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Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
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Subseries:

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Chief of Staff-Designate Transition Files 11/88-1/89: Correspondence - December [5]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

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01. Resume	Re: Resume [FOIA Exemptions Redacted] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(3)	

Page 1 of 1

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

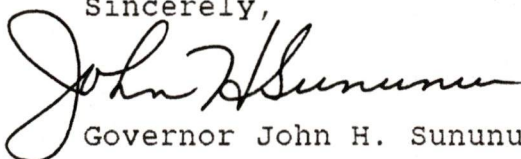
Dear Gentlemen:

Saludos! Many thanks for your kind letter of December 10. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to prove worthy of the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me.

Thanks also for your hard work and dedication during the campaign. We would never have made it this far without your valuable help, and the warm support of the Hispanic community.

I appreciate your generous offer, and will keep it in mind should I visit New Jersey sometime in the future. Best wishes to you and your families throughout the new year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "John" being more prominent and the last name "Sununu" written in a continuous script.

Governor John H. Sununu

Messrs. Arnold Hernandez
& Pablo Martinez
President & Coordinator
c/o Republican National
Hispanic Assembly
P.O. Box 27542
Washington, D.C. 20038

REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION

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Hon. John H. Sununu, Governor
Office of the Governor
State House
Concord, New Hampshire 03301-4990

December 10, 1988

Dear Dr. Sununu:

We wish to express our congratulations to you on the happy occasion of your appointment as the Chief of Staff for the George Bush White House. We fought hard to elect Mr. Bush and Dan Quayle, and obviously, the right decisions are being made.

Most of our membership is of Cuban origin so that we are multiply satisfied with your selection. I was also glad to serve with you in the Hispanics for Bush Committee.

Indeed, we would be so honored to host you here sometime in the future.

Wishing you the best,

Arnold Hernandez

PRESIDENT

Pablo Martinez

COORDINATOR

cc. Hon. Robert Franks, NJ Republican Chairman
Governor Thomas Kean

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Mr. Roland Alum Jr.
6606 Hudson Ave. #2
West New York, N.J. 07093

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

Dear Mr. De Matteis:

Many thanks for your kind letter of December 19. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to prove worthy of the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me. I am glad that you took the time to get in touch, and pass along some of your thoughts on U.S. foreign policy and trade policy.

Thanks also for your generous offer of help. I'll keep it in mind over the coming weeks and months. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Alfonso L. De Matteis
The De Matteis Organizations
820 Elmont Road
Elmont, New York 11003



*main
personal*

362-0034

LEON D. DEMATTEIS CONSTRUCTION CORP.

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December 19, 1988

Honorable John H. Sununu
Governor
State of New Hampshire
State Capital
Concorde, N.H. 03301

Dear Governor Sununu,

First my congratulations on your appointment as White House Chief of Staff.

By introduction, I graduated La Salle Military Academy in 1953, which I believe was the year you started there.

I wanted to write and advise you that I spent ten (10) years in the Middle East; was former Chairman of the American Businessmens Group of Riyadh; and former Country Chairman of Republicans Abroad. The attached newspaper article about me will explain what I did in Saudi Arabia and some of my thoughts on our Foreign Policy and Foreign Trade.

The purpose of this letter is to introduce myself to you, and to mention that if I can be of any assistance to you and/or the Administration on **Foreign Trade** matters in particular based on my experience and White Paper on that subject, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Wishing you and your family the very best for the Holiday Season, and for a successful tenure as Chief of Staff, I remain

Sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Alfonso L. DeMatteis'.

Alfonso L. DeMatteis
Director of Construction



Al DeMatteis SPEAKS ON...

International Business Relations

The Wave had an interesting interview with Al DeMatteis of Belle Harbor, who recently returned from ten years residency in Saudi Arabia.

We share with you the questions and answers of this somewhat humorous interview.

WAVE: Who was DeMatteis Arabia Ltd?

ALD: This was a partnership of DeMatteis Ireland Ltd. and a local Saudi businessman.

WAVE: Why DeMatteis Ireland Ltd?

ALD: In 1976, I opened an office in Dublin to recruit staff for my Saudi operations. In 1978 we formed the Arabian company. The majority of my staff was Irish. I must have had over 60 Irish at one time, at least four of whom stayed the 10 years with me. I had them from the North and South and never had a political problem. We also recruited Irish personnel for other companies — medical, construction, banking, architectural and engineering firms.

WAVE: Have you adjusted to stateside life after so many years away from home?

ALD: Yes and no. Yes, I feel that I blended in without difficulty at home and at work. No, I find I enjoy retreating to the house after work rather than going out to dinner or someplace. In other words seclusion is still within me somewhat. Maybe it's because I'm back to a normal society again.

WAVE: Please explain why you went to Saudi Arabia.

ALD: In the mid-70's the Federal and City governments had financial crunches as you may remember and several of our developments were put on hold. We had registered with the U.S. Corps of Engineers for foreign work and subsequently we were invited to tender a large project in Saudi. Of course in our business we heard of all the U.S. construction firms who proceeded us to the Middle East, so we gave it a shot. We bid the job in joint venture with a Korean firm.

WAVE: You got this project then?

ALD: Oh yes. Our price of \$238 million was competitive enough to enter negotiations with the Corps at their Middle-East headquarters in Livorno, Italy and on July 30, 1976, my birthday, we signed a contract with the Corps. in Virginia. In Sept., I left for Riyadh.

WAVE: What was this project?

ALD: This was the Saudi Arabian National Guard Headquarters project—it was a 4 year job, and it was the largest contract ever awarded by the Corps of Engineers in their 200 year history at that time. It was considered the Saudi's equivalent to our Pentagon. There were 14 buildings on this site—a huge Administration Building; the Executive office which was over the Underground Command Center; a police building and bar-

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THE NEW

EMPIRE HARDWARE

Al DeMatteis

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racks; a prison; waste water treatment plant; signal building; 500 seat auditorium; and a mosque among other buildings.

WAVE: You mentioned Koreans. How did this work out?

ALD: At first it was tough - and I mean tough. Two different cultures joining together to build this huge complex. Language, methods of construction and administration were the main difficulties. But we got our act together eventually and constructed one of the finest projects ever built in Saudi. The Corps still refer to it as one of the best ever built.

WAVE: What else about this project?

ALD: Let's see. We spent over \$30 million just on mobilization mostly purchased from the U.S. - that is - a housing camp, storage yards, equipment, tools, testing lab, etc. We had at that time two of the largest mobil cranes manufactured. We had about 42 tractor-trailers, 3 concrete batching plants, a least 3 of every type piece of construction equipment you can think of - I just don't remember the exact numbers and prices, but it was a lot. We had 2 housing camps, an office in town, offices on the site, and an office and storage yard in Dhahran (That's the major Arabian gulf port city where our equipment and materials were shipped to). We purchased over \$60 million of U.S. manufactured materials. At peak period, we had over 1400 people on the site - mostly Koreans. We also

constructed a \$15 million maintenance facility for the National Guard under another contract with the Corps of Engineers.

WAVE: Were the Koreans good?

ALD: Very good. As I said, once we got our act together we jellied just fine, not without difficulties. We had American and Irish supervisory and executive staff on-site in areas of management, quality control, shop drawing and purchasing, scheduling, safety, value engineering and so on. The finished product spoke of itself. The Corps of Engineers are a tough bunch to work for but at the same time they are fair.

WAVE: What other projects did you do in Saudi?

ALD: We built an \$11 million palace complex for a member of the Royal Family; Bechtel's corporate office and housing compound; a data computer center for the Royal Saudi Air Force; a five villa compound for a Saudi family; 27 houses for Exxon; a recreational compound for Mobil Oil; the Arab National Bank headquarters (In joint venture from another Korean firm); the first A&P supermarket; a recreational park at the new airport; a bus maintenance facility; and recreational facilities for the Royal Equestrian Club - this last one included a \$1 million indoor tennis court constructed out of tubular steel with translucent panels and had exposed stainless steel mechanical ducts and lighting panels operated from a push button control panel.

WAVE: You have Koreans on all these jobs?

ALD: No, I truthfully can say I had my own United Nations. Let's see if I can remember the different nationalities I used on these various jobs: OK, I mentioned Americans, Irish and Koreans. I had Philippino, Pakistani, Indian, Yemeni, Somali, Djubuti, Egyptian, Palestinian, Jordanian, British, Taiwanese, Mexican, Italian, Afghan, Thai, Sudanese, Scottish, Sri Lankan, Canadian, Australian. I think there's a few more but God knows who they were.

WAVE: What no Jewish?

ALD: Oh, I had Jewish people from New York over as consultants and I think the major suppliers were Jewish owned firms. I had intentions to open a good kosher delicatessen there, but I didn't push my luck!

WAVE: No problems then?

ALD: No way. The differences between the Arabs and Israel are strictly political. The Saudi's never bothered to interfere with a stateside Jewish person coming in on business nor supplies from Jewish firms. That's been my experience. We even saw Kosher pickles in the supermarkets - how's that for relations!

WAVE: We want to get into the political aspects later on with you, but tell us some other news of your activities in Saudi.

ALD: Hold on. Don't ask me to reply on a foreign policy we don't have. I was in more debates over there, publicly and privately, about our whole Middle East involvement than I really cared to be. I'm very outspoken so whatever comments I give you are based on what I saw,

what I heard and what I feel after ten years there. I travelled quite a bit and I feel I got a good insight of what the problems are. Not that the State Department is calling me on the phone every day, mind you, but I'm a street wise person who worked in the trenches. You get to know things the arm chair politicians could never fathom.

WAVE: OK, we read you. Let's discuss this in more detail later. What about your other activities?

ALD: I served two years as Chairman of the American Businessmens Group of Riyadh (ABGR) having been on its Steering Committee for eight years. We had about 180 American firms in our group. There were similar, but not as popular groups, in Jeddah and Dhahran. We had the likes of Northrop, Citibank, Mobil, Boeing, Chevron, Hospital Corporation of America, Exxon, Vinnell, Texaco, Westinghouse, General Electric, Sperry, McDonnell-Douglas, Litton, Whittaker, Lockheed, etc. Real biggies. I was also Country Chairman of Republicans Abroad. In 1980, I authored an ABGR position paper entitled "America's Loss of Business In The Middle East". This publication was sent to the Administration, and all members of the House and Senate. We did justice to the American presence in the Middle East because it received direct attention by the right people.

WAVE: When you say the right people and the justice it did, please explain?

ALD: Well, as an example, then

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Al DeMatteis

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Secretary of Treasury Donald Regan, told me on two occasions during his visit to Saudi that the position paper changed his mind about foreign income taxes on U.S. personnel. When I wrote this paper, we only had tax free exclusion of the first \$20,000 earned. This was detrimental to American business interests because a lot of Americans refused to go overseas and be taxed on that basis. Thus, our trade, our employment, our national interests were at stake. That paper led people like Senator John Chafee, whom we met with, to introduce new legislation. We presently have a \$75,000 tax free foreign income policy. I'm not overstating the importance of the paper because several other issues it contained are still being fought in the halls of Congress and believe me, these issues really effect the trade imbalance.

WAVE: Who else did you have the opportunity to meet with in regards to your position paper or political issues?

ALD: Cabinet wise: Secretary of Commerce Baldrige, Secretary of

Energy Hodell, Secretary of Defense Weinberger, representatives of Vice President Bush, Secretary of Agriculture Block and a host of Senators — Glenn, Baker, Percy, Bradley, Wilson, Byrd, Roth, etc. Some of the Congressmen we met with were Wright, Hamilton, Mica, Scheuer, Lantos and Coughlin. A hell of a lot of them.

WAVE: What did Congressman Jim Scheuer say?

ALD: He was mad I didn't set up the Kosher deli. I'm only kidding of course.

WAVE: That's some group of people. Did it help the business cause?

ALD: Not entirely. A lot more has to be done, but then again the golden days of U.S. opportunity in Saudi are basically over. If we had people listening in the early days, we could have shipped more goodies to Saudi and other Mideast countries than we actually did. This definitely would have helped our trade deficit problem. No question about it. I mean, to see foreign countries pulling out all the plugs to promote trade and employment in these countries and our standing on idiotic and outdated principals was ludicrous. I get very worked up on this subject and I don't want to spoil this interview by throwing up.

WAVE: OK, We'll give you a breather. Tell us about life in Saudi.

ALD: Now I am going to throw up! No, that's not fair. They have their rules and regulations and as a dedicated Islamic country, they call the shots. We were visitors to their country and by right we had to abide by their laws, no matter how strict. As you know, there is no alcohol, no

movie theatres, no clubs, women are not allowed to drive, and the hassle with the religious police. I need not tell you that unlike our judicial system, they dish out death and sentences like giveaways. All according to their procedures, but very harsh. I guarantee you, if we set up even a more modified system like theirs, we would not be in desperate need of more prisons.

WAVE: Have you attended public executions?

ALD: No way. I always went under the rule if they ran out of prisoners, I wasn't going to be around to volunteer.

We'll take a break and come back with more questions later on.

Al DeMatteis SPEAKS ON...

The Saudis & Our Foreign Policy

When we left off you hinted on some of the political aspects while in Saudi. Let's expand on that, please.

Let me start off by saying the U.S. Government's foreign policy in the Middle East is very lopsided in favor of Israel. I know that statement will upset a lot of people, but let me explain. While the moderate Arab States understand, and I repeat understand, our relations with Israel and tolerate our favoritism, we should not abandon nor turn a deaf ear towards the goals and political pressure on certain Arab states. Simply put, the moderates want a peaceful solution to the Middle East crisis. Publicly they can't come out and say they want normal relations with Israel, because some of the die-hard countries will climb all over them, but it's a fact. They want peace, they want to recognize Israel, they want proper and rightful international relations with the super-power countries. The more Israel demands from us on military build-

up, the moderate Arab states have no choice than to purchase more defensive hardware.

Let me explain simple logic. Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates,

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Al DeMatteis

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Kuwait, North Yemen, Oman, Bahrain and Jordan are in no military position to fight Israel — collectively or otherwise. Egypt has stable relations with Israel, so without Egypt these other countries have neither the manpower nor machinery to carry out any offensive action against Israel. But they are not going to sit around while Israel builds up their military. They really can't and nobody would!

There has to be a better balance on our relations and on our servicing the needs of these Arab countries. And I'll emphasize by saying the more military equipment we can sell these countries, the greater influence we have in the area.

