission on Presidential Debates and the Presidential Inaugural Foundation.

Having cared about these subjects for a long time, I know that there are people who would speak on my behalf. And while I am sure that you all are besieged with requests for jobs, if any of this seems to fit what you need, feel free to call or write.

Sincerely yours,

Peter Kovler

PETER B. KOVLER
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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037
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5 October 1993

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Anne,

I read in the newspaper that Mrs. Clinton plans to spend some time next year on the crime issue; and I've enclosed some pieces I wrote in the 1970's on Black on Black crime. I hope that you all will not ignore the racial element in American crime and crime statistics.

Good luck with your many programs.

Best,



Peter Kovler

Black on Black Crime: A Taboo Broken

Peter Kovler

In 1967, for the first time, the facts were presented on the phenomenon of black on black urban ghetto crime. At that time the President's Commission on Crime revealed that most crime in this country is intra-racial, and that "it is Negro males and females who are most likely to be victimized in crimes against the person." The commission used Chicago as an example, saying that a black man in that city ran "the risk of being a victim nearly six times as often as a white man." For the black woman, the likelihood of being a victim was nearly eight times greater than for the white woman.

Unfortunately, according to the latest crime statistics by race, the situation has not improved. Blacks are still disproportionately the victims of crime, most of it still committed by other blacks. Seven years after the President's report, the murder statistics for Chicago told a similar story: in 1974, 803 blacks were killed as compared to 127 whites. (In the 1970 census, blacks comprised about 20 per cent of the Chicago population; today it is perhaps somewhat higher.)

Until recently, however, few would publicly mention the subject. Blacks and liberal whites rarely spoke of it, largely because of the fear that conservative whites could use it as "material" for their fight against civil rights. Blacks who did call for "law and order" in their own communities were immediately labeled "Uncle Toms." Liberal whites who even mentioned the subject were accused of a sort of "pull 'emself up by their bootstraps" racism. In fact, the only people who seemed to come near the problem, publicly, were Nixon and his gang. But they simply used "law and order" as code words to attract the votes of frightened whites.

There were only two settings where black on black crime was discussed. The first place was in the ghettos, where talk was confined to church gatherings and infrequent, informal and unorganized block club/police meetings. The second place was in the private conversations of the genuine white racists (not the "unconscious" ones), people who could say things like "they're all animals."

Now, within the past few months, attitudes have begun to change; many have begun to speak openly about the problem. People from the inner cities of New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, etc., are saying that a top priority for blacks is to stop black on black crime. It is also significant that these voices have risen independently, not in response to a major policy change on the part of a major national group such as the NAACP or SCLC.

In Harlem, for example, the only community newspaper, the *Amsterdam News*, has begun its fight (1) by highlighting the problem through articles and editorials; (2) by cleaning up certain "target areas" that had been taken over by drug addicts; (3) by forming a sort of Dodge City posse, Citizens Action for a Safer Harlem, that has already managed to drive the junkies and pushers from a street that *Life* once called the worst in the country.

The National Urban League has also begun to call attention to the problem. The director of its "Administration of Justice" division, Robert Woodson, recently told a House committee: "The facts and figures on crime in America are harsh realities for the black community: Criminal homicides, perpetrated by blacks on blacks, is particularly severe. . . . Of an estimated 1,500 homicides committed in New York City in 1974, 545 of the victims were black; sixty-seven of these victims were slain by whites or members of other racial groups."

From Chicago, Rev. Jesse Jackson is now preaching and writing about the same sort of problem. While he emphasizes "black self-development," a large part of his message is for blacks to stop "the decadence in black communities." The head of the National Urban Coalition, M. Carl Holman, has a similar message: "The rest of society has made it clear to blacks that it's your community and we don't give a damn about it," he says. "We're trying to get past some of the scare tactics and down to the reality of crime." The NUC has also given a great deal of financial support to inner-city anti-crime efforts.

In addition, the executive director of The Woodlawn Organization, the most influential community group on Chicago's murderous and black South Side, says: "Black people are more concerned with safety than with the connotations of racism at this point." That *Ebony* has given its support is shown by a recent complimentary article on A. Reginald Eaves, the Marshal Dillon of Atlanta; and black Rep. John Conyers of Michigan is pushing for legislation that would fund ghetto community anti-crime programs.

There are, of course, dangers in this new approach. The main one, according to black columnist William Raspberry, "is that society could read this as an exoneration and we could start all over again with the 'blaming the victim' syndrome." But perhaps the most important question to be raised by this new movement is, will it work? Will it help to decrease crime? So far, there is little evidence one way or the other. The 1976 crime rates appear to be similar to those of previous years. Yet it must be said that at this point the campaigns against black on black crime are for the most part at the talking or planning stage; few specific programs have been implemented.

This seems to be especially upsetting to the Urban League's Woodson. Although he does not deny the need to attack the "root causes" (poverty, unemployment, discrimination, inadequate housing, education and health care), he seems to be a strong advocate of black community anti-crime programs. The funding of such programs, he says, has been difficult because the government has failed "to recognize the enormous potential for community involvement in crime control and prevention." He adds: "The 'war on crime' has been one of the few battles in our history in which the black community has not been enlisted."

Peter Kovler is a free-lance writer in Washington.

dirty little secret from students and parents alike. This is the "literacy hoax."

Why are the schools less effective today? The enemy is legion: permissive parents, community organizations, government agencies, interest groups such as the Children's Defense Fund, intrusive courts, pharmaceutical companies, exploitative media (now its flip side), liberal professors, radical reformers, teacher training programs, frightened instructors, spineless administrators, uninformed school boards, unconcerned citizens. Under the spreading apathy, the pillaged system stands. Barely.

But victory with honor is still possible. What is required, Copperman tells us, is the reinstatement of parental and educational authority and the reaffirmation of traditional social goals. Nothing less than that.

Copperman—the young founder of a chain of reading development institutes in California—makes it tough for us: he won't take yes for an answer. As he ups the ante, becoming more sweeping of generalization, more coruscating of prose, we begin to tune out.

This is unfortunate, for Copperman has a genuine—if widely-acknowledged—case. Most objective evidence supports it: the American educational "system" is in big trouble (as are schools and colleges in Canada, Britain, and points east). But the causes and cures are rather more complex than those canvassed here; 50 pages into the book, margins begin to fill with "post not propter," "correlation not causation," "evidence?" and other reliable mantras. Although Copperman ends up at a position not far from one's own, his route there seems more reckless than necessary.

Robert Hassenger

Robert Hassenger is at Empire State College, where he directs the independent study program of The State University of New York.

A Place on the Corner by Elijah Anderson

(University of Chicago Press; \$13.95)

Riding through a black urban ghetto, a driver instinctively thinks of safety.

Locks need to be pressed down, windows rolled up and suspicious-looking pedestrians closely watched. This is not simply a white reaction to black men: the fear among blacks living in ghettos is nearly as great (black on black crime has reached epidemic proportions). If there is one place which most often transforms a casual driver into a security guard, it is the liquor store. Sometimes regarded as the most dangerous small business in the country, the ghetto liquor store seems to be a haunt for drunks, thieves, addicts and other desperate characters.

A Place on the Corner is a study of the culture of one of these stores. The "Place" is Jelly's, located on Chicago's south side. As one who has been a reporter for a community newspaper in that area, I can testify that Elijah Anderson took considerable risks to do the research (it is common to have at least one murder per day in that part of the city; one weekend four years ago there were more than a dozen). But from the reader's viewpoint the risks were not in vain. Anderson, a University of Pennsylvania sociologist, has turned that liquor store into a vital, complex and fascinating world.

Jelly's cast of characters may have come out of *Guns and Dolls*. Anderson explains that Jelly's is like a "special hangout for the urban poor and working-class people, serving somewhat as more formal social clubs or domestic circles do for the middle or upper classes." At Jelly's there are three categories of customers: Regulars, Wineheads and Hoodlums. Anderson, a sociologist, makes these characters come to life, an extraordinary accomplishment considering most of the muck produced by his profession.

The Regulars, a group considering itself distinct and above the others, "enact roles of respectability." Anderson writes that "they work regularly, some even hold two jobs. These men strive to 'have something'—a nice car, a house, nice furniture—usually something material that they can work toward and pay for over time. Many of these," he continues, "are proudly involved in stable nuclear family arrangements." For example, Herman, a janitor, wants to be seen as something more "socially acceptable" so he will take Anderson, but not his Jelly's friends, to an office party. At the same time, Herman and his commonlaw wife, Butterroll, are break-

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Alfred M. Lilienthal

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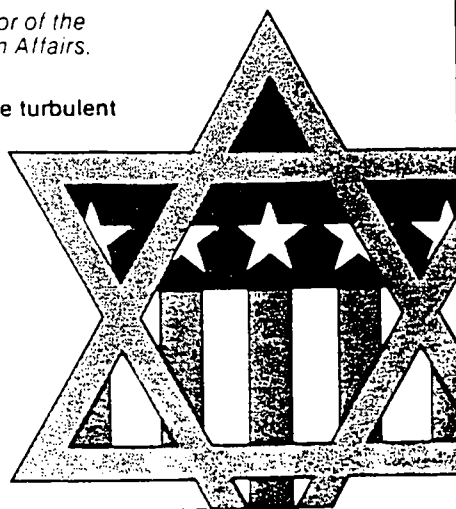
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ing up and his Jelly's friends come to his aid by cooking his meals and offering sympathy.

According to Anderson the Wineheads constitute a "kind of social residue." What they value most is 'gettin a taste' and 'havin some fun.' "They spend a good portion of time," continues Anderson, "around Jelly's drinking wine or trying to obtain money for wine or food, usually by begging from other group members and from outsiders." Although the Regulars dismiss this group, Anderson presents them with some sympathy.

The Hoodlums are a relatively young group who value 'big money' and 'being tough.' They venerate the 'big time' hustler, the pimp and well known successful gangsters. Within the larger group, says Anderson, "they are marked out as the 'wrong type o' people' . . . [who] 'bear watching.'"

A Place on the Corner does have one major flaw that concerns the sociologist's approach to crime. With an aloofness common to social scientists, Anderson describes muggings and other violent acts as if they were just a few additional examples of local behavior. One wonders if he has forgotten that fear and violence can ruin people. Anderson's book is enlightening, but a needed indignation is missing.

Peter Kovler

Peter Kovler is a Washington writer who has written for *Time*, *The New York Times* and *The Nation*.

Kauffmann, from page 20

play. One of the themes in Büchner's disquieting masterwork is that, under political fervor however sincere, is, in some measure, politics as solipsist fantasy. This is not negativism: truth cannot be negative. I couldn't help wondering what Büchner would think of the Troupe.

Whenever I hear a show described as "good theater," I tend to go the other way. It usually means that old-fashioned hokum has been resuscitated to replace hip hokum. *The Crucifer of Blood* (Helen Hayes) was called "good theater," but I saw it anyway because I missed *Dracula* and I thought I ought to sample this

latest Broadway vogue of old styles. *Crucifer* is more or less what I expected, but I was astonished by the fact that it was *there*, so at least it was a rewarding field trip.

It's yet one more latter-day Sherlock Holmes extrapolation, not remotely as amusing as *The Seven Per Cent Solution*. The script, by Paul Giovanni who also directed, takes a long time to get started, especially since we know that all the stuff we have to go through in India, without Holmes, is just a set-up for what's going to happen later in England, with Holmes. (There's a whole school of fiction and drama—P. C. Wren, Lord Dunsany, etc.—that utilized the Empire as a source for action in England. A kind of writer's imperialism.) The plot smacks of many other plots and is never engaging. Giovanni imitates Conan Doyle's dialogue passably and directs skeletally—the bare bones of the action are always visible.

Paxton Whitehead has none of the glinting surgical virtuosity that John Wood showed as Holmes a few years ago, but he is technically secure and vocally attractive. The rest of the cast, excepting that tartly eccentric comedian Edward Zang, is just a bunch of bland Americans trying to sound British or Indian.

But what a *show*. I thought *First Monday in October* was expensive for Broadway these days, but *Crucifer*, without a star, is the sort of production I never expected to see on Broadway again, outside musicals. Actors double, which costs extra money, there are many sets and costumes, lots of vapor and special effects and trick lighting, lashings of lightning and seat-shaking thunder. All vintage 1910, except for the amplification. Yes, "good theater," all right: a "well-made" play, which is to say an obviously carpentered one, drowned in all sorts of trappings and trimmings to take your mind off the fact that there's not much of a play there. And the audience apparently likes the show's implication that "Underneath the modernism around us, we're all still basically sound at heart." *Crucifer* knows how to reach its public just as well as the SF Mime Troupe knows the way to its communicants.

Subsidy note: Giovanni began in subsidized theaters (The Open Theater, for instance). Whitehead was the head of the Shaw Festival in Canada for 10 years. *The Crucifer of Blood* was first done at the subsidized Buffalo Studio Arena Theater, which also originated the current Broadway musical *Platinum*. At

the risk of sounding like a spoilsport (but there really isn't much sport here to spoil), I ask whether this is what theater subsidy is for. To further careers toward this pinnacle? To provide tryouts for Broadway? I would have thought that subsidy was meant to provide an alternative to the profit theater, including "good theater."

Correspondence, from page 3

Whatever the complexities, Atlas's dire pronouncements and snappy quotations do little to resolve them. *The New Republic* usually produces better literary sociology than this.

Neil Myers
West Lafayette, Indiana

A jogger's plaint

To the editors:

I read with amusement your recent piece on jogging ("Washington Diarist," *TNR*, November 25). I didn't mind your mean spirit or curmudgeonly tone but I did notice an absence of facts: (1) Goodloe Byron was a victim of heart disease for many years and ran expressly against his doctor's advice. I don't criticize him for that, and his case does bring into question Tom Bassler's theories but your article leaves the impression that running kills. In Byron's case, jogging in all likelihood prolonged his life; (2) Dennis Rainear is the man who was shot during a marathon. The shooting was accidental and your description of it is very misleading. Dennis told me and other journalists who bothered to check the facts that he had no idea he had been shot and that had he known what hit him, he would have stopped. He simply thought a rock or some other object had hit him. With a concussion, he also wasn't thinking very clearly and continued to run.

I know runners can be sanctimonious about running, but you ought not twist or omit facts to get your point of view across. If you think jogging is so terrible I wouldn't presume to try to change your already made-up mind. But surely a magazine with the tradition of *The New Republic* can find a more worthy object of spleen than joggers.

Bill Palmer
National Jogging Association
Washington, DC



After the Flood

Boise, Idaho

On the morning of June 5, a portion of the rear wall of the nearly completed Teton Dam, in southeastern Idaho, ruptured and the waters rapidly opened and enlarged a hole. Attempts to stem the leak in the huge earth-filled dam failed. Nearby towns were alerted and evacuated. The rest of the story is tragedy: A fifteen-foot wall of water raced through the upper Snake River Canyon, then inundated Sugar City and made its destructive way downstream. Sugar City, Rexburg, Firth, Blackfoot, and Idaho Falls briefly became names in the national news.

As catastrophes go, the Teton disaster was only moderately sensational: eleven deaths, more than 100,000 acres of crops ruined, more than \$1 billion in damages. An inexorable sea roaring through Rexburg, houses floating downstream like broken toys, and people sandbagging the Snake River at Idaho Falls made for fascinating news photos and copy. Reports of heroism were common, and the people of southeastern Idaho acquitted themselves admirably.

By July, only the Idaho media found the aftermath of the dam break newsworthy. The Teton disaster was eclipsed by even more devastating and awesome flooding in Mexico, the daring Israeli commando raid in Uganda, and Jimmy Carter's nomination. Yet major questions gnaw and remain.

A blue-ribbon investigating team was appointed to examine the causes of the disaster: why wet spots appeared two days earlier; whether the grouting was insufficient; whether the unusually high spring runoff that filled the dam in eight months (it was supposed to take two years) was the problem.

The Teton Dam had been a questionable project from the beginning. At public hearings held in the early 1970s, environmentalists complained about loss of wildlife habitat; seventeen miles of the Teton River, excellent for fly-fishing, would be gone. The geologic composition of the site was soft, porous, and fissured; the dam might break. Furthermore, it was too expensive for the minimal flood control and irrigation benefits. But southeastern Idahoans wanted the dam, and with the help of the entire Idaho Congressional delegation, they got their wish in 1972. Work began in 1974 and was 90 per cent complete by June 1976.

The disaster has left people in this part of the country

worrying that the myths which have nourished the West — progress and freedom — no longer hold. The frontier is closed and progress is expensive. Except for Alaska, Idaho contains the largest primitive area anywhere in the United States. It is a mountainous, spacious, sparsely populated state where people cherish old virtues, are suspicious of government, and believe in man's — especially America's — perfectibility. No one ever expects disaster.

Behind the extraordinary physical losses lurks a fear that "those people" — the government planners, the multinational corporation which contracted the work, and the engineers in whose hands our lives, as well as our dams, are entrusted — are just like the rest of us: They live in houses that are built poorly with faulty systems, drive cars created to self-destruct, experience a man-made world designed as a temporary solution.

Ironically, the same people who are most suspicious of the Federal Government wanted the dam and suffered the consequences. The Teton Dam is simply the consummate example of the get-it-done syndrome, a glaring reminder of how prevalent incompetence has become in our society.

ALAN MINSKOFF

(Alan Minskoff is the editor of Idaho Heritage Magazine, published in Boise.)

Harlem Marches against Drugs

New York

About 250 citizens marched on Eighth Avenue one Saturday early last June in Harlem's first organized protest against crime and drug addiction. It was not as big a crowd as the late Adam Clayton Powell used to draw, but the procession managed to spread out over a block and a half. The march was organized by an unusual group called CASH — Citizens Action for a Safer Harlem.

Among CASH's mixed bag of sponsors and supporters are the New York Police Department and the black police officers' organization, the Guardians, as well as the National Urban Coalition, the *Amsterdam News*, the local NAACP chapter, the Black Muslims, and various Harlem politicians. CASH's employees include three black ex-policemen and five "street people" or "community activists," at least two of whom have, at one time or another, been arrested by the NYPD. One of the street people is Charles Kenyatta, a former bodyguard and close associate of Malcolm X.

"In no other time and in no other place has our community been in so much trouble because, now, we're killing each other," says Kenyatta. "The drugs and the murders are all around and Harlem — after losing three generations to the dope — has become like a leper colony. And it's not just being blacks in a white society; the black man in the cities was poorer and didn't have any jobs at all forty years ago — and there wasn't any heroin. And you

never had it in the South or in the rural areas. You never had blacks who needed to have a march in their own neighborhood in order to stop us from killing us."

Kenyatta says he joined CASH because it was the only community group that was directly attacking the problem. When the organization was formed last February, CASH had six basic goals: 1) to have a representative in each of Harlem's five police precincts; 2) to organize clean-up drives which "focus on crime-ridden blocks identified by the community"; 3) to operate a confidential crime information center to which victims and other citizens may report crimes; 4) to establish a community patrol corps; 5) to conduct a program to teach teenagers about crime, and 6) to provide information to Harlem citizens about crime insurance programs, crime victim compensation, and other crime prevention programs. The target area clean-ups have been the most noteworthy success so far.

"For years," says James Hicks, the executive editor of Harlem's newspaper, the *Amsterdam News*, "it was at Eighth Avenue and 126th Street where you had wall-to-wall junkies. In fact, *Life* magazine had called it the most dangerous block in the country. Only five months ago you couldn't walk on the sidewalk, you couldn't even see the sidewalk. And for the families who lived there, it was a horror: After school the children couldn't even get back into their homes. But by the work of CASH and by highlighting the problems in the newspaper, we got the police to move them. Today, there is even a block association there."

CASH does have its skeptics, however, who claim the anti-crime efforts are meaningless because the junkies just move on to other streets in Harlem.

But Frank DeSilva, another CASH street organizer and a drug counselor in Harlem for fifteen years, replies: "We are, probably most of all, looking to make an attitudinal change. We've got to help the people on a block who say that they want their area to be cleaned up. We want to show that it isn't hopeless and that we can make inroads."

DeSilva adds that "this is the only way we are going to get the crime problem out in the open — the first step toward solving it. And it has got to be done now because we have gotten back to the old basic thing — survival."

Still, there are formidable obstacles in CASH's path, and one of them is the sheer magnitude of the problem. CASH Director Eddie Waith says there may be as many as 30,000 drug addicts in Harlem, and where there are so many addicts, there are powerful people with an enormous interest in keeping people addicted. Waith concedes that CASH, alone, may not solve the problem.

Waith and others in CASH fear that it "could come to the baseball bats and the guns" — that people in the community will run out of patience to wait for peaceful and lawful efforts. And, says Kenyatta, "I suppose that when a government has failed to do its job, the people in the community will have the right to protect themselves."

PETER KOVLER

(Peter Kovler, a free-lance writer in Washington, has written for *Harper's Weekly* and *The Village Voice*.)

'Republican Humor'

The True Believer Award for 1976 goes to Stephen J. Skubic and Hal E. Short, who have come out with a book entitled — I swear, I'm not kidding — *Republican Humor*. It has funny pictures in it. There's one of Jerry Ford talking to his dog, who isn't listening. There's another of Jerry Ford in his White House swimming pool, and there's a really hilarious one of Jerry and Nelson Rockefeller smiling.

It contains a foreword by President Ford, and wittier words have seldom been written: "In my remarks to the Congress after being sworn in as our thirty-eighth President, I said, 'Truth is the glue that holds government together, not only our government, but civilization as well.' I believe this with all my heart."

The book is an anthology of funnies by Republican worthies. There's a marvelous contribution in it from Senator Hugh Scott, who functions as the Minority Leader when he's not demonstrating that he didn't take any naughty money under the table from Gulf Oil Company. One of the Senator's contributions to this treasury of his Party's funniest moments reads as follows: "In debate, one of my favorite words is 'pismire.' Everybody thinks it's a dirty word. Actually it's a little red ant."

The other senatorial Scott, William L. of Virginia, has been known to be legitimately funny. Like the time a relatively unheard-of magazine nominated him one of the ten dumbest men in Washington and our brilliant Senator called a national media news conference to deny the accusation. The good Senator offered this laffo-baffo to the anthology: "I enjoyed the statement: 'An office holder who loses contact with his constituents soon goes from Who's Who to Who's That.'"

Nor can it be honestly said that women Republicans lack funny bones. I give you Estelle M. Stacy, of the Republican National Committee from Wyoming, who gives you this chestnut: "I often define a committee this way: the unwilling, recruited from the unfit, to do the unnecessary."

I fear Abraham Lincoln was the last member of his Party who could crack a joke. The Grand Old Party has come as close to humor as it's going to with this year's platform.

NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN

(Nicholas von Hoffman is a regular commentator on the CBS Radio "Spectrum" series.)

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10 September 1993

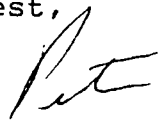
Ms. Gail Britton
Director of Intern Programs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Gail,

Now that I look at these articles, they seem quite out of date - but you may want to keep them in some sort of file (maybe the circular one)!

Thank you for coming by, and I'll try and get back to you next week.

All the best,



Peter B. Kovler

cc: Anne Bartley

Peter Kovler

For Politicians, a Line Between Doing Good and Doing Well

A great deal of attention has recently been focused on nonprofit organizations associated with potential presidential candidates, particularly Pat Robertson's Freedom Council and Jack Kemp's Fund for an American Renaissance. Such scrutiny is healthy, and it means that candidates may well be forced to deal with the novel issue of federal election laws and where they cross IRS regulations governing tax-deductible organizations. Nevertheless, it misses what may be the real area of trouble. That is, the establishment of nonprofit corporations by less conspicuous senators and congressmen as well as by state and municipal officials.

Within the last month the Internal Revenue Service has begun to take steps in the direction of tighter enforcement and even though Sen. Gary

Hart has just introduced the first bill to require financial disclosure of nonprofits associated with senators and congressmen. There is a great deal of work to be done to make sure that our distinguished and unique system of independent and free-standing philanthropic organizations is not abused by politicians eager to seek a new way to finance their careers.

At present, there are at least 20 senators and representatives who are closely associated with nonprofit charities. Most of them appear to do first-rate work. Because there is no system of cataloging nonprofit organizations according to whether or not they are connected to politicians, we have no idea of what the true number is. Similarly, there is no telling how many governors, mayors, state commissioners, aldermen, etc., have their

own organizations. Lawyers familiar with the use of nonprofits by politicians estimate that there may be hundreds of such organizations around the country.

Recently, we have seen a lot of attention given to nonprofits associated with Robertson, Reps. Kemp and Richard Gephardt, and Sens. Bill Bradley, Hart, Edward Kennedy and Robert Dole. Also, in New York state, attention has begun to focus on the restoration of the governor's mansion, at present inhabited by Mario Cuomo; this, too, is a nonprofit effort. And in the 1984 election we saw a great deal of attention paid to the Arab League's funding of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's People United to Save Humanity.

But for all the TV and print coverage, most of it favorable, concerning

these well-known politicians and preachers, we are missing the disclosure of the financial relationships between nonprofits and politicians and how those relationships influence votes.

Certainly the most important effort undertaken to date has been Hart's "Fair Foundation" bill. The bill calls for the creation of a five-member panel, made up of representatives from the IRS and the Federal Elections Commission, to see how nonprofits might be used for election-related purposes and then to recommend legislation to make sure such abuses do not occur.

In addition, it calls for the disclosure of receipts and expenditures of such organizations, thereby permit-

ting the public to see whether there are trades of money for votes.

Such legislation might be a model for state and municipal legislators who may soon be faced with the same phenomenon.

While the legislation does not cover political aspirants who are not currently in office, it at least puts pressure on those candidates who will not disclose the information.

On the whole, we ought to be encouraged at this point by the latest evolution in the political process. Nonprofit organizations associated with legislators may greatly improve the way that government works.