Please explain that part.

When we sell them sophisticated hardware, our military presence, however limited, is part of the package for training, maintenance and operations. In other words we are on the scene. Case in point: Our AWAC aircraft in Saudi — who do you think really operates and controls this state of the art machinery? Who do you think really watches out for the F-15's? Who trains the Saudi military? We do. We KNOW what they are doing and that have to rely on us for spare parts and weaponry replacement. They buy this equipment completely dependent on us to service them. Now you tell me if they can be in a position to pull a surprise attack on Israel — IMPOSSIBLE! What concerns them are the two beasts north of them — namely Iran and Iraq and possibly the Soviet empire. I said it a thousand times already — and I firmly believe it — if there was ever any aggressive ac-

tion against Saudi Arabia for control of their oil fields and depending on the magnitude of the opposing force, the Israelis will be called in to help them.

Good points, what else?

Briefly, the sale of the AWAC's to Saudi was publicly priced at \$8.5 billion. That's only a portion of the cost — the backup support, training and replacement hardware, etc. will probably equal that figure. When the U.S. Congress, God help them, voted down the sale of the additional 40 F-15's to Saudi a couple of years ago, the XSaudi's turned around and bought \$4 billion of British Tornado aircraft. Now follow me closely—not only did the U.S. economy lose out on the sale, but the add ons of about three times that amount (again, training, spare parts, support services, personnel, etc.)—that money the British government picks up, not us; and it gives the Brits a more aggressive market for future sales and builds up their presence there, while ours decreases. And, to put the icing on the cake, and I doubt if the average American knows this, the British sell their planes with all sophisticated hardware included, and no limitations as to where these planes can be based. On the other hand, the U.S. conditioned the sale of the initial 60 F-15s by getting the Saudis to agree with the exclusion of the more lethal weaponry and limiting the locations where these planes can be based—in other words, not too close to Israel. The losers on this whole fiasco are the U.S. and Israeli governments. That's fact.

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Al DeMatteis

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Good analysis. You sure you don't work for the State Department?

I have been accused of working for a lot of agencies.

We hear the AWACS are really an

excellent plane.

I've been in them and I've been in the AWAC Command Center. They are a remarkable piece of work. The data they gather is unbelievable.

American technology did not fall short on these planes.

Do you have other opinions about U.S. trade problems?

Let me tell you about the stink I caused at the State Department a few years ago. In Riyadh, the Saudi government designated an area to be known as the Diplomatic Quarter. All new embassies are being built here. The State Department qualified about 45 international firms to bid the U.S. Embassy despite the complaints by U.S. contractors that only American firms should bid it. I formed a joint venture with Owens Corning (They had set up a construction company in Saudi to install their fiberglass® materials). We came in second on the bid. Koreans won the contract and Al DeMatteis went crazy. I had been gathering data on the bidding practices of the other embassies — the Korean government had only Koreans on the list; the Germans only German firms; the French only French firms, etc, etc. I sent documented evidence to the Associated General Contractors of America in Washington, D.C. of which we are a member. They rallied the support of Senator Charles Percy of Illinois and others who got the State Department to revise their bidding procedures. Now ONLY American firms or American joint venture firms can bid on U.S. Embassy work. While I lost the battle, I feel I won the war on this one. The Office of Foreign Buildings of the State Department were not too happy with me, but now American contractors stand a better chance to get these jobs, which are built with U.S. taxpayers money. We had bid the new U.S. Embassy in Muscat, Oman, but came in second again. This time it was to an American firm we lost to.

That's a good accomplishment. What about security for U.S. Embassies in the Mideast?

I did security work on our embassy in Riyadh and I was a security consultant to the Regional Security Officer in that area. A lot of emphasis is going into beefing up these buildings. I feel the bureaucracy of government regulations allows this much needed work to drag, but the United States is its own worst enemy when it comes to foreign trade policies and implementation of works.

We're all going to hold our breath until next time, when we hope you will disclose your plans for the redevelopment of New York and in

Al DeMatteis SPEAKS ON...

Dematteis On Domestic Scene

Wave - Let's hear what the DeMatteis firm has going on the domestic scene.

Al - We are in the finishing stages of the Savoy condo apartments on 3rd avenue, between 60th and 61st streets (opposite Bloomies) and the United Nations Plaza Towers condos on 1st avenue at 48th street. Both beautiful buildings which we built as Construction Managers (CM) for other developers. We are also CM for the addition and alterations at the Brookly Botanical Gardens.

We are the General Contractors on the huge new transit facility in Mitchel Field and the addition to the Criminal Courts building in Riverhead. We recently started an evaluation survey of 370 parishes for the Archdiocese of New York. We hope to start several developments in New Jersey soon—the Crescent at Bridgewater (a 320,000 square foot office building); the Sandpiper in Longbranch (138 Townhouse condos); the DeMatteis Plaza at Princeton Forrestal Center (a one million square foot office complex); and a 195 room Days Inn hotel in Secaucus. Plans are being developed for Phase II of our EAB Plaza complex in Uniondale. There are plans for a hotel and residential complex in Atlantic City as well.

We were recently short-listed to submit technical and cost proposals for the design-build of a 300 cell addition on Rikers Island, and a 150 room hotel on the SUNY campus in

Stony Brook. We have submitted proposals as CM on two resource recovery projects on Long Island and mortgage monitoring services to lending institutions. We are submitting a CM proposal for an 860 cell addition on another section at Rikers Island.

In serious discussion stages are a residential/commercial building in lower Manhattan; an old age residence in Little Italy; and a residential complex along the Hudson in New Jersey.

Wave - That's quite an undertaking. We see you are into prisons.

ALD - Please rephrase that—we are into prison development, ie: planning, design, construction and where feasible financing—the same with resource recovery system projects. These are in partnership with the Tilles Group, a major developer on Long Island and the architectural firm of Litchfield Grosfeld Associates, an experienced designer of institutional work. When I first came back from Saudi Arabia, they put me in charge of pursuing prison work. I guess my 10 years there qualified me for this.

Wave - What about the Rockaways, Arverne in particular?

ALD - Let me go back over 20 years ago.. When we took over the Dayton Beach projects a lot of people cautioned my brother, Fred, that he was taking a big risk developing middle-

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Al DeMatteis

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income housing in Rockaway and that the apartments may not sell. Fred was determined and the net result was the 14 buildings comprising Dayton Beach and Dayton Towers—2800 apartments with long waiting lists. Twenty years ago Fred went to the Lindsay administration and asked permission to develop additional housing along the beachfront basically right on down to the Atlantic Beach Bridge. He was told the city employed the services of a master planner from Washington to develop plans for the Arverne and Far Rockaway areas. Fred agreed he would take care of the planning if the city allowed him to develop these areas. He was turned down and had

become very bitter about it because he knew his plans would better the peninsula. All this could have been done 20 years ago, yet that property still remains vacant today. It's a sin!

Within the last few months we were approached by people in the community and asked if we had any interest in the development of the Arverne area. We met with HPD people and we understand a Request of Interest is coming out in April followed by a Request for Proposal later in the year. Personally, I don't think the City knows what the hell they want in Arverne—they have to rely on the developers. But as I stated, if they had let us do our thing 20 years ago

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Al DeMatteis

Continued From Page 44

the whole community would have been better off. I read the Community Board 14 report to the City on their suggestions. While some of their suggestions may not be feasible, I congratulate them in making a detailed and determined effort to get the City off their butts. We have what we feel is an excellent plan for the 300 acres. We know what has to be developed, since we already built a major housing concept here in addition to the 714 apartments on Beach 41st street, and of course myself as a resident who has concern for the future of the Rockaways. We would not be lacking in our approach to the Community Board for a marketable housing concept in Arverne. We have over 18,000 apartment units constructed in the Metro area to our credit.

Let me add one thing. While a lot of publicity goes to a Donald Trump, which he greatly deserves, little is heard about a Fred DeMatteis. Fred's concepts have bettered neighborhoods all over this city. I point out the 1800 apartment development known as Ruppert, Yorkville and Knickerbocker Plaza between 2nd and 3rd avenues in the Yorkville section of the city. These dwellings gave re-birth to that neighborhood—all kinds of condos are going up there now and many developers have already built middle income housing adjacent to ours. In fact Fred has a request into the city to rename 91st street, which we closed off to vehicular traffic when we built Ruppert, to Cagney Way. As you know, Jimmy Cagney grew up in Yorkville. Fred's other accomplishments that are landmarks

are the Museum Towers condos built over the Museum of Modern Art, and the beautiful EAB Plaza in Mitchel Field that has really given birth to that area. These are only a few of his accomplishments. I point this out because he approaches each development with a sense for what it will mean to the community. Our families have spent many years in Rockaway. We know its needs and will certainly do everything possible to help develop it properly.

Wave - We think the people in Rockaway would welcome that. Any other ideas you have for further improvements here?

ALD - If I had my way I would re-do Beach 116th street. I really mean it—I would knock down that entire block and some adjoining streets and rebuild it in a concept that fits the area to entice more people to shop there. Why should most of our people travel to Kings Plaza and Cedarhurst to shop? If we, as a community, rebuild both Beach 116th and the shopping area along Beach 129th streets, it would definitely benefit the businesses and the community. In fact I would love to see that one block on Beach 129th street closed off to vehicular traffic, creating a pedestrian mall effect. However, I don't know where shoppers would park their cars, although I guess we could ask Walter Blum if we could use his driveway.

**CAN'T COME TO OUR OFFICE?
CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

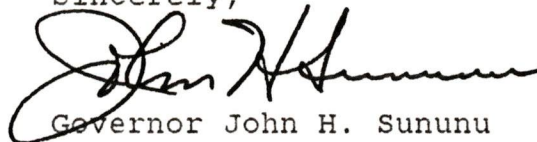
Dear Mr. Gilbert:

Many thanks for your letter of December 21. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to prove worthy of the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me. I am glad that you sent me the analysis by Peat Marwick Main & Co. It is thoughtful and provocative.

Please feel free to pass along your proposals to help meet the nation's housing needs. George Bush is strongly committed to make affordable, quality housing available to all Americans.

Once again, thanks for writing. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. John J. Gilbert
President
Rent Stabilization
Association of NYC, Inc.
1500 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10036

362-0026

*

RENT STABILIZATION ASSOCIATION OF N.Y.C., INC.

1500 Broadway • New York, N.Y. 10036

3rd floor

John J. Gilbert, III

President

944-4706

December 21, 1988

The Honorable John H. Sununu
Office Of The Governor
State Capital Building
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

Dear Governor Sununu:

We are thrilled by your appointment as White House Chief of Staff.

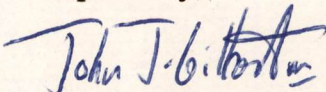
As the largest association of rental property owners in New York, we have noted your strong stance against rent regulation and look forward to having that position heard in the Chief Executive's office.

Our position, however, is not simply that of naysayers -- over the years, this organization has devoted a great deal of effort to analyzing and proposing housing programs.

As an example, I have enclosed an analysis by Peat Marwick Main and Co. which illustrates how a less regulated free market in New York could generate the funds needed to fight homelessness. That model might apply in other regulated urban centers with large homeless populations.

As you and the new administration take office, we hope to be able to share with you our many positive proposals to meet help meet this nation's housing needs.

Respectfully,



John J. Gilbert

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

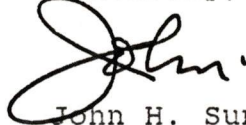
Dear Nic:

Many thanks for your kind letter of December 7. It was good to hear from you. I apologize for the delay in responding, but as you can well imagine things have been quite hectic here these past few weeks. Nic, I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to prove worthy of the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me.

Thanks also for sending me a copy of the general research questions and aims of your study on business ethics. You are truly at the cutting edge of research on this important topic, and I'm sure that the fruits of your effort will prove valuable for business education well into the 1990's.

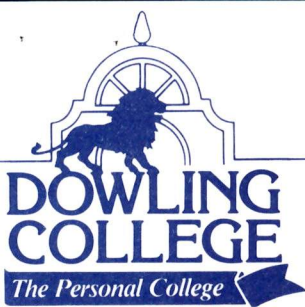
Once again, thanks for writing, and please do keep in touch. I appreciate your offer of help, and will keep it in mind as we go about organizing and operating the White House Ethics Office. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", with a stylized, cursive script.

John H. Sununu

Mr. Nic Mauro
3215 Griswold Ave.
Bronx, N.Y. 10465



*Good personal
response -
private*

362-0018

OFFICE OF GRADUATE BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

December 7, 1988

Mr. John H. Sununu
24 Samoset Drive
Salem, New Hampshire 03079

Dear John,

I hope this note finds you well and in good health, and that you and your family enjoyed the Thanksgiving holiday.

My congratulations to you on your recent appointment as President Bush's Chief-of-Staff. Surely, this writer along with hundreds of other cadets from La Salle are proud that we knew and grew up with you, particularly because you were such a jolly, great guy at the academy.

A short time ago, I completed my doctoral dissertation at New York University entitled, "Business Ethics, Managerial Decision Making, Corporate Culture and Values." To collect data, I conducted a case study in a multi-billion dollar, high-tech corporation, using the ethnographic research approach. This research has several scholars excited, since new ground has been broken in a number of ways. First, it is common knowledge that the existing data in Business Ethics and Managerial Decision Making is sparse and this research could represent the first significant work of its kind. Second, it is the first time data will be available on Business Ethics through the use of a face-to-face method of inquiry, in a study of this nature. In fact, only the Values section in "In Search of Excellence" by Peters and Waterman resembles anything of its kind. Finally, several of my peers have remarked that "gaining entry into a corporate setting to conduct an internal study on such a sensitive topic was an achievement in of itself, and a real coup" -- they are, of course, much too kind.

While my dissertation primarily represents one highly successful corporation in the marketplace, the entire process has brought me into contact with corporate leaders from IBM, Pitney Bowes, J.C. Penny, Bank of New York, the AICPA, Barker's Department Stores, Fortune Magazine, and more recently with Drexel Burnham Lambert, Merrill Lynch, Bear Sterns, Citicorp, E.F. Hutton, and several others. The investigation also included discussions with Thomas Watson, Jr., Chairman Emeritus of IBM. These discussions focused upon his father and the elder Watson's founding philosophies and how these beliefs affected the evolution of IBM.