Two of the more conspicuous organizations—Hart's Center for a New Democracy, which focuses on public policy questions, and Dole's Dole Foundation, which helps the handi-

capped, have received praise even from the other charities that work in the same area, something, alas, not easy for any nonprofit organization to get.

While no one can expect these nonprofits to compete with the success of, say, FDR and the creation of the March of Dimes, there is reason to be encouraged. But in the atmosphere of suspicion that has almost always surrounded legislators, it would be wise to encourage all steps that would bring as many of these nonprofits into the open as possible.

The writer served as president of the Franklin D. Roosevelt National Centennial Committee. He is currently participating in a study of nonprofit organizations.

Perspective

A forum—ideas, analysis, opinion

Chicago Tribune, Thursday, December 26, 1985

Section 1 31

A new kind of think tank

By Peter Kovler

Although they have existed in small numbers for many years, over the last 12 months legislators in the nation's capital as well as mayors and governors have accelerated the formation of nonprofit, IRS-approved foundations. These groups are now soliciting tax-deductible money from individuals and corporations as well as from private grant-making foundations.

The most prominent politicians in each party, Sens. Bill Bradley, Bob Dole, Gary Hart, Jesse Helms, Edward Kennedy and Robert Packwood, as well as Rep. Jack Kemp of New York, are now affiliated with nonprofit public policy organizations. Many other public figures are looking into emulating their well-known colleagues, and it is not hard to imagine hundreds of state and national executives and legislators forming such groups. This proliferation looks as if it will be as rapid as that of political action committees, or of the various caucuses where so much legislative activity now takes place.

Among the most conspicuous of these organizations are The Fund for an American Renaissance, which is affiliated with Congressman Kemp; The Fair Tax Foundation, connected to Sen. Bradley; The Center for a New Democracy, whose chairman is Sen. Hart; and the Dole Foundation, which, of course, is the brainchild of the Republican senator from Kansas.

Their programs are varied. Dole's group is dedicated to the "economic independence of persons with disabilities . . . it supports programs serving persons with either physical or mental impairments." Hart's center was established to provide a "forum for analysis and discussion of the major economic, societal and political problems that the United States must address in the next decade and beyond." And Bradley's Fair Tax Foundation "is designed to promote fairness, simplicity and efficiency in the U.S. tax system."

These organizations seem to use conferences and seminars as their main form of getting attention for particular issues. They are able to use the name of the governor or senator to attract some of the best talent in the country.

For example, Sen. Kennedy's Nuclear Freeze Foundation played a key part in organizing nuclear freeze conferences that have highlighted work on the dangers of a nuclear winter. In mid-December, Hart's center cosponsored a conference on problems in East Asia. Their cosponsors were among the top

Sen. Kennedy's Nuclear Freeze Foundation played a key part in organizing nuclear freeze conferences.

academic establishments in the country in that particular area of study: the University of California at Berkeley, UCLA and Harvard.

Although there seem to have been no violations of state or federal laws, the potential for abuse in this rapidly expanding area of public policy financing should prompt the IRS, the Federal Elections Commission, Congress and state legislators to keep a close watch on this phenomenon.

In theory, such organizations offer an enormous opportunity to improve the public policy debate in the United States. As with think tanks and university-affiliated public policy organizations, these new groups could contribute significantly to a more informed and responsive government. If Sen. X is seriously interested in, say, developing a program to

combat increasing poverty among infants, it no doubt would be beneficial for that senator to have "braintrusts" who might look into past efforts and current options.

Such organizations would be particularly helpful to legislators in the minority party in their body of government, for in the committee system we now have the majority party can pretty much set the agenda on what kind of research the staffs should be doing. Hence, in the present situation in the Congress, these organizations would be particularly helpful to House Republicans and Senate Democrats.

These groups might also play a key role in the more traditional philanthropic area of help to the needy. Franklin D. Roosevelt's assistance to the March of Dimes and his work at eradicating polio are examples from an earlier period. To have a prominent American government official's name attached to an effort to help the physically disabled or to help recent immigrants or members of the "underclass" would be a source of support these efforts constantly need.

But problems might arise if administrators, legislators and directors of these organizations fail to understand that these entities must be used for serious purposes. They cannot be used to employ favored constituents or as "political funds." Nor can they be used to "stick up" corporations, unions and even foundations.

It is not difficult to envision a conversation between a wealthy political contributor and a legislator affiliated with such a group on the subject of the

These organizations . . . cannot be used to employ favored constituents or as "political funds."

employment of the contributor's unqualified relative. While there would not be anything illegal about such employment, it would violate the spirit of both the election laws and the laws governing charitable foundations.

Moreover, it is not hard to envision a legislator or executive running for re-election and using the nonprofit organization to publicize his or her name. Would we really want these tax-exempt groups to be involved in such partisan efforts?

And, as with the PACs formed by federal and state officials, there is the potential for officeholders to get money in exchange for help in legislation. Conversely, giving to the nonprofit organizations could be just one more way for "special interests" to get the ear of an official.

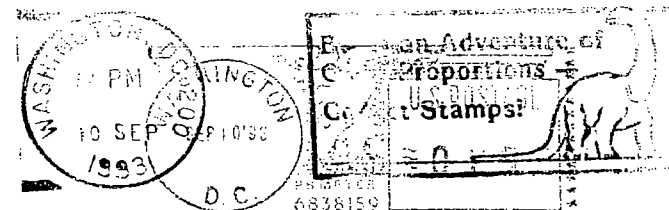
So far, these new, hybrid organizations seem to have followed the letter and spirit of the laws. Though it is an enormous plus to have, in this case, the Internal Revenue Service as the primary policing unit of the government, there is also potential danger, for the IRS is especially accountable to the executive and legislative branches. Good public policy would seem to call for the appropriate legislative committees to support the IRS if it needs to undertake more supervision in this proliferating area, even though such a development might mean the enhancement of "government intrusion" on colleagues.

Fortunately, to the best of anyone's knowledge, public officials affiliated with these nonprofit groups have acted with integrity. Even close observers of public policy are saluting efforts that are sincere and straightforward, as when David Broder singled out Gary Hart's "personal think tank" for "providing a public service for launching the discussion on steps to take now to ease the pain of the next recession."

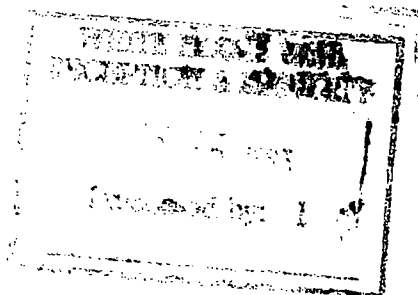
But proliferation increases the potential for abuse, and the last thing either the Republicans or Democrats need is to be caught taking private money for public policy and, in turn, making private gains.

Peter Kovler has been a director of several nonprofit corporations. He served as an aide to Rep. Sidney Yates (D., Ill.) and was special assistant to Secretary of Commerce Philip Klutznick in the Carter administration.

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June 10, 1993

Mr. John Emerson
Office of Presidential Personnel
Old Executive Office Building
Room 151
Washington, DC 20500

Dear John Emerson:

I know that Gary Hart spoke to you about my interest in an ambassadorship in Western Europe and I've attached a resume and articles and a book concerning work I've done in public policy.

Because I'm a bit uncertain about what is supposed to be relevant in this process, the articles have a vast range - from seven op-ed pieces for the New York Times to articles about me and my efforts to observe Franklin Roosevelt's Centennial. While most of the Times articles concern Southeast Asia in the 1970's - my most avid interest in the past few years has been U.S.-European policy.

This is a subject which I have approached as a foundation director rather than as an organizer or writer or government official. Among the efforts we have undertaken have been grants to the Center for National Policy for work to be done by Madeleine Albright and Jenonne Walker (Tony Lake's chief advisor on Europe) on ethnic conflict in Europe; a grant of one million dollars to the Holocaust Museum, arguably the American institution which teaches the most in this country about twentieth century European history; the establishment of the Kovler Center for the Treatment of Survivors of Torture - some of whose patients come from Europe; and grants for documentaries on Klaus Barbie (which won an Academy Award) and for a film on the history of U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations. I believe we are also among the principal donors to the National Democratic Institute, a non-profit organization

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dedicated to strengthening democracy and its institutions. The organization was run for many years by Brian Atwood and its Chairman has been Walter Mondale.

I believe it's only proper to mention that ethnic conflict in our own country has also been a high priority for us. And I think you should know that we are probably the only foundation in the country focusing on Black-Jewish relations - and to that end we gave about \$200,000 to Black voter registration last year. Part of that money was given in the name of a Committee of Blacks and Jews whose membership included two administration officials, Peter Edelman and Stuart Eizenstat. We have been involved in several other non-partisan activities which have also served to strengthen our own democracy. These include being lead funders to the Commission on Presidential Debates and the Presidential Inaugural Foundation.

Having cared about these subjects for a long time, I know that there are people who would speak on my behalf. And while I am sure that you all are besieged with requests for jobs, if any of this seems to fit what you need, feel free to call or write.

Sincerely yours,

Peter Kovler

Chicagoan, Jogging Nation's Memory, Speeds Plans for Roosevelt's Centennial

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 23 — The centennial of Franklin D. Roosevelt's birth is Jan. 30, 1982, but few people seemed to be aware of it until a young Chicagoan began checking six months ago to what was being done about it.

Since then, Peter Kovler has finagled a couple hundred thousand dollars out of the Federal Government for a year-long celebration to honor America's 32d President. Mr. Kovler has also pulled together a 40-member centennial planning committee and packed it with celebrities.

The Smithsonian Institution is in on the centennial celebration, as are the National Archives, the Little White House Museum in Warm Springs, Ga., the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, N.Y., near where Roosevelt was born.

Mr. Kovler is hoping that President Reagan, once a Roosevelt supporter, will help with the festivities. Both the President and Vice President Bush

have been invited to join the centennial committee, but so far there has been no word from the White House.

In Celebration of Greatness

By and large, outstanding American Presidents have fared rather well on their centennials.

In 1956 the nation marked the hundredth anniversary of Woodrow Wilson's birth with a yearlong celebration that included a White House proclamation and black-tie balls. Two years later, coast-to-coast festivities were held to commemorate the centennial of Theodore Roosevelt's birthday.

Until last January, Mr. Kovler, a 29-year-old devotee of F.D.R. and former speech writer for the Commerce Department, assumed that next year's national birthday party for Franklin Roosevelt would be just as grand as were those other centennials.

But Mr. Kovler discovered that "nothing, practically nothing, was being planned." In an interview he said: "The American public was going

to ignore the centennial of the birth of F.D.R., the greatest, most compassionate President of the 20th century, the man who pulled the nation through the Depression and World War II. I was determined not to let that happen."

\$200,000 Granted by Congress

Since uncovering what he considers to be the nation's shameful indifference to Roosevelt's centennial, Mr. Kovler has struggled to organize the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Centenary, as it is now officially called.

Wandering about Washington with stacks of freshly printed centennial brochures, Mr. Kovler prodded the Government earlier this year to provide the \$200,000 needed to begin planning for a year's festivities to begin next January. Representative Sidney R. Yates, an Illinois Democrat and former boss of Mr. Kovler's, pushed the grant legislation through Congress.

Mr. Kovler has also persuaded Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the historian; Archibald MacLeish, the poet; Arthur

Miller, the playwright; Senator Edward 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 Centennial 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 committee 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 directors of the Smithsonian Institution, which will serve as unofficial headquarters 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 exhibits 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 described as a "Roosevelt-as-communicator" 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 beginning 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 depository 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 national scope, the planning committee has reserved hotel rooms and ballrooms in seven cities across the country 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 celebration 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. William 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.

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



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.

Sam 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.

It 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



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

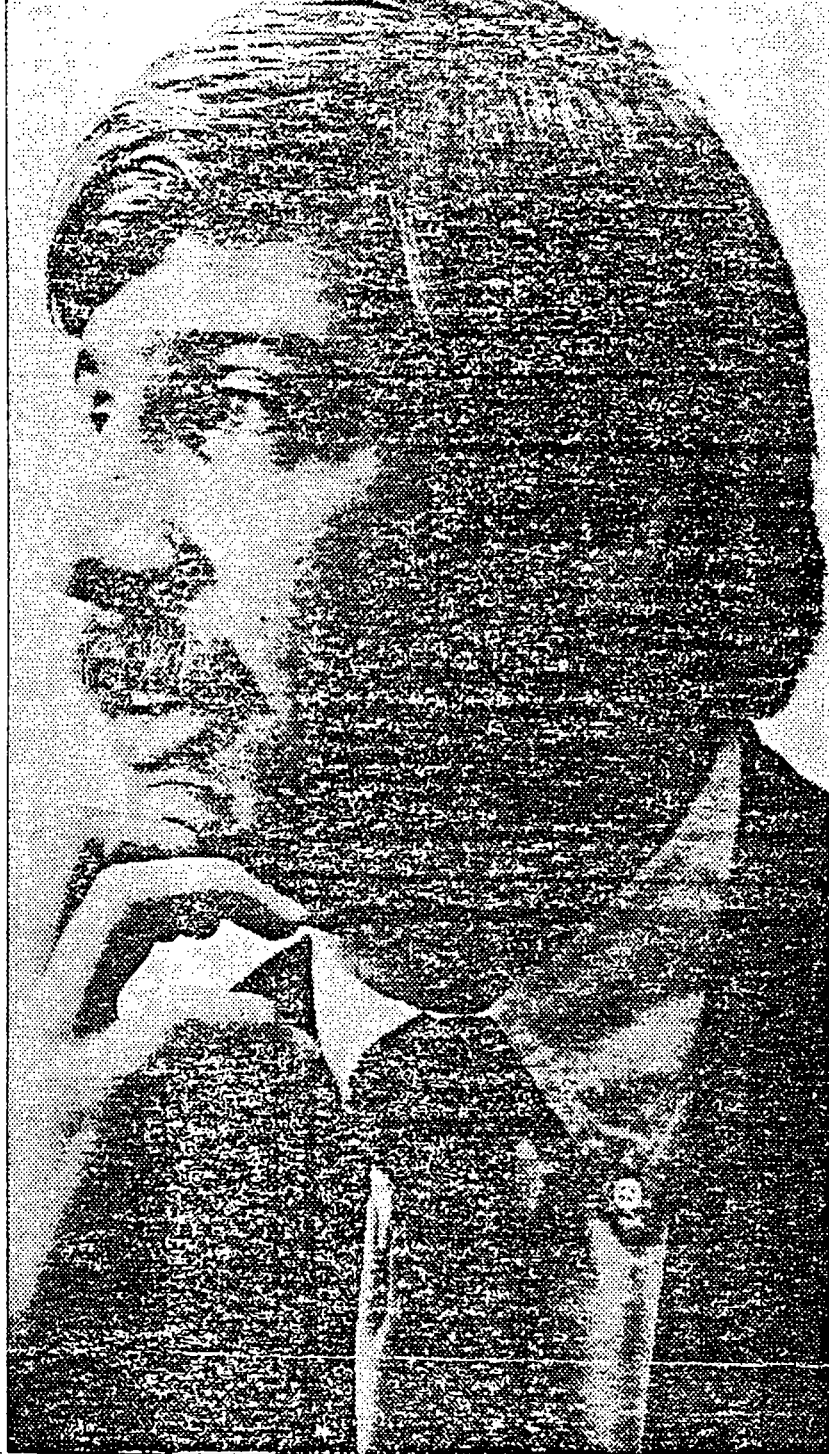
committee and special observances in every state and many cities, magazine articles, parties, all kinds of stuff. They did almost as much for Wilson and for Lincoln's sesquicentennial, also in the '50s. But FDR — nothing. It was an atrocity."

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.

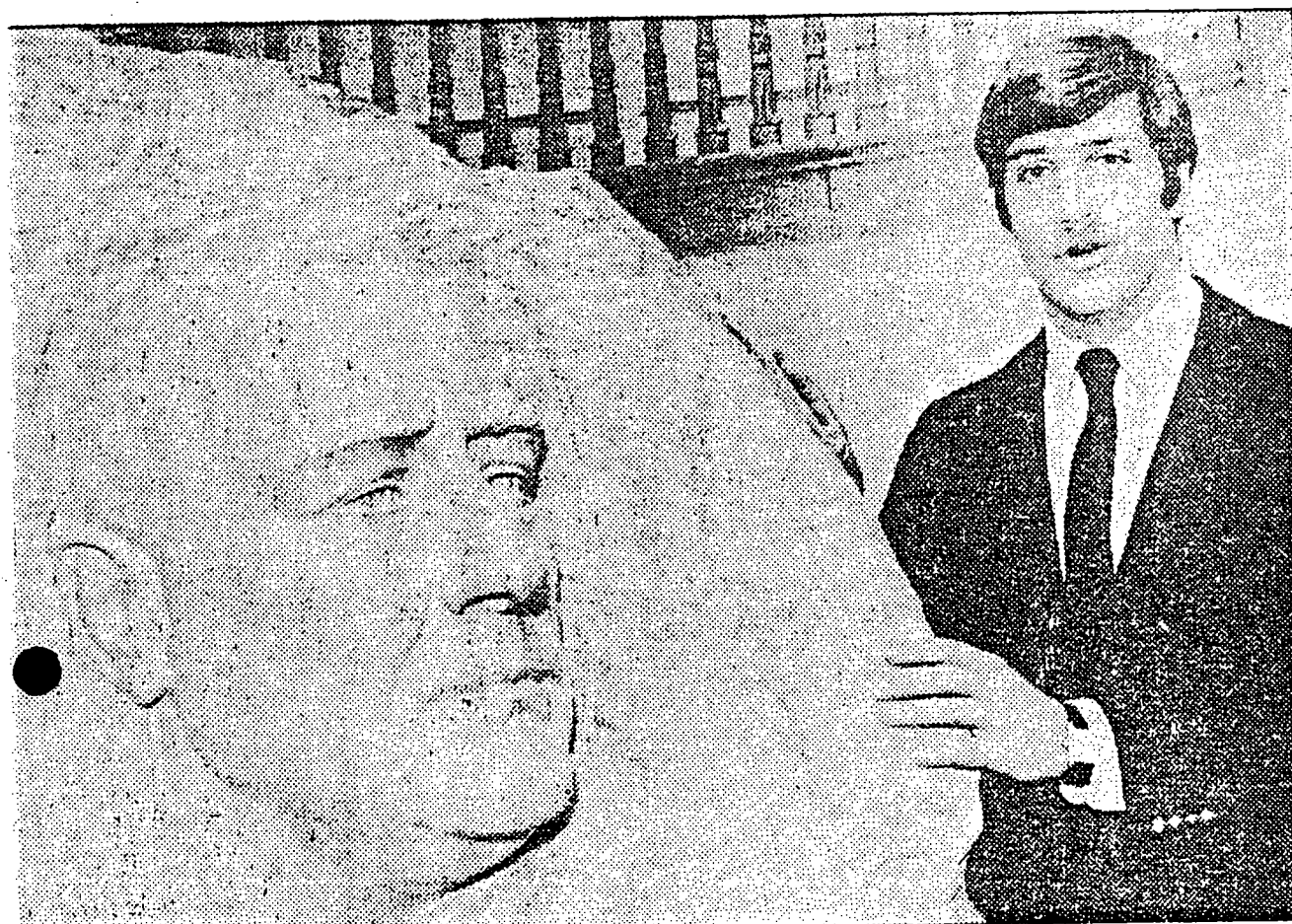
"We've asked the president and vice president to be on the committee," Kovler said. "I hope to hear in a few days. Of course, Reagan drew on Roosevelt's speeches in the campaign, and he used to be a supporter."

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."



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 is earnestly, leaning over a ketchup-drenched hamburger he ordered at lunch. With the next bite, he takes 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

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

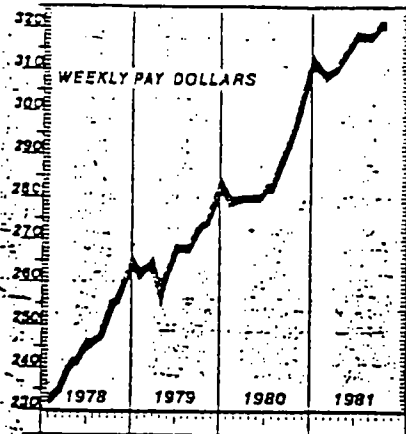
THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1981

MIDWEST EDITION

Weekly Earnings



AVERAGE WEEKLY PAY of factory workers in October remained steady at \$32.53, 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 planning an F.D.R. celebration. Susan Hariton, 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 1958 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 1953 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.

Jewish Aid in South African Blacks' Schooling

By PETER STEINFELS

A Jewish Institute devoted to strengthening ties between black and Jewish Americans plans to present Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu with a \$100,000 grant for training black South African medical workers.

"The plight of blacks in South Africa is a concern to both the Jewish and black communities in the United States," Rabbi Lynne F. Landsberg said Friday in discussing the gift. Rabbi Landsberg is acting director of the Marjorie Kovler Institute for Black-Jewish Relations of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism. "Our purpose is to bring the two

communities together on such common concerns," she said.

Archbishop Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop of Capetown, will accept the grant tomorrow evening before receiving an award from the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue at 30 West 88th Street in Manhattan. The South African religious leader, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984, has been asked to discuss relations between blacks and Jews.

The Kovler Institute's donation will go to Medical Education for South African Blacks Inc., a nonprofit corporation based in Washington and Johannesburg. Herbert Kalser, president of the group, said it had financed training

for 135 black South African medical workers last year, including physicians, dentists, pharmacists and nurses.

Mr. Kalser said there were fewer than 700 black physicians serving South Africa's black population of 20 million. The country has about 70 black pharmacists and 20 black dentists, he said. Black South African students must overcome major educational and legal obstacles to qualify for university studies, Mr. Kalser said, and only half those admitted to universities can afford to attend.

He said the health care training project, established four years ago and

guided by black South African directors, was aimed at preparing black professionals to play an essential role in "a post-apartheid society."

Statement From Simon

Senator Paul Simon, the Illinois Democrat who heads the Subcommittee on African Affairs, praised the grant. "I recently visited Soweto and other townships in South Africa and have seen first-hand the desperate conditions there," Mr. Simon said in a statement. "This grant will shine a light into that gloom."

Senator Simon called the donation "a timely step toward mending the bridge of common interest that has traditionally united this nation's African-American and Jewish communities as they have worked together in pursuit of human freedom, justice and dignity."



Mayor Andrew Young, third from left at rear, singing a hymn with some of more than 70 black and Jewish participants who gathered yesterday at the Carter Presidential Center in Atlanta for a conference on

the civil rights movement. Conference focused on the time from 1909 when blacks and Jews cooperated in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to the present.

Jews and Blacks Recall the Decades of Partnerships

By RONALD SMOTHERS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Nov. 29 — There were some moving remembrances of the past and some cautious tiptoeing around the tensions of the present as more than 70 black and Jewish veterans of the civil rights movement gathered here to record and celebrate a coalition that brought broad social change to this country.

The conference focused on the time from 1909, when blacks and Jews cooperated in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through the 1930's and 1940's, when cadres of black and white lawyers began framing civil rights lawsuits throughout the South, honing the skills and arguments men such as Thurgood Marshall would put to use in the landmark cases of the 1950's, and into the 1960's, when the sit-ins, freedom rides, protest marches and legislation focused national attention on the struggle.

The conference at the Carter Presidential Center here was sponsored by the Marjorie Kovler Institute for Black-Jewish Relations of the Religious Action Center for Reform Judaism and was designed to enliven the already well-documented historical record of the time with anecdotes and personal recollections. Much of the conference was videotaped, and Phillip Shandler, a freelance writer who is Jewish, and Leon Dash, a reporter with the Washington Post who is black, planned to use some of the material in a book.

Rabbi David Saperstein, co-director of the Kovler Institute, said that the conference's second goal was to spark a renewal of the commitment that was embodied in the black-Jewish coalition.

"Many of these people are still leaders in their communities, and we hope the effect of this will spill over and mature opportunities for future cooperative endeavors," Mr. Saperstein said.

The recollections included stories such as the one told by Joseph L. Rauh Jr., a Jewish lawyer from Washington, D.C., who worked for four decades with the N.A.A.C.P.

'Goddust Twins'

He recalled the time that a fulminating Senator Harry Byrd Sr. of Virginia rallied on the Senate floor against a civil rights bill on which Mr. Rauh had worked with the late Clarence Mitchell Sr., the longtime lobbyist for the N.A.A.C.P.

"Clarence and I were in the gallery and Byrd suddenly gestured to us as he spoke from the Senate floor and said: 'There they are. The Goddust Twins,'" he recalled. "It was the happiest moment of my life."

Charney Bromberg of New York, one of the student members in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee's Mississippi Summer in 1963, recalled the elderly black woman in a small Mississippi town who approached him and noted that he was Jewish.

"How did you know," he recalled asking her. "She said, 'Because Jews are the best Christians.'"

Muted Bitterness

But hanging like a cloud over the conference was the realization that the coalition had died, and many participants took a gingerly approach in explaining the reasons why.

Rabbi Eugene Lipman of Washington recalled with a muted bitterness that he had been among the Jewish civil rights activists who were asked to leave their organizations or who resigned in protest in the late 60's as blacks became more assertive and determined to plot their own course. And among the blacks were some, such as Courtland Cox, who had sparked their group's shift in course.

Mr. Cox, an official of the S.N.C.C. in the 60's, recalled that much of the dissension among blacks and Jews in his group came to a head in 1967 after the Six Day War in the Middle East when the organization adopted a resolution calling for a Palestinian homeland.

A conference participant, Jonathan Kaufman, the author of the recent book "Broken Alliance: The Turbulent Times Between Blacks and Jews in America" (Charles Scribner's Sons), cited that resolution along with the rise of black power in the 60's and differences among blacks and Jews over affirmative action as key developments that drove a wedge into the coalition.