As part of this research, managers were queried on a variety of topics, including: the economic philosophies of Milton Friedman and John K. Galbraith, and the relationship of these philosophies to business ethics via government regulations/political systems;

the ethics of technological unemployment and Frederick Taylor's thesis on the Scientific Method of Management; the Robber Barons theory and its effect on current managerial values, and the ethics of the news media in dealing with corporate behavior. These participants were asked several other questions, too numerous to list here, but for your information I have enclosed the general research questions and the purposes that guided the study so that you may better understand the project.

Business ethics has come a long way and recently there has been much discussion about the possibility of a cabinet post being created for this area by the next President of the United States. John, let me make it very clear -- this letter isn't about a job, I have a position and a very rewarding one. This letter is about shaping a nation's beliefs in the marketplace, beliefs that have yet to be fully shaped and that appear to change from time-to-time. This letter is also about high school chums who know and trust each other -- and colleagues in the Corps of Cadets at La Salle Military Academy. I am certain that there are much more competent and well equipped individuals who consider themselves experts in the field of Business Ethics. As a matter of fact, -- right there in Washington, I could name quite a few, and so can you. Nevertheless, if this colleague can be of assistance, or if you can use some guidance to support your office, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Once again, a hearty congratulations from my family to you and your family on your new challenge as the President's Chief-of-Staff. Stay well and good luck. I'm very proud to know you and to have been associated with you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Nic Mauro". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Nic" and last name "Mauro" clearly distinguishable.

Nic Mauro -- Class of 59' LSMA
Associate Professor of Management
Dowling College -- Oakdale, L.I.

NICHOLAS J. MAURO, Ph.D.
3215 Griswold Avenue
Bronx, 10465 N. Y.
(212) 931-9029

CURRENT POSITION	Associate Professor of Management at Dowling College, Oakdale, Long Island.
EDUCATION	Ph.D. with research concentration in Business Ethics, Managerial Decision Making and Corporate Culture and Values - New York University. M.B.A. in Organizational Theory (Behavior) and Personnel Administration - Long Island University. B.S. Economics - Fordham University.
TEACHING EXPERIENCE	1983 - 1985: Dominican College of Blauvelt, N. Y. Business Division - Rank: Assistant Professor Responsibilities: Division Director and taught business policy, industrial relations, personnel administration, and management. 1977 - 1982: City University of N. Y. Rank: Instructor, Department of Business Administration. Responsibilities included the planning and presentation of introductory and upper level courses in management, personnel administration, marketing, and retailing.
ADJUNCT EXPERIENCE	1972 - 1977: City University of N. Y. 1982 - 1983: Fordham University, CBA.
EXPERIENCE	Chief Executive Officer/Division President for MarineLand at Minneford on City Island. Full profit/loss responsibility and initially the mandate to turn the business around from the red to the black, and to institute a Quality Assurance Program. MarineLand at Minneford is a power boating/ condo-slip "state of the art" marina considered by many to be the finest marina in the world. 12 years Korvettes Herald Square Store, N. Y. DIRECTOR STORE OPERATIONS: responsibility for profit planning and budget for a \$40 million dollar store; planning long and short term objectives; directing 18 department managers and approximately 1,200 employees. Division included personnel department, loss prevention, customer relations, financial controls, labor relations, inventory control, in addition to several other support departments.

CONSULTING
ACTIVITIES

Management Safeguards Inc., N. Y.
Member of management consultant teams
headed by the president with responsibilities to
identify, report on, and implement solutions to
client problems in a variety of industries.

PROFESSIONAL
ASSOCIATIONS

The Hastings Center of Ethical Study
Society of Business and Professional Ethics
Delta Pi Epsilon Business Honor Society
Rockland County Association
Rockland County Industrial Association
American Management Association

PROFESSIONAL
ACHIEVEMENTS

In 1982 was recognized as outstanding Management
Instructor at Kingsborough Community College
by the Village Voice College Survey, "An Inside
Look at New York Area Colleges."

In 1984 chaired a panel for new doctoral students
at New York University on "Choosing and Developing
a Research Problem for a Doctoral Dissertation."

PUBLICATIONS

The Yankee Case Study, accepted by the
Intercollegiate Case Clearinghouse at Harvard
University, Fall 1979.

Managing For People, honorably mentioned by
Business Publications in text preface for editing
collaboration with the authors and publisher,
Spring 1979.

The Third Yankee Dynasty, a revised, in depth,
edition of the Yankee Case Study, also accepted by
the Harvard Case Clearinghouse, Spring 1981.

Pinstripes Management: Inside The Yankee Corporation,
first edition of a book on personnel and
organizational behavior of the New York Yankee
Corporation, which was the result of five (5) years
research, published by KCC printing division, Fall
1982.

Employment Contracts, The Fordham Balance Sheet,
Journal, Volume 5, Number 1, Winter 1983.

GRANTS &
PROPOSAL WRITING

In 1981 participated in a major project at
Kingsborough Community College, with Professor Tom
Henkle of Wagner College to write grant proposals
and requests for funding from the city, state and
federal energy agencies. Purpose of these requests
was to acquire funds that would permit the College to
become nearly self sufficient for light and heat.
Projects consisted of both a solar energy system and
a wind energy system.

PAPERS
DELIVERED

Ethics and Free Enterprise: Can They Mutually Co-exist? Paper delivered to middle-upper level managers of the Rockland County Industrial Association, February 1984.

FACULTY ACTIVITIES

1982, Fordham College of Business Administration, advisor to The Fordham Business Review Journal.

1983 - 1985 Chairperson of an 8 to 10 member panel of leading businessmen in the tri-state area who advised Dominican College. Included were managers from Matrix Corporation, Aunt Millie's Corporation St. Regis Paper Company, and Custom Printing.

1983 - 1985, Dominican College, assisted in organizing several professional and career oriented seminars for professionals in Business.

1983, Dominican College, assisted in establishing an Internship Program and Placement Office for students.

1983, Dominican College, assisted in organizing career and resume preparing workshops for students.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

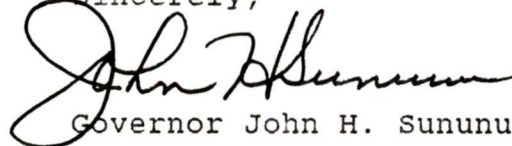
Dear Mr. Romeu:

Saludos! Many thanks for your kind letter of December 8. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to prove worthy of the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me.

Thanks also for your hard work and dedication during the campaign. We would never have made it this far without your valuable help, and the warm support of the Hispanic community.

Once again, thanks for writing. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Jorge Romeu
N.J. State Chairman
Republican Hispanic
National Assembly
P.O. Box 1102
West New York, New Jersey 07093

362-0025

*

JORGE ROMEU, N.J. STATE CHAIRMAN
REPUBLICAN HISPANIC NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
P.O. Box 1102
West New York, New Jersey 07093
(201) 864-8277

December 8, 1988

PERSONAL

Governor John H. Sununu
State House
Concord, New Hampshire 03301-4990

Dear Dr. Sununu:

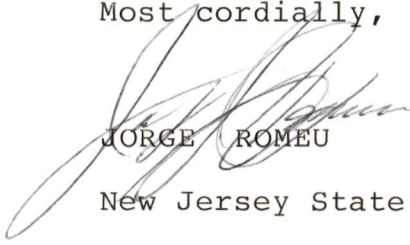
It is my deepest pleasure to express our satisfaction for your being named for the top staff position in the staff of our esteemed President-to-be, currently Vice-President George Bush.

As you may be aware of, New Jersey was a battleground of the Bush-Quayle campaign; but the increasingly Republican Hispanic population of this great country in particular has become a significant factor in local and national elections.

I appreciate your service to all of us in the Bush-Quayle Hispanic Committee and the National Republican Hispanic Assembly. You render honor to all the people of the U.S.A.

Please let us know if we can be of any service to you. Meanwhile, please ignore the ill-founded criticism.

Most cordially,



JORGE ROMEU

New Jersey State Chairman, RNHA

cc. Cathi Villapando; DC
Jose Martinez; DC
Ernest Olivas; DC
Hon. Bob Frnaks; State GOP Chairman
Hon. Gov. Tom Kean

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Manuel Martinez, III,
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Pablo Martinez, New Jersey
H. "Pulse" Martinez, Texas
Robert Martinez, Colorado
Rita di Martino, New York
Hugo Menendez, Florida
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Antonio Monroig, Virginia
Hon. Rick Montoya,
New Mexico
Mike Morales, Arizona
Hon. Luis Morse, Florida
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Fernando Niebla, California
Jose Nino, Illinois
Jaime Oaxaca, Missouri
Hon. Hernan Padilla, Maryland
Oscar Padilla, California
Jorge Romeu, New Jersey
Arabel Rosales, Illinois
Luis Sabines, Florida
Joe Salgado, Washington, D.C.
Tony Salinas, Texas
Marta San Martin, New Jersey
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North Carolina
Hon. Javier Souto, Florida
Luis Terrazas, Texas
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THE AMERICAN HISPANIC

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

GUSTAVO FRIDERICHSEN
EDITOR

The American Hispanic is published monthly by the Republican National Hispanic Assembly, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. For further information contact Gustavo Friederichsen at (202) 429-4392.

RNHA
P.O. Box 27542
Washington, D.C. 20038

Mr. Roland Alum Jr.
6606 Hudson Ave. #2
West New York, N.J. 07093

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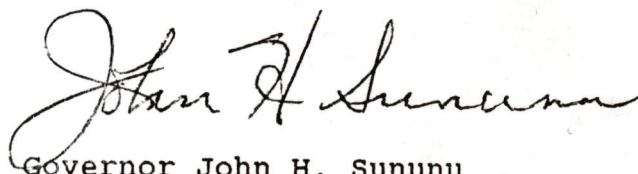
December 27, 1988

Dear Gentlemen,

As a matter of fact, Paul Gray was kind enough to send me an advance copy of "Science & Technology and the President," which I have forwarded to our policy development department for their consideration. I will keep the copy which you have sent me for my own reference, and forward your recommendations for the position of Science and Technology Advisor to our staff in personnel.

Thank you for sending me the report, recommendations, and additional comments concerning the role of Science and Technology Advisor to the President. Maintaining and augmenting America's technological edge is too important a task to be left to chance, and the President-elect is determined to make this a priority during his presidency.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Joshua Lederberg and William T. Golden
Co-Chairman
Carnegie Commission on Science
Technology, and Government
437 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 27, 1988

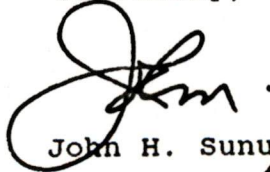
Dear George,

Thank you for taking the time to send me your recommendations. As you probably already know, Fred McClure has been chosen as Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs - a selection that I strongly approve of - although there were numerous excellent candidates from which to choose, including Powell Moore.

Your other recommendations have been forwarded to the appropriate people in personnel, where they will receive the highest consideration. As you can guess, our offices are being bombarded with the resumes of talented and qualified people eager for work in the administration, and we are trying to give them all the attention that they deserve.

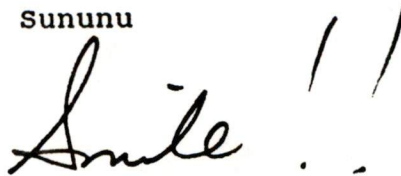
Thank you once again for your input, and I hope that the new year brings you and yours good health and happiness.

Sincerely,



John H. Sununu

Mr. George H. Denison
Attorney at Law
Suite 400
4801 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 28, 1988

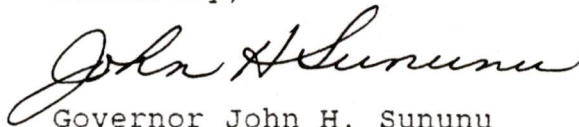
Dear Ms. Levic:

Many thanks for your letter of December 12. We appreciate you sharing your views on human rights in Yugoslavia with us, and bringing to our attention the cases of Vladimir Seks, and Juraj Piljko. We pass your information about them to the appropriate people at the State Department for their review and action.

Ms. Levic, George Bush is strongly committed to the proposition that America's mission in the world will never be accomplished until human freedom and human dignity flourish in every corner of the globe. And you can rest assured that we will not cease to speak up for freedom until that time.

Once again, thanks for writing. Best wishes to you and your family as well as the Yugoslav-American community throughout the new year.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Ms. Marija Ann Levic
Executive Director
Human Rights in Yugoslavia
2042 N. Hobart Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90027

XEROX COPY

Marija Ann Levic
Executive Director

December 12, 1988

Mr. John Sununu
Chief of Staff
The White House Office
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. Sununu:

There has been an assassination attempt on a leading Yugoslav human rights defender, Vladimir Seks. In an "unexplained" collision with a military truck his car was destroyed but Mr. Seks survived. Traffic "accidents" are one of the favorite assassination methods by Yugoslav authorities; among many others the renowned Montenegrin human rights lawyer Jovan Barovic was assassinated in that manner.

Mr. Seks, also a lawyer, is a founder of the Helsinki Watch Committee in Croatia--last year the most active Helsinki group in Yugoslavia. Recently Mr. Seks asked the Yugoslav military to investigate itself--he formally requested the military prosecutor to open an inquiry on who exactly organized the unsuccessful coup attempt in Slovenia.

In the meantime the attacks on journalists in Yugoslavia continue. In Serbia the party hardliners achieved total control of the media and the party through wholesale purges. The last oasis of relative freedom is the multinational province of Vojvodina where the local party leadership resists the return of Stalinism. In more liberal Slovenia, after the unsuccessful military coup attempt, the military has arrested several leading journalists for "possessing military secrets." It appears that the "military secret" has been the plan for reorganization of the military--away from republic regions and toward three regions organized to further increase the already overwhelming dominance of Serbian officers in the military.

Such restructuring would have been unconstitutional and further indicates that the primary threat to the "independence, unity and territorial integrity" (the expression used to excuse even the worst terror and injustice in the past 70 years) of Yugoslavia comes from the ultranationalist, primitive and undemocratic aspirations for Serbian supremacy and colonialism in Yugoslavia.

The most oppressive atmosphere continues to be in Croatia. We just learned that a founding member of the Croatian section of the International Human Rights Society, former political

December 12, 1988
Page Two

prisoner Juraj Piljko, has been rearrested and brutally tortured, with pharmaceuticals among other means.

Yugoslav political dissidents are terrorized not only in Yugoslavia. More than one hundred have been assassinated by Yugoslav death squads abroad. Yugoslavia also serves as the key center for most European and Middle East terrorist organizations. We urge you to:

- . | Support all Yugoslavs who struggle for democratization and national tolerance in Yugoslavia
- . | Demand that Yugoslavia be designed by the U.S. government as a terrorist state
- . | Support the legislation in the U.S. Congress--H.R. 3577--for an immediate suspension of most-favored-nation status of Yugoslavia

At stake in Yugoslavia are fundamental civil rights and a crucial crossroad--a decision to select democracy and civilization or to return to the dark ages of Stalinism. With your help the crisis-torn Yugoslav society could make progress toward democratization of the political system and toward non-violent, evolutionary change toward a civilized state. The hardline and reactionary tandem--Milosevic (in Serbia) and the military should not be supported. The progressive and more democratic leadership of Yugoslav western republics should.

Sincerely,

M. G. Busic

PS: In several weeks our organization will deliver to the Secretary of the State Department, Mr. Shultz, a petition signed by more than 7,000 Americans concerned about large-scale human rights violations in Yugoslavia, especially in Croatia, and about the need to reexamine the current U.S. policy toward Yugoslavia. We will be happy to provide you with a copy of the petition on request.

Enclosure: A courageous and desperate open letter of three young Croatian workers just before they were sent to prison --three among thousands of similar victims who are terrorized on a systematic basis while we conduct our "business as usual" with the terrorist police state of Yugoslavia.

To the Presidency of S.F.R. Yugoslavia

WHEN WILL THE TRUTH
STOP BEING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY

Having listened to the voices of our conscience, we are sending you this letter of protest as you are the highest body of government in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We are the accused in a political trial which began in 1985 in the city of Split and which recently ended with a guilty verdict by the Supreme Court of Croatia.

We, young, disenfranchised and powerless, cannot avoid the impression that our persecution is conducted with your blessing. Creating imaginary enemies in order to mask the real issues has always been an attractive method to all rulers, especially the absolute ones. Such enemies serve as scapegoats for the catastrophic economic, social, national and political situation which has reduced Yugoslavia to a beggar state in Europe. By accusing and punishing innocents the rulers try to prop up their rule. All who think differently must be crushed; all who cry for truth are gagged.

What are we specifically guilty of? For our love of freedom and of our beloved Croatia? Because we are for human tolerance and brotherhood? Because we are convinced that we are nobody's property? Or are we guilty of belonging to a "suspect" nationality? Or for not being without backbone, for not being police spies, for being idealists rather than opportunists? Or for refusing to believe that our rulers can be faultless?

In these sad times we are lost and confused; we are unable to function. We are experiencing the horror of nothingness, of misery and mass suffering, of human bestiality, of people who have "disappeared" and about whom nobody even dares to ask. Our aspiration is life not death, love not hatred, peace not war, future not past. To label us "the enemy" means to mortally stab us in the back, to cruelly tear us from life and from Croatia, from our people with whom we share our sad existence. Such labels will destroy our lives, although we are only adolescents; we will be hunted and persecuted for the rest of our lives, and these labels will threaten our basic right to live. We consider such persecution extremely cruel and draconian. Such persecution is meaningless, except if the intention is that from the ashes of the innocents today will grow the enemies of Yugoslavia tomorrow.

Are you really willing to take the responsibility for such tragic and shameful political trials and persecution as are being conducted in our beloved Croatia? Do you want to crush us with your silence, now when you should raise your voice? Although you do not have the keys to paradise, you are holding the keys to hell, the keys to prisons in Yugoslavia, to this hell to which you are sending us as on an assembly line--us, the innocents. Are all your human, patriotic and national feelings dead? Don't you sometimes remember the ideals of your own youth? Why do you choose to ignore and, by ignoring, to approve the barbaric methods of the corrupt and evil local "political gods" who only offer to "our beloved youth" life without perspective, world without morals and ideals, only apathy, poverty and joblessness? Are you really concurring with their bombastic and empty slogans about humanism, communism, socialism, higher interests and other lies and falsehoods? Don't you see that these imported local "gods" are destroying our culture, language and civilization, that they are full of hatred for our country, language, history? And such functionaries, instead of being replaced and punished, are being rewarded, promoted and celebrated.

The Croatian people are silenced! Individuals like us speak up--and are sent to jail or disappear. What will happen when all the people, the entire nation, start talking? For although we live bent low by injustice and endless misery, we also live with expectation and hope. We dream about better times, about life in a democracy, about civilized life. We are thirsty for truth, justice and spiritual beauty. Alas, a lot that by nature and human law belongs to us--we can only hope for.

We hope that the masks, labels and "dark legends" will be removed. We hope that our constitutional, human and national rights will be recognized. We hope that we will have the right to ask questions and the right to expect the answers. Although we are crushed at the present, we are preserving hope. We ask you:

- . How much longer will you persecute people for mere differences of opinion? (We have been sentenced for thoughts that are not punishable in all parts of Yugoslavia; we have been sentenced for opinions that are punishable only for Croatians, not for all other nationalities in Yugoslavia. "More equal" nations can express freely more serious concerns and even truly imperialistic and chauvinistic thoughts.)

- . When are we going to be allowed to govern our lives, to freely determine our life, destiny and beliefs, without occupation forces and foreign overseers? When will the Croatian people be allowed to elect their own representatives--freely and directly? When will the knowledgeable and the competent replace the obedient and incompetent?
- . When will you stop separating the people into politically "good" and "bad"? When will the "enemies" cease to be guilty for your own errors, mistakes and incompetence? When are we going to be allowed to say publicly and loudly what we all can only whisper now? When will the truth be allowed into the open without having to wait for permission from political gods?
- . When will the truth stop being counterrevolutionary?
- . Why do you fear public opinion if the truth is always on your side? Why don't you confront your critics with facts and discussion? Why are the opinions that are contrary to your own illegal?

Signed on November 16, 1987, by:

Stjepan Gaspar, Vojnic, 5240 Trilj, Croatia
 Mladen Lazeta, Put [illegible] 87A, Split, Croatia
 Luka Podrug, Zrtava Fasizma 156, Split, Croatia

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 15, 1988

Dear Ms. Olshaniwsky:

Many thanks for your letter of November 30. I apologize for the delay in responding, but as you can well imagine things have been quite hectic here these past few weeks. We appreciate you~~x~~ sharing with us your views on United States-Soviet relations, and your support for the opening of a U.S. consulate in the Soviet city of Kiev. The United States will proceed with plans to open a consulate in that city as expeditiously as possible.

Ms. Olshaniwsky, George Bush is strongly committed to the proposition that America's mission in the world will never be accomplished until human freedom and human dignity flourish in every corner of the globe. For that reason, we applaud such recent moves toward a more open society in the Soviet Union as the resurrection of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group.

But, more remains to be done, and we will not cease to speak up for freedom, just as the Ukrainian activist Lev Lukyanenko did not cease to speak up for freedom. Rest assured that, among other things, we will press for the release of Ukrainians Mykola Horbal and Ivan Kandyba from prison, and we will seek the restitution of legal status for the Orthodox and Catholic Churches in the Ukraine.

Once again, thanks for writing. Best wishes to you and your family as well as the Ukrainian-American community this holiday season.

Sincerely,

Governor John H. Sununu

Ms. Bozhena Olshaniwsky
President
Americans for Human
Rights in Ukraine
43 Midland Place
Newark, NJ 07106

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

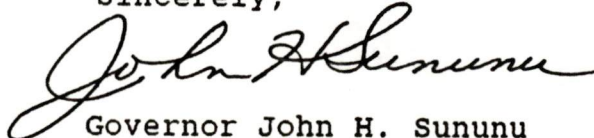
Dear Mr. Sherwood:

Thank you for sending me your resume.

I am sending your information to our staff in Presidential Personnel for consideration in the new Administration. They will be in contact with you should they need additional information.

Thank you for your interest in serving the President-elect.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John H. Sununu".

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Alan R. Sherwood
P.O. Box 208
25 Hersey Road
Danville, NH 03819

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

Dear John:

Thank you for forwarding me your resume.

I am sending it along with your letter to our staff
at Presidential Personnel for consideration in the new
Administration.

Best wishes and thank you for your interest in
serving the President-elect.

Sincerely,



John H. Sununu

Mr. John H. Reed
410 O St. SW
Washington D.C. 20024

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

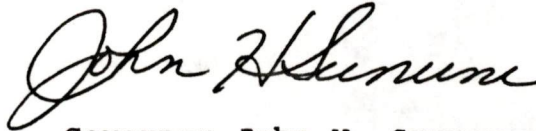
Dear Mr. Duplissea:

Thank you for forwarding me your resume.

I am sending your information to our staff in Presidential Personnel for consideration in the new Administration. They will be in contact with you when they need additional information.

Thank you for your interest in serving the President-elect

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John H. Sununu".

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr William P. Duplissea
P.O. Box 1332
San Carlos, CA 94070

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

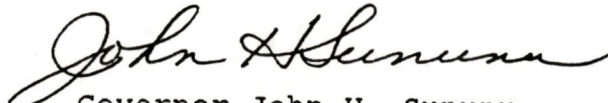
December 30, 1988

Dear Mr. Caryl:

Many thanks for your recent letter on behalf of Mr. Bill Herring. His credentials are impressive, and your strong recommendation only adds to his stature. We appreciate Mr. Herring's desire to serve the President-elect, and I will pass his name along to our staff at the Office of Presidential Personnel for their consideration. They will contact him when they need more information.

Once again, thanks for writing. We are seeking the best talent available to staff the Bush administration, and we are glad to have the benefit of your advice. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Michael E. Caryl
State Tax Commissioner
State Tax Department
Charleston, W.V. 25305

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

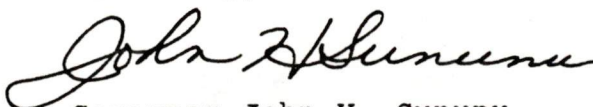
December 30, 1988

Dear Mr. Wheelock:

Many thanks for your recent letter on behalf of Mr. Bill Boudreau for a diplomatic post. His credentials are impressive, and your strong recommendation only adds to his stature. We appreciate Mr. Boudreau's desire to serve the President-elect, and I will pass his name along to our staff at the Office of Presidential Personnel for their consideration. They will contact him when they need more information.

Once again, thanks for writing. We are seeking the best talent available to staff the Bush administration, and we are glad to have the benefit of your advice. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Major W. Wheelock
P.O. Box 3066
Petersborough, N.H. 03458

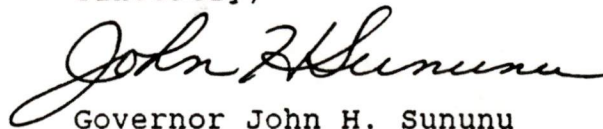
December 30, 1988

Dear Judge Northrop:

Many thanks for your recent letter on behalf of Mr. Alan Swendiman for a legal post. His credentials are impressive, and your strong recommendation only adds to his stature. We appreciate Mr. Swendiman's desire to serve the President-elect, and I will pass his name along to our staff at the Office of Presidential Personnel for their consideration. They will contact him when they need more information.

Once again, thanks for writing. We are seeking the best talent available to staff the Bush administration, and we are glad to have the benefit of your advice. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Judge Edward S. Northrop
Chief Judge Emeritus
U.S. District Court
District of Maryland
310 U.S. Courthouse
Baltimore, MD 21201

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

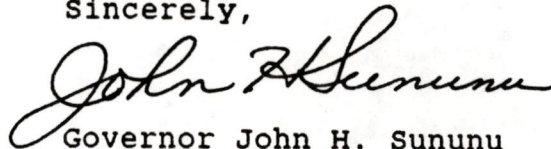
December 30, 1988

Dear Prof. Blair:

Many thanks for your recent letter on behalf of Mr. Ronald Kareken for the U.S. Patent & Trademark Office Commissioner post. His credentials are impressive, and your strong recommendation only adds to his stature. We appreciate Mr. Kareken's desire to serve the President-elect, and I will pass his name along to our staff at the Office of Presidential Personnel for their consideration. They will contact him when they need more information.

Once again, thanks for writing. We are seeking the best talent available to staff the Bush administration, and we are glad to have the benefit of your advice. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John H. Sununu".

Governor John H. Sununu

Prof. Homer O. Blair
Franklin Pierce Law Center
2 White Street
Concord, N.H. 03301

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 28, 1988

Dear Mrs. Gross:

Many thanks for your letter of December 12. It was good to hear from you. I appreciate your warm words of congratulations, and hope to prove worthy of the trust that the President-elect has conferred upon me.

We are glad to learn of your desire to serve George Bush either as U.S. Representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council or as Alternate U.S. Representative for Special Political Affairs. Your credentials are impressive, and I will pass your resume along to our staff at the Office of Presidential Personnel for their review and action. They will contact you when they need more information.

Once again, thanks for writing. Best wishes to you, Mr. Gross, and Neil throughout the new year.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mrs. Noel L. Gross
U.S. Representative to the United
Nations Economic & Social Council
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
799 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

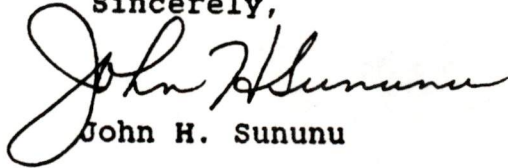
December 30, 1988

Dear Madeline:

Thank you for your recent letter on behalf of Susan Auld. I have forwarded your comments and her resume along to our staff in the Office of Presidential Personnel. I will make sure that Ms. Auld receives the serious consideration that she deserves. In addition, I have asked that I be kept informed of any developments concerning her.

Best wishes and thank you for taking the time to give your input to the new Administration.

Sincerely,



John H. Sununu

Mrs. Madeline B. Harwood
Republican National Committee
Member for Vermont
Village View Road
Manchester Center, Vermont 05255

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

Dear Bob,

Thank you for your congratulatory message and kind offer of assistance.

Lunch is probably not possible in the near future, but I have sent your resume to our people in personnel, suggesting that they give it their serious consideration. You can probably appreciate how difficult it is sorting through all the qualified and deserving candidates that have been good enough to offer their assistance to the Bush Administration, and we are trying to be as equitable as possible in conducting that difficult process. Your patience and understanding are greatly appreciated.