The present is approached gingerly.

More recently, Mr. Knufman said, the Jewish community's rejection of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's Presidential bids had further angered blacks, with what they considered Jewish preoccupation with fears of black anti-Semitism.

'Off the Track Somewhere'

A black participant, Judge Nathan R. Jones of the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit in Cincinnati and a former general counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., said:

"We got off the track somewhere and some Jewish groups began attacking remedies such as busing and affirmative action without realizing that the remedies were indivisible and to attack one weakened all."

Time and again in the seminar, former Jewish civil rights activists linked their involvement in the demonstrations to Jewish traditions of justice and a Jewish history laced with periods of slavery and discrimination and the Holocaust.

Rabbi Murray Saltzman of Baltimore said his motives for journeying twice to the South and getting arrested in civil rights marches, were complex. "I wanted my children to know there was a Jew who wouldn't be silent," he said.

Steam Irons Being Recalled Fire Hazard Cited by Agency

WASHINGTON, Nov. 29 (AP) — PorSimac steam irons are being recalled because of a danger of starting fires, the Consumer Product Safety Commission announced today.

About 10,000 VaporSimac irons have been sold nationwide by major department stores and sewing specialty centers, the agency said. The irons, which cost about \$100 each, were sold from 1985 to 1987.

Owners should immediately stop using the irons and return them to Electra-Craft Inc. of New Jersey, Halsey Street, Newark, 07102, for a refund that includes postage costs.

COURTLAND MILLOY

Blacks and Jews Unite

Yet another famine is destroying the people of Ethiopia. And this time, it's clear that just singing "We Are the World" won't cut it.

"Her skeletal arms are covered with blisters and her rust-colored hair can be pulled out in tufts, signs of malnutrition so severe that a body begins feeding on itself."

So wrote Jennifer Parmelee for The Washington Post on Thursday, describing a scene from Ethiopia where as many as 6 million people face death because they are not getting enough to eat.

But this time, there is the Committee of Blacks and Jews to Aid Ethiopia.

In this unusual effort to head off disaster in Ethiopia, the honorary co-chairmen, South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Israeli Knesset member Michael Kleiner, pick up where singers Lionel Richie and Bob Dylan left off.

The potential for success is great. Never have influential African Americans and Jews come together behind a project and failed. And there has never been anything quite like the specter of mass death, which resonates among those whose ancestors were victimized by the Atlantic slave trade and the survivors of Adolf Hitler's Holocaust, to reignite their passions.

"While there is no comparing deliberate genocide with death by famine, we Jews should have a special sensitivity to the enormity of what is confronting the Ethiopians," said Peter Kovler, a former congressional aide and a co-chairman of the committee.

Moreover, Kovler said, Jews have a "historic kinship" with Ethiopians. The Bible says Moses made an Ethiopian (Cushite) woman his second wife, and recounts the love between the Israeli King Solomon and the Cushite Queen of Sheba.

Many of the Jews born in Ethiopia have migrated to Israel. But several thousand remain, caught in the cross-fires of the Ethiopian civil war.

The Committee of Blacks and Jews, while most urgently seeking to alleviate the starvation in Ethiopia, also is helping to reunite Ethiopian Jewish families in Israel and assisting the growing number of Ethiopians who have immigrated to the United States—particularly to the Washington area.

"This kind of project brings together three natural allies—African Americans, Jews and Ethiopians," said Tsehaye Teferra, director of the Arlington-based Ethiopian Community Development Council. "Although blacks and Jews have had their differences, I believe that working together to help Ethiopia will also strengthen their bonds."

The committee, which announced its formation last week, has already raised more than \$100,000. The group has about 25 members, including Hyman Bookbinder, Washington representative emeritus of the American Jewish Committee; LaSalle Leffall Jr., a cancer specialist at Howard University Hospital; Joseph Rauh, a lawyer and longtime civil rights activist; Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio); and Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.).

"Blacks in this country should be on the forefront of advocating a foreign policy that would benefit Africans," Teferra said.

The problem of hunger in Ethiopia and other African countries has been perpetually vexing, to say the least. Soon after a barrage of televised images of starving Ethiopians in 1983, which resulted in the release of the song "We Are the World," the attention of many Americans drifted elsewhere.

A kind of "compassion fatigue" set in. The committee hopes to change that. Plans are being made not just to raise funds for Ethiopia, but also to prod the U.S. government, the United Nations and the Organization of African States to end the civil war in Ethiopia.

"It's a start, a small seed of concern for what we hope will be a grass-roots campaign of compassion by Americans of all colors and faiths for the victims of potentially the worst famine of this century," said Rep. Mike Espy (D-Miss.), a member of the House Select Committee on Hunger and a co-chairman of the Committee of Blacks and Jews.

"The first priority of every family, every ethnic group, has to be the well-being of its own people," Kovler said. "But as Rabbi Hillel taught us some 2,000 years ago: 'If we are only for ourselves, what are we?'"

Donations to the committee can be mailed to 1250 24th St. NW, Suite 600, Washington, D.C. 20037.

for Torture's Old Wounds

By LARRY GREEN
and TRACY SHRYER,
Times Staff Writers

CHICAGO—A nightmare steals sleep from Gebyhu.

Something heavy is crushing his body. "I try to call for help. I want someone to push the weight off. I try myself but I can't. I try to call to somebody. But I can't."

Panicked, Gebyhu awakens. "I am sweating . . . breathing hard. I am scared."

The same dream interrupts his sleep several times a week now. That is an improvement. It used to happen every night. It began during the five years he spent in an Ethiopian prison where, though never tried for a crime and only a teen-ager, he was tortured.

Other Reminders

Gebyhu is haunted by other reminders of prison. His shoulders are dislocated. He experiences frequent pain. His concentration is poor. His ability to trust has eroded. He knows about man's inhumanity to man.

"Sometimes they held burning newspaper to our backs," Gebyhu recalls. "Sometimes they poured hot oil on our heads. Sometimes," he adds, "they would pull out [finger]nails with pliers."

For Gebyhu [he asked that his real name not be used], the scars remain vivid but the healing has begun. He is more fortunate than most.

At 29, he belongs to a huge but largely invisible population of refugees who settled in the United States after being tortured—psychologically and physically, and often gruesomely—in their home countries. But unlike the vast majority of victimized refugees, Gebyhu is among the early beneficiaries of a budding treatment specialty that recognizes that torture survivors have special problems that make it difficult for them to function free of their own personal nightmares.

Few Centers Exist

So far, these victims far outnumber society's ability to aid them. Gebyhu, for instance, is a patient at Chicago's Marjorie Kovler Center for the Treatment of Survivors of Torture. Along with the Center for Victims of Torture in Minneapolis, it is one of only two full-service centers in the United States designed to help this uniquely burdened group of refugees.

More critically, perhaps, medical knowledge of how best to treat the survivors is only in the pioneering stage. Surprisingly little is known about them, and for now professionals must rely mostly on what has been learned about victims of other kinds of psychological traumas.

"We believe their needs to be something unique," says Douglas A. Johnson, executive director of the Minneapolis center. "We need to do outcome research to find out whether or not we are having impact."

In Minnesota, 80% of the state's 2,000 Ethiopian refugees are victims of torture. "It's the most severely abused refugee population in the state," Johnson says. "We

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Los Angeles Times

TORTURE: Pioneering Centers Offer New Care for Wounds

Continued from Page 1

believe that we have a minimum of 2,000 and as many as 8,000 torture victims living in Minnesota."

In Chicago there are an estimated 20,000 survivors, reports Antonio Martinez, coordinator of the Kovler center, where 79 clients have been accepted in the facility's initial 18 months.

In Southern California, which has the country's highest concentration of torture survivors among its huge refugee population, the Walter Briehl Human Rights Foundation in Los Angeles is treating refugees and hopes to open a full-service center later this year.

Social workers estimate the majority of victims in Southern California are Salvadorans. Psychiatrist Harvey Weintraub, president of the Briehl Foundation, says that there are also large numbers of people at risk among refugees from Southeast Asia, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq and Armenians emigrating from Turkey.

"Everybody seems to be torturing everybody all over the world," says Weintraub, who is treating survivors.

The first clinic dedicated to helping torture victims opened in Copenhagen in 1982. Others operate in Toronto and Paris. Assistance is also available in San Francisco and Newark, N.J. But, given the amount of torture in the world, there are surprisingly few centers overall. Amnesty International has documented torture and ill treatment of prisoners in at least 98 countries.

Governor Helped

The Minneapolis facility, launched with help from Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich, opened in 1985. The Chicago center—operated under the auspices of Travelers & Immigrants Aid—received a boost from entrepreneur Peter Kovler and opened in mid-1987.

Because the organized treatment of torture survivors is a relatively new field for medicine and social work, specialists are in the early stages of finding the best forms of therapy. Meanwhile, they rely mainly on techniques used to treat

other post-traumatic syndromes resulting from rape, Vietnam experiences, family sexual abuse and natural disasters.

"What makes the torture victim different is that they are targets of a strategic manipulation of their personalities," says Johnson. "With other kinds of victimization there is always the hope for rescue by some third party. The child can be rescued by another parent. The crime victim can be rescued—even if they aren't—by the police. There is the hope of some kind of rescue.

"When you're being tortured it's being done by your government, by your police department, it's all been bureaucratized to great banality in terms of the methodology used and in the sense there is no hope of rescue," says Johnson.

triggered by a common everyday object or occurrence," says Johnson. "For example, waiting is a very critical part of the torture experience. We schedule people so they do not have to wait. So that when they come in they are given attention immediately.

"We try to avoid the use of a lot of electronic equipment in the examination procedures because people are often tortured with electricity or by rather formal, medical-looking equipment," adds Johnson, whose Minneapolis outpatient clinic is located in a two-story house to avoid an institutional appearance.

"The goal of torture is to destroy a person's personality so that they will forever be subjugated to the torturer, to the power source," says

'What makes the torture victim different is that they are targets of a strategic manipulation of their personalities. With other kinds of victimization there is always the hope for rescue by some third party.'

Douglas A. Johnson,

Director of the Center for Victims of Torture in Minneapolis

"You are the ultimate target with life and death completely in the hands of not only a person, but a government."

At the Minneapolis Center, site of American threshold research on how to best help torture survivors, refugees accepted for treatment receive a physical examination and a psychiatric assessment and are then assigned to a long-term therapist. Simultaneously they work with a social worker who coordinates their overall treatment. Many also receive physical therapy.

"Almost everybody who has been tortured suffers from chronic pain of one sort or another—neck problems, back problems," says Thomas M. Dixon, clinical supervisor of Chicago's Kovler center.

"Torture victims tend to relive the experience because it is often

Dixon. "It is the complete destruction of trust at all levels."

The official international definition of torture is spelled out by the United Nations. "Torture . . . means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted by or at the instigation of a public official," to obtain "from him or a third person information or confession, punishing him for an act he has committed, or intimidating him or other persons." The United Nations adds that, "Torture constitutes an aggravated and deliberate form of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

Torture is something much more personal to Gebyhu.

He was just 17 when he was taken off to prison along with his father and his older brother. They were arrested in 1977, in the after-

math of a communist military coup that deposed the late Emperor Haile Selassie. Their crime: Gebyhu's father was a security guard for the deposed royal family and his mother was a land owner.

Sometimes, Gebyhu says softly, slowly, the police came at night. "When they came after nine o'clock we knew they wanted someone to kill. Everybody sat very still. Everybody tried not to look at the eyes of the police. Nobody. . . . It is hard to talk," he apologizes.

His brother was taken away during one of these visits. Later the brother's clothes were returned to the family. "Only his clothes."

Gebhyu was one of 9,000 in the prison. "We would sleep in crowded rooms. There was no place to turn. We would sleep holding the feet of someone who was lying the other way. And someone would hold your feet."

But it was the hanging that still causes him pain.

One day the guards came and told him to put his arms over a pole they held behind his back. They tied his hands. They raised the pole until Gebyhu's feet were off the ground. His upper arms carried the entire weight of his body. And while he was helplessly hanging

"They beat my feet. They left me there. On the second day they cut the rope. I fell to the ground. They tell me I was unconscious."

Experiences Not Unusual

Now Gebyhu's shoulders regularly dislocate. He is often in pain. And awful as they may seem, his experiences are not unusual.

It is common in Africa for torture victims to have the bottoms of their feet beaten, in Latin America to be forced to eat decomposed food and excrement and to have body parts mutilated, and in Vietnam to be subjected to isolation and other forms of psychological torture, reports Martinez, coordinator of Chicago's Kovler clinic.

Social worker Holbrook Teter, coordinator of the San Francisco-based Coalition to Aid Refugee Survivors of Torture and War

Trauma, says, "I've worked with Salvadorans, both men and women, who have been subjected to electroshock treatment, who were hung by their thumbs, beaten, sexually abused. They had their heads submerged in water, they had hoods filled with lye put over their heads burning their scalps."

"There are survivors who have

A range of symptoms commonly found among refugees who were tortured include an inability to sleep, flashbacks to instances of torture, robotic behavior and anger.

had cattle prods inserted into their vaginas and men and women who had electricity applied to their genitals," says Dixon of the Chicago center. "One survivor was pregnant and guards put a dead fetus in her urine can. Husbands are forced to watch their wives being tortured and wives are forced to watch their husbands being abused and parents their children tortured."

Of 34 patients who received long-term treatment at the Minneapolis clinic, all were beaten and subjected to isolation and overcrowding and threatened with death, forced to watch others killed or tortured or were taunted with mock execution. More than half were kept in uncomfortable positions or had their bodies suspended in painful positions for long periods of time and more than a third were burned with either boiling liquid, chemicals, cigarettes or electricity. A third also had their feet beaten.

One outrageous aspect of torture is the frequent "complicity of the medical profession," says Martinez, a psychologist.

"There are a lot of doctors who are accomplices in these situations. . . . The torturer has a doctor by

his side so he knows where to put the electrodes, where to go so not to kill the person . . . where to cut so not to kill the person," says Martinez.

A range of symptoms commonly found among refugees who were subjected to torture include: An inability to sleep, flashbacks to instances of torture, nervousness, an inability to trust, hyper-activity, recurrent nightmares, robotic behavior, anger, an inability to enjoy normal life experiences, sexual dysfunction and tendencies toward suicide and violence.

"If they are pulled over by police, they think they are going to be tortured again, they panic and they lose control of themselves," says Dixon. "We had one client who was going for a [medical] exam and he freaked out. He was strapped to the machine and he ripped off the belts and ran from the hospital. Later he said he thought he was going to be tortured again."

Children who have either been subjected directly to torture or forced to watch a sibling or parent tortured have difficulty in school. Both their performance and their behavior suffers, doctors say.

"We emphasize calling them 'survivors' rather than victims," says Dixon, "so people don't carry this idea of being victimized, that that was the focal experience of their lives. They want to go on to more positive experiences."

Going on is very much on Gebyhu's agenda.

Attends College

In the United States for the last 18 months, he is a student at Chicago's Truman College where his grades are good and he excels at mathematics. However, his constantly dislocating arms currently make it impossible for him to find a job and his prison experience is hurting his studies.

"It is difficult," he says. "I don't have any concentration."

And even here the terror continues for Gebyhu.

Last November, his roommate, also an Ethiopian refugee, was murdered in a \$70 robbery at a downtown parking lot where he was working.

"Please don't use my real name," Gebhyu pleads with a reporter. "I am scared."

Doctors' Role in Combating Torture

U.S. Physicians Being Called Upon to Help Stop Violence Around the World

By Anita Parlow
Special to The Washington Post

Irene Martinez, a physician in Chicago, knows the horrors of torture. She is a native of Argentina and was one of the victims of that country's "dirty war," a brutal crackdown by the military government that left thousands dead and missing.

Today, Martinez volunteers at the Chicago-based Kovler clinic, one of a handful in this country and 60 in the world that provides medical services specifically to political refugees who survived torture in their homelands. She is at the heart of a growing movement among American doctors to explore their role and responsibility in documenting and fighting state-sponsored abuse of individuals.

"It's hard to listen to the stories," she said of her work at the clinic, "and sometimes even harder to believe them. Maybe I go there because I understand."

The Kovler clinic concentrates on experiences of Central American torture survivors, and in part was set up to handle requests from immigration lawyers who needed medical examinations of their clients to document their cases for political asylum.

"After interviewing our clients, we concluded that 'documentation' wasn't enough," said Martinez. "We expanded our work to provide treatment. But, to correctly diagnose, we came to see the root cause of the injuries. After hundreds of interviews, we saw pervasive patterns of state-sanctioned abuse."

As David Goldberg, another physician who donates time at the clinic, put it, "At Kovler, we see the tip of the iceberg. It's really a minority who are able to survive, leave, come to the U.S., find services and get them. It's not just a question of relaxing immigration policy or more treatment centers—which is important. The point is to stop the abuse."

The treatment of such state-sanctioned abuse is a subject that until recently was rarely raised by doctors; it wasn't taught in medical schools and seldom was a focus of doctors' conventions or workshops. But as more American doctors are called upon to monitor human rights questions—both in legal proceedings such as immigration cases in this country and fact-finding missions overseas—interest in the subject is growing.

About 200 students, physicians, psychiatrists and human rights advocates gathered in the spring at a symposium sponsored by the Boston-based Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) in cooperation with the Harvard Medical School to discuss medical professionals' role in ending human rights violations.

"Doctors play a crucial role" by bringing stature and professionalism to the monitoring of human abuses, which becomes "a major weapon in documenting the discrepancies between the pretenses of governments and the actual practice," said Aryeh Neier, director of Human Rights Watch, an inter-



ILLUSTRATIONS BY MICHAEL CHASE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

national organization that has been active in publicizing such abuses.

Some of their work is conducted close to home, such as providing evidence of brutality in order to establish an immigrant's rights in this country.

Nancy Arnison, the director of the Minnesota Refugee and Asylum Project, told the conference, "Where an immigrant seeks asylum to escape an inhumane condition, the physician must be able to determine the veracity of the story" to convince the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Several human rights advocates said that this documentation is particularly important when—as was the case during the civil war in El Salvador—U.S. officials frequently denied requests for asylum.

According to the U.S. Committee for Refugees, the world refugee population totaled more than 18 million in 1991, a figure that represents an increase of more than 50 percent in the past five years. Jose Quiroga, of the International Committee of the Red Cross, noted that much of the increase comes from places where torture is widely practiced.

The U.S. State Department says torture exists as a routine matter in 66 countries.

"With the Cold War over, efforts to reduce and eliminate the practice of torture is a priority," said James K. Bishop, deputy assistant secretary of state in the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. He called the problem enormous. "Do we want to take on the obligation of protecting the world's refugees? We can't."

Yet as more of these refugees come to the United States, physicians here are being called on to treat their injuries—both physical and psychological. According to Quiroga, "Torture survivors in the U.S. have unique symptoms—similar to those of

broader than post-traumatic stress disorder—that need to be known by those who want to help them."

It is not enough, doctors at the conference were told, to treat physical injuries alone. Robert Lawrence, director of the Division of Health Sciences at the Rockefeller Foundation and a member of the Physicians for Human Rights board, described how the doctors' group is seeking to help identify conditions that frequently defy the typical interpretation of symptoms. "Not only are we identifying the perpetrators" of the abuse for patients, he said, "but also [we are] developing careful clinical histories that are the first step in the healing process."

"After a torture experience, the ability to trust anyone vanishes," said Kovler's Goldberg. "Part of our job is to help the torture survivor rebuild the ability to trust. Almost everyone who has survived torture experiences some chronic pain—headaches, back problems—and in many cases the wounds are psychological, leaving the survivor with nightmares and other emotional scars," he said. "What distinguishes torture from other trauma is that the intention is to destroy the victim's personality by demobilizing them so that they can no longer control their own lives."

Kovler's director, Antonio Martinez, said torture methods vary across the world. It is common in Latin America to be forced to eat and drink excrement, in Africa to be beaten on the bottom of the feet and in Asia to be whipped with bamboo sticks and subjected to severe psychological abuse. In nearly all cases, women are raped. Few victims survive.

Collecting evidence of abuse frequently poses a challenge to the assumptions of the medical community, said Goldberg, "because

makers, according to Harvard faculty member Leon Eisenberg.

Physicians for Human Rights, which includes physicians, psychiatrists and other health professionals, has sponsored more than 40 missions to 25 countries since its inception in 1986. The organization investigates the grim and seldom documented "transfer of medical information" caused by government abuse against political dissidents or other civilians. It often asks U.S. doctors to serve on those missions.

"Our job is to get the information out quickly after documenting what happened," Robert Mullan Cook-Deegan, who has accompanied three fact-finding missions as a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

"We are only at the beginning," said Jonathan Fine, who founded the doctors' group. Among the successes he listed was a letter-writing campaign by members of the U.S. Congress that helped lead to the release of Chilean physicians who protested human rights violations. The group also evaluated prison conditions in Czechoslovakia in 1988.

Jennifer Learning, the medical director of the Harvard Community Health Plan, served on four Physicians for Human Rights missions in the West Bank and Gaza, Soviet Georgia and Somalia. Learning explained that medical treatment in these situations requires an expansion of standard approaches. "Treatment requires a familiarity with human rights law and the international humanitarian law, and the lawyer, skills in medical reasoning and inquiry and experience in emergency and trauma medicine," she said.

The physicians reserved special criticism for doctors who participate in torture. Amnesty International official James Wels said, "We share an obligation to stop this practice."

Kovler clinic physician Goldberg noted that in countries where torture is used, "for physicians are frequently called in by government officials to examine or resuscitate prisoners. This creates a problem in treatment. 'We might unwittingly be extending rather than healing the [results] of torture,' said Goldberg. "We don't know what role local medical people played, making treatment itself problematic."

Clasdia Maidefeldt, a physician from the Berlin Medical Association, described treatment of East German dissidents who had been tortured by the Stasi, the East German secret police. In January, a team of physicians opened records that indicate widespread physician involvement.

Amnesty's Wels drew a parallel with his view of a controversial issue for American physicians: participation in state executions. "We need to define what we mean by medical involvement in human rights violations, using torture as a paradigm," he said.

Anita Parlow is a Washington Post writer.

WOMAN NEWS

Section 6 **Chicago Tribune** Sunday, December 6, 1992

A Weekly News Report for and about Women on the Move



Tribune photo by Charles Osgood

"Sometimes I feel I am crazy," says Ya Chhan, a torture survivor who also translates for other Cambodians.

Torture survivors find words to express their pain

By Chuck Khouri

A woman draws a picture of the refugee camp in Thailand where she stayed after escaping from Cambodia. Then, speaking slowly, she describes an event that took place there. Her words are translated by another torture survivor, Ya Chhan.

"For three years she was allowed to only say two words, 'Hello' and 'Goodbye,'" Chhan says, holding the woman's hand and wiping the tears from her face. "She wanted to pick a flower growing in the camp and take it to her parents who were sick. The guards say no. Then she pick the flower and the guards start to shoot. Many people die."

The two women are participating in a group at the Marjorie Kovler Center for the Treatment of Survivors of Torture, 4750 N. Sheridan Rd. Supervised by a volunteer, 10 to 20 Cambodian women meet each week in a group designed for them to share some painful and often debilitating secrets.

Volunteers Pat Robin and Keith Whipple comfort the woman. Robin and Whipple use drama therapy to help the women draw out painful experiences that have been locked away for a decade or more.

Whipple, a drama specialist, asks the group to act out the scene. Using rudimentary props, the women play the roles of friends, relatives and refugee camp guards with much trepidation. Although they know how each scene must end, some tragically, some happily, they often are unsure how they will react to reliving it.

"In addition to being beaten themselves," says Robin, a clinical psychologist, "some women in the group watched as friends, relatives or their children were beaten and killed, powerless to stop it. It is a very dehumanizing experience, and the effects can last a lifetime."

Most of the Cambodian women have some physical pain, and many experience headaches, flashbacks, numbness, depression, sleep disorders and intimacy problems, Robin says. Their pain and anger are mostly directed inward, and use torture disables the ability to confront it, she says.

Robin says there also is the danger that they will injure themselves or attempt suicide.

They may be haunted by the idea that they still are being pursued or that they could be tortured again, which makes them reluctant to have their names published.

"Their memory can be triggered by an everyday event, and they relive terrible moments in their lives," Robin says. "To avoid having these flashbacks they may try to stay numb to the world. We try to create an atmosphere of trust, support and acceptance so they can express themselves and regain control. Acting out their experiences is one technique that is

Kovler

Continued from page 1

used to uncover the events and the emotions that have left physical, mental and psychological scars, says Robin, who has worked with the Cambodian women for four years.

"The emotions can come pouring out," says Robin, who has a private practice in Highland Park, Ill., working with sexually abused adults. She has worked with the Cambodian women for four years. "It is painful and often frightening, but being able to confront the experience and possibly relive it in a setting where they have some control is an important step. It's a chance for them to tell their stories in an organized way. And it's also an opportunity for us to learn what heroines they are."

Kovler has provided treatment to more than 575 torture survivors, the majority of whom are from Guatemala and El Salvador, says Antonio Martinez, program coordinator for Kovler. Martinez, who often speaks about torture at seminars and conferences around the world, says there are 20,000 torture survivors in Chicago area, and the number continues to grow.

Amnesty International has documented torture, often systematic in state-sanctioned campaigns, in at least 98 countries. The United Nations defines torture as "any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted or at the instigation of a public official."

Most of the people involved with the center, torture survivors and volunteers, learn about it through

another participant. Referrals also come from human rights organizations, refugee assistance organizations, church groups and hospitals.

Robin learned about Kovler when she attended a seminar on torture survivors in 1987 and was asked to serve on Kovler's executive committee. Eventually she chose to work with Cambodian women.

"It is sometimes hard to get them to come forward and receive treatment," Robin says. "They are reluctant to trust other people."

One key to getting the 20 Cambodian women in the group involved and keeping them involved is Chhan, Robin says. "She is a natural healer. She really serves as a co-therapist. She translates for us, and the other women look to her for guidance and support, even outside the group."

But while Chhan helps others, she struggles with her disturbing memories and suffers headaches, backaches and depression.

"Sometimes I feel I am crazy," Chhan says. "You feel strange, and you cannot say 'No, stop.'"

The memories she would like to conquer began 14 years ago when she was living in the Cambodian city of Phnom Penh. She was arrested by the communist Khmer Rouge, under the rule of Pol Pot who overthrew the Lon Nol government in 1975. She was separated from her husband and five children.

"They use us like slaves," Chhan recalls. "They want me to cook, then give me a handful of rice to eat."

Once a month, she was allowed to visit her husband and children, who were kept in other camps. One child died when guards refused to give them medicine.

In 1981, as Vietnamese soldiers moved into the area and the Khmer Rouge temporarily retreat-

ed, she escaped, found her family and together they tried to flee Cambodia.

For months they fought through hundreds of miles of forests and jungles, avoiding Khmer Rouge troops, to make their way to Vietnam.

When they reached the border of Vietnam, refugees were not allowed into the country.

Chhan was pregnant then. Food was scarce and the journey seemed endless. One of the children died. "I could not carry enough food for them," she says, crying.

Eventually, the family reached the border of Thailand, where refugee camps were being set up, but Chhan could not continue. She suffered a miscarriage. Dehydrated and in shock, Chhan felt she could not go on. She sent her husband and children ahead.

She lapsed into unconsciousness and awoke to find herself in a hospital, taken there by a Thai soldier. She remained there six months until she was well enough to be released to a refugee camp in Thailand.

Her husband no longer wanted anything to do with her, she says. "He was so upset with me that I had gotten sick. I was just bones and skin. I look terrible and he doesn't want me, so he get another wife."

It took Chhan two years to locate her children, who had been taken to another camp in Thailand.

Chhan was able to immigrate to the United States in 1987 through the sponsorship of an Evanston family. Chhan's three surviving children, ages 21, 16 and 10, also live in Chicago, but she is fearful that they will suffer from her experiences and from their own.

"Sometimes they are like me," she says. "Very sad and angry. I do not like to see that. It hurts

me."

"This is a very new field," says Martinez, a physiologist who has directed the Kovler Center since it was launched in 1987. "As more is known about the effects of torture and there is more awareness about the extent of the problem, more programs will be [developed] and more resources will be allocated to helping these people."

Currently there are only 12 centers in the world that specialize in treating torture survivors. Five are in the United States: Kovler and others in Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Boston and New York.

The not-for-profit Kovler Center was founded by Peter Kovler, who had read about a center for torture survivors in Copenhagen. Kovler, director of the Marjorie Kovler Foundation (named for his mother, a prominent Chicago art dealer), offered to finance a program in the U.S. He found a willing partner in the Chicago chapter of Travelers and Immigrants Aid.

The foundation provides approximately 70 percent of the money for the program, according to Kovler, with Travelers and Immigrants Aid providing administrative assistance and office space for the center. The remaining support comes from private donations. But the key to the program are the more than 130 volunteers.

Eighteen different specialties are represented among the volunteer staff, who provide counseling, physical therapy, speech therapy, massage therapy, dental care and general medical assistance.

Whether treatment can heal the wounds left by the devastating effects of torture is unclear, but there have been success stories. Chhan is one of them.

"Sometimes," she says, "I look up at the clouds and I see them and I see my life is moving."

Putting torture in the past

Immigrants learn to cope at center here

By Richard Roeper

Maria Luisa Gutierrez's memories of her life in Guatemala are snapshots of horror—her children playing down the block and discovering decomposed bodies, family members gunned down in "military confrontations," psychological torture so cruel that she begged for her tormentors to kill her.

Even now, more than four years after she was escaped to "the Promised Land," Gutierrez cannot escape the painful memories.

"It is hard to put into words the horror I have known. There are things you just cannot forget," she said in the living room of the South Side home she shares with her husband and two daughters.

Flashbacks, nightmares and the culture shock of coming to the United States contributed to a "severe depression" last year, Gutierrez said, "so bad I didn't know if I could go on."

In April, 1988, a friend told her about the Marjorie Royler Center for the Treatment of Survivors of Torture, located in the old Empire Insurance Building at 4760 N. Sheridan. There Gutierrez found people who believed and sympathized with her past, because her story was all too familiar.

"Maria is not alone," said Dr. Antonio Gutierrez, the center's coordinator and resident

psychologist, who estimates that there are 20,000 survivors of torture in the Chicago area.

"At the center," Gutierrez said, "I have met other Guatemalans who have had similar



disappear or be killed," Gutierrez said. "I saw people gunned down in the streets."

One of Gutierrez's brothers, who Gutierrez said was forced to join the Guatemalan army at 17, deserted after three years.

"The army would come to my house at 2 in the morning, looking for my brother. They said he was a communist, a traitor. They would point guns at us, push around, and go through the house."

That brother escaped to Texas; another brother was not so fortunate.

"It was July of 1981, a Friday," Gutierrez recalled. "On the news, they said that eight subversives had died in a military confrontation with the army. They showed the helicopters, the tanks, hundreds of soldiers."

"And then, on the TV, I saw my brother one of the eight who were killed. . . . He was just in a union, he was not a subversive. I just couldn't believe what I was seeing. I could not even go to claim my brother's body, because anyone associated with these so-called subversives would also be in danger. So he was buried in the general cemetery with no identification."

Two months after that on a Saturday afternoon, Gutierrez and her two youngest daughters arrived in Guatemala City for a family picnic.

She found her father's house surrounded by about 20 gun-toting men in civilian clothes. Three or four men were in the garage, scrubbing the floor and walls.

A tall, well-dressed man emerged from the house and began asking questions.

"He kept asking me who I was, and how did I know the people who lived there. He would say, 'Come on in the house, your father and your children are inside, nothing is going to happen to you.' And I would say, 'No, tell them to come outside,' and then he would say, 'To tell you the truth, they left,

they're on their way to your house. He was playing games with my mind."

Gutierrez said she realized what had happened. "I grabbed my daughters and started

...rences. I go in at least once a week, even
just to talk. It has been of great help."
...nounced a little more than a year ago
...primary funding from the Marjorie
...ler Fund, the center is one of four full-
...ice facilities in the country specifically
...ned to help refugees who settled in the
...ted States after being tortured in their
... countries.

...he center depends heavily on the donated
...ices of nearly 40 psychologists, therapists
... other professionals. Equally important,
...tinez said, are the 40 volunteers who
... with daily city tasks such as helping
...geers learn the transportation system.

...leady 80 refugees from Guatemala, Viet-
...n, Laos, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Roma-
... Ethiopia, Iran, El Salvador, Nicaragua
... Panama have become clients at the
...ter.

...Torture survivors have lost the ability to
...t," said Thomas Dixon, clinical supervi-
...at Kovler. "We have to start over with
...n, by meeting their basic needs—medical
... social services, clothing, food, legal help.
...er that step, they may be ready to talk
...ut their experiences."

... Amnesty International estimates that 68
...tries now practice torture; Martinez can-
... to a sickening list of the varieties.

...In North Africa, they beat the soles of the
... with hot sticks, they break bones, they
... your arms behind your back. In Cambo-
... of course, they have the killing fields.
...re are 'classic' techniques such as electric
...rks to the mouth and genitals, sexual
...ure, submersion in water or feces, the
...ed eating of bad food that causes para-
...s in the muscles.

...Parents are forced to watch their children
...ng tortured, and they are told, 'If you try,
... will kill your children,' and when they
... that's exactly what happens. Modern
...ure is very scientifically planned. There
... schools of torture, where they learn how
... break a person."

...When I first started working here last
...ust, I was shocked and overwhelmed,"
... Eva Sullivan-Kanoff, the center's case
...rger. "It's hard to believe the depths the
...rures will sink to. . . . I think one of the
...st forms of torture is the psychological



BULL HINES/John Crane

"We are not a sanatorium. We bring torture survivors together to tell their stories,"
said Dr. Antonio Martinez, resident psychologist at the Marjorie Kovler Center.

**“On the news, they said that eight
subversives had died in a military
confrontation with the army . . . And then,
on the TV, I saw my brother, one of the
eight who were killed. . . . He was just in a
union, he was not a subversive.”**

—Guatemalan Immigrant Marla Gutierrez

...anguish that occurs when someone from your
...family is kidnapped, and never again seen or
...heard from. How do you know when to stop
...looking, or hoping they're alive?"

...Marla Luisa Gutierrez's father was a door-
...to-door salesman who peddled everything
...from watches to insurance to coffins, while
...her mother stayed home to look after eight
...children.

...At 17, Gutierrez married, and within six
...years she had four daughters. She was a
...teacher. Her first husband was a union orga-
...nizer.

...“We were very poor, and all my dreams
...died very soon,” Gutierrez said.

...The marriage did not last long. Gutierrez
...kept on teaching, while her ex-husband con-

...tinued to fight for workers' rights.

...“No one in the village had any money,”
Gutierrez said. “My students, my own chil-
...dren, were suffering from malnutrition. They
...were always sick.”

...Gutierrez's father and her six brothers
...worked for various unions, she said, fighting
...for benefits, higher wages and better working
...conditions, and she joined them in street
...protests. In 1981, the country was boiling
...over with such protests—and with govern-
...ment retaliation. There were more than 440
...documented massacres, each claiming the
...lives of 100 to 200 victims, according to
...Amnesty International.

...“Students, teachers, priests, anyone who
...would dare oppose the government might

...chase. . . . A cab driver cut in front of me on
...the street and flung open his door. We
...jumped in and flew away.”

...On the news that night, a government
...official said a new guerrilla house had been
...found. The subversives, the official said, had
...fled the house and probably were in the
...Soviet Union or Cuba. They were part of the
...international conspiracy of communism
...against the free world, the official said.

...Gutierrez's two oldest daughters, her fa-
...ther, her stepmother and their 1-year-old
...baby never were heard from again.

...Afterward, several times a week, soldiers
...would visit Gutierrez's home in the middle of
...the night, claiming she was harboring com-
...munist fugitives. They would stomp on the
...tin roof, break things in the house, push her
...around, poke her and her girls with their
...guns. The soldiers would threaten to kill
...them. She actually asked them to just kill
...her, to stop the constant psychological tor-
...ture, but they just laughed.

...In December, 1981, Gutierrez and her two
...surviving daughters left the home, as if they
...were just going to the market. They didn't
...take anything with them, and they didn't say
...goodbye to anyone. With the help of sanctu-
...ary and amnesty groups, they made it to
...Mexico, then to Texas, and finally to Chi-
...cago.

...Martinez said that through personal atten-
...tion and group therapy the Kovler Center
...attempts to help torture survivors overcome
...the trauma of transition.

...“From the beginning, we stress that we
...know their lives are never going to be the
...same, but the fact that they have survived
...shows how strong they are.”

...With the center's help, Gutierrez is putting
...the pieces of her life together. She has
...remarried, and works part-time as a domes-
...tic. Her two surviving daughters, now 11 and
...14, have had some “very painful” times, but
...are adjusting to their new life in the United
...States.

...“We are not a sanatorium,” Martinez said
...of the center. “We bring torture survivors
...together to tell their stories. Our goal is to
...help them regain their control, self-respect,
...and trust.”

5 Years After Vietnam

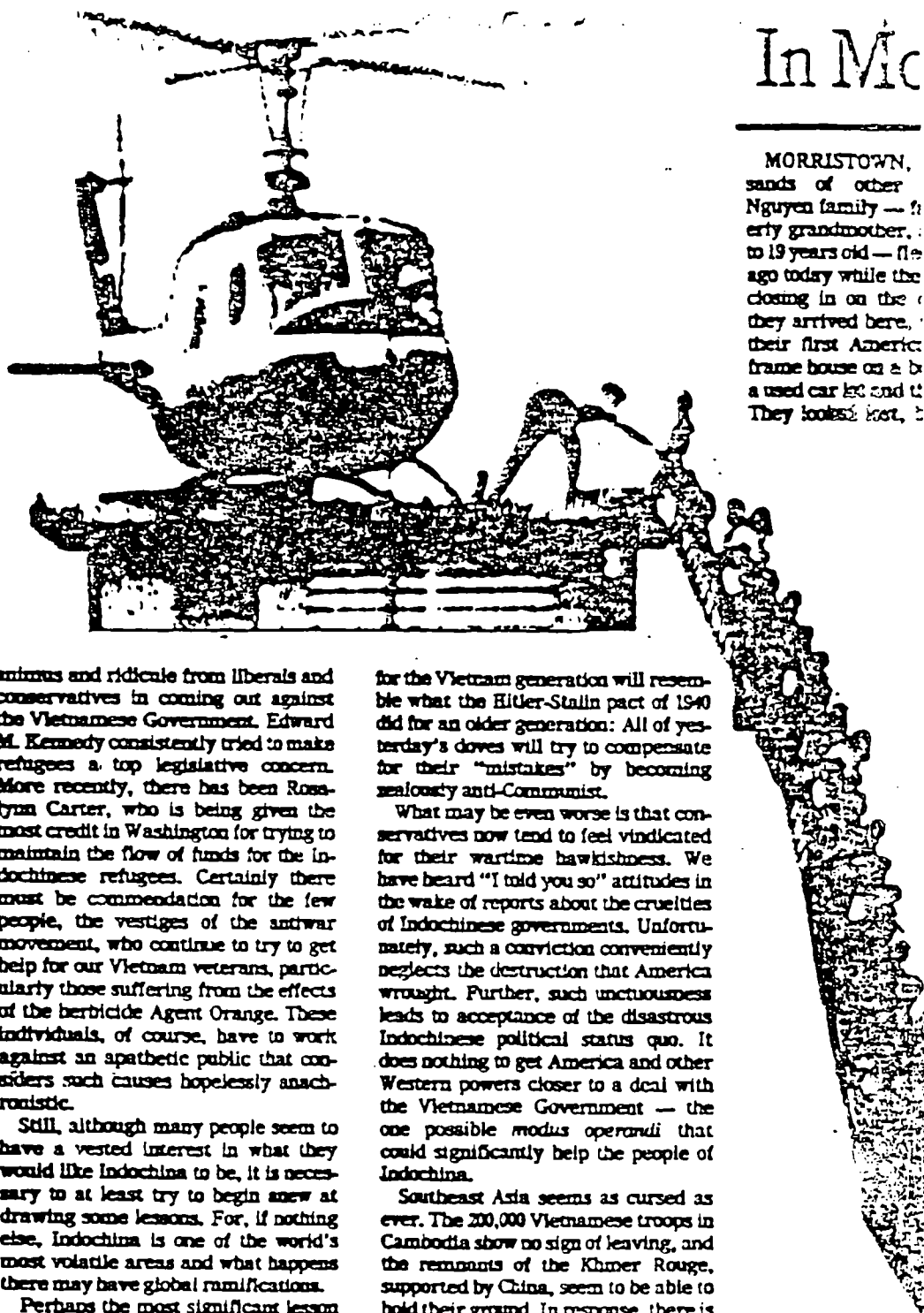
By Peter Kovler

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — From the moment that Saigon fell to the North Vietnamese Army five years ago today, various partisans began to pontificate about "the lessons of the war." About Indochina itself, American conservatives predicted immediate bloodbaths while "doves" declared it necessary to give the new Indochinese governments a chance. Later on, the conservatives would denounce human-rights violations in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam — but in the same breath they would gut their own case when they excoriated almost every other Communist country on the globe simply because they were Communist.

Meanwhile, Vietnam-era "doves" would continue to defend Indochinese governments against the "unverified" charges of killing and genocide that were made by "hysterical" refugees. In retrospect, postwar American observers jaw in Indochina what they tried to see, what they thought would vindicate their erstwhile views about the United States-Indochina war.

There have been heroic exceptions, however. Some individuals managed to think for themselves and to see that a new Indochina had evolved.

There was Leo Cherne of the International Rescue Committee who, between 1975 and 1977, tried to get the United States Government to pay attention to the plight of some exotic individuals called "boat people," but he was usually dismissed as a Central Intelligence Agency type who would do anything to denigrate the current Vietnamese Government. One thinks also of George McGovern, one of the leaders of the antiwar movement, who in 1978 called for an international force to invade Cambodia to expel Pol Pot. While people laughed at Senator McGovern for his apparent reversal of views on Southeast Asia, it may have been the most humane suggestion of the postwar period: That is, with the Vietnamese instead of an international group having become the saving force, the Cambodians are better off, but not significantly better off. There are other heroes. Joan Baez risked



animus and ridicule from liberals and conservatives in coming out against the Vietnamese Government. Edward M. Kennedy consistently tried to make refugees a top legislative concern. More recently, there has been Rosalynn Carter, who is being given the most credit in Washington for trying to maintain the flow of funds for the Indochinese refugees. Certainly there must be commendation for the few people, the vestiges of the antiwar movement, who continue to try to get help for our Vietnam veterans, particularly those suffering from the effects of the herbicide Agent Orange. These individuals, of course, have to work against an apathetic public that considers such causes hopelessly anachronistic.

Still, although many people seem to have a vested interest in what they would like Indochina to be, it is necessary to at least try to begin anew at drawing some lessons. For, if nothing else, Indochina is one of the world's most volatile areas and what happens there may have global ramifications.

Perhaps the most significant lesson for American liberals and leftists is that while right-wing governments may be cruel, that is no reason to automatically pardon avowedly left-wing regimes. There appears to be a penchant for believing that if the Somozas, Pahlavis and Partos are malevolent, then the "people's" governments are inherently benevolent. At a minimum, postwar Indochina should teach that ideology is no bar to a government's losing its sanity. Unless liberal Americans begin to understand this, I fear that the Vietnamese experience

for the Vietnam generation will resemble what the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1940 did for an older generation: All of yesterday's doves will try to compensate for their "mistakes" by becoming zealously anti-Communist.

What may be even worse is that conservatives now tend to feel vindicated for their wartime hawkishness. We have heard "I told you so" attitudes in the wake of reports about the cruelties of Indochinese governments. Unfortunately, such a conviction conveniently neglects the destruction that America wrought. Further, such unctuousness leads to acceptance of the disastrous Indochinese political status quo. It does nothing to get America and other Western powers closer to a deal with the Vietnamese Government — the one possible *modus operandi* that could significantly help the people of Indochina.

Southeast Asia seems as cursed as ever. The 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Cambodia show no sign of leaving, and the remnants of the Khmer Rouge, supported by China, seem to be able to hold their ground. In response, there is not a single government seriously interested in resolving this political stalemate. Simultaneously, the Cambodians appear to be unable to get seeds in the ground and a new famine is foreseen. Worst of all, there is perhaps not a single Indochina specialist who would envision an improved situation on April 30, 1985.

Peter Kovler is a Washington-based analyst who is teaching a seminar on Indochina at Harvard University's Institute of Politics.

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They looked lost, t

WASHINGTON — It has been so long since we have taken a President seriously that we may have forgotten how. Indeed, we used to have such veneration for the great Presidents that we held spectacular celebrations for their centennials. Federal and state governments, political parties, newspapers, magazines, and other institutions even used to start their planning far in advance. But Presidents have fallen into such disrepute that, as a consequence, we are on the verge of ignoring the centennial of this century's greatest, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

F.D.R.'s centenary is Jan. 30, 1982, and to allow it to pass without notice is akin to ignoring a Fourth of July or the 100th Bicentennial. Genuine American heroes are in short supply and if we fail to respect this one, then we may have more to fear than "fear it."

Why this collective amnesia? Certainly there is the influence of the 1980

election, which partly showed the depth of Americans' dislike of the Government and the Democratic Party. F.D.R. is associated with the idea of a Democratic, activist, compassionate Government that should step in to people's lives. The concept is out of favor, for the moment. Hence, there is some uneasiness about honoring F.D.R. This is particularly true because the centenary year coincides with the 1982 midterm elections.

Another explanation centers on Americans' tendency to confuse trivialities and subjects of gravity. Partly because of an excess of television watching, much of the nation cannot distinguish between a celebrity and a dignitary. In the 1950's, when television was not as pervasive as it is today, we celebrated the centennials of Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, as well as the sesquicentennial of Abraham Lincoln. In fact, the commission in charge of the Theodore

F.D.R.'s Centenary

By Peter Kovler

Roosevelt centennial, celebrated in 1958, used it as an occasion to try to restore Independence Day's "traditional appeal as a day of remembrance and challenge."

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was as great a hero as a nation ever gets. He is revered throughout the world. But because of our current national passion to avoid hero worship, people do not seem to want to give the man his due. We do not have to return to the excesses of 19th century hero worship to pay homage to a great man.

Then there is the problem of the F.D.R. memorial. For more than two decades, F.D.R. devotees have had trouble deciding how and where to

build a Roosevelt monument. The difficulties have left such a residue of bad feeling that some F.D.R. admirers no longer even want to go near the subject.

And there is a generation problem. While most people over the age of 45 feel passionately about F.D.R. one way or another, in general those who are younger than 30 cannot distinguish Franklin Roosevelt from Theodore Roosevelt. The 30-to-45 age group may or may not care. While just about everyone over 45 has a snapshot memory of the day of F.D.R.'s death, April 12, 1945, young people see his name on a school and often cannot tell you who he was.

Such a condition is natural, although not irreversible. Indeed, an F.D.R. centennial could help to educate younger generations about him. It could also serve to show young people — especially cynical young people — how the nation has faced virtually insurmountable problems and overcome them. It could also be an occasion to re-examine some of the controversial issues of that era, such as the imprisonment of Japanese Americans and the United States' response to reports of genocide in Nazi Germany.

At this late date, a Franklin Delano Roosevelt National Centennial Committee has been formed in an attempt to encourage some kind of national celebration. Its most notable success has been the Smithsonian Institution's commitment to sponsor a significant observance in 1982. While there is still time for people and the Government to take additional action, there are lessons to be learned. Even in this era of

Federal cutbacks, there should be someone in the Government, and in other important institutions, on the lookout for such major occasions in order to notify Federal agencies and art, academic, industrial, labor, and news organizations.

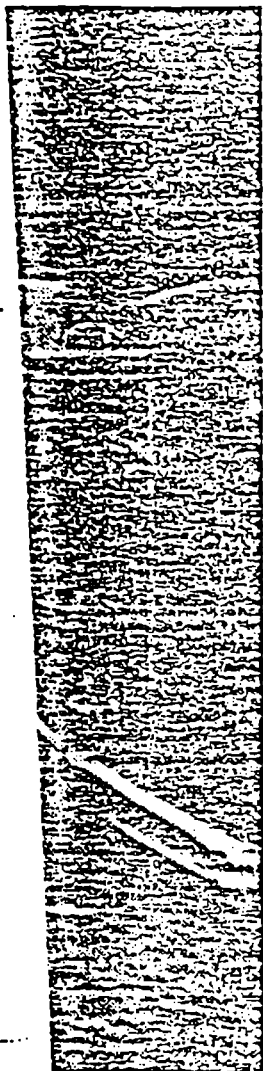
The country should remind itself of F.D.R.'s words about fear: Even if the Government is now on the defensive, we should not cower before the prospect of celebrating the centennial of the man who, in addition to being one of our greatest wartime leaders, was largely responsible for Big Government.

The nation's ignoring the Roosevelt centenary would be as unthinkable as a family's ignoring the 50th anniversary of husband and wife.

Peter Kovler, a writer and businessman, is president of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt National Centennial Committee.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 5, 1981

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Dove + Hawk = Dawk

By Peter Kovler

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — It used to be that you could judge a person's politics by his or her views on Indochina. But yesterday's hawks and doves have done so much acrobatic ideological flying in the last few months that even a professional watcher can get befuddled. The major result has been the creation of new "bedfellows" on Indochina — similarities of opinion that were were unimaginable five years ago.

For instance, those most opposed to the fallen Pol Pot Government in Cambodia have been the Vietnamese Government and American conservatives. Nowadays, many of the zealots who couldn't drop enough bombs on Hanoi have joined with the residents of Hanoi in the desire to destroy Pol Pot and his forces utterly.

Today, as the United States refuses even to recognize the existence of the Vietnamese Government, the hawks and the doves are again indistinguishable. For example, in the current issues of the usually progressive journal Foreign Policy and the normally conservative Foreign Affairs, authors — albeit for different reasons — urge the Government to normalize relations.

Among those most vocal in their opposition to the Government in Hanoi are Joan Baez and many fellow doves, and they are joined by some Congressional reactionaries who believe that since the Vietnamese killed our soldiers, they should be punished eternally. Reacting with passion to the plights of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian refugees have been figures as diverse as William Shawcross, an anti-war spokesman and author of a book highly critical of Henry A. Kissinger, and the former Director of Central Intelligence, William Colby. Out West, a group of private citizens have banded together in Operation California to get food and medical supplies to stricken parts of Indochina; among their staunchest supporters are S.I. Hayakawa and Jane Fonda, from opposite ends of the political spectrum. According to Jeannie McDaniels, Washington regional director of the International Rescue Committee and a leader in trying to improve United States refugee policy, "We get support from both sides of the aisle and that includes George McGovern and Strom Thurmond."

These new "partnerships" have had

a strong influence on our Government as well as on Vietnam's. The State Department appears to be stalled in any attempt to initiate intelligent action on Indochina. With direct pressure coming from neither the left nor the right, those who make policy on Southeast Asia appear to be content with the political status quo, although in terms of humanitarian aid Washington has been increasingly generous. This means that at least in the near future the Government is unlikely to budge from its nonsensical policies of not recognizing Vietnam, maintaining a trade embargo, and effectively siding with Pol Pot when the choice has been between him and the Vietnamese.