I hope that the new year brings health and happiness to you and yours, and thank you once again for offering your services.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "John" being more prominent and the last name "Sununu" written in a more compact, connected style.

John H. Sununu

Robert W. Hahn
Senior Staff Economist
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D.C. 20500

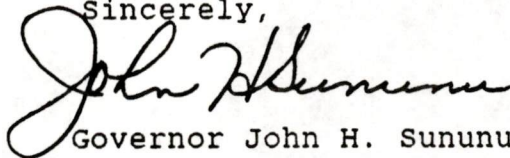
December 30, 1988

Dear Reverend Groeschel:

Thank you for your recent letter recommending John Farina for the position of staff member responsible for Catholic affairs. I have forwarded your comments along to our Office of Presidential Personnel. I will be sure that he receives serious consideration for the position and that I am informed of any developments.

We are working hard to make sure the President-elect has the very best list of candidates and your contribution is appreciated.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style.

Governor John H. Sununu

Rev. Benedict J. Groeschel
Office for Spiritual Development
Trinity Retreat
1 Preyer Manor Road
Larchmont, New York 10538

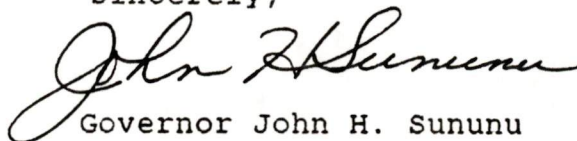
December 30, 1988

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Thank you for your recent letter on behalf of Dr. Jan Pillai. I have forwarded your comments along with his information to our staff in the Office of Presidential Personnel. I will make sure that he receives serious consideration and that I am kept informed of any developments.

We are working hard to make sure the President-elect has the very best list of candidates that can be developed. Your input is very helpful to our search.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Parker H. Wilson
Chairman
Republican Committee
14 West Lancaster Avenue
Ardmore, PA 19003

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

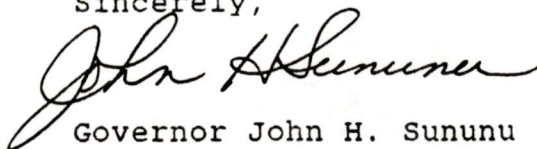
Dear Mr. Goldsmith:

Thank you for sending me your resume.

I am sending your information to our staff in Presidential Personnel for consideration in the new Administration. They will be in contact with you when they need additional information.

Thank you for your interest in serving the President-elect.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Marc W. Goldsmith
41 Country Corners Road
Wayland, MA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

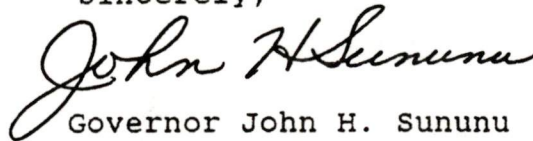
December 30, 1988

Dear Mr. Polshuk:

Thank you for sending me your resume. I have sent it along with your accompanying letter to our staff in the office of Presidential Personnel. I will make sure that it receives serious consideration and that I am informed of any developments.

The Personnel office will be in contact with you when they need further information. Thank you for your interest in serving the President-elect.

Sincerely,


Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Paul N. Polshuk
237 Crestview Road
Manchester, NH 03104

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

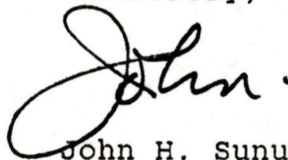
December 30, 1988

Dear Glen:

Thank you for your recent letter on behalf of Charles W. Hostler. We are working very hard to make sure the President-elect has the very best list of candidates to choose from in the selection of the United States Ambassadors. I will see that he receives serious consideration and that I am informed of any developments.

Thanks again for taking the time to make your recommendation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", with a stylized, cursive script.

John H. Sununu

Mr. Glen A. Holden
Chairman of the Board and President
The Holden Group
P.O. Box 92193
Los Angeles, California 90009

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

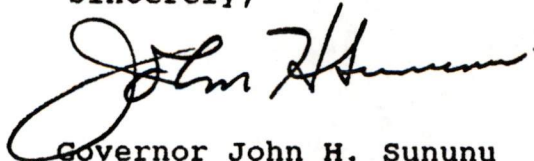
Dear Ambassador McCormack:

Pat Robertson was kind enough to give me your resume and recommend your services during a recent visit to my office. I have forwarded it to the appropriate people in personnel, and have asked that they give it their most serious consideration.

I applaud your outstanding service to Presidents Reagan and Nixon, Senator Helms and the United States Government, and I hope that the Bush Administration can make good use of your extensive experience and obvious talents. As you can probably guess, our personnel office has been flooded with the resumes and recommendations of qualified and deserving people like you, and so your patience and understanding is greatly appreciated as we perform the difficult task of assembling the Bush team.

I hope that the new year brings you and yours good health and much happiness.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Richard T. McCormack
United States Permanent Representative
to the Organization of American States
Bureau of Interamerican Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

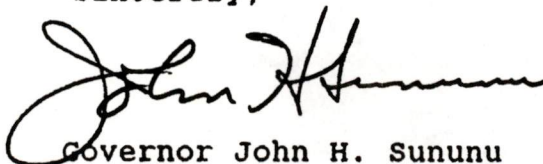
Dear Mr. Halliday,

Pat Robertson recommended your services to me during a recent visit to my office, and so I have forwarded the resume which he gave me to our personnel department. Pat suggested that you might be interested in working as General Counsel for the Internal Revenue Service, and I have asked personnel to consider that possibility.

As you can imagine, our transition offices are being flooded with the resumes and recommendations of qualified and deserving candidates like you. And so your patience and understanding are appreciated as we proceed with the challenging task of putting the Bush team together.

I hope that 1989 brings good health and much happiness to you and yours.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Stephen D. Halliday
Suite 800
World Trade Center
Norfolk, Virginia 23510

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

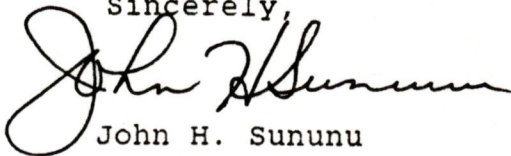
Dear Mason:

Thank you for sending me your recent letter and your attached resume. It was received with interest by myself and my office.

In order to better facilitate the process, I am sending a copy of your letter and a copy of your resume to our staff in the Office of Presidential Personnel. I will be sure that it receives the most serious consideration and that I am kept informed of any developments. They will be in contact with you when further information is needed.

We appreciate your interest to serve the President-elect.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style.

John H. Sununu

Mr. Mason J.O. Klinck
14 West Road
Temple, New Hampshire 03084

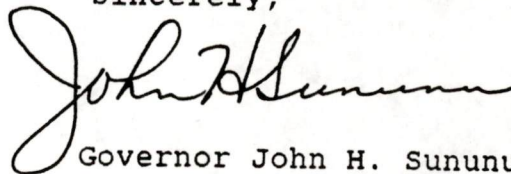
December 30, 1988

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Thank you for your recent letter on behalf of Lloyd Unsell. I have forwarded your comments on to our staff in the Office of Presidential Personnel. They will contact him directly when they need additional information.

Thank you for taking the time to make your recommendation. Your input is very helpful to our search for the best possible candidates.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style. The signature is positioned above the printed name of the Governor.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Raymond Thompson
103 Charlesbrooke Road
Baltimore, Maryland 21212

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

Dear Dr. Kheriaty:

Thank you for sending me your resume. I have sent it along to our staff in the Office of Presidential Personnel. I will make sure that it receives serious consideration.

That office will be in contact with you when they need further information. Thank you for your interest in serving the President-elect.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style.

Governor John H. Sununu

Dr. Francis N. Kheriaty
98 Constant Street
Manchester NH 03103

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

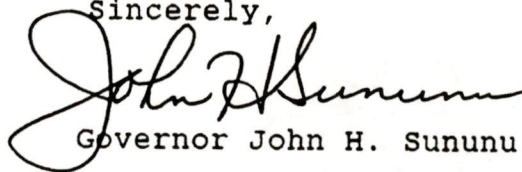
December 30, 1988

Dear Mr. Buckbee:

Thank you for your recent letter on behalf of Mr. J. R. Thompson. I have forwarded your comments along to our staff in the Office of Presidential Personnel. I will see that he receives serious consideration and that they keep me informed of any developments.

We are working hard to make sure the President-elect has the very best list of candidates that can be developed. Your input is very helpful to our search.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", is written over the typed name. The signature is fluid and cursive.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Edward O. Buckbee
Director
The Space and Rocket Center
One Tranquility Base
Huntsville, AL 35807

7

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

Dear George,

Thank you for bringing Dave Jennings to my attention. President-elect Bush has demonstrated that he is not afraid to look beyond the Beltway for qualified, talented and deserving people to include on his team, and Mr. Jennings sounds like just such a person.

I have forwarded his name - along with your enthusiastic recommendation - to the appropriate people in personnel, asking them to give him a close look and keep me apprised of developments. I'm confident that Mr. Jennings will receive the highest consideration.

Again, thank you for your recommendation, and I hope that the new year brings you and yours good health and much happiness.

Sincerely,



John H. Sununu

Mr. George S. Pillsbury
1300 TCF Tower
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402-2872

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

Bill
Dear Mr. Watt:

Many thanks for your kind letter of December 5. I appreciate you sending me a copy of De Tocqueville's Democracy in America. It is one of those rare books the wisdom of which is relevant to every age.

Thanks also for your generous offer of help. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,
John
Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. William D. Watt
General Partner
Lazard Freres & Co.
One Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020

LAZARD FRÈRES & CO.

ONE ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

CABLE ADDRESS "LAZARD NEW YORK"
TELEPHONE (212) 489-6600

NEW YORK

362-6017

TV book

December 5, 1988

Honorable John H. Sununu
24 Samoset Drive
Salem, New Hampshire 03979

Dear Governor Sununu: *John*

I know you don't have time to read this book now, but the striking resemblance of the high moral principals of de Tocqueville and John Sununu are quite remarkable.

If you can skim Chapters 13 and 14 (about 80 pages) you will see that de Tocqueville's principal concern in the early part of the 19th Century is quite the same as we are dealing with in the later part of the 20th Century: The absolute and essential need to maintain democracy and freedom, while at the same time resisting linkage to centralization. He saw a world which desired order at any cost, which when this was added to the desire for comfort and to the individualistic spirit created by the equality of conditions, it prompted ordinary citizens to withdraw from political life and live within a circle of family and friends, preoccupied with private concerns. It was this withdrawal from political life more than the pressure of fanatical masses that risked bringing on tyranny and the paralysis of civilization itself.

I'm glad you are forging ahead. I wish you the very best in carrying the torch for freedom. Always glad to help if I can.

Sincerely,

William D. Watt

William D. Watt
General Partner

WDW:gg
Enclosure

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30. 1988

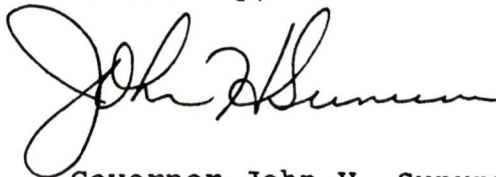
Dear Mr. Kanaga,

Thank you for your recommendation of Doug Holladay, which I have forwarded to our people in personnel for their consideration.

As you can probably imagine, sifting through the mountain of resumes and recommendations that our offices have received is no small task - particularly when there are so many qualified and deserving candidates like Mr. Holladay. We are doing our best to insure that everyone gets a good look.

Your input is appreciated, and I hope that the new year is full of good health and happiness for your family and you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. William S. Kanaga
Chairman of the Board
Chamber of Commerce of the
United States of America
1615 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20062

cc: Resume Mgmt

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

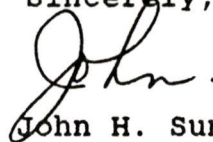
December 30, 1988

Dear May:

Thank you for your letter on behalf Mr. Jim Soriano. After reviewing your comments I have sent them on to our staff in the Office of Presidential Personnel. I will see that he is given serious consideration and that I am kept informed of any developments. The Personnel office will be in touch with him when they need further information.

Thank you for your input, May, and best wishes for the new year.

Sincerely,



John H. Sununu

Ms. May Moussa
4201 Cathedral Ave. N.W.
Washington D.C. 20016

cc: Resume Mgmt

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

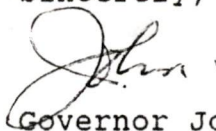
December 27, 1988

Dear Rabbi Sherer:

Many thanks for your letter of December 5. It was good to hear from you. I too enjoyed meeting you at the luncheon with Jewish leaders in November. I felt that our dialogue was very constructive, and hope that it marked the beginning of an ongoing conversation about a wide range of issues. As you can well imagine, my schedule is very hectic right now. But, as soon as things settle down, we should be able to arrange a time to get together.

Once again, thanks for writing. Best wishes to you and your family this holiday season.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Rabbi Morris Sherer
President
Agudath Israel of America
84 William Street
New York, NY 10038



Agudath
Israel
of America
אגודת ישראל באמריקה

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

343-0011

PERSONAL

December 5, 1988

Honorable John Sununu
Chief of Staff Designate
Transition Office
1825 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Governor Sununu:

I am taking this first opportunity, upon my return from our organization's 66th national convention, to express my delight in having met you at the lunch arranged by Jack Stein at the Princeton Club on November 23.

Frankly, although I came to the luncheon meeting with some trepidation in view of the media reports, I left filled with faith that you will do an excellent job in your new position, and that you will be sensitive to the concerns of the Jewish community.

I was most impressed with your sharpness of mind, candor, and refusal to pander to your audience. I always enjoy talking with a person "who says it as it is," and what I saw, I liked.

I just want to add one comment: despite the fact that the subject of Israel seemed to consume the dialogue at the luncheon, it is important to understand that the Jewish community is not a one-issue group. In fact, when it relates to domestic issues, it is not monolithic at all.

For example, Agudath Israel of America, a 66-year old broadly based Orthodox Jewish movement which I have been privileged to head for several decades, has staunchly backed the Reagan Administration in its policies of family and social values.

I have met with President-elect Bush quite often in his office when he was Vice President, and he is fully aware of our views on a multiplicity of issues besides Israel.

I look forward to the opportunity of meeting you personally once you get settled into your new office. Meanwhile, you have my every good wish for your personal success.

Warmly,

[Signature]
Rabbi Morris Sherer
President

MS/dbj

December 27, 1988

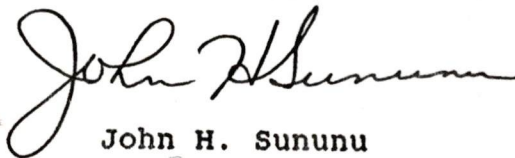
Dear Professor Page,

Thank you for your kind letter, and for your recommendation of Erich Bloch for the position of Science Advisor to the President. I have forwarded his name to our staff in personnel, asking them to keep me apprised as time goes by.

I agree that the Science Advisor's role will be an increasingly critical one, because maintaining America's technical and scientific edge is too important to be left to chance, and I know that the President-elect is carefully weighing all the excellent recommendations that he has received.

I hope that the new year brings you and yours health and happiness, and thank you once again for your supportive comments and recommendation.

Sincerely,



John H. Sununu

Professor Robert H. Page
Texas A&M University
College of Engineering
College Station, Texas 77843-3123

December 28, 1988

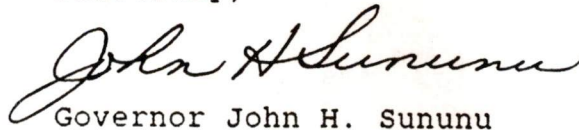
Dear Ms. Levic:

Many thanks for your letter of December 12. We appreciate you sharing your views on human rights in Yugoslavia with us, and bringing to our attention the cases of Vladimir Seks, and Juraj Piljko. We pass your information about them to the appropriate people at the State Department for their review and action.

Ms. Levic, George Bush is strongly committed to the proposition that America's mission in the world will never be accomplished until human freedom and human dignity flourish in every corner of the globe. And you can rest assured that we will not cease to speak up for freedom until that time.

Once again, thanks for writing. Best wishes to you and your family as well as the Yugoslav-American community throughout the new year.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Ms. Marija Ann Levic
Executive Director
Human Rights in Yugoslavia
2042 N. Hobart Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90027

G. Peters Meyer

December 30, 1988

Dear Linda:

Many thanks for your recent letter to the President-elect. Your proposal of a White House Conference on Volunteerism sounds interesting, and I will pass your thoughts along to George Bush.

Linda, thanks again for writing, and please do keep in touch. You've been a great asset to me in New Hampshire, and I value your wise counsel.

Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Ms. Linda Darling
Executive Director
Governor's Office
on Volunteerism
State House
Concord, N.H. 03301-4990

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 27, 1988

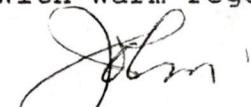
Dear David:

Thanks for your note. I really appreciate you taking the time to write.

With my hectic schedule, I haven't gotten time to look at the children's Science reader. As soon as I have the chance to give it a thorough reading, I will give you a call.

I hope you have a great New Year.

With warm regards,



John H. Sununu

Mr. David Alexander
Director, Curriculum Resource Lab
Tufts University
Medford, Massachusetts 02155



TUFTS UNIVERSITY

Eliot-Pearson Department of Child Study

December 5, 1988

Governor Sununu
State House Building
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

Dear Governor Sununu:

I read with great interest in the enclosed Tufts Journal of your interest in Science curriculum for elementary school age children. In this regard we share common interests. One of my Tufts Summer School courses is entitled, "Science and Math Curriculum for Teachers of Young Children".

I note in this article, that you have been writing a Science reader for children. If you have finished it, would it be possible to receive a copy of this reader? If there is anything of your interests and work in Science curriculum that you feel might be of importance for students in my courses to know about, I would be pleased to hear of it at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

David Alexander, Lecturer
Director - Curriculum Resource Lab

DW/ce

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 28, 1988

Dear Father Karloutsos:

Many thanks for your recent letter. I enjoyed hearing from you, and found the message to be most inspiring.

There are many things to be thankful for this Christmas. I have good health as well as the love of my family and friends. Our nation is at peace, and the American people are enjoying unprecedented prosperity. God's blessings have been bountiful, and I hope to be a good steward of the opportunity that He has set before me in His sovereign wisdom.

Once again, thanks for writing. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Rev. Alexander Karloutsos
Executive Director
Department of Communications
& Office of Public Affairs
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of
North & South America
10 East 79th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021



GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ ΒΟΡΕΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΤΙΩ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ

10 EAST 79th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 • TEL (212) 570-3500 • CABLE: ARCHGREEK, NEW YORK

Christmas, 1988

The Honorable John Sununu
Office of the President-Elect
Washington, DC 20500

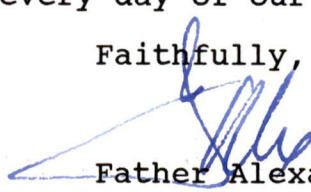
Dear Governor Sununu;

Celebrating the Holiday Spirit after Thanksgiving, at least as the years go by, seems to be made more difficult as we are confronted by Christ-commercialized and confounded by tinsel-talk that rob us of Christmas magic and mystery. Especially in light of the Silver Anniversary on November 22nd commemorating the tragic end of Camelot and the recent tragedy which eclipsed the golden name of the Onassis Empire, we seek, like the wise men before us, a radiant hope which will enlighten the hearts of both the Scrooge and Tiny Tim in us all.

This mystical spirit can only be re-animated when we remove the myth of observing Christmas without Christ. With Christ, we see this season as a time to rejoice because the Saviour of the Cross is born and sadness has no place on the birth day of Life. With Christ, we know that Christmas does not ask us to pretend we are back in Bethlehem, kneeling before a crib; it asks us to recognize that the wood of the loving crib became the sacrificial wood of the Cross.

My prayer for you, yours and mine is that we not simply "spend" or "observe" Christmas, but rather "keep" Christmas --- each and every day of our lives.

Faithfully,


Father Alexander Karloutsos

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

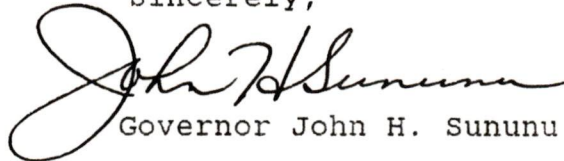
December 30, 1988

Dear Polly:

As you probably know by now, the President-elect has selected William Reilly as the Director of the Environmental Protection Agency. There were many fine candidates from which to choose, including Michael Deland, but the President-elect has confidence that Mr. Reilly is the right person for the job.

Thank you for taking the time to make your recommendation.

Sincerely,



Governor John H. Sununu

Ms. Polly Logan
Republican National Committee
121 Nichols Road
Cohasset, MA 02025



W. Reply

Republican National Committee

POLLY LOGAN
Past MEMBER FOR MASSACHUSETTS
The Ridges
121 Nichols Road
Cohasset, Massachusetts 02025
(617) 383-0031 or 383-0899

December 1988

Honorable John Sununu
24 Samoset Drive
Salem, New Hampshire 03079

Dear John:

As immediate past National Committee Member and activist in Massachusetts' environmental circles, I strongly urge the appointment of Michael R. Deland to the Environmental Protection Agency. He would bring expertise, integrity and respect from the New England area, as well as national and international environmental leaders.

People all over the world consider environmental issues crucial not only to this generation but the well being of future generations. During Michael Deland's tenure as New England Regional Administrator he has proven his ability to be a problem solver coupled with tact and finesse to work with both the business community and concerned citizens. We need this balance to face the challenges of the next century. His myriad of supporters join me in urging you to make this appointment.

We are so proud of President-elect George Bush's recent appointments and know this will only add luster to his shining exemplary future administration.

Sincerely,

Polly Logan
Polly Logan

PL/mle
Enclosures

Michael Reeves Deland
John F. Kennedy Federal Bldg.
Boston, Massachusetts 02203
(617) 565-3400

EMPLOYMENT:

June 1983 -
Present

U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR - REGION I

--Administer the federal government's pollution control programs for air and water, hazardous wastes, toxic substances, drinking water, radiation and pesticides in New England.

--Initiated a number of nationally important enforcement actions including the suit against the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to end the illegal pollution of Boston Harbor.

August 1976 -
June 1983

ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY, INC. (ERT)

ENVIRONMENTAL COUNSEL / CONSULTANT

--Provided legal advice to senior management and technical staff, primarily on large, multi-disciplinary projects (e.g., federal, state and local permitting of cross-country oil pipeline).

--Worked closely with senior counsel and management of a wide range of corporate clients including the Business Roundtable.

--Key participant in Clean Air Act Workshops.

--Advised on corporate legal matters as needed; Assistant Secretary to Corporation, June 1979 - August 1981.

November 1971 -
July 1976

U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

CHIEF, ENFORCEMENT BRANCH - REGION I
[November 1973 - July 1976]

--Supervised and managed all enforcement actions brought by EPA in New England.

--Established and implemented enforcement priorities and coordinated enforcement programs with the six New England states, the U.S. Attorneys and the Department of Justice.

CHIEF / ATTORNEY LEGAL REVIEW SECTION - REGION I
[Jan. 1972 - Nov. 1973 / Nov. 1971 - Dec. 1972]

--Negotiated some of the first major water pollution permits issued in the nation.

February -
October 1971

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

--Staff Assistant and sole in-house legal counsel to University President, Robert C. Wood.

February -
November 1970

U.S. CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN

--Campaign Manager for Rep. John McGlennon (R), U.S. Congressional Candidate, 3rd Congressional District, Massachusetts.

**MILITARY
SERVICE:**

U.S. Navy, 1963-1965 LT.(jg) USNR; First Lieutenant, Gunnery Officer and Assistant Navigator on Destroyer home-ported in Yokosuka, Japan; May-September 1964 TAD orders to sail in America's Cup Trials.

AWARDS/HONORS:

National Wildlife Federation Special Achievement Award (March, 1989); Massachusetts Audubon Society Award "For Leadership in Cleaning-up Boston Harbor"; Environmentalist of the Year Award from the Massachusetts Association of Conservation Commissions; Environmental Leadership Award from the New England Environmental Network; Elected Chief Marshal for Harvard University's 1988 Commencement.

**PROFESSIONAL
AFFILIATIONS:**

Member, Massachusetts Bar; American Bar Association, the Boston Bar Association and their respective environmental committees.

PUBLICATIONS: Articles on environmental issues in both legal and technical journals. Co-author, "The New PSD Regulations," Natural Resources Lawyer, American Bar Association, Spring, 1981. Author monthly "Regulatory Focus" column in Environmental Science and Technology, December 1978 - June 1983.

EDUCATION: Law School: Boston College Law School, J.D. 1969.
Recipient of William J. O'Keefe Award ("Awarded annually to the student, who in the judgment of the Dean and faculty, best represents the ideals and aspirations of the Boston College Law School.")

College: Harvard College, A.B. 1963 (Government)

Activities: Battalion Commander, NROTC; Student Council; Chairman, Eliot House Combined Charities Drive; Sailing Team; Freshman Hockey Team; Member, Permanent Class Committee and Class Secretary.

**CIVIC/CHARITABLE
ACTIVITIES:**

Chairman, Federal Executive Board (Boston);
President, Business Associates Club, 1981-1982;
Trustee, Noble & Greenough School, 1976-1982;
Trustee, Center for Environmental Intern
Programs; Past Director, Environmental Lobby of
Mass.; Director, Associated Harvard Alumni 1977-
1979; President, Association of Harvard Class
Secretaries 1975-1977; Vestry, Trinity Church
Boston 1976-1978; Director, Third Nail, Inc.
(Boston Drug Rehabilitation Center) 1971-1973.

INTERESTS: Sailboat racing (Shields National Champion: 1980 and 1987).

PERSONAL: Married: Jane Slocum, August 1973
Children: M. Stanton (1977),
Melissa R. and Holly L. (1978)

The Enforcer

When George Bush visited Boston Harbor last month to criticize Michael Dukakis' environmental record, one Massachusetts Republican conspicuously absent from the crowded campaign boat was Michael Deland. As the New England regional administrator for the federal Environmental Protection Agency, Deland is Ronald Reagan's environmental enforcer in Michael Dukakis' back yard and a prominent harbor advocate. But on the day of Bush's visit, he worked quietly in his Government Center office, choosing, he says, to keep EPA above the messy politics of the presidential race.

Out on George Bush's boat, meanwhile, Deland's influence was felt anyway. When the Republican presidential candidate wanted to lend an air of authority to his accusation that Dukakis had been indifferent to the contamination of Boston Harbor, Bush quoted Deland. In fact, to some Dukakis partisans, Deland's absence on the Bush campaign boat was a moot point, since in their view he had forfeited his political neutrality a month before. On August 10, at the ground-breaking ceremony for the sewage-treatment system that, when complete, will end highly polluted discharges into the harbor, Deland had bolstered his earlier claim to reporters that the Dukakis administration delay in cleaning up the harbor was "the most expensive public policy mistake in the history of New England."

The August statement infuriated Deland's critics and puzzled his allies. Democrats speculated that his true colors as a politician were emerging at last. At worst they suspected him of making points with the Bush campaign, lobbying to become national EPA administrator under a Bush presidency. At best, they said, it was yet another example of Deland's favorite activity: Dukakis bashing. Some pundits wondered whether he might be positioning himself to run for governor or attorney general in 1990. Even inside EPA, where Deland has been credited with restoring the agency's integrity and environmental conscience, people wondered what he was up to. "After the Deer Island ground breaking," says one senior official in the Boston office, "some of the idealistic young people here who had really put Mike on a pedestal were very surprised and upset. He had always seemed above it all. For the first time they felt they were seeing not Deland, EPA official, but Deland, Republican appointee."

In New England, as in most of the country, EPA has traditionally

Continued on page 47

*Presidential
politics and his
own high
visibility
are forcing
Michael Deland
regional
administrator
of the EPA,
to define
his future.*

BY
NORMAN
BOUCHER

The enforcer

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 24

been a faceless, tepid bureaucracy often overwhelmed by the regulatory complexity of its mission. Equipped with tiny budgets and weak legislation, it has been charged with protecting the country's air and water from all the wastes of all its homes and industry. Environmentalists have generally found the agency not up to the job. But in New England, the anonymity and ineffectiveness changed in 1983 with the arrival of Michael Deland, who has since become the face and voice of a far more compelling EPA in the region. Among environmentalists, whose favorite adjective for Deland is "courageous," he is known as the champion of Boston Harbor; in particular they laud his 1985 action in joining the Conservation Law Foundation suit against the state and the MDC to stop the worst pollution of the harbor. Since then, he has been cajoling the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority (MWRA) in the courts and in the news media whenever he believes it is in danger of straying from the court-mandated cleanup schedule.