For the Vietnamese, the new bedfellows mean that their continuous anti-American rhetoric will have no influence on the American people. In a recent article in a Hanoi newspaper, the Government declared that the imperialistic forces of the United States and China have caused the trouble in Indochina. While five years ago the idea of a sinister United States may have appealed to millions of Americans and may have changed American policy, these days it is foolish and tired rhetoric. Even if one believes that the United States reneged on its promises of aid in the Paris peace accords, one has to admit that the current Vietnamese public attitude reflects the work of poor tacticians.

Of course, there are some who believe that 1979 is 1973 and that what was right then is right now. Some of the old doves believe that regardless of Vietnam's human-rights policies, we owe reparations to the Vietnamese. And some old hawks still would like to punish the Vietnamese by neither recognizing nor trading with them. But these stubborn individuals seem stuck in an unglorious past, stuck in a time when it was clear that there were good guys and bad guys.

Recently in Washington a former United States official with close ties to the Central Intelligence Agency worked intimately with a veteran peace activist in a project to get food relief into Indochina. "I can't believe," said the activist, "that I am here in the State Department, using official channels, to try to help in Indochina." Indeed, there is something bewildering about two such former foes sharing similar views.

Where these new "associations" will finally lead is not yet certain and how long they will endure is just as questionable. Obviously, if the Chinese again invade Vietnam or if the Vietnamese threaten Thailand, many of the new "alliances" may disintegrate. Sadly, the only thing that seems to remain constant in Indochina is that people suffer.

Peter Kovler is a Washington-based writer who is taking a master's degree in public administration at Harvard.

WASHINGTON — Finally, it looked like a proverbial "light at the end of the tunnel."

Six months ago the United States and Vietnam were near a historic friendship: the Vietnamese had dropped demands for reparations; Vietnamese officials were in Honolulu working closely with American officials on identifying soldiers missing in action; several Congressmen, including some from very conservative districts, visited Hanoi and returned urging full diplomatic relations. It appeared to be the end of all those years of war and death and lunacy.

Even in September there were widespread reports that diplomatic relations were imminent. Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thant met the Assistant Secretary of State for Southeast Asian Affairs, Richard Holbrooke, in New York and discussed such practical problems as where to put the United States Embassy in Hanoi.

But the Carter Administration, as if it suddenly discovered old vaults containing speeches by John Foster Dulles, Robert A. McNamara and Henry A. Kissinger, has shunted Hanoi aside.

In this new year, the 33d of official

United States disregard of the legitimate government of Vietnam, this Administration appears to have lost the opportunity for a respectable United States-Vietnamese relationship.

The State Department now suggests that there are three reasons we cannot normalize relations: that Vietnam has invaded Cambodia, that Vietnam has allied itself with the Soviet Union, and that the Vietnamese-refugee flow has caused too many problems. By putting the blame for all of these new developments on the Vietnamese, the United States hopes to make it look as if they are uncooperative. But in fact the United States also has played a great role in destroying the chances for normalizing relations.

Certainly the Cambodian events of the last few days have not helped the chances for normal United States-Vietnam relations.

Above all, they have shown that the Vietnamese are not the pacifists that many in this country would have wanted us to believe. Also, it is now quite clear that their invasion of a sovereign state was wrong and that they deserve the severest condemnation.

The State Department in calling for the speedy withdrawal of Vietnamese

More Tunnel, Less Light

By Peter Kovler

forces from Cambodia has reacted quickly and intelligently to the rapidly changing events in the region.

Nevertheless, one must seriously question whether that war should be used as an excuse not to normalize relations. If the United States had recognized Vietnam in the first place we could have attempted to use our influence and our economic leverage to restrain it. Also, as the region looks increasingly unstable, the United States could have played a part as a sort of mediator. And, United States relations with Vietnam could have allayed some of the Vietnamese fears that China, Cambodia and the United States were ganging up on them. But without relations, the United States is ineffective and can do little to pacify the parties. Admittedly, centuries-old hostilities

between the Cambodians and the Vietnamese would not have suddenly stopped because of United States decisions. But at least, to turn a phrase from another era in Southeast Asia, "it would have given peace a chance."

According to a State Department spokesman, the Vietnam-Soviet 25-year treaty of friendship and cooperation signed last November was "a step in the wrong direction."

The State Department now implies that Vietnam is a Soviet satellite and that, therefore, we have no reason to be friendly. However, such an explanation disregards the recent overtures made by the Vietnamese Government toward Washington. But just as in the late 1940's, when the United States rejected Ho Chi Min, the United States in 1978-79 appears to have forced Viet-

nam into the Soviet camp: With the resurgence of historic Vietnamese-Chinese antagonisms, Vietnam has had to turn elsewhere for help and that has meant to the only ones offering it, the Russians.

Then, there is the problem of thousands of "boat people," those refugees who are drowning at sea or who are in camps all over Asia. If there were diplomatic relations between the United States and Vietnam, there could at least be an orderly movement of some of these people. According to an aide of Senator Edward M. Kennedy (who has taken the lead in the refugee issue) "many could have simply flown from Ho Chi Minh City to San Francisco or Los Angeles." More, with diplomats in Vietnam, we could have intelligently discussed the matter. And, of course, we could have used trade and aid as a leverage.

Some close observers would point out that the real reason for the new anti-Vietnam diplomacy is an attempt to avoid offending Peking. But while the Carter Administration must be given great credit for its China initiative, it must also be asked if slowing relations with Vietnam was part of the price. Until recently, many had believed that American ties with China

and Vietnam would be announced simultaneously. However, it is now clear that a sane Vietnamese relationship has been indefinitely delayed.

Undoubtedly, most Americans who can still bear to think about Southeast Asia are confused. Former hawks can no longer accuse the Vietnamese and other Asian Communists of being strictly anti-American. And former doves can no longer be comforted by the fact that the Vietnamese Communists are unalterably benign. In Southeast Asia, it is the end of the era of "good guys" vs. "bad guys."

Mercifully, we don't have troops in Southeast Asia. But there are people being killed in the Vietnam-Cambodian war, and there are going to be people drowned in the South China Sea. It is absurd to believe the United States bears responsibility for the hardships that have recently come to Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, the Administration could play an important and peaceful role — if it would only reject the disastrous and seemingly interminable anti-Vietnam policy.

Peter Kovler, a Washington-based writer, was a legislative aide for foreign affairs in 1976-77 for Representative Sidney Yates, Illinois Democrat.

MORRISTOWN, N.J. — The absence of three-generation households

to learn that three-generation households

ple live with an adult child, and these

fect: far from being taken for granted,

Domestic Affairs



A market scene outside Vientiane, Laos, in 1975. The New York Times/Christine Sengster

Laos's Need: U. S. Rice

By Peter Kovler

WASHINGTON—As a result of widespread drought last year, Laos faces food shortages and, in many areas, the likelihood of famine. To try to stave off the impending disaster, the Laotian Government has appealed to the world for aid, and in early January made a direct request to the Carter Administration. But the State Department and the Administration have refused to respond.

Instead of giving the necessary rice, the Government has decided to play politics with starving Laotians' lives.

That is, for fear of seeming too liberal to the Congress, an especially dangerous image that President Carter wants to avoid as he tries to get the Panama Canal treaties ratified, the Administration has refused to make a decision. But for the Laotians no decision is tantamount to a direct refusal.

According to a joint Laotian Ministry of Agriculture and United Nations re-

port in December, Laos must survive a rice deficit of 261,000 tons (about 40 percent of its annual national requirement) until next autumn. The report emphasized that the drought was especially destructive in the traditional rice-exporting areas in the south where last summer's rainfall was 75 percent below normal. The situation is so precarious in the southern provinces of Saravene and Khammouane that many people are already eating one bowl of rice a day.

The difficulties of postwar recovery have added to Laos's hardships. Some 385,000 displaced persons have returned to homes and native villages. According to two Mennonite missionaries who have just returned from Laos, Murray and Linda Hiebert, these refugees have discovered that irrigation networks have collapsed and that paddy fields are pockmarked with bomb craters. Other observers estimate that in the Plain of Jars 50,000 of 83,000 buffalo have been killed. Consequently, often groups of eight farm-

ers will have to harness themselves to plows to till fields.

Worse, unexploded bombs buried in the ground hamper food production. Since 1973, it is believed, munitions in fields have killed 267 civilians and seriously injured 343 in Xiengkhouang Province alone. No safe method of removing the weapons has been found. Particularly dangerous are bombs the size of tennis balls that explode when simply touched by a farmer's tool or when stepped on.

According to the Laos-United Nations report, Laotians would be able to survive barely if they can get 113,000 tons of rice in the next few months. That figure would mean that a Laotian's diet would be 12 kilograms of rice per person per month, or 1.8 pounds per person per day—a minimal ration. As of March 7, some 59,000 tons had been pledged. There is still a need for 54,000 more tons. People who watch the world rice market closely will tell you that the United States, with the largest surplus, can offer it most easily.

However, there is such great fear in the Administration that it will appear to be pro-Communist, thereby jeopardizing the canal treaties, that approval of the "Laotian case"—as it is called in Washington—is believed politically imprudent. Even though some officials, including the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, Richard Holbrooke, favor granting the aid immediately, there is a general belief that "the time just isn't right."

Undoubtedly President Carter is also in a dangerous political situation because last year the Congress specifically forbade direct aid to Laos. Nevertheless, there is an exemption in Public Law 480, the Food for Peace law, which allows the President to provide free food to people in need.

In a recent Senate speech, Edward Kennedy pointed out how it has been a "hallmark of our country to have a humanitarian tradition." Irrespective of another nation's ideology, we have given: whether it was in the 1920's, when the United States sent food to the Soviet Union, or after World War II when aid went to our former enemies, Germany, Italy and Japan, as well as to Communist countries.

It is imperative that President Carter move to help the Laotians. Any more delay in Washington would simply compound the barbarity that the United States has already brought to that region. In short, Laos must not become another sub-Saharan Africa, where people died because governments had more "pressing matters."

Peter Kovler was a press aide for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the late Minnesota Democrat, in 1975 and was a legislative aide in foreign affairs in 1976-77 for Representative Sidney Yates, Democrat of Illinois. He is now a Washington-based writer.

How Busy to Be

Renewing Ties With Vietnam

By Peter Kovler

WASHINGTON—Now that the United States is out of Vietnam, it is time to get back in. On Sept. 14 the United States trade embargo against that country, issued by executive order in 1975, expires, forcing President Carter either to renew or cancel it. For practical strategic and moral reasons it is an ideal opportunity for the President to break with his predecessors and allow trade. It would be the beginning of a sane and civilized United States-Vietnamese relationship.

Each country would derive important economic benefits. United States self-interest would be served, according to Michael Emmons, president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong, because "we feel that the U.S. trade embargo on Vietnam punishes American business and not Hanoi."

And for Vietnam, the new trade would spur post-war reconstruction. Without entering into the question of the United States Government's post-war promises made in Paris three years ago, American firms could aid a poor country that has been at battle for decades. Indeed recent comments by Vietnamese leaders indicate they might like United States economic ties even without direct aid from Washington.

The two countries and several American corporations could particularly benefit from closer links in the agricultural and oil industries. Vietnam now imports approximately one million tons of grain per year. Instead of buying it from the United States, they acquire it from the Soviet Union, Canada, Sweden, the European Economic Community and others. This is especially appalling, as Senator Hubert H. Humphrey pointed out one month before his death, "given our unprecedented trade deficit and our depressed prices caused by overflowing stocks."

Vietnam's oil potential may be as promising as that of any area outside the Middle East. However, according to Maurice Strong, chairman of Petro-Canada and former Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Human Environment, it is the "lack of normal relations with the United States that has constrained the pace of Vietnam's reconstruction, particularly oil exploration and development."

Strategically, it is crucial that the

conflicts and consequently become friendlier toward Vietnam. Today the primary clashes are not "yellow versus white" nor "red versus red-white-and-blue" but Vietnam against China and Vietnam against Cambodia. A potential threat is that a passive American diplomacy will de facto align us with China against Vietnam; and this will force Vietnam to develop a greater dependency on the Soviet Union. By lifting the embargo, President Carter could decrease Vietnam's reliance on the Soviet Union, and eventually promote the chances for stability and peace in the area.

Morally the United States still has its post-war obligations. Not even the most gifted writer — at this late date — would dare to expound on the atrocities the United States perpetrated against Vietnam: no one wants to be reminded of the horrors. Let it suffice to say that this country acted wrongly. But now, by beginning trade and thereby permitting the Vietnamese to use some of our advanced technology, the United States can, in a small way, atone.

Proponents of a continued embargo are mostly concerned about accounting for the missing in action. The families of these men have unquestionably experienced a terrible sadness and fear; but one must seriously question whether continued strained relations will help to ferret out information

Each country would derive important economic benefits.

about the fates of these men. Recent developments, particularly the current official Vietnamese trip to the Honolulu M.I.A. Center, seem to indicate that closer relations are more likely to bring out the truth, rather than to hide it.

Two years ago there was a consensus that the embargo should be ended. Both the House and the Senate accepted it but it was President Ford's veto that stopped the move. Now, the United States has the chance to push for a totally new sort of "Vietnamization," not one based on lies and self-deception, but on an ethical and intelligent approach to Southeast Asia. At least one Congressional advocate of lifting the embargo, Representative Jonathan B. Bingham, a Democrat from New York, has indicated that there could be hearings. One can only hope that renewed Congressional pressure, along with some fresh thinking that recognizes we are no longer fighting the Vietnam war, will compel President Carter to end this pointless restriction.

Peter Kovler was a press aide for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the late Minnesota Democrat, in 1975, and was a legislative aide for foreign affairs in 1976-1977 for Representative Sidney Yates, Democrat of Illinois. He is now a Washington-based writer.

WASHINGTON — There seems to be no end to the cruelty that governments can inflict on the people of Southeast Asia.

Since the end of World War II one can think of the imperialistic French, the anti-Communist Americans, the harsh American puppet governments and the inhuman Communist regime of Pol Pot in Cambodia. Today, as if there is some sort of grotesque tradition to be maintained, there are the belligerent Chinese, the Vietnamese puppet regime in Cambodia and a racist Hanoi Government that oppresses Vietnamese of Chinese origin.

While partisans and ideologues, particularly in Washington, might want to compare the atrocities of each ruling group, what is important is for the United States to assume an intelligent and humanitarian policy. At present, even though the Administration and the Congress have made some generous gestures, our Government has failed to do an adequate job.

Reports now coming out of Southeast Asia say that there is widespread hunger in Cambodia and that there will be famine. Our Ambassador to Thailand, Morton Abramowitz, returned to Washington the other day and told the State Department and Congressional committees that the United States should participate in a humanitarian effort to help these people. But, so far, the Congress and the Administration appear to be reluctant to push for the aid. In the foreign aid bill this year, the Congress has specifically prohibited aid to Cambodia, and the Administration, apparently fearing the political consequences, has not actively sought it.

If Washington does not immediately begin to consider seriously the views of Ambassador Abramowitz, "the man in the field," the deaths of thousands may follow.

A second report heard with increasing frequency is that there will be another Vietnam-China war. Visitors just returning from Vietnam say the Vietnamese believe that their coal fields will be bombed and that Hanoi itself could be a target. Vietnam now so fears a new Chinese attack that

Détente With Vietnam?

By Peter Kovler

some old people and children have been evacuated from the north.

Chinese threats only increase Vietnamese fears, thereby causing increasingly oppressive internal policies in that country. The United States should now make it clear that a Chinese invasion, even a traditional "hit and run" operation, would trigger some form of economic penalty.

Most important is for the United States Government to understand the rapidly worsening refugee flow in Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese Government has decided to pursue a racist policy against its citizens of Chinese origin. Apparently, these people are given the "choice" of moving to a "new economic zone" or of fleeing the country. Tens of thousands, perhaps even more, may die at sea. At present the United States posture is publicly to assail the Vietnamese while urging the United Nations to do more. While this is sensible, the United States might consider two other possibilities.

Foremost may be the need to push for détente with Vietnam. The current attitude is that until they withdraw from Cambodia, there can be no friendship. But beyond the troubling question of whether a pullback would mean the return to power of Pol Pot, the United States should recognize that immediate détente could help some of the refugees. For if the United States had some kind of representation in Hanoi and had the "carrot" of United States trade and aid, then the Vietnamese could be more lenient toward the Chinese citizens. Just as with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, détente can, at times, improve a Communist government's position toward a minority.

While some argue that détente would mean the United States approved the human rights violations, others make a strong case that détente would so significantly reduce the Viet-

namese fear of China that Hanoi might begin to become more liberal. More, we should not underestimate the power of food and other aid to Vietnam. Even if some believe the Vietnamese are pathological or Hitlerian, it should be kept in mind that they are still an extremely poor country. They might change their human rights policies in exchange for food.

A second gesture, recently suggested by Representative Lester L. Wolff, Democrat of New York, would be to call for a special United Nations General Assembly session to consider the question of Indochinese refugees. The possibility of 500,000 additional refugees is something that must be handled on an international basis.

Another matter on the Indochina agenda should be steps to alleviate human rights problems of the thousands of people who are being detained without due process in re-education camps. Here again the Vietnamese have acted cruelly. But one must ask if the United States is seriously committed to helping people when all we do is to berate self-righteously the Vietnamese Government. Considering that the Hanoi Government may be as repressive as the Russians, détente may be the policy which will get them to ease up on their "dissidents." Certainly, we know that four years of ill will has not liberalized them. That has only forced the Vietnamese into a closer friendship with the Russians — and we are all too familiar with the human rights policies that Moscow might urge.

Visitors (one of whom has relatives in the camps) just returning indicate that the Vietnamese may be willing to let these people go, but only if they go out of the country. This is obviously a brutal policy. But since many of the prisoners are people who believed in the American presence in Southeast Asia, it may be our responsibility to take them in. These people should not

be betrayed. At present in Washington, Vietnam's internal policies are compared by the pro-Vietnamese to the United States treatment of Japanese-Americans during World War II. Others see it as a Holocaust. The awful truth is still unknown. But regardless of the level of inhumanity, there is a need to take new actions. In accepting 200,000 Vietnamese between 1975 and 1978, the United States has been generous. But it now seems that the 1975-78 period, before the China-Vietnam war, was an era unto itself. As horrendous as it may appear, we may have entered a new era, one with even greater problems. The State Department and the Congress could meet these new times intelligently by granting food, pursuing détente and immediately extending help to the human rights victims.

Peter Kovler, a Washington-based writer, was a legislative aide for foreign affairs in 1976-77 for Representative Sidney Yates, Illinois Democrat.

Die
You'
IRS

Although SA assures us there is nothing to worry about when its 77-ton

OBSERVER

Government that you forgot your cooking and turned up your steaks.

They are not flustered like that once

PETER B. KOVLER

HOME

2618 31st St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20008
(202) 333-0761

OFFICE

1250 24th St., N.W., Suite 300
Washington, DC 20037
(202) 857-7810

- 1992-1993 Edited book on history of Democratic Party, Democrats and the American Idea.
- 1981-1993 Private Investor.
- 1984-1993 Director of Marjorie Kovler Fund as well as other family foundations. Founder of numerous organizations including Chicago's Marjorie Kovler Center for the Treatment of the Survivors of Torture and Washington's Marjorie Kovler Institute for Black-Jewish Relations.
- 1985-1989 Co-produced Academy Award-winning documentary, *Hotel Terminus - The Life and Times of Klaus Barbie*. Film also won Critics Prize for best picture at 1988 Cannes Film Festival.
- 1982-1983 Co-produced PBS documentary, *The First Fifty Years: Reflections on U.S.-Soviet Relations*. Winner of numerous prizes including the Dupont-Columbia University award.
- 1981-1982 Chairman of Franklin D. Roosevelt National Centennial Committee. Executive Director of Joint Congressional Committee to observe the centennial of FDR's birth.
- 1980-1981 Special Assistant and speechwriter to Carter Administration Secretary of Commerce Philip Klutznick.
- 1979-1980 Attended Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and received a Masters in Public Administration. Also, co-taught a seminar on U.S.-Indochina Policy 1975-1979 and served as teaching assistant in course on the press and government.
- 1978-1979 Free-lance writer with short-term assignments as "Frequent Contributor" to New York Times and Washington reporter for Commonweal. Also contributed articles to Los Angeles Times, The Nation, and many other publications.
- 1976-1977 Legislative Assistant to Congressman Sidney Yates (D-IL).
- 1975 Press Aide to Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-MN).
- 1975 Stringer for Time Magazine in San Francisco Bureau.
- 1974 Reporter for inner-city, Chicago newspaper, Independent Bulletin.
- 1970-1974 Attended and received degree in Modern Western European History from the University of Chicago.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 4, 1994

Mr. Larry Keeley
President
Doblin Group
35 East Wacker, Suite 2400
Chicago, IL 60601

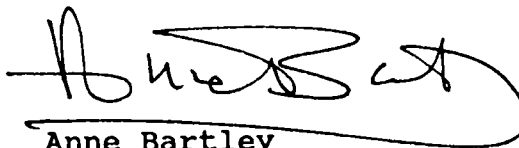
Dear Mr. Keeley:

Thank you very much for sharing plans of the Chicago Institute of Design for a patient-centered hospital room of the future. I was impressed with the vision and thought that so clearly went into their design.

Mrs. Clinton deeply regrets that, because of scheduling constraints, she was unable to meet with the students who worked on the project while she visited Chicago. It was very kind of you to send the materials and think of the First Lady.

At your request, I am returning the documents. I apologize for the delay in our response. Thank you again for thinking of the First Lady. Good luck in your important work.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Anne Bartley', with a large, sweeping flourish at the end.

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy Chief
of Staff to the First Lady

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 10, 1993

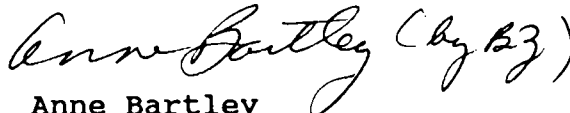
Mr. Mark Kleinman
3800 Veazey Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016

Dear Mr. Kleinman:

Thank you very much for your good ideas on how to deal with misinformation on the President's health care proposal. People in the White House Communications Office are working on similar ideas to handle the problem.

Thank you for taking the time to write.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Anne Bartley (by B3)".

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

July 7, 1993

*wrote note
& sent
8/26*

Ms. Anne Bartley
Assistant to Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of First Lady
Room 100
Old Executive Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Anne,

I saw you talking with Kitty Kelly at the People For dinner the other night and asked her later if she'd ever heard from Mrs. Clinton after all she had done to defend her. Kitty said she had not heard from the President's wife.

In case you didn't know, Kitty wrote a piece for the New York Times op-ed page (attached) defending the First Lady. Then she went on CBS Evening News with Dan Rather two times and the Fox Morning News to defend Mrs. Clinton.

I also know that Kitty donated time and money to the Clinton campaign. She was the only writer Emily Malino (Mrs. James Scheur) invited to her Hilary Clinton luncheon on Tracy Place during the campaign. I think I heard that Kitty sent a check, plus an autographed copy of "Nancy Reagan: The Unauthorized Biography."

That book is a good reason why the White House should definitely keep this writer on its side. Every book Kelly writes becomes an international best seller--and--two of her books have been on First Ladies!

Judy Green from People For said that maybe you're saving her for a White House state dinner invite. If so, fine. Otherwise, I'd like to suggest a nice note or autographed photo or something for Kitty. Not to acknowledge her kind of support is, according to Judy Green, very poor staff work.

Here is a bio of Kitty and her address and phone are 3037 Dumbarton Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007. Tel: 202-342-0606.

Best regards,

Evelyn Kimball
Evelyn Kimball

*4365 Embassy Park Dr. NW
D.C. 20016*

June 24, 1993

Sarah Kovner
Special Assistant to the Secretary
Department of Health & Human Services
200 Independence Avenue S.W. - #605F
Washington D.C. 20201

Dear Sarah:

Here is the material you and Amanda talked about on Marilyn Van Derbur-Atler. Thanks for suggesting your office take it on.

As you suggested, an advisory committee might be the appropriate place to consider her qualifications. The recommendation comes from Swanee Hunt. We have not been in touch with either Ms. Van Derbur-Atler or Swanee.

I am also including a letter and materials from State Senator Barbara Baldizar of New Hampshire. Senator Baldizar has not only been friends of the First Family for a while, but also is very interested in assisting the Clinton Administration in supporting family values in public policy and programs. She has been much involved in New Hampshire's Domestic Violence Protocol Committee as you see.

I would appreciate your forwarding Senator Baldizar's letter and materials to the appropriate people in the Department. I think she would be an asset to whatever you are doing.

Good seeing you the other night.

Best,

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

cc: State Senator Barbara Baldizar

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 18, 1994

Ms. Madeline Leonard
Cloutier Agency
7201 Melrose Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90046

Dear Madeline:

Thank you for sending samples of Francesca Tolot's work. She has an impressive list of clientele. I will keep it on file in case Mrs. Clinton wants to take advantage of her kind offer the next time she visits Los Angeles.

It was so nice to hear from you. Please give my best to Frank.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Anne
Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

*Hi, Madeline -
How are you?
Hope to see you
soon -
/ O D.*

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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 10252

FOLDER TITLE:

MV Correspondence 1993-1994 Anne Bartley [loose] [2]

2013-0534-S

ry1706

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Dottie Lamm
5401 East Dakota Avenue, #20
Denver, CO 80222

Phone: (303) 399-8003 or (303) 871-3400
Fax: (303) 871-3066

*file AB —
Correspondence*

November 29, 1993

Ms. Anne Bartley
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Anne,

Enclosed is a column I thought that you, and possibly Hillary, might enjoy. I've gotten good comments on it, particularly from married feminists.

Also wanted to let you know that I am working with Ellen Marshall in Tim Wirth's office around getting some real momentum for his population division going into the Cairo conference of next September. We will probably have a forum here in Denver at which Tim will be the star speaker. The conference on population that we held two weeks ago here in Denver drew 250 people with hardly any publicity. So I'm sure we could draw more crowds with our former, very well respected, U.S. Senator.

Also Doug Bennet wrote me regarding my desire to be an official delegate to the Cairo conference in September. In essence he said that that choice would be made by The White House. I know the competition will be intense, but do keep me in mind. In the meantime, I may be going to New York in April to work on the preparatory conference with Ellen Marshall and other people from Tim Wirth's office. (smiley face)

Last night a group of us hosted a goodbye party for Ambassador Swanee Hunt and her wonderful husband, Charles Ansbacher -- just about 250 of their closest friends! Denver will really miss them, but we are also thrilled that Swanee was chosen.

Ms. Anne Bartley
November 29, 1993
Page two

Our best to all of you in The White House, and especially the Clintons for the holiday season.

Kindest regards and best wishes,


Dottie Lamm

P.S. We are really moving in Colorado on the Region VIII preparatory conference for the Women's Fourth Conference in Beijing in '95. I am chairing the committee to put together the Region VIII group, and we are trying to reach every woman's group possible in the six state area. I am thrilled that the Women's Bureau is at least getting a small budget for this project. Our conference will be sometime in August of ~~this~~ year.

next

Enclosure



United States Department of State

*Assistant Secretary of State
for International Organization Affairs*

Washington, D.C. 20520-6319

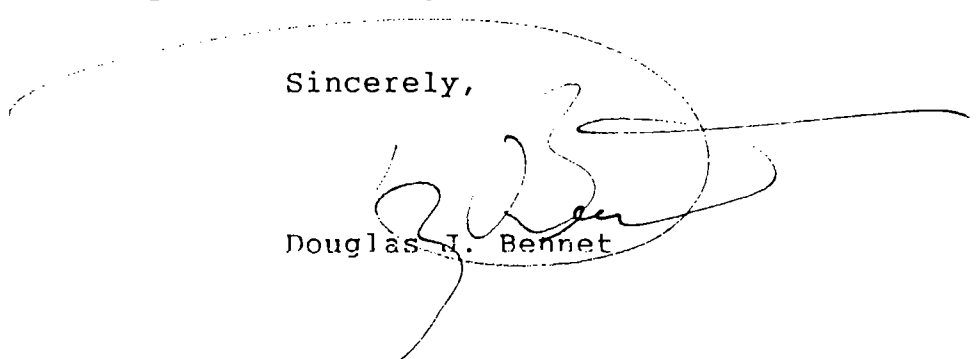
Dear Ms. Lamm:

Thank you for your letter of September 9 in which you wrote to express your interest in being a member of the U.S. delegation to the UN World Conference on Population and Development which will be held in Cairo in September 1994.

As you may recall from your service on the U.S. delegation to the Commission on the Status of Women, Public Members on our delegations are named by the President, not the State Department. I have thus taken the liberty of forwarding a copy of your letter to the Office of Personnel at the White House. To the best of my knowledge, no decisions have yet been made regarding the Public Members who will serve on our delegation to the Cairo conference, so your name should come before the President's staff in ample time for full consideration.

Once again, thank you for writing and best wishes.

Sincerely,



Douglas J. Bennet

Ms. Dottie Lamm
5401 East Dakota #20,
Denver, Colorado.

Feminist, first lady: no conflict

I haven't heard any Hillary jokes lately. That's not surprising. Who would dare? When excellence is the issue, "role" becomes a non-issue.

I watched the first lady's performance at the congressional health care hearings in September and October, and then again last week as she took on the insurance industry, with more amusement than amazement.

Hillary Rodham Clinton's command of her subject did not surprise me in the slightest. I saw that command back when we were in the Governors' Spouses Association together.

What amused me was how the Democratic senators, seeing a political rocket rising, clamored for her presence. Some literally slobbered over her presentation.

"You were maaaaarvellous," crooned House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski after she testified.

Some of these guys still don't get it!

Don't they know that to over-praise is not to compliment but to condescend? To over-praise doesn't say, "Wow, you did it!" but, "Wow, as a woman, a first lady, a wife, we didn't think you could."

Political pandering aside, the dearth of Hillary/Billary jokes is a refreshing respite.

Recently, however, I have heard some strange criticism of Hillary, and even of those who introduce her, from an unusual place. A feminist friend of mine at a breakfast roundtable complained about the fact that Hillary is always introduced not only as chairwoman of the Health Care Task Force, but also as the first lady or the president's wife.

"But she *is* the first lady and the president's wife!" I responded.

"Yes, but she's *qualified* to head this task force from her own experience," insisted my friend.

"Yes, but she *wouldn't* be doing it just from her own experience."

With which the breakfast table erupted into an impassioned discussion.



DOTTIE
LAMM

Have feminists, myself included, gone so overboard in "becoming persons in our own right" that we forget that the person to whom we are married is at least part of our identities?

The fact is that Hillary Rodham Clinton — Wellesley graduate, former chairwoman of the Children's Defense Fund, and one of the top 100 lawyers in America — would not be chairing the President's Health Care Task Force if she were Jane Smith Esq. practicing law in Little Rock. She would not be chairing it even if she, as Jane Smith Esq., had been appointed to the cabinet.

If President Clinton had simply wanted a smart, able, female cabinet member to head up health-care reform, he'd have picked HHS Director Donna Shalala.

At another recent feminist luncheon (I eat a lot of feminist food!), I heard Marion White, wife of former Supreme Court Justice Byron White, introduced with no mention that she was married to the native Coloradan who had served on the nation's highest court for almost 30 years.

Strange, I thought. And sad. Because as I looked around the room I realized that over half the women, and virtually *all* the younger women, had no idea that this accomplished, venerable woman sitting in their midst was also married to an accomplished, venerable man of whom they must have heard. Wouldn't they at least like to have *known* that?

When Hillary Clinton first went before Congress to testify on health-care reform, she said that she came as "a mother, a wife, a daughter, a sister, a woman."

Wise move, I thought, to emphasize her family side. Especially in an area like health care, where female relations assume the major responsibility.

If Hillary Rodham Clinton can use "feminine, associative" words to at least partially describe a very "feminist, independent" self, what are the rest of us afraid of?

Dottie Lamm, M.S.W., is a writer, college instructor and public speaker. Married for 30 years to former Colorado Gov. Dick Lamm, she writes in this space monthly.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1993

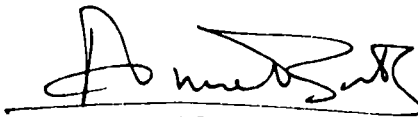
Dr. Robert Jay Lifton
The Graduate School and University Center
of The City University of New York
Ph.D Programs
John Jay College of Criminal Justice
899 Tenth Avenue, Suite 434
New York, New York 10019

Dear Dr. Lifton:

On behalf of Mrs. Clinton I want to thank you for sending a copy of your new book, The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentation. Psychological and political questions as they relate to the present American scene are areas which are very much in need of discussion. I will see that she receives your book.

Thank you again for your and Sidney's thoughtfulness.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Anne Bartley", written over a horizontal line.

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff to the
First Lady

cc: Sidney Blumenthal

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1993

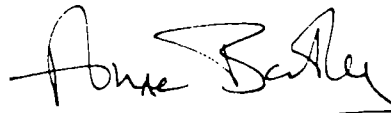
Heather Elizabeth Lamm
Box 3750
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island 02912

Dear Heather:

Swanee has sent me your resume and letter of May 3. It is wonderful to learn someone with your background and interests finds politics inescapable! I have put your information into our Resumix for future consideration.

I enjoyed working with your mother very much and, of course, Swanee. The next time you are in D.C. please call me at (202) 456-6266. I look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Anne Bartley". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending from the end.

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

Dottie Lamm
5401 East Dakota #20
Denver, CO 80222

Phone: (303) 399-8003 or (303) 871-3400
Fax: (303) 871-3066

April 19 1993

President Bill Clinton
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear President Clinton:

Those of us who have been working on population, family planning and reproductive freedom issues all through the 12 frustrating years of Reagan/Bush are thrilled with your new, bold initiatives in this area.

May I respectfully offer one suggestion: Could the phrase "population stabilization" be substituted for "population control?" The latter term is not graciously received by many women in the developing world. They fear that "control" of their reproductive processes will be imposed on them from the north, or from their own governments. Therefore, it scares them.

I worry that the word "control" could render many feminist leaders and women health advocates suspicious of even of totally women-managed, family planning projects. They could then become unnecessarily resistant to all the good things the U.S., under your leadership, will be trying to accomplish.

On a related subject, I have just returned from the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women held in Vienna. I am immensely proud to be a Presidential Appointee of such an illustrious group. Arvonne Fraser's leadership in getting the resolution to promote Legal Literacy passed unanimously was exemplary. She is extremely well respected by the other delegations, and we all look forward to working with her in the future.

Dick and I remain most enthusiastic about of the leadership and energy you bring to so many crucial issues of the day. The Clinton/Gore team will accomplish great and needed changes in our country. We extend to you our hardy best wishes in all your endeavors.

Respectfully,

Dottie Lamm

Dottie Lamm
U.S. Delegate to the U.N. Commission
on the Status of Women

DVL:th
cc: Hillary Rodham Clinton
Vice President Albert Gore, Jr.
The Honorable Timothy E. Wirth
Dee Dee Myers
✓ Anne Bartley

*P.S. Anne - Vienna was
fantastic! Thanks for your
help on my appointment.
(Just talked to Caroline Craft -
who was with you today -
4/20. ☺ She's great!) My Best -
D.V.L.*

Clinton to seek funds for population control

Request to Congress will include international groups backing abortion

Reuter

WASHINGTON — President Clinton intends to ask Congress to fund international groups that encourage abortion as part of global population-control efforts, press secretary Dee Dee Myers said Thursday.

The move reverses a policy put into effect in 1984 by President Reagan and continued by President Bush.

Myers was asked if Clinton will seek federal funds to pay for population-control groups that support abortion. "That's the president's position," she replied.

"The president has a different position than the previous administrations on choice," Myers said. "We continue to believe that supporting population control efforts is both necessary and useful, and the president will continue to pursue that."

The administration is expected to propose funding for the U.N. Fund for Population Activities and the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

When asked if abortion was considered an appropriate method for population control, Myers replied: "It's certainly among the things that have been funded previously, before there were restrictions on federal funds. It's part of the overall approach to population control."

Experts say the world's population, if current growth rates continue, will increase by 1 billion in 11 years. There currently are nearly 5.5 billion people on Earth.

Such a dramatic increase in population has fueled dire predictions of food shortages.

Clinton's proposal will be contained in the formal budget proposal he plans to unveil next week.

The spending plan for the next fiscal year also will propose ending the domestic ban on using federal funds for abortions by poor women wanting the procedure. The prohibition, which applies to Medicaid participants, was enacted 16 years ago.

Abortion also becomes matter of dollars, cents

By Deborah Zabarenko

Reuter

WASHINGTON — The abortion issue has always struck sparks in American politics, but the debate has become positively fiery, with a clinic torched, a doctor killed and tax dollars set to be added to the explosive mix.

President Clinton fanned the flames Tuesday by announcing he planned to lift the ban on federal funding for abortions for poor women, reversing a 16-year-old policy.

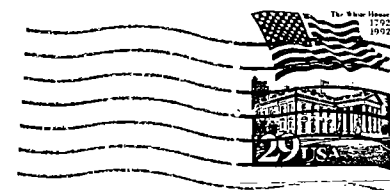
He also indicated Thursday he would authorize U.S. contributions to international family planning agencies that offer abortion.

What Clinton has done moves the debate away from the cosmic question of when life begins and brings it down to dollars and cents. Polls show most Americans favor some form of abortion rights, but a minority — 42% in a 1992 *New York Times*/CBS News poll — think their taxes should pay for it.

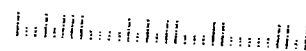
U.S. taxpayers could contribute as much as \$55 million in cash and goods to the U.N. Fund for Population Activities and the International Planned Parenthood Federation, officials said.

Rep. Chris Smith, R-N.J., and other abortion opponents have argued that lifting the federal funding ban will force those who oppose abortion to pay for the procedure.

But abortion rights advocates, notably Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-Colo., say American taxpayers fund lots of things they don't like, such as all activities of the Defense Department, because their elected representatives have approved the money.



Ms. Anne Bartley
Office of the First Lady
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, DC 20500



Dottie Lamm, U.S. Delegate to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women

5401 East Dakota #20

Denver, CO 80222

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1993

The Honorable
Rudolph R. Loncke
Judge of the Municipal Court
County Courthouse
Sacramento, California 95814

Dear Judge Loncke:

I enjoyed meeting you at OEGB the other day.

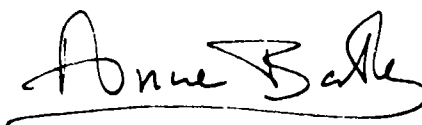
Enclosed is the material I told you about. If you want more information, please get in touch with

Robert Vincent, Ph.D.
Deputy Commissioner
Health Promotion & Policy Analysis
Oklahoma State Department of Health
1000 N.E. 10th Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73117-1299

Telephone: 405-271-4200

I wish you well in your endeavor. I also suggest you send your materials to Attorney General Janet Reno as they are in line with what she is doing.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Anne Bartley". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

Ignite National Campaign To Inspire Parents of Infants, Toddlers, and Pre-Schoolers To Become More Actively Involved In Priming Their Children To Learn.

LET'S PUT OUR MOUTH WHERE OUR MONEY IS!!!!

The success of the Head Start program has inspired continued funding and bipartisan support. The lives of many young people have been positively, and dramatically improved by this wonderful national effort. The results have included better education, less criminal activity, more productivity. The money we spend on this program is well spent by any measure.

There are many excellent local programs for parental involvement throughout the country. However, many parents never are exposed to the message and have no clue that inactivity at home during the 0-5 years may handicap their children for life.

LET ALL PARENTS KNOW WHAT IS AT STAKE DURING THE 0---5 YEARS OF THEIR CHILDREN.

A multi-media, all-pervasive campaign should be mounted to bring to parents' regular attention in a dramatic manner just how they can and must be involved in pre-school developmental and learning activities for their children. The success of Head Start could be the centerpiece of the campaign.

The underlying assumption of the campaign should be that there are hundreds of thousands of parents who would be more actively involved in the pre-school development of their children if they only knew what is at stake and how they can make a difference.

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP FROM THE PRESIDENCY ON THIS ISSUE IS STRONG: LET'S USE IT TO BEST ADVANTAGE!!!

There may never be a better opportunity to put children at the forefront of the national agenda. We should not make the mistake of allowing the recognition that President Clinton is a friend on Children's issues to lull us into believing that inertia will not harm children.

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS SHOULD ISSUE A CHALLENGE TO THE MEDIA AND THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY TO MOUNT A COORDINATED CAMPAIGN THROUGH HIGH QUALITY, IMAGINATIVE PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS AND CREATIVE LINKS TO PAID ADVERTISING TO BRING TO THE FOREFRONT OF PUBLIC ATTENTION THE NEED FOR PARENTS TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT IN THE HOME.

Becoming a parent is " promises to keep ".
Literacy starts at home for the child and why not the parent too?

Judge Barry Loncke, Sacramento Superior and Municipal Courts
720 9th St, Sacramento CA 95814 (916) 440-7561

EDITORIAL

PAGE 6

Judge Loncke's attempt to teach parents

I used to see it when I worked in Southern California. A co-worker and I often took a shortcut through Compton to go to our favorite lunch-spot in Torrance.

As we drove through the city, our car doors securely locked (I obsessively double-checked), we would see kids wearing gang colors, some only 12 years old, standing around in rundown neighborhoods. It was filthy. Empty food and drink containers were piled in gutters and on sidewalks. Sometimes the boys would be loitering outside stores. Other times they were being searched and handcuffed by local law enforcement.

The early afternoon sun posed mid-sky. It was a time when these kids should have been in school.

When I was 12, I can't remember even skipping school more than once or twice. But then, I didn't live in Compton. School didn't rub my G-spot, but I managed to attend regularly.

What I had — and what some of those kids on the corner may not have had — was parents who took an interest in seeing their son educated. My mother read to me as I grew up, and she bought me project books designed to bolster my memory and spark my interest in learning.

Not that school was a priority for me, but I went and I learned, at least a little. But education, as they say, ain't what it used to be.

The budgetary blows California education has taken during the last few years are tragic. If the cuts continue, a large segment of the population will be forever lost in an ill-educated bog. Annually, California children receive \$832 apiece less for education today than four years ago.

The kids from disadvantaged families are the ones most seriously hurt by shrinking funds. These lower-echelon boys and girls are being reamed by our inadequate system.

Although more and more Caucasian kids come from low-income families, the majority still come from the black and Hispanic communities. In some California schools where almost all of the students come from welfare families, the dropout rate is an astounding 49 percent.

But cuts in education spending aren't all to blame. The inner cities are a hard place to live, with peer pressure pushing kids toward easy drug money in the gangs. And one aspect of education often overlooked is the home, where education should start.

As it stands, if the disadvantaged kids received the same nurturing and pushing toward learning as the advantaged kids do, dropout rates wouldn't be nearly as towering. The kids would enter our schools prepared to learn. They would be less of a problem in the classroom, and they would be more apt to complete school and enter society skilled and educated.

One local judge is working to enlighten the parents of these children about the values of packing more than lunch before sending their offspring to school. He also wants to pack in a base for learning.

Rudolph Loncke, a robed one with Sacramento County Municipal Court, is working to get area businesses inter-



J. Nils Wright

NOTEBOOK

ested in producing inexpensive home-teaching products for poor parents whose children are ready to start school. He insists there's a market out there to buy the products.

The problem in poor families, Loncke said, is that the parents, because of a lack of education, cash or time, don't sit down with their kids to prepare them for school. They often don't stress the values of learning, or understand the importance of preparing kids for the onslaught of information lunged at them in school.

"These kids are fodder for problems," Loncke said. "We need sophisticated ways to get parents involved in learning activities."

He has developed a set of workbooks designed to ignite the flame of learning in pre-school children. I met with him in his chambers, where he showed me some of his prototypes, produced with the assistance of a local cartoonist. He named the books "Katie's Wee Do Puzzles," after his daughter.

The majority of the puzzles in the workbooks are word scrambles. It is Loncke's hope that parents and youngsters work on the puzzles together. The more actively involved parents are in respect to their kids' learning, the more apt the children are to succeed.

Loncke, a community activist with a focus on children, has already produced and delivered free books to a small number of disadvantaged kids. Now he wants to coax local businesses to produce, market and sell similar books to low-income families. The Wee Do books would serve as model for educational tools specifically for this market.

Still, before such products will be purchased, or even used, parents in low-income families have to change, too. They have to play an active role in the development of their children. They can't expect schools to be baby-sitters for them. Along with tools like Loncke's must come a change in the psyche of the parents whose children are most at risk of not completing school. This can be accomplished only through community service advertising on television, the medium most accessible to low-income families.

The books Loncke has put together have the potential to be great learning avenues, as long as parents are made aware of their presence and are taught that school preparation will give their kids an upper hand in the early steps of their long learning hikes.

It not only starts at home. It also starts when society takes an interest in a change for the better.

Reporter Nils Wright covers law, insurance, financial services and the business of sports.

Priming Kids To Learn

This year's State budget process will demonstrate, once again, the high regard people have for education. Education will claim the lion's share of available dollars because we have decided that among all competing, and compelling needs education stands tallest. Priority funding for education is guaranteed in the State Constitution as the result of Proposition 98. Pitifully, despite all the money we will spend on education this year, there is no hope that it will be nearly enough to move California into the ranks of the most successful states in terms of educational achievement by students. If we measure ourselves against other developed, industrial countries, we are not even competitive.

We will never become competitive if our thinking about educational needs gets mired down in the muck of annual budget battles. We must have the political will to determine today what needs to be done now to improve our position ten years in the future.

It seems to me that the first place we should look to make fundamental changes in our educational system is the home. There is no doubt that the vast majority of parents love their children and they wouldn't deny their children any basic necessity they have the ability to give them. Yet, many of these parents withhold from their kids an invaluable educational resource---themselves. They have the mistaken belief that making sure the child goes to school regularly is enough to assure that the child gets an education. Experts tell me, and common sense confirms, that unless the child arrives at school primed to learn, even highly motivated teachers and increased education dollars will be wasted. It's no surprise that the key indicator for a child's success in school is an involved parent(s), or other loving adult, in the home.

I believe that there are multitudes of loving parents who have little understanding of the vital role they play in determining whether or not their children succeed in school. These parents represent an untapped and willing resource which could leverage the impact of each dollar invested in our public schools.

Our battle to increase public awareness of the consequences of cigarette smoking might be a model for planning in this area. One strong argument which contributed to the development of no smoking ordinances and laws has been the societal cost of paying for tobacco's impact on the health of our people. As the result of a well conceived and persistent educational campaign, there is universal awareness of the risks of smoking. Millions of people have quit smoking.

We need a similar campaign to make our citizenry aware of the unique role parents play in the development of their children's attitudes toward education and the risks involved in ignoring this

vital link. The familial and societal costs of not initiating a positive attitude toward education at home are dramatic: young people who are not primed to learn in school are raw material for gangs (show me a gang member and I'll show you someone with poor literacy skills); even if gangs and crime are avoided, dropping out, marginal achievement and unemployability in this high tech society are inevitable; and the child we fail to educate typically becomes the adult we are forced to support with tax dollars.

The parent who has a tenth grade education, or a fifth grade education, is as important to his or her child's success in school as a parent with a college degree. It's not how much you know that is important, but whether you are willing to make learning a central part of your activity in the home with your child. If embarrassment about one's own poor literacy skills, for example, is used as an excuse for not taking a hand in the development of the child's skills, the chances are good that the child will be a poor reader. On the other hand, taking the time to support reading and have fun with the emerging reader may even help improve the parent's literacy skills while giving the child the message that "reading is enjoyable, it's useful and it's important".

The message must be sent in as many ways as can be conceived to let parents know that their regular personal involvement in making education a central, appreciated part of life in the home for their children is the key factor in determining whether or not the children thrive in the educational system.

However, the message alone is not enough. We need to provide non-threatening tools for parents to use in helping their children develop a love for learning as well as the skills to learn. I am confident that there are talented people in our business community who could serve us well -- and make a profit -- by developing and marketing basic tools for use at home by parents who are not comfortable with their teaching abilities or educational skills.

As we prepare to spend huge sums of money on education in the coming year, let us look farther into the future. Let's plan to do a better job in priming our infants, preschoolers, and children in early school years so that ten years from now the vast majority of the children in the system will be eager to learn. We will certainly have to continue to pay for education, but we can do a lot better in getting our money's worth.

7.17.93

Dear Anne,

I love my toucan pin and I thank you for
thinking of me on my birthday.

Already, I've gotten several compliments on it
and I've noticed many others jealously eyeing
it.

You're the gem.

xx

Emelyn

Fieberman

Anne B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON .

March 18, 1993

Ms. Natalie Kovner Lieberman
Founder and President
Learning to Read Through the Arts Program
1071 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10128

Dear Mrs. Lieberman,

Thank you very much for your material on Learning Through Art. I am sorry it has taken so long to respond to you but we received your materials during the Transition and it has taken a while to get through things.

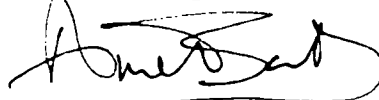
Your program sounds very good and interesting. The Office of the First Lady maintains a resource data base and we appreciate hearing about programs such as yours which benefit children. We will keep it in our files so that it will be available for ready reference.

I have enjoyed getting to know your niece, Sarah Kovner, who is doing such a good job with Donna Shalala.

Thank you again and good luck with your work.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Anne Bartley', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff

LEARNING THROUGH ART

30 November 1992

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

At the suggestion of my niece, Sarah Kovner, I am writing to you about a program, Learning Through Art, founded in association with the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum twenty-three years ago. At that time, I was obsessed with the idea, "help disadvantaged children in the public schools to read and write, using the arts as the catalyst". That mission is just as important today as it was at the inception of our experimental workshops!

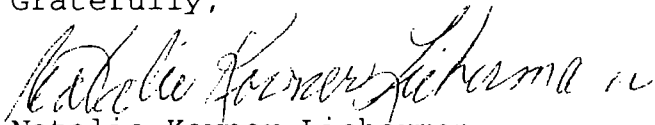
You have been a successful proponent and tireless advocate of family and children's issues, and we both know that the future of our country lies in the power of its children.

Sarah mentioned a planned New York visit in February -- I beg you to spare a bit of your day to meet with us and share ideas during a visit to one of our twenty-one pilot programs. Just think of the joy and inspiration you bring kids whose barren and difficult lives are being enlightened by learning -- particularly through the arts!

The enclosed material is filled with every aspect of our work in New York, New Jersey and Washington, D.C.

I want to thank you for your kind attention. Please do not hesitate to ask for any further information.

Gratefully,


Natalie Kovner Lieberman
Founder and President

NL/jc
enclosures

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Founder, President

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Pamela Salvatore

Vivian Serota

Amy K. White

Romare H. Bearden
in memoriam

Thomas Krens
Director, Guggenheim Museum
ex officio

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1993

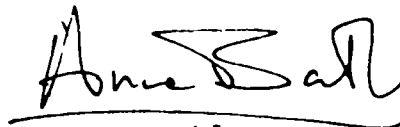
Mr. Ronald A. Link
Assistant to the Director
Erie County Medical Center
Alcoholism Clinic Downtown Branch
1280 Main Street
Buffalo, NY 14209

Dear Mr. Link:

Thank you for sending the material on the proposed Child Care Recovery and Learning Center. I will make sure it is on file for Mrs. Clinton's perusal.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Anne Bartley". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff

ERIE COUNTY MEDICAL CENTER
ALCOHOLISM CLINIC DOWNTOWN BRANCH
1280 MAIN STREET
BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14209
883-4517

March 1, 1993

Ms. Ann Bartley
White House Staff
West Wing (First Lady)
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20500

WESTERN NEW YORK'S
LIFELINE

Dear Ann:

Once again, I thank you immensely for taking time out of your current crusade to return my phone call; that was very nice of you.