"I really admire the guy," says Douglas Foy, executive director of the Conservation Law Foundation, New England's most visible environmental group. "He's got a lot of guts. He sort of epitomizes for me what a public official is all about. He is a lone wolf who's doing really quite remarkable stuff. There's nothing substantive that Mike Deland has done wrong." To former Democratic senator Paul Tsongas, Deland is

"very bright, committed to his work, and with a real capacity to look beyond the next couple of years. You're supposed to provide leadership in his kind of position, and obviously leadership sometimes means stepping on people's toes. I have no objection to that. I find it much better than the usual I-don't-want-to-get-involved or I-can't-do-anything response."

But the people whose toes Deland has bruised call him "frustrating to deal with," "pretty quick with the elbow," "cavalier, self-serving, and partisan." His more bitter critics imply that he is an old-fashioned rich Republican environmentalist unconcerned with creating jobs or bringing new development to economically depressed parts of New England. Others characterize him as a "news hound" who tends to simplify issues in a way that makes him

look good and the states look bad. James Hoyte, the Massachusetts environmental secretary, says, "I am someone who has a lot of respect for Mike Deland's commitment to the environment. But I think sometimes it complicates life for folks. In Boston, we had begun the process of cleaning up the harbor before Mike Deland came into his position. There is no question that having a high-profile administrator like Mike accelerates some things, but I don't think for a moment that on the harbor Mike was the one responsible."

William Eichbaum, Hoyte's undersecretary, is more blunt. "It's time for Deland to stop being the nanny, slapping people's fingers when he gets frustrated, and recognize that the state has set up major institutions, that the state has brought in extraordinarily competent

people," he says. "We're making progress. The state has said, 'We're not only going to meet the court schedule on Boston Harbor, we're going to beat it.' It's time to stop the negative assistance, the climate of crisis."

Deland's defense is simple. Although his most widely debated actions have involved the Dukakis administration, he says he has been unafraid to take on Republicans as well. His relationship with the Reagan administration in Washington has at times been knotty; he has opposed its wishes to allow oil drilling on Georges Bank, and he was rejected for one EPA job when someone at the White House read columns he had written for a technical journal that were critical of the agency. When he opposed the mall development on Sweedens Swamp in Attleboro a few years ago, a

number of prominent Republicans tried to get him to back down; at one point the White House received about 300 letters protesting his position.

More recently, Deland has been fighting a plan supported by New Hampshire's Republican governor, John Sununu, to greatly expand the Loon Mountain ski area without filing an environmental impact statement. At a time when Rhode Island's Republican governor, Edward DiPrete, is running for reelection, Deland has condemned his proposal to flood 1,000 acres of wetlands for a reservoir along the Big River, a controversy that may end up in court. The entire Maine congressional delegation — two Democrats and two Republicans — is irritated over his opposition to building a marine cargo terminal on Sears Island, a 957-acre wilderness; the project is

supported even by Maine's Sen. George Mitchell, one of the most respected environmentalists in Congress.

"Mike Deland," says Paul Keough, EPA's deputy regional administrator, "is loved by some, feared by others, and disliked by some." Fortunately for Deland, among his admirers is his boss, Lee Thomas, the EPA national administrator. "I don't think," Thomas says, "you'll find a better regional administrator than Mike Deland."

Michael Reeves Deland was born in Boston to a prominent Republican family on December 13, 1941. His father was F. Stanton Deland Jr., a well-known lawyer and Harvard alumnus who directed the 1980 merging of four hospitals into the one Brigham and Women's, of which he became president and,

later, chairman of the board. Michael Deland remembers him "not only as a father, but as close a friend as I've had." Although Stanton died more than two years ago, he still is a major force in his son's life. "There are very few days," Michael Deland says, "when I don't think about him. Faced with a tough decision, I find myself, consciously or unconsciously, thinking about how he would react in that situation."

The family, which included Michael's younger brother, Frank, and sister, Susan, lived on Cabot Street in Chestnut Hill. Deland's boyhood was privileged, robust, and active. He played baseball, tennis, and hockey; he hiked in the mountains; and, above all, he sailed. It was on family cruises, he recalls, that he first learned to respect the splendid environment around him — a respect that in

hindsight reflects the myopic state of environmental awareness at the time. "I remember that you were being sensible if you didn't dump your garbage until you were well out of port," he says. "It didn't occur to anyone not to dump it at all."

Deland entered Harvard in 1959. His romantic interest then was Adele Simmons, a Radcliffe student who is now the president of Hampshire College. She remembers him as a good student but "not the hardest worker in our class." He seemed happier playing hockey or, especially, out sailing at his family's house in Marion, on Buzzards Bay. He was an extraordinary ocean sailor, Simmons says, and a good teacher. In keeping with his upbringing, he was also a true stoic. She recalls picking him up once at the hockey rink after an intramural game and, after discovering

that he had broken his nose in the heat of competition, having to insist that he see a doctor.

Many of Deland's friends at this time would gather at the Chestnut Hill house for a formal Sunday lunch. It was, Simmons says, an old-fashioned gathering of family and friends, "the kind of meal after which one had to take a nap." The atmosphere was congenial, and discussions of politics and public service were encouraged.

When Deland graduated from Harvard, in 1963, he entered the Navy, as his father had before him. "It wasn't all arduous duty," he recalls. "I did spend a fair amount of time playing tennis with an admiral in Japan and from May to September 1964 racing in the America's Cup trials."

Although Deland's boat, the *Nefertiti*, was eliminated in the first set of trials, the crew

sailed from dawn to dusk that summer, achieving an exhilarating level of finely tuned teamwork. As one of the smallest and most agile members of the crew, Deland worked the foredeck, setting the spinnaker while going downwind.

Though the days were physically demanding, Deland was living the good life. One of his mates was David Rockefeller Jr.; ashore, Deland lived in a Newport mansion. "I was embarrassed," he says. "I had to collect my paycheck every two weeks. I remember the first time, I got all dressed up in my Navy uniform and not only collected the paycheck but found that my per diem expense check doubled my ensign's pay. I said, 'This just isn't right. I don't have any expenses.' " The response, he says, gave him his first lesson on the absurd inertia and waste that can beset a large bureaucracy: "The response was, 'Shut up, ensign. Take your money and go back to your mansion.' "

Deland also spent time in Kenya and was part of the first Navy unit to tour the Indian Ocean in some 20 years. US involvement in Vietnam was just beginning, so Deland's ship remained offshore without participating in any bombardment.

It was in Southeast Asia, though, that Deland contracted an extremely severe case of dysentery, which included a massive internal infection. He thought little of it, and then, while playing tennis one day after returning from Asia, he sneezed while running for a shot and felt an excruciating pain shoot down his back and into his leg.

Soon he noticed that he was getting a step slower on the tennis court. Stationed in San

Diego, he often ran early mornings on the beach, but his times got slower instead of faster. Gradually, Deland realized that something was wrong, but the doctors he saw could not agree on what it was. Several specialists suspected he had multiple sclerosis, but that diagnosis was eventually ruled out.

Although he had hoped to stay longer in the Navy, Deland left in 1965 after one two-year stint and entered law school at Boston College. He spent much of his afternoons exercising, trying to counteract the deterioration that was continuing in his legs. He began to use a cane.

For a time, hoping that

something could be done about the worsening condition of his back and legs, Deland went "careening around the country seeing experts." In 1967 he underwent exploratory surgery on his back, but it was inconclusive.

"When the deterioration first occurred," says Daniel (Putter) Brown, a Hartford lawyer and a close friend since the mid-1960s, "for a period of seven or eight years he never knew when it would stop or whether it would stop. He didn't know whether he would become completely paralyzed. He was concerned about what kind of life he would have, and he seemed reluctant to put down roots, establish a relation-

ship, and become a father. For a long time he pretended the handicap didn't exist. He would virtually not talk about it, didn't want people treating him any differently, and insisted on walking, even when it was clear to everyone else that he was proceeding at a slow rate of feet per minute."

Deland insists that his friends exaggerate the difficulty of his adjustment. True, he could no longer play tennis or ski, but he could still sail. He threw himself into the sport with renewed passion. Over the next decade he became one of the world's best sailors of Shields class boats, an old-fashioned, deep-keeled sailboat that

requires only a small crew. "It's probably the only boat that's sailed at a level of serious national competition that Mike can sail with his handicap," says Putter Brown. "Most boats require that the skipper have mobility, but the Shields has a seat inside the cockpit where the skipper can sit. Most skippers don't, and the fact that Mike does is a disadvantage in competition." Nevertheless, Deland has won the national championships twice, in 1980 and 1987.

Brown says that Deland's traits as a sailor have served him well in his career as a lawyer. "He's capable of intense powers of concentration," he says, "and it's very unusual, even at the highest levels of competition, to see anyone who can concentrate so intensely for that period of time. And he's wise. He has an understanding of where he fits into the larger strategic picture, which is also very rare. Most sailors know where they are in the immediate vicinity but don't have a sense of the entire course."

That Deland's victories date from 1979, when he had his lower back surgically fused in the mistaken belief that the

procedure would result in less pain, is all the more remarkable, according to Brown. "He can't crane his neck around much now," Brown says. "He now has to have people describe where the other boats are. Yet he continues to win in serious competition."

In 1970, Deland, just out of law school, managed the campaign of John McGlennon, the Republican running for Congress against Rev. Robert Drinan, one of Deland's law school professors. Drinan won the election, but a year later McGlennon became the first New England regional administrator for the newly created Environmental Protection Agency, and on November 1, 1971, Deland was sworn in as one of his staff attorneys. By going to EPA, Deland was at least temporarily putting aside any ambitions he had for elective office himself. Although he seldom talked about his future plans, his friends from this time agree that politics, in the liberal Republican tradition, was definitely on his mind. "I think that before his handicap was in full bloom," says Putter Brown,

"we both assumed that he would run for some elective office."

Inspired by Ralph Nader's 1970 speech at the Boston celebration of Earth Day, Deland had become interested in practicing environmental law. There were few rules and procedures in place yet at EPA, Deland says, and so the staff was able to innovate and improvise. Much of the time was taken up trying to write the first effluent-discharge permits for the metal platers of southern New England and paper companies of northern New England. In the summer, much of the staff, sometimes including Deland, went north in canoes to take water samples from the rivers.

By 1976 Deland was chief of the region's enforcement branch and had developed a reputation as a tough, aggressive environmental lawyer. His approach was simple: to go after the biggest, most flagrant polluters around. But given the small penalties then in effect, it was also a difficult one to put into practice; big, profitable institutions could afford to ignore pollution.

"I remember one early air-enforcement hearing which I chaired," Deland says. "It was against a guy who operated an apartment complex. He came into the hearing in work clothes and a T-shirt. Through the window at the other end of the room, we could see a Boston Edison smokestack spewing forth, and he said, 'What am I doing here when they can do that?' But it was all so haphazard then. We had no conception of the real environmental problems." Summing up that period, Deland describes what has probably been the biggest problem for EPA throughout its history: "We had the mind-set but not the tools."

In 1976, Deland, looking for more money and

fresh challenges, left EPA for a job at a private environmental consulting firm in Concord. Although the progress of nerve damage in his legs had stopped, his work at EPA had not allowed him the time he needed for the physical therapy that would keep his legs strong. He went from a cane to crutches.

His personal life took a turn for the better one day in the early 1970s, when he saw a newspaper picture of a young woman winning the New England squash championship. She was, he learned, the fourth-ranked squash player in the country. "I thought that anybody with that skill and tenacity would be a fun person to be with," he says, and he soon met the woman, Jane Slocum, through a mutual friend. They were married in 1973.

By the time Deland became EPA's regional administrator in

1983, he was the father of a 6-year-old boy and twin 5-year-old girls. The job again cut into the time he could devote to physical therapy, and so he finally gave up his crutches for a wheelchair, without which, he says, he would be unable to perform his duties. His condition remains undiagnosed, with the most plausible theories centering on his attack of dysentery in Southeast Asia or a hit he might have taken while playing football around that same time.

He is often in pain and two years ago underwent a third back operation to relieve pressure on his nerves. Yet he insists that his disability is a minor annoyance. "In many ways," he says, "it's harder on family than it is on me. I'm much more concerned about protecting the environment than proving that someone in a wheelchair can do a reasonable

job of it. At the same time, I do have a responsibility to show those who are handicapped that it can be done."

Deland's day begins at 6:30 a.m., when a physical therapist comes to his Wellesley home for a session of stretching and exercise. He tries to get to his office by 9:30 and often doesn't return home until 12 hours later, after his children have gone to bed. He wishes he could spend more evenings at home with them and with Jane, but seems resigned to the cost that the grind of public service has exacted from both his family life and his physical condition.

"There's nothing I would like better," he says, "than to put my kids on my shoulders for a while or to lead a charge on skis down Sugarloaf or to pick up a tennis racket with Jane. But since I can't, I don't spend any time thinking about it. So

I've paid a very real price in that sense on this job, but it's one that I've paid out of choice."

When Deland arrived at his office in June 1983, he found an agency that had been "beaten down to a point that was intolerable." President Reagan, viewing his 1980 landslide victory in part as support for widespread deregulation, had appointed Anne Gorsuch, a little-known Republican from Colorado, as national EPA administrator and told her to make sure that the business side of environmental matters received more sympathetic consideration.

Suddenly, regional decisions, which in previous administrations had been made independently, had to be cleared by Washington. "The mentality in Washington," says Paul Keough, who has been at EPA since it was founded in 1971, "was that they knew how to run the agency better than the people who'd been here for years."

Morale plummeted. Douglas Costle, the national administra-

tor during the Carter administration and now dean of the University of Vermont law school, remembers that the effort "to dismantle EPA" was so aggressive under Gorsuch that "there was a real bipartisan reaction in the Senate." Gorsuch was fired, and William Ruckelshaus, the first EPA administrator and a man with a good reputation among conservationists, was brought in. He replaced most administrators in EPA regional offices. For New England he chose Michael Deland.

"He was highly recommended by a lot of people in the Boston area," Ruckelshaus recalls. "He just seemed to stand out on many counts." Ruckelshaus was particularly disturbed about the inattention to enforcement that characterized the Gorsuch EPA. "It was necessary for me to come in and pound the table over enforcement because it had been neglected. It wasn't necessary in Mike's case."

Deland saw his immediate task as improving "the internal morale and external image" of the agency. The best way to do that, he reasoned, was through enforcement cases that would

produce lots of publicity and get the word out that EPA was alive and well. "I was looking for big cases," he says. Almost immediately he issued notices to the Boston public schools and the Archdiocese of Boston that they were violating regulations on asbestos removal. He called reporters with the story. "I firmly believe," he says, "that there cannot be a situation when you take an enforcement action of any kind and don't publicize it."

To fire up the lawyers within his agency, in 1984 Deland hired Patrick Parenteau, a lawyer with the National Wildlife Federation in Washington, as his regional counsel. "I was really the first regional counsel ever to come from an environmental group," says Parenteau, who is now the commissioner of the Vermont Department of Environmental Conservation. "My friends in the environmental community thought I was crazy to apply, because they thought that even if I got the job I wouldn't be able to do anything. Mike Deland was the only regional administrator I would have considered working with."

But the real turning point came in 1985. By the end of February, Deland had sued the Commonwealth of Massachusetts over the cleanup of Boston Harbor and had recommended denying a permit to a Syracuse development company that would allow it to build a shopping mall on Sweedens Swamp in Attleboro. Both cases received effusive praise from environmentalists, headlines in the national papers, and intense political heat from both Republicans and Democrats. "He gave his agency some pride again," says Douglas Foy.

To the general public, Michael Deland became the EPA. "If you're trying to restore public confidence in an agency," Deland says, "you've got to have one voice. You pay a price for that, because there are always those who say you're a headline grabber. But what drives me is that we have to demonstrate to the public that we are still in business."

Outside EPA, few people have as much official contact with Deland as Paul Levy. As the former chairman of the Massachusetts Department of Public Utilities and the current

executive director of the MWRA, Levy has been both regulator and regulated. On the one hand, the EPA/CLF lawsuit over Boston Harbor has eased the politics of his job by allowing him to point to the court-mandated cleanup schedule as something that simply must be met in order to avoid prohibitive fines. But he is concerned that Deland's actions on the harbor can also undercut the public confidence that he has been carefully building. And without public support, he says, the MWRA will have trouble cleaning up the harbor.

"As a regulator," Levy says, "what you do is, you frame the debate. You help raise public consciousness. As a former regulator, I know that ultimately the regulators don't find the solution. They can cause the solution to be found by legal or regulatory pressure. Mike is a master of that. There are some regulators who are afraid to do that because the steps they have to take are so controversial. But as a former regulator who was blamed for these same things, I also know there are degrees of doing it. Sometimes it gets perceived as

carping."

"Paul is right," Deland says. "I can force an issue on the cleanup of Boston Harbor and say that the law says and common sense says and a number of other things say that the harbor needs to be cleaned up, but my role in a sense is far easier, because we don't have to implement the solutions. I recognize that, and I hope we are constructive in helping those that do provide the solutions." When does regulatory pressure become unproductive carping? "It's a fine line," Deland admits. "I may have stepped over the line on occasion but, I like to think, not very often."

In retrospect Deland admits that the point of view he expressed at the Deer Island ground breaking — that the Dukakis delay on Boston Harbor was the most expensive public policy mistake in the history of New England — probably crossed that line. He defends himself as having made the same statement before, back when Dukakis was a little-known governor and not a presidential candidate. Besides, he adds, he also told reporters

that day that EPA shares some of the blame on the harbor delay — a qualification that didn't make the headlines. Yet one EPA official at the ceremony says that Deland asked to speak to reporters before they approached him, which would indicate that he was determined to speak his mind at the event.

Whether he approached reporters or reporters approached him, certainly someone who is as media savvy as Deland should have known that any mildly critical statement about the Dukakis administration during the presidential campaign would create news. Whether Deland was out to criticize Dukakis and thereby endear himself to the Bush campaign, or whether he was just reiterating the facts as he has done before, his remarks that day were at best impolitic and at worst opportunistic. Certainly, Deland considered the politics of the ground breaking serious enough to consult Washington beforehand. Lee Thomas, EPA national administrator, confirms that he and Deland spoke the evening before and that in the course of that conversation Thomas "certain-

ly" told Deland to stand up for EPA if it got "kicked around." Yet, as one EPA senior official says, "On that day EPA was not under attack, but Mike Deland was on the attack."

"In my judgment," Deland says, "I've clearly said these things for EPA and not for Mike Deland or anybody else. I have turned down more calls and requests for interviews than I've accepted. I've turned down any that has asked me to comment on the Dukakis environmental record, including one from each of the three major networks."

Although in some ways puzzling, the Deer Island episode can also be seen as consistent with Deland's determined, even stubborn, regulatory style. It may be facile to say that he likes to be the skipper of his ship, but as regional administrator he has shown no inclination to be one of the good old boys of Massachusetts politics. His most effective regulatory tool has been to stake out the high environmental ground in the press, a lofty approach that has infuriated leaders from both political parties. "As a re-

gional administrator," says Lee Thomas, "your job is not to be a team player. Your job is to make sure environmental regulations get enforced." A more partisan regional administrator, Deland insists, would have waited until after the election to grapple with Rhode Island governor DiPrete on the Big River reservoir plan.

Up to now, Deland has approached his job more or less case by case, calling them, he likes to say, as he sees them. As a result, the New England region of EPA has been known as probably the best in the country. Lately it has had a number of precedent-setting cases, including some criminal ones, in an attempt, Deland says, to get the message out that individuals in corporations can now find themselves in the courtroom docket for knowingly breaking antipollution laws.

But Michael Deland has been around long enough now for a vision to emerge. In Deland's view, most of the major pollution problems are at least in the process of being addressed. The next step in environmental regulation, he believes, is much more difficult,

because it involves problems deeply rooted in the American way of life. "We need to increase focus on pollution prevention rather than control and cleanup," he says. "In my view that means societal change is sorely needed."

The most pressing issue Deland sees in the region now is development. He is the only major public official to have publicly supported Paul Tsongas' proposal for a building moratorium on Cape Cod, and he has criticized state and local officials for the uncoordinated way in which they are proceeding with the Central Artery and Deer Island projects. "I firmly believe," he says, "that economic growth and environmental protection can be compatible, but not without a great deal of work and planning."

When making judgments about such broad issues and about the quality of life in New England, for instance, Deland acknowledges that he is going beyond his technical duties as EPA regional administrator. More and more, it seems, he views his job as a platform from which to raise questions that might be overlooked by the offi-

cials trying to implement day-to-day decisions. He is taking the long view, and he admits that a part of him would like to address broader issues than purely environmental ones.

Is Michael Deland beginning to feel constricted by his role as EPA regional administrator? Despite his accomplishments, his future in the job is uncertain. In a recent issue of the Environmental Law Institute's newsletter, he was the only regional administrator listed among 10 candidates that environmentalists suggested would be qualified to become EPA national administrator in a Bush administration. "He would be an obvious choice," says Douglas Foy. "And I know that's one of the only jobs he'd leave his present job for."

Deland insists that he would like to remain a regional administrator as long as he can, but he also realizes that he would be one of the first to go should Dukakis become president. Would Deland consider running for governor or attorney general in 1990? He is considered one of the rising young stars of a rather sorry Massachusetts Republican Party, and some of his

friends — many of them Democrats — have been urging him to run.

Deland says he is tempted but not really interested. For one thing, he says, he is clearly in the Frank Sargent/William Ruckelshaus wing of the party, a wing that is now out of favor. Any run for governor by a Republican in Massachusetts would have great cost and very little benefit, he insists. In fact he calls it a "kamikaze" exercise. "I do have a deep-seated interest in the public sector," Deland says, "and do have an interest in serving one way or another. But the problem of getting an elective job is enormous. The price to ask my family is just too great."

Yet being perceived as non-partisan has obvious political advantages. The fact remains that the integrity of Deland's commitment to environmental protection has never been seriously questioned. He has been an unflinching regulator and has earned the passionate respect of his staff because of it. "The amazing thing about him," says Patrick Parenteau, "is that he's got these ambitions, yet he takes these unpopular stands.

Look at him now. He's going to the mat on the Sears Island proposal with George Mitchell, this sterling environmentalist who I'll bet has got a 99 percent rating from the conservation lobby. If a Mitchell can bring himself to support this, then who the hell is Michael Deland? He does it because in his gut he thinks it's a bad site. If he's guilty of anything, he's guilty of listening to his heart instead of his political ambitions."

Deland himself has most likely not yet decided what he would like to do next, but politics and his own visibility are forcing tough questions upon him. By following his instincts for most of his career, he has built a reputation for integrity and forthrightness. He has gained the almost universal support of environmentalists and the grudging respect of most state and local leaders. No one wants to be seen publicly criticizing Michael Deland. "I've never had a game plan for my life," Deland says. "I've moved from one opportunity to another." The presidential election next month just may dictate what that next opportunity will be. •

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 30, 1988

Dear Pat:

Many thanks for your kind letter of December 15 on behalf of Mr. Beurt SerVaas. It was good to hear from you. While it has already been filled, I nonetheless appreciated your advice on the secretaryship at Health and Human Services. If you have any other ideas or suggestions, please do not hesitate to contact me. I value your wise counsel.

Once again, thanks for writing, and please do keep in touch. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year. God bless.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", with a stylized flourish at the end.

John H. Sununu

Mr. Pat Robertson
Chairman of the Board &
Chief Executive Officer
CBN Network, Inc.
Virginia Beach, VA 23463

**The
Christian
Broadcasting
Network
Inc.**



Pat Robertson
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

16 DEC REC'D

December 15, 1988

Governor John Sununu
Office of the President-Elect
1825 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear John:

I know this letter comes late in the process, but I would like to propose a candidate for Secretary of Health and Human Services who may be the most outstandingly qualified for that position in the United States.

He is a medical doctor, the owner of a \$180,000,000 a year manufacturing complex, the president of the Indianapolis City Council, a man who gave \$100,000 to the Victory '88 Campaign, a pioneer in preventive medicine, and the man who selected William Hudnut and Richard Lugar for the job of mayor of Indianapolis, and who was active in the senatorial campaigns of both Quayle and Lugar.

We are now spending in America over \$500 billion a year on health care. The numbers are growing at an exponential rate. Health care costs are threatening the integrity of the Medicare system. Current medicine centers on pathology. Beurt SerVaas wants to focus government efforts toward prevention of disease through diet, exercise, and overall wellness. He has solutions which indeed could save our nation hundreds of billions of dollars in health care costs and loss productivity.

If it is not too late, I would appreciate your consideration of this outstanding conservative Republican American.

With best regards, I remain

Sincerely,

Pat Robertson
Chairman of the Board
Chief Executive Officer

PR:bj

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Resume	Re: Resume [FOIA Exemptions Redacted] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the

Series: Winklejohn, Katie, Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Chief of Staff-Designate Transition Files 11/88-1/89: Correspondence - December [5]

Date Closed: 2/9/2017

OA/ID Number: 00834-019

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2016-2628-F

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
- C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
- C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
- PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

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

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

Beurt SerVaas, Med.Sc.D.

1000 Waterway Boulevard
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202
317-633-2020

INDUSTRY:

Founded diversified private corporation engaged in manufacturing (brass, copper, steel forgings, rubber refining, chemicals, and truck engines). Sales last year approximately \$180,000,000. Purchased and revived The Curtis Publishing Company (The Saturday Evening Post, Jack and Jill, Children's Playmate, Turtle), history book publishing; copyright and licensing, foreign trade (offices in London, Frankfurt, Warsaw, Spain, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Taiwan), radio music programming; computer software publishing.

GOVERNMENT and POLITICS:

Active in all presidential campaigns since Eisenhower; Treasurer of the Marion County Republican Central Committee since 1964. Conceived and sponsored the legislation creating the unified local government of Marion County and Indianapolis, the largest "Republican" city in the U.S. Have served as a council member for 26 years, the majority of that time as President. Selected both Richard Lugar and William Hudnut as mayoralty candidates for Indianapolis. These two have served twenty years in that office.

During my tenure on the Indianapolis council I have instituted public-private partnerships which have helped make Indianapolis a rejuvenated, prosperous AAA-1 credit rated city.

I have also participated in the senatorial election campaigns of both Lugar and Quayle.

I have been a principal fund raiser for both the state and county parties.

I am and have been a member of the Republican Congressional Leadership Commiteee, a member of the Free Congress Committee, and on the Board of Governors of the Council for National Policy.

My wife and I are good friends of the Nixon family as their daughter, Julie, worked for The Curtis Publishing Company (commuted to Indianapolis three days a week) during Nixon's second term. We accompanied the Nixons on their last trip to NATO and the Soviet Union in 1974.

I am very well known by Senators Lugar and Quayle, and Governor Orr of Indiana, and I am well acquainted with 12 to 15 Senators and 20 to 25 Congressmen.

I have dealt on many occasions with the Department of State and the Department of Commerce, various state governments and numerous cities through my long association with the National League of Cities.

I have lectured to many cities on how they might consolidate their local governments.

I have served on the Indiana Higher Education Commission for 15 years, first as Vice-Chairman and later as Chairman. This Commission approves all public university and college budgets, new construction, degree programs, and curriculum. I have also served on the Board of the State Board of Health and the Indiana Public Health Foundation.

In 1972, Gov. Edgar Whitcomb of Indiana appointed me Chairman of the State Medical Education Commission. As chairman, I proposed a statewide system of medical education to be allocated among our senior universities as an alternative to building a second medical school. This plan was unanimously accepted by the State legislature, has been well received by both faculty and students and versions of the "Indiana Plan" now exist in 23 states. (For corroborative purposes, consult with Steven Berring, M.D., President of Purdue University).

In 1975 I conceived a plan to convert the City General Hospital of Indianapolis (exclusively for indigents and a "failing" institution) into a teaching hospital by combining it with the IU Medical School campus.

ACADEMIC:

Indianapolis Public School 70: Won Latin and algebra High School credits

Shortridge High School (in top 25 U.S. public high schools) High Honor Roll

Indiana University: AB in Chemistry, History and Spanish
Phi Delta Kappa, Scholastic Honorary

Indiana University School of Medicine: Doctor of Medical Science
Thesis on Hypertension

Board Member of National League of Nurses, New York City, the official accrediting body for nursing institution.