462 GRIDER ST.
BUFFALO, NY
14215

(716) 898-3000
FAX (716) 898-3342

In thinking over your question about my motives and concerns, I feel I can answer that quite simply: We want to offer the First Lady our able assistance as well as our expertise in her dedicated effort to provide a positive, constructive, prosperous future for all of our children.

Our forte is prevention of and intervention in alcohol and other drug addiction in families effected with the hurting consequences of addiction.

We feel passionately that our proposed Child Care Recovery and Learning Center can provide the missing piece to an overall comprehensive healthy approach to what probably remains the primary cause of disruption in family cohesiveness, and our society as a whole.

So, I just want the First Lady to be fully apprised of our full support, have the opportunity to truly peruse our proposed plan, and perhaps someday in the not too distant future, hopefully visit our operation and meet all of our staff who are looking forward to an ongoing alliance with Hillary's ideology.

DENNIS T. GORSKI
COUNTY EXECUTIVE

Thank you for your prompt and courteous response. I hope we can keep in touch!

JOSEPH E. RYAN
CHAIRMAN, BOARD
OF MANAGERS

GEORGE H. MCCOY
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

Regards,



Ronald A. Link, BA, CAC, NCACII
Supervising Alcoholism Counselor
Assistant to the Director

RAL/cak
Enclosure

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY
EMPLOYER

AFFILIATED WITH THE
STATE UNIVERSITY OF
NEW YORK AT BUFFALO

cc: Richard C. Washousky, MS, CRC, NCC
Director of Clinics

Joan Moslow, MS, CRC, CAC, NCC
Program Manager

Juli Van Woert, MS, CRC
Project Director

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July 1, 1993

Barbara Mandel Mayden
Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom
919 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Ms. Mayden:

Reviewing our files we find that we have not heard from you regarding the Boards and Commissions you might be interested in.

While your life may have taken a turn that precludes your participation, we do not want to overlook your interest from lack of communication.

Please call me or Amanda MacKenzie at 202-456-6266 if you need some assistance, such as another list.

Sincerely,

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

05/12/93 08:07 212 262 0646 A. DIAMOND FDN. @001

THE AARON DIAMOND FOUNDATION

1270 Avenue of the Americas
Suite 2624
New York, New York 10020
(212) 757-7680

Irene Diamond
President
Vincent McGee
Executive Director

FAX #: (212) 262-0646

DATE: 5/12/93

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

TO: Anne Bartley

TELECOPIER #:

202-456-6244

OFFICE TEL:

456-6266

FROM:

V. McGEE

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING THIS ONE 6

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THE AARON DIAMOND FOUNDATION
1270 Avenue of the Americas
Suite 2624
New York, New York 10020
(212) 757-7680

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Irene Diamond
President
Vincent McGee
Executive Director

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: Tom Goodwin
FROM: Vincent McGee
DATE: May 10, 1993

*Tam:
I am in haste -
I hope it's useful -
Thank you. Vmg*

I have been working in the AIDS field since 1983 when the Hunt Alternatives Fund, of which I was Executive Director and a Board Member, made its initial AIDS grants. The first was to provide matching funds for the start-up of an AIDS Hospice at St. Vincent's Hospital in New York City and the second was to enable BJ Stiles (now of the National Leadership Coalition on AIDS) to do a survey of AIDS related programs and support services in Dallas, Texas; Denver, Colorado and New York City, the three cities of concern to the Fund.

Late in 1984, I became associated with the Aaron Diamond Foundation, following the death of the Foundation's donor, Aaron Diamond, earlier that year. The Foundation's stated purpose was to fund projects in New York City in medical research, minority education and culture. I worked with Mr. Diamond's widow, Irene Diamond, President of the Foundation, to help her develop the program of the Foundation beyond the brief frame-work set by herself and Mr. Diamond in the months preceding his death.

Mr. Tom Goodwin

-2-

May 10, 1993

The Diamonds' aim was to make a difference for the broadest population in New York City and to attempt over the ten year life-span of the Foundation to provide funds for work which was not being supported appropriately by private or public sources and to attempt to develop model programs with credibility in research satisfactory to garner long-range support.

AIDS was identified because of its already evident growth and concentration in New York City and because of its effect on persons throughout the racial, economic and social strata of the city, but particularly among the poor.

The initial grants were made only in medical research in basic science. However, over several years we developed a broader-based strategy with funding throughout the grantmaking categories of the Foundation and with medical research grants including the related social sciences.

The Foundation has been identified as the largest private foundation supporter of AIDS research in the United States. I believe this statistic is still correct. To date the Foundation has provided over \$30 million for work in HIV/AIDS in New York City. (Grant list sent under separate cover.)

In the fall of 1988, I was instrumental in initiating a discussion with Stephen Joseph, the Health Commissioner of New York City, about how the Foundation could work with him in

Mr. Tom Coodwin

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May 10, 1993

developing a stronger AIDS program in the city. The outcome of this conversation was a meeting with Mrs. Diamond and foundation Board Member, Lewis Thomas, M.D., to discuss the Commissioner's idea that a centralized viral research laboratory dedicated to HIV/AIDS was a vital need in the city. The result was a "fast track" strategy to complete the laboratory with a combination of funds from the Foundation and funds and space from the City of New York.

I developed a plan to set-up a public corporation to administer what came to be called The Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center for the City of New York governed by an independent board. The ex-officio Board Members are: the Commissioner of Health of New York City, the Dean of New York University Medical School, the Director of the Public Health Research Institute and the President of The Aaron Diamond Foundation. An additional five "public" directors are elected by the ex-officio members on rotating five year terms. From the outset I have served as Secretary/Treasurer of the corporation and was the point person in the negotiations with the city, the state and cooperating institutions as well as being an ex-officio member of an international search committee composed of permanent scientists from several key medical centers in New York City. The committee successfully appointed David Ho, M.D., as Director.

The opening of the laboratory was slightly over three years from the initial commitment to start the project. The laboratory

Mr. Tom Goodwin

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May 10, 1993

is described by Dr. Anthony Fauci as a prime example of what a public/private partnership can do in battling a major public health problem.

In 1990, the Foundation altered its medical research program to add the issue of drug abuse research as a secondary focus. In 1991 we determined to faze out the other areas of medical research and to concentrate on HIV/AIDS and drug abuse as problems which had a disastrous effect on the populations of New York City and in which basic science research was lagging.

In the same period the Foundation expanded its work in AIDS in a dramatic way into the public school system and increased its support of civil liberties programs relating to the entitlements and security of and discrimination against persons with AIDS living in New York City and also in the prison populations in New York City and State and nationally.

The most well-known aspect of this expanded support resulted from my indication to the School Chancellor, Joseph Fernandez, that the Foundation would support an expanded HIV/AIDS education program including condom availability if the Chancellor determined that this was feasible. The program was launched in the fall of 1990 and the Foundation made the funds available to support the technical assistance and teacher training components for the first year with a major challenge grant to bring other funders into the program in the second and subsequent years. We convened numerous meetings and work and with colleagues in the

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Mr. Tom Goodwin

-5-

May 10, 1993

foundation community to guarantee the program's success.

In the same period the Foundation was instrumental in using its credibility to convince the administration of Mayor Dinkins to re-examine needle exchange programs as a method to test ways to decrease the spread of AIDS in the drug injecting community and among the sexual partners and potential children of drug abusers.

In addition to grantmaking activities I have been instrumental in the start-up of the local and national components of Funders Concerned About AIDS, am on its national steering committee and have worked with other groups and organizations to put the subject high on the agenda of funders and opinion makers in New York City and elsewhere.

I would describe my method of operation in the funding and development of issues and policy as one of networking behind the scenes by establishing credibility and working quietly with decision-makers.

I believe that I would have broad based support as a candidate for the position under discussion and would be able to work effectively among the various interests and pressures around the issue.

VM/am



VINCENT MCGEE
Executive Director
The Aaron Diamond Foundation, Inc.
New York, New York

Interests of Organization: Grants in New York City for medical research, primarily AIDS and drug abuse research, minority education, cultural programs in the arts; civil and human rights. Grants per year: \$20 million budgeted each year 1993 through 1996.

Work Experience: The Aaron Diamond Foundation: Executive Director, 1985 - present and Secretary of the Board, 1991 - present. The Hunt Alternatives Fund: Executive Director, 1980-85. The Field Foundation: Associate, 1980-81. The City College of the City University of New York: Vice President for Development, 1977-80. CBS, Inc.: Special Assistant to the President, 1976-77. The New World Foundation: Staff consultant, 1975-76. The DJB Foundation: Executive Director, 1973-75. Union Theological Seminary: Special Program Advisor in Peace Studies and Criminal Justice, 1972-73. National Council of Churches, Department of Higher Education: Consultant, 1972-73. Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace and New National Priorities: Executive Director, 1969-71. Consultant, 1973-85: individual, foundation and corporate giving.

Education: The University of Rochester, B.A. (Fine Arts, Classical Languages, History of Religion), 1967. Union Theological Seminary, Graduate Studies in Theology, 1967-69.

Current Activities: Volunteer participant in a wide variety of human rights, civil liberties and disarmament projects, such as Amnesty International of which he was Chair of the Board in 1980-83. Board Member: The Hunt Alternatives Fund; The Sister Fund; The Baker Foundation and Coordinating Advisor for the Royal S. Marks Foundation Fund of the New York Community Trust. Secretary-Treasurer, The Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center for the City of New York. Steering Committee, Funders Concerned About AIDS. Member, National Network of Grantmakers; Pierpont Morgan Library, Fellow, 1982 - present.

NYRAG Activities: The Aaron Diamond Foundation joined NYRAG in 1986.

THE AARON DIAMOND FOUNDATION
1270 Avenue of the Americas
Suite 2624
New York, New York 10020
(212) 757-7680

Irene Diamond
President
Vincent McGee
Executive Director

Vincent McGee has been Executive Director of The Aaron Diamond Foundation and member of its Board of Directors (ex officio) since May, 1985; in addition, has been Secretary of the Foundation since January, 1991. He is also a Member of the Board of Directors of the Hunt Alternatives Fund and The Sister Fund.

For over twenty years Mr. McGee has worked as a consultant and staff person with a broad range of foundation, corporate and individuals donors. From 1977 to 1980 he was Vice President for Planning and Development at the City College of New York (CUNY).

As a volunteer, he has had extensive experience in the international disarmament and human rights fields including ten years of service on the Board of Amnesty International, U.S.A., of which he was Board Chair from 1981 to 1983.

January, 1993

RESUME

VINCENT MCGEE

Office:

The Aaron Diamond Foundation
1270 Avenue of the Americas
Suite 2624
New York, NY 10020
(212) 757-7680

PROFESSIONAL:

May 1985 - The Aaron Diamond Foundation, Executive Director:
a private foundation which focuses on New York
City projects in minority education, medical
research and culture. Board member, ex-officio.
Elected Secretary of the Foundation in
January, 1991.

May 1980 - The Hunt Alternatives Fund, Executive Director
May 1985 (half-time): a private foundation focusing on
community-based support for persons disadvantaged
by mental, emotional and contextual disabilities
in Dallas, Texas; Denver, Colorado; and New York
City (continues as Board member and Secretary/
Treasurer).

April 1980 - The Field Foundation, Associate (half-time),
March 1981 during a period of transition within the
foundation. Special work on disarmament and
civil liberties.

September 1977 - The City College of the City University of
March 1980 New York, Vice President for Development
reporting to the President of City College,
responsible for completion of \$25 million
Development Campaign.

April 1976 - CBS, Inc.; The Reporters Committee for Freedom
April 1977 of the Press, Special Assistant to the President
of CBS to coordinate corporate and foundation
support for the Reporters Committee.

January 1975 - The New World Foundation, Staff Consultant
March 1976 (half-time). Technical assistance to grantees,
grant evaluation.

- 2 -

January 1973 - The DJB Foundation/Mr. and Mrs. W.H. Ferry,
December 1975 Executive Director of foundation and assistant
for personal giving (Scarsdale, NY).

September 1972 - Union Theological Seminary, Special Program
May 1973 Advisor in Peace Studies and Criminal Justice
(New York City).

National Council of Churches, Consultant,
Department of Higher Education, for design of
program on criminal justice issues (New York
City).

October 1969 - Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace and
July 1971 New National Priorities, Executive Director.
Administration of program, lobbying for 6,000
executive membership, including extensive travel
(Washington, D.C.).

January 1965 - Eastman Kodak, Inc., Quality Control Inspector
May 1966 and production employee while attending night
school (Rochester, NY).

January 1963 - Orenstein, Arrow and Lourie, Office Manager of
August 1964 law firm while attending night school (New York
City).

SELF-EMPLOYED CONSULTANT (1973-1985):

Selected clients, some only for special projects:

The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, New York City
The Field Foundation, New York City
The Ford Foundation, New York City
The Irwin-Sweeny-Miller Foundation, Columbus, Indiana
The LAWASIA Standing Committee on Human Rights,
Sidney, Australia
The Lilly Endowment, Indianapolis, Indiana
The Louis B. Mayer Foundation, Los Angeles, California
The New World Foundation, New York City
The New York State Council of Churches, Syracuse, New York
Phillip Morris, Inc., New York City
The Veatch Program, North Shore Unitarian Fellowship
Plandome, New York
Warner Communications, Inc., New York City
Several anonymous private donors

- 3 -

VOLUNTARY: (Selected Listing):

Amnesty International USA, Inc., Board Member 1975-82; 1983-86;
Chair of Board 1980-82; on voluntary basis, acted as
de facto CEO during restructuring of staff and board;
responsibility required half-time commitment of time.

Center for National Security Studies, Advisory Board 1978-85.

The Fund for Peace, Board 1977-85; Chair Executive Committee,
1978-84 (New York City).

Human Rights Internet, Board 1982-84.

Minority Rights Group USA, Secretary-Treasurer of Board, 1981-85.

United Nations Association, Advisory Board 1978-85.

United States Friends of Comiso, Chair, United States Support group
for citizens of Comiso, Sicily, Italy, in their opposition
to installation of Cruise missiles. Extensive travel,
speaking in Italy, 1982-85.

The Pierpont Morgan Library, Fellow, 1982-.

Special Advisory Committee to the Comptroller of the City of New York
on Corporate Responsibility (re: voting stock proxies as
Trustee of City pension funds), 1981-85.

OTHER:

Inmate, Federal Prison, Allenwood, Pennsylvania, July 1971 -
June 1972. Prison sentence for conscientious objection to
Selective Service system (U.S. Supreme Court, February
term, 1971). Prison jobs: director of education program
(high school equivalency and remedial reading classes),
confidential case work with inmates. Adopted as Prisoner
of Conscience by Amnesty International. Full pardon
granted by President Gerald Ford, November 1, 1975.

EDUCATION

Union Theological Seminary, New York City
Graduate Studies in Theology, 1967-69;
The University of Rochester, Rochester, New York
Bachelor of Arts (Fine Arts, Classical Languages,
History of Religion), 1967;
Cathedral College Preparatory School, New York City, 1961

January, 1993

McGee

**OFFICE OF HEALTH SYSTEMS MANAGEMENT
DIVISION OF HEALTH CARE FINANCING**

**EMPIRE STATE PLAZA
ALBANY, NEW YORK 12237**

(518) 474-6350

(518) 486-6014

(518) 474-2085

(518) 486-1346 - FAX

(518-474-6416)

FACSIMILE DOCUMENT COVERSHEET

*Anne
B.*

TO:

Mrs. Hilary Rodham Clinton

Attch:

Maggie Williams

FROM:

Alfred Jellison, M.D.

*file
Viny
McGee*

SUBJECT:

DATE:

5-19-93

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002a. letter	To Hillary Rodham Clinton from Alfred Gellhorn re: candidate for AIDS Policy Director (1 page)	05/18/93	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 10252

FOLDER TITLE:

MV Correspondence 1993-1994 Anne Bartley [loose] [2]

2013-0534-S
ry1706

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C.
2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002b. letter	To Philip Lee from Alfred Gillhorn re: candidate for AIDS Policy Coordinator (1 page)	05/10/1993	b(6)

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Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 10252

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002c. letter	To Carol from Anne re: candidate (1 page)	05/16/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

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First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 10252

FOLDER TITLE:

MV Correspondence 1993-1994 Anne Bartley [loose] [2]

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002d. memo	To Anne Bartley from candidate re: AIDS Policy Coordinator Position (1 page)	05/16/1993	b(6)

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Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 10252

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002e. statement	Re: candidate (1 page)	01/1993	b(6)

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Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 10252

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MV Correspondence 1993-1994 Anne Bartley [loose] [2]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 10252

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RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002g. resume	Re: candidate (3 pages)	n.d.	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 10252

FOLDER TITLE:

MV Correspondence 1993-1994 Anne Bartley [loose] [2]

2013-0534-S

ry1706

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002h. memo	To Tom Goodwin from candidate re: qualifications (5 pages)	05/10/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 10252

FOLDER TITLE:

MV Correspondence 1993-1994 Anne Bartley [loose] [2]

2013-0534-S

ry1706

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

LEE KIMCHE & ASSOCIATES
INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS

July 26, 1993

Ms. Evelyn Lieberman
Assistant to Maggie Williams
Old Executive Office Building
Room 100
Washington, DC 20500

HAND DELIVERED

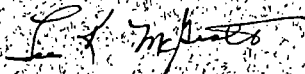
Dear Ms. Lieberman:

Thank you very much for suggesting that I send you my resumé prior to talking to Maggie Williams.

After I spoke with you, I talked to Lee Annenberg who suggested that I include the attached book which was published in honor of the 25th anniversary of the Art in Embassies Program. Mrs. Annenberg is prominently mentioned in the section which discusses the Friends of Art and Preservation in Embassies.

I am sorry that I will be in South America next week, but I will call you on August 3 as soon as I return. In the meantime, if you need additional information, please contact my assistant, Carol, who will be in the office while I am away.

Sincerely,



Lee Kimche McGrath

Enclosures

cc: The Honorable Leonore Annenberg

LEE KIMCHE McGRATH

2710 Brandywine Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20008

202/362-3199 (office)
202/966-9559 (home)

PRESIDENT, LEE KIMCHE & ASSOCIATES, INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS

Development and implementation of cultural projects involving foreign governments and institutions, and private organizations and counterpart agencies in the United States. Specializing in:

- Establishing and managing non-profit cultural foundations
- Development and fund-raising
- Public Affairs/Communications/Marketing

PROFESSIONAL CAREER**Director, Art in Embassies Program (AIEP), U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC**

Awarded contract to administer program which selects and places American art in the public areas of U.S. embassy residences overseas. Responsible for staffing, policy development and implementation, and overseeing and coordinating daily operations. Negotiated with museums, galleries, corporations, individual artists and collectors to obtain loans and donations that match as closely as possible ambassadors' preferences. Responsible for more than 3,000 works of art on loan and donated, valued at more than \$40 million in more than 120 countries. Expanded staffing from 3 to 6 people. When government funding began to decline, established the **Friends of Art and Preservation in Embassies**, a non-profit, private foundation, to assist the State Department in its mission to display American art and cultural achievements in embassies overseas. In three years, raised more than **\$6 million** in donations, works of art and furnishings. Served as liaison between the State Department and Friends of Art and Preservation in Embassies to refurbish the U.S. embassy residence in Beijing, to determine priorities of funding conservation/restoration projects, to initiate an acquisitions program to build core collections of American art which would remain at embassies overseas permanently, and to coordinate art and high-value furnishings inventory of government-owned property with Sotheby's. (1985 - 1989)

Director, Institute of Museum Services (IMS), U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC

Appointed by President Carter, confirmed by U.S. Senate, as first Director of new agency established by Congress in 1976. Responsible for initial staffing and set-up of Institute, policy development, and all interagency and Congressional relations, including budget and grant program activities, relations with constituency of 5,000 museums of all kinds and general public. (1977 - 1980)

Executive Director, Association of Science-Technology Centers (ASTC), Washington, DC

Appointed as first Executive Director of new, not-for-profit association of 100 science museums dedicated to advancing public understanding and appreciation of science and technology in society. Responsible for initial staffing and set-up of organization and for implementation of governing board policies. Initiated fund-raising and program development activities. Established traveling exhibits service, seminars, workshops, publication and extension programs. Conducted public relations, Congressional liaison and contract arrangements with a wide variety of federal and local agencies, foundations and professional groups. Instrumental in developing legislation enacted in 1976 to create Institute of Museum Services. (1974 - 1977)

PROFESSIONAL CAREER (continued)**Assistant Director for Special Projects, American Association of Museums (AAM), Washington, DC**

Directed fund-raising and development program, press and legislative liaison, public affairs, and membership programs for not-for-profit association founded in 1906 to represent the museum profession nationally and to promote museums as cultural and educational institutions. Organized all benefit loan exhibitions and coordinated communications with 3,000 museums throughout the U.S. Responsible for development of the AAM Trustee Committee enlisting key trustees from major museums to provide policy guidance on AAM program management and legislation. (1969 - 1974)

Consultant, Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs**Consultant, U.S. Commission on UNESCO****PARTIAL LIST OF CLIENTS**

Fernbank Museum of Natural History, Atlanta, GA: Advisor on Capital Fund-Raising Campaign for \$20 million. Served as coordinator for international symposium on "Global Forests and the Environment: A U.S. Response to the Rio Earth Summit Recommendations" sponsored jointly by Fernbank, The Carter Center and the Smithsonian Residents Program in Atlanta. Coordinator for international public relations, fund-raising, marketing and development for opening, in October 1992, of new \$45-million natural history museum in DeKalb County, GA.

U.S. Information Agency, Bureau of Education and Culture, Washington, DC: Consultant for international symposium: "Philanthropy in The Americas: New Directions and Partnerships", co-sponsored by U.S.I.A. and the North-South Center of the University of Miami; and to develop mini-exhibitions for binational cultural centers around the world.

Friends of Art and Preservation in Embassies, Washington, DC: Established this non-profit, private foundation to assist the U.S. Department of State in its mission to display and conserve high-value furnishings, American art and cultural achievements in U.S. embassies overseas. Responsible for raising approximately \$6 million in contributions of funds, art and furnishings from 1986-89.

Society for the Preservation of the Greek Heritage, Washington, DC/Athens, Greece: Coordinator for essay competition in conjunction with the 2,500th anniversary of the founding of Athenian democracy and for symposium "From Greek Democracy to Electronic Democracy in 2,500 Years."

Embassy of Japan, Washington, DC: Publisher of monthly newsletter **JAPAN NOW** on Japanese trade, culture and political activities in the U.S.

Mexican Cultural Institute, Washington, DC: Coordinator for inauguration of Institute with Mexican President Carlos Salinas Gortari.

Hiroshima Symphony Orchestra, Hiroshima, Japan: Coordinator for Peace Tour in 1993 to eight cities in U.S.

Walt Disney Imagineering, Glendale, CA: Consultant for fine art exhibitions for international pavilions at EPCOT in Orlando, FL.

Simón Bolívar University, Caracas, Venezuela and **The George Washington University**, Washington, DC: Coordinator of symposium on Linking the Great Rivers of South America, at The George Washington University, February, 1993.

Japan Information and Culture Center, Washington, DC: Coordinator for inauguration of Center, with opening exhibitions, films, and programs.

Ogawa Museum of Art, Tokyo, Japan: Coordinator for first-time showing in U.S. of exhibition by Ikuo Hirayama, world-renowned Japanese artist and President of Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music.

CLIENTS (continued)

- Rain Forest International**, Fort Worth, TX: Development of concept and implementation of fund-raising and communications program.
- Port 2000**, City of Barcelona, Spain: Consultant on new aquarium, mixed retail space and IMAX theater.
- Cultural Center for Holography**, Lake Como, Italy: Planning and establishing the first Center of Holography in Europe, with Anait Stephens, artist who pioneered the use of lasers as an art form.
- City of Montreal**, Canada: Consultant for water features on site of Expo '67 (1990).
- Ryman/Carroll Foundation**, Van Nuys, CA: Development of traveling exhibition of art works by Herbert Ryman, major illustrator for Disneyland, Disney World, EPCOT Center, and Tokyo Disneyland.
- 1984 Louisiana World Exposition**, New Orleans, LA: Coordinated activities and raised funds for first International Water Sculpture Competition.
- European-American Museum**, Loire Valley, France: Retained to select art and sculpture, develop direct mail campaign and public relations for museum.
- Civic Forum**, Prague, Czechoslovakia: Coordinated U.S. showing of photograph exhibition "The Velvet Revolution" in conjunction with 1990 visit to U.S. of Czech President Vaclav Havel.
- Greece Tourist Agency**: Coordinated a major Greek contemporary art exhibition that was shown at the U.S. Senate in September 1986.
- NATO, Division of Scientific and Environment Affairs**, Brussels, Belgium: Consultant for establishing an Atlantic Cultural Foundation for international exchange.
- FOPTUR (Fondo de Promoción Turística)**, Lima, Peru: Coordinator of FUNDAMUSEO, International Foundation for new National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, Lima.
- U.S. Information Agency**, Washington, DC: Coordinated traveling exhibition for People's Republic of China.
- U.S.D.A. Forest Service**, Washington, DC: Coordinated efforts to establish a National Friends of Grey Towers group to support the restoration of the home of Gifford Pinchot, a National Historic Landmark in Milford, PA.
- SGL**, Wheeling, IL: Communications and media advisor for publisher of Frederick Hart sculptures, including *Three Soldiers* (at Vietnam Memorial), *The Creation Sculptures* (at Washington National Cathedral) and other works of art.
- Merrill Chase Galleries**, Chicago, IL: Development of comprehensive communications plan and implementation of media, press, and international public relations for leading fine arts organization, including grand openings of new galleries, exhibitions, and special events in Washington, DC, Atlanta, and Honolulu.
- Kotz Associates**, Washington, DC: Coordination of nation-wide speaking schedule for best-selling author Mary Lynn Kotz, upon publication of book, *Rauschenberg/Art and Life*.
- Sculpture Group, Limited**, Washington, DC: Coordinator for international traveling exhibition, *Legends and Myths*, sculpture by Felix de Weldon, creator of the *Iwo Jima Memorial*.
- Queen's Table**, Charlotte, NC: Consultant for selection of artist for water sculpture feature for the Charlotte/Douglas International Airport Plaza.
- J.N. Pease Associates**, Charlotte, NC: Consultant for selection of water sculpture artist for Charlotte-Mecklenburg Government Center plaza.
- Preservation Resource Center**, New Orleans, LA: Consultant, Historic New Orleans Warehouse District.
- Frank S. Phillips, Inc.**, Bethesda, MD: Consultant to select sculpture for building in Clarendon, VA.
- Ministry of Tourism**, Madrid, Spain: Coordinated program for cultural tourism.

ARTICLES

- "Government Support for Botanical Gardens, Past, Present and Future", Botanical Gardens and Arboreta: Future Directions, April 1986.
- "Stolen Treasures--Missing Links: Pre-Columbian Art of Peru, An Exhibition of Art and Advocacy", Museum, January 1984.
- "The Museum as Counterpoint to Education's 'Back to Basics'", New York Times, "Letters," May 1983.
- "A Federal Farewell to Museum Aid?" The Washington Star, March 1981.
- "Modern Medicis for Museums", Museum Magazine, March/April 1981.
- "American Museums: The Vital Statistics", Museum News, October 1980.
- "Introducing the Institute of Museum Services", American Education, March 1979.
- "Science Centers--A Potential for Learning", Science, January 1978.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS AND HONORS

- Chairperson, American Women for International Understanding
- Chairperson, Exhibits Committee, National Press Club
- Board of Trustees, American Council of the Arts
- Member, Advisory Council, The Phillips Collection
- Board of Directors, Pyramid Atlantic
- Member, Woman's National Democratic Club
- Honorary Trustee, Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution
- Board of Trustees, Louisiana Nature Center
- Advisory Board, Mt. Vernon College
- Honorary Trustee, America-Israel Cultural Foundation
- Member, Trustees Committee, American Association of Museums
- Executive Board, Science-Technology Committee, International Council of Museums
- Member, Modern Art Committee, International Council of Museums
- International Coordinator, "Issues in the Arts Conference," American Council for the Arts, Washington, DC, September 22-24, 1985
- Lecturer, Mt. Vernon College, Washington, DC, "Arts and Humanities Advocacy Seminar"
- Member, Art Table

OFFICIAL SPEECHES AND PRESENTATIONS

- "Marketing the Muse: Image and Imagination," International Council of Museums Annual Conference, Quebec, September 1992.
- "The Arts of Fund Raising for Latin America," keynote speech to a group of Latin American museum professionals on a month-long study tour of U.S. museums, September 1991.
- "The Arts of Fund Raising," speech to museum professionals in Costa Rica and Mexico, under auspices of U.S. Information Agency, February 1991.
- "Water Sculpture: A Perspective," Washington Sculpture Group, January 1988.
- "Funding for International Cultural Projects," paper prepared for 1986 World Conference on Arts, Politics and Business Conference at Vancouver Expo '86.
- "Creative Solutions by Creative People: Gramm-Rudman Effect on the Arts," Woman's National Democratic Club, May 1986.
- "Beyond High Technology - Cultural Aspects of Science Cities," Third International EXPO '85 Symposium on SCIENCE CITY, Kyoto, Japan, June 19, 1985.
- "What is Water Sculpture?" slide presentation, at George Washington University, Tulane University, and New Orleans Chamber of Commerce, 1982-83.
- "Power Follows the Arts," New York Society of Security Analysts, July 1981.

OFFICIAL SPEECHES AND PRESENTATIONS (continued)

- "National Policies for Science Museum Support," Association Science-Technology Center/CIMUSET meeting, Mexico City, October 1980.
- "The World of U.S. Museums: Results of a Survey," International Council of Museums Annual Meeting, Mexico City, October 1980.
- "Museums as Valuable Learning Centers," The Cultural Educational Resources Conference, San Juan, Puerto Rico, June 1980.
- "The Diversity of America's Museums," 24th Annual Meeting of the Fellows of the American Bar Foundation, Chicago, February 1980.
- "More Rhetoric Than Cash," Annual ALI-ABA Course of Study, Fort Worth, March 1979.
- "Making History Come Alive," National Trust for Historic Preservation Annual Meeting, Chicago, October 1978.
- "Museum Services--To Help Museums Serve," American Association of Museums Annual Meeting, Kansas City, May 1978.
- "The Evolution of Federal Support for Museums," AAM Trustees Meeting, New York, February 1978.
- "The Spirit of Change," Annual ALI-ABA Course of Study, Chicago, March 1977.

EDUCATION

The George Washington University, Washington, DC: Fine Arts minor; Psychology major
Simmons College, Boston, Massachusetts

PERSONAL

Married to Professor Dorn C. McGrath, Jr., A.I.C.P., Professor of Urban and Regional Planning and Director, Institute for Urban Development Research, The George Washington University, Washington, DC.
Hobbies include tennis, skiing, travel, Spanish, cooking, antiques.

REFERENCES FURNISHED UPON REQUEST

DRAFT

July 1, 1993

Barbara Mandel Mayden
Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom
919 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Ms. Mayden:

Reviewing our files we find that we have not heard from you regarding the Boards and Commissions you might be interested in.

While your life may have taken a turn that precludes your participation, we do not want to overlook your interest from lack of communication.

Please call me or Amanda MacKenzie at 202-456-6266 if you need some assistance, such as another list.

Sincerely,

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

Board of Advisors

June 21, 1993

Herbert Benson, MD
The Relaxation Response

Ernest Callenbach
Ecotopia

Joyce Doan
Rosh Doan
Project Hope

Alan Thein Durning
Worldwatch Institute

Duane Elgin
Voluntary Simplicity

Robert Gilman
Diane Gilman
Context Institute

John Graham
Ann Medlock
The Giraffe Project

Dorothie Hellman

Dorothea Jewell
Jim Jewell
Institute of Cultural Affairs

Dr. Miriam MacGillis
Genesis Farm

Mike Milich
Attorney

Robert Muller
Assistant Secretary-General,
Retired, United Nations

Ann Niehaus
Choosing Our Future

Christiane Northrup, MD
Women-to-Women Clinic

Roger Pritchard
Financial Alternatives

Dr. Ivan H. Scheier
Center for Creative Community

Bernie Siegel, MD
Bobbie Siegel
Love, Medicine & Miracles;
Peace, Love & Healing

Brian Swimme
The Universe Is a Green Dragon

Justine Toms
Michael Toms
New Dimensions Radio

Paul Wachtel
Poverty of Affluence

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Anne,

We want to thank you for a productive hour together. We are glad that this channel of communication is open, and that we will have the opportunity, when necessary, to dialogue in the future.

Reading the articles you gave us underscored our impression that the message we brought and the message the First Lady is trying to communicate are very aligned. We, too, have talked about the power of the individual, about personal responsibility and about the need to be connected to a higher purpose. Like the First Lady, we've blended ideas that are traditionally conservative with those that are traditionally liberal, and come up with an amalgam that isn't either wing but above that dialectic -- a politics of meaning.

She also has a good response to your question of "What do we want the government to do?" The government can't do anything about how ordinary citizens reframe their lives around their values. It must simply recognize that need and create the conditions where more can enter that search. Our experience of having authored a best selling book (Your Money or Your Life), traveled the country on tour and appeared on countless call-in radio and TV shows tells us that the very shift she's talking about is happening in this country. People are questioning the American Dream of having-it-all and they are downscaling, downshifting and returning to the thriftiness and simple living on which both the Methodist Church and this country were founded. Those who have followed our program often save 20% or more of their paycheck while increasing their quality of life. Our estimate is that about half of the people of this nation have been exposed to these ideas in the past 3 years, and many are implementing them. What does this mean?

This means that these individuals will vehemently object to \$200 haircuts and to any other evidence of excess. They will support the government in being

thrifty, and an emphasis on thrift in the government could re-win their hearts and respect. Plus there's an environmental spin on this that Vice President Al Gore writes about in his book. Our excessive consumption is unsustainable for a shrinking planet with an expanding population. It is no longer possible to promise Americans an ever higher standard of living and hope to deliver without severely compromising the environment or exploiting the resources of other nations. We strongly suggest that this administration reframe the American Dream in terms of Quality of Life rather than Standard of Living. In fact, this is akin to what the First Lady is getting at with the politics of meaning -- pointing out that "all of the stuff that we now have is not sufficient to either a meaningful personal life or a meaningful community life."

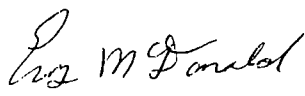
After our visit with you we attended the Carrying Capacity Network Conference (where Vicki spoke). In his final address, former Governor of Colorado Richard Lamm said that the future belongs to the person who can come up with the next compelling metaphor. This is what we and the First Lady are trying to articulate -- a world view that fits with today's realities and that inspires people forward into the future. If she can name that, and show people how this new way of looking at the world will make their lives richer in what really matters, she will have achieved true greatness. Please let her know that we at the New Road Map Foundation and the thousands and millions we touch are right in line with her "politics of meaning" and ready to support her in speaking her truth.

Seeing you inspired us to be back in touch with Helen Walsh, who is thriving in her job with the schools and growing in her personal life as well. We talked about you, and she said you were a student of Thich Nhat Hanh. We're glad to know there are meditators in the White House, and suspect that you are not the only one! If you care to be in touch when you come to Seattle, we would enjoy a repeat visit. Many thanks for your hospitality and for the very useful time we spent together.

In partnership,



Vicki Robin
President



Evy McDonald
Director of Research and Education

the context for our work

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us...

- Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*

These words, written in 1859, apply equally well to life in the 1990s. In some ways our era is the best of times. Consider our advances in knowledge, technology, global communication, health care and material abundance. On the other hand, when we think of ecological destruction, ozone depletion, the unspeakable poverty in which millions of people live, and the signs of hopelessness and despair, these seem like the worst of times. And what about the future? Do we have everything before us, or nothing?

Our era is indeed full of baffling contradictions. Yet there is a way to view these best and worst of times that takes us to the core of the issues of our day and engenders action.

Einstein once said that a problem cannot be solved on the same level on which the problem exists. To solve it we must go to another level. We must put the problem in a larger context, so that we can see the whole picture and discover what is *really* going on. This process allows us to see the deeper cause underlying the problem - root cause as opposed to more superficial reasons for its existence - which in turn allows us to address the issue on a more profound and effective level.

For example, we can look at the environmental problems of our planet from different perspectives. On one level, our air and water are polluted because corporations pollute as they harvest resources and convert those resources into energy and consumer goods. The corporations, and the individuals within those corporations who desire to make money, are at fault. But when we look at the bigger picture, we see that the corporations would not be harvesting those pieces of the planet if it were not for consumer demand. Who are the consumers? We are! And since many of the most addicted and demanding consumers in the world live in North America, we find that it is *our* demand that is causing not only local but also global environmental and human tragedies.

At a still deeper level, why is our demand and consumption so high - and so compelling - that we turn a blind eye to the results of our actions? Might it be because we are looking outside ourselves to satisfy deeply felt psychological and spiritual needs? We look for happiness and value

No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main.

- John Donne

What we do is nothing but a drop in the ocean; but if we didn't do it, the ocean would be one drop less.

- Mother Teresa

This is from our Annual Report & tables with much that was in the Washington Post article.
UK.

outside rather than inside. Mary Arguelles, writing in *Newsweek* (October 28, 1991), despairs of the extent to which children are being raised to expect material rewards for decent, moral behavior and for hard work. We "rely on external 'stuff' as a measure of our worth." We suffer from a spiritual poverty that has sent us on a frantic search for "more" as we try to fill the void within. It is our spiritual depletion that leads to environmental depletion.

We act out of self-centeredness because of a misconception about ourselves as separate from other people and separate from the planet that gives us life. Our sense of separation prevents us from experiencing our true global community - and often prevents us from building the kinds of local communities that could serve not only our own needs but the needs of the world at large.

A human being is a part of the whole called by us "Universe," a part limited in time and space. He experiences himself, his thoughts and feelings as something separated from the rest - a kind of optical delusion of his consciousness. This delusion is a kind of prison for us, restricting us to our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us. Our task must be to free ourselves from this prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature in its beauty.

- Albert Einstein

The complexity of our world, the interconnectedness and interdependence of all its parts, is a source of hope. If everything is interconnected, then action in any aspect of it, pressure exerted in just one place, will eventually move the whole. Change for the good is always the sum of a myriad of intelligent and caring individual acts.

Every person who lives from this core understanding of interconnectedness becomes an empowered, responsive and responsible agent of change in the world. Each of us is essential and each of us is powerful. Our lives matter. How we live our lives is our real vote for how life in the future will be, not only for ourselves but for everyone. We are not here just to get something for ourselves. We are here to give and to serve.

What is service? Among the dictionary definitions of service is "contribution to the welfare of others." To that we add the following:

- Service is giving back to Life the gift of life - with interest.
- Service is the natural impulse to care for what we recognize is connected to us, for all that we see is part of ourselves.

He lives in wisdom who sees himself in all and all in him.

- Bhagavad Gita

The sole meaning of life is to serve humanity.

- Leo Tolstoy

*The great use of life is to
spend it for something that
will outlast it.*

- William James

- Service is doing whatever is needed and wanted, through our talents and capabilities, to create a healthier planet and a greater sense of oneness among people, as well as between people and the living body of the Earth.
- Service is relieving suffering wherever we find it. In broken bodies. In troubled minds. In empty bellies. In empty lives.
- Service is love made manifest.

Service is as much where we come from as it is what we do. We don't need any specific talent or mission in order to serve. We just need to be present, to look around and see what's needed, and to act. If we see that our ship is sinking, we start to bail. We don't search for the "right" position in the boat or for the "right" bucket - we simply bail, right here and right now. And serving others leads to an experience of spiritual well-being. Those involved in giving to others no longer need to "consume" the planet in the search for happiness and fulfillment.

Our experience shows us that when individuals are educated in practical ways of taking responsibility, they joyfully engage in that work. No amount of money can harness enough energy to assure a positive outcome from these best and worst of times. Only each one of us "rising in love" with the infinite beauty of all of creation can turn us towards a livable future. Each individual is a fulcrum where the fate of the world is held in balance.

*Once you experience that you have enough,
all the energy you've used to get more of what you
don't really need is freed up to make a difference
with what you have.*

- Lyn Twist

May 25, 1993

Mr. Leonard Mikado-Nwalu
P.O. Box 91477
Washington, DC 20090

Dear Mr. Mikado-Nwalu:

Maggie Williams, Chief of Staff to the First Lady, has forwarded your letter of February 11, 1993. Unfortunately, your resume was no longer attached. I would appreciate it if you would send me another copy so that we could make sure it is put into the White House personnel system. You can either fax it to my attention at (202) 456-6244 or mail it to:

Office of the First Lady
The White House
Room 100 OEOB
Washington, DC 20500

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

mailed ✓ letter from
5/24 — AB on behalf
THE WHITE HOUSE of MW
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1993

ND

Anne,

Maggie asked that
you check to see if
he is in the computer.

If not, put him in.

There was not a resume
attached to this letter,
but he said he sent
an earlier letter with
the resume attached. Have
you seen it?

x 7510
Edson

Thanks,
Diane

Campaign

Leonard Mikado-Nwalu
P.O. Box 91477
Washington, D.C. 20090

February 11, 1993

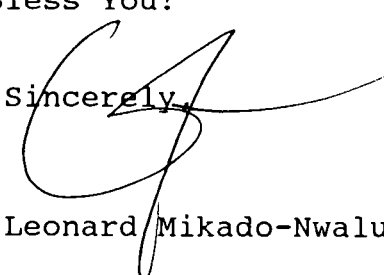
Ms. Maggie Williams
Chief of Staff First Lady
White House

Dear Chief of Staff:

Congratulations, I am most happy for you on your current position as the Chief of Staff to the First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. I worked as a full time volunteer during the campaign and also a full-time volunteer at the transition office at 1120 Vermont Avenue, N.W. I worked in the State of Oklahoma and later in the DC/MD area. I covered thousands of miles during the campaign, but I am having problems with being recognized in the multitude for what I have done and what I can do.

I became interested in President Bill Clinton after the 1988 Democratic convention in Atlanta. I was one of the State Deputy Campaign Directors for the Dukakis/Bentson ticket. I would appreciate your response to this letter and possible meeting with you. I am enclosing a letter to the First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton as well as a copy of my resume for your review. I thank you very much and I wish you the best. God Bless You!

Sincerely,


Leonard Mikado-Nwalu

enclosure.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 24, 1993

A. Linn Murphree, M.D.
Director, Children's Institute for Eye Research
c/o Mailstop 88
P.O. Box 54700
Los Angeles, CA 90054-0700

Dear Dr. Murphree:

Congressman Waxman's office sent me a copy of your April 5 letter to him requesting that the First Lady chair your Honorary World Advisory Committee of the Vision of Children.

I have been under the impression that someone from our organization has already contacted you with regrets that Mrs. Clinton will be unable to accept your gracious invitation. If no one has contacted you, please accept my apologies. We have been very busy with the health care reform work as well as other regular activities.

We are grateful for the important work that groups like yours are doing to help meet the challenges facing our nation and again regret any inconvenience we may have caused you.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Anne Bartley".

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

400 HAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0529
(202) 225-3976

DISTRICT OFFICE
8425 WEST 36 STREET
SUITE 400
LOS ANGELES, CA 90048-4183
(213) 651-1040

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0529
HENRY A. WAXMAN
29TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEE
ENERGY AND COMMERCE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
CLIMATE AND ENVIRONMENT
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
SELECT COMMITTEE ON ASIAN
PAUL F.M. SCHIRO
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

TELEFAX COVER SHEET

TO:

ANNE BANTLEY

FROM:

PHIL SCHILINKO

Number of pages including cover sheet:

3

If you have any problems reading this material, please call
(202) 225-3976.



Childrens Institute for Eye Research

1000 North Vermont Avenue, Suite 200

Los Angeles, California 90027

Telephone 213 973 1115

April 5, 1993

The Honorable Henry A. Waxman
Rayburn Office Building - Room 2418
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Waxman:

About one year ago, we had the opportunity to meet in your office here in Los Angeles at the introduction of Rabbi Nacham Braverman. At that time, we requested and subsequently you agreed to be a member of the Board of an organization, The Vision of Children and its research arm, The Childrens Institute for Eye Research, dedicated to the eradication of childhood blindness.

As you will read in the enclosed packet, we are now establishing an Honorary World Advisory Committee of international leaders to assist in promoting the medical and research network necessary to eradicate childhood blindness worldwide. We have submitted a similar package to President and Mrs. Clinton both through the Vice President's office, and through the First Lady's Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff, Anne Bartley.

We are asking President and Mrs. Clinton to lend their names as chairpersons of the Honorary Committee for one year. **Could we ask that you help us by following up with Ms. Bartley at (202) 456-6266, and/or with the President's office, stressing the importance of President and Mrs. Clinton lending their names to chair our Honorary World Advisory Committee of The Vision of Children?** If they agree it will be, of course, much easier to secure the names of other international leaders on the committee. This Committee of world leaders is essential to achieving our goal. We are not asking for Federal funding as you can see from the enclosed letter.

The Childrens Institute for Eye Research and its parent organization, The Vision of Children, has commitments from a number of corporate leaders, as well as international government leaders to be part of this effort, and, we are especially delighted that you agreed to serve on the Board.

We would like to stress the key uniqueness of this program: The Vision of Children will sponsor and fund research precisely directed toward the eradication of childhood blindness and will disseminate this information via international medical teleconferencing. This world network will tackle the problem of uneven and delayed medical knowledge, from research to treatment. We will use the ability to store and quickly

retrieve libraries of information, including televised medical procedures, research results, and datafile directories of physicians. This information will be made available globally through low cost communication equipment.

In the field of medicine where the cooperation of physicians is imperative, there is no such global program presently in existence. This will be the lode star showing other medical professionals that the risks of sharing information are far outweighed by the good that can be done.

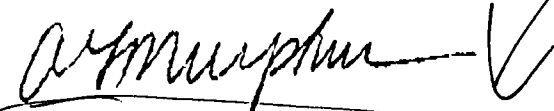
At the risk of repetition, we believe it is important that the White House understand that this is not the usual national charity, no matter how worthy any of them may be. This is the first time medical professionals have agreed to share knowledge and information in real time, for example international teleconferencing meetings; it is the first time that we have had corporate cooperation in making the newest and latest technology available so that it can be easily accomplished. We believe that if the White House understands this they can not fail to want to lend their names to the program.

Initial indications from friends in the White House are that Mrs. Clinton intends to lend her name only where she can be active. The global role she could undertake on this project would be exceptional relative to other present programs. It would be excellent for her personal goals, as well as for the goals of The Vision of Children.

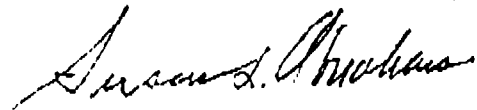
You have our full support for your efforts, along with those of Mrs. Clinton, to achieve universal health care coverage and comprehensive revamping of the nation's health care system. If there is any way that we can be of help to you, we are eager to do so.

Thanking you in advance,

Sincerely,



A. Linn Murphree, M.D.
Director, Childrens Institute for Eye Research
Head, Division of Ophthalmology
Childrens Hospital Los Angeles
Professor of Ophthalmology and Pediatrics
USC School of Medicine



Susan L. Abrahamson
Executive Director,
The Vision of Children

CC: Mr. Bishop Kerk...

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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N

Divider Title: _____

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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003. letter	To candidate from Anne Bartley re: status (1 page)	10/25/1993	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 10252

FOLDER TITLE:

MV Correspondence 1993-1994 Anne Bartley [loose] [2]

2013-0534-S

ry1706

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 22, 1993

National Breast Cancer Coalition
1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 801
Washington, DC 20009

To Whom It May Concern:

Enclosed are petitions from the City of North Miami Beach, Florida, which I am forwarding to you.

I hope you enjoyed the ceremony last week.

Sincerely,



Anne Bartley
Assistant to the
Deputy Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

P.S. It was a great
event

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

O

Divider Title: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 11, 1994

Mr. Brian O'Connell, President
Independent Sector
1828 L Street, Suite 1200
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Brian:

I'm pleased to send you a copy of the Briefing Book for the Non-profit Liaison Network. We would not have been able to create this without the invaluable help of Bob Smucker and Colleen Darling and members of the Independent Sectors committees. Everyone has been tremendously helpful and we are certainly appreciative.

Since Independent Sector was so instrumental in creating the Briefing Book, do you think it advisable to communicate this to your members? Please let me know.

I hope you are having a wonderful summer and that you will keep me informed of your whereabouts when you leave Independent Sector.

Sincerely,



Anne Bartley
Assistant to the
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady

cc: Bob Smucker
Colleen Darling

Copy sent 7/12/94
to Bob & Colleen
w/ Briefing Book

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 8, 1993

Ms. Elizabeth Ozenbaugh
4009 11th Place
Des Moines, Iowa 50313

Dear Ms. Ozenbaugh:

Enclosed is a list of the Boards and Commissions available by Presidential appointment. Please list five choices in the order of your preference.

It would be very helpful to the Board and Commission agency if you would briefly describe any relevant experiences. Such additional information can help expedite the nominating process.

I look forward to receiving your response. I am sure you can appreciate the need for keeping this confidential.

Sincerely yours,



Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

Enclosure

*Good
talking
with you!*

DRAFT

July 1, 1993

Elizabeth Ozenbaugh
Assistant Deputy Attorney General
Hoover Building - Second Floor
1300 East Walnut Street
Des Moines, Iowa 50319 515-281-5164

Dear Ms. Ozenbaugh:

Reviewing our files we find that we have not heard from you regarding the Boards and Commissions you might be interested in.

While your life may have taken a turn that precludes your participation, we do not want to overlook your interest from lack of communication.

Please call me or Amanda MacKenzie at 202-456-6266 if you need some assistance, such as another list.

Sincerely,

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Ann - for his file

Office of the President

August 25, 1993

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne,

During our telephone conversation while I was on the Cape and you were at your desk, you suggested that it might be helpful for your idea of the Council for the National Endowment of the Arts if I were to send you the enclosed essays I've written over the last several years. They start with the first piece I did on the great Cubist show at the Modern and go up to the most recent on the Barnes Foundation exhibition at the National Gallery.

Thanks very much for getting this idea. Please let me know if there is anything else I could do that would be helpful.

God bless.

Leo J. O'Donovan, S.J.

LJO'D/jmh

Enclosures

DRAFT

July 1, 1993

Elizabeth Ozenbaugh
Assistant Deputy Attorney General
Hoover Building - Second Floor
1300 East Walnut Street
Des Moines, Iowa 50319

Dear Ms. Ozenbaugh:

Reviewing our files we find that we have not heard from you regarding the Boards and Commissions you might be interested in.

While your life may have taken a turn that precludes your participation, we do not want to overlook your interest from lack of communication.

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Sincerely,

Anne Bartley
Assistant to the Deputy
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady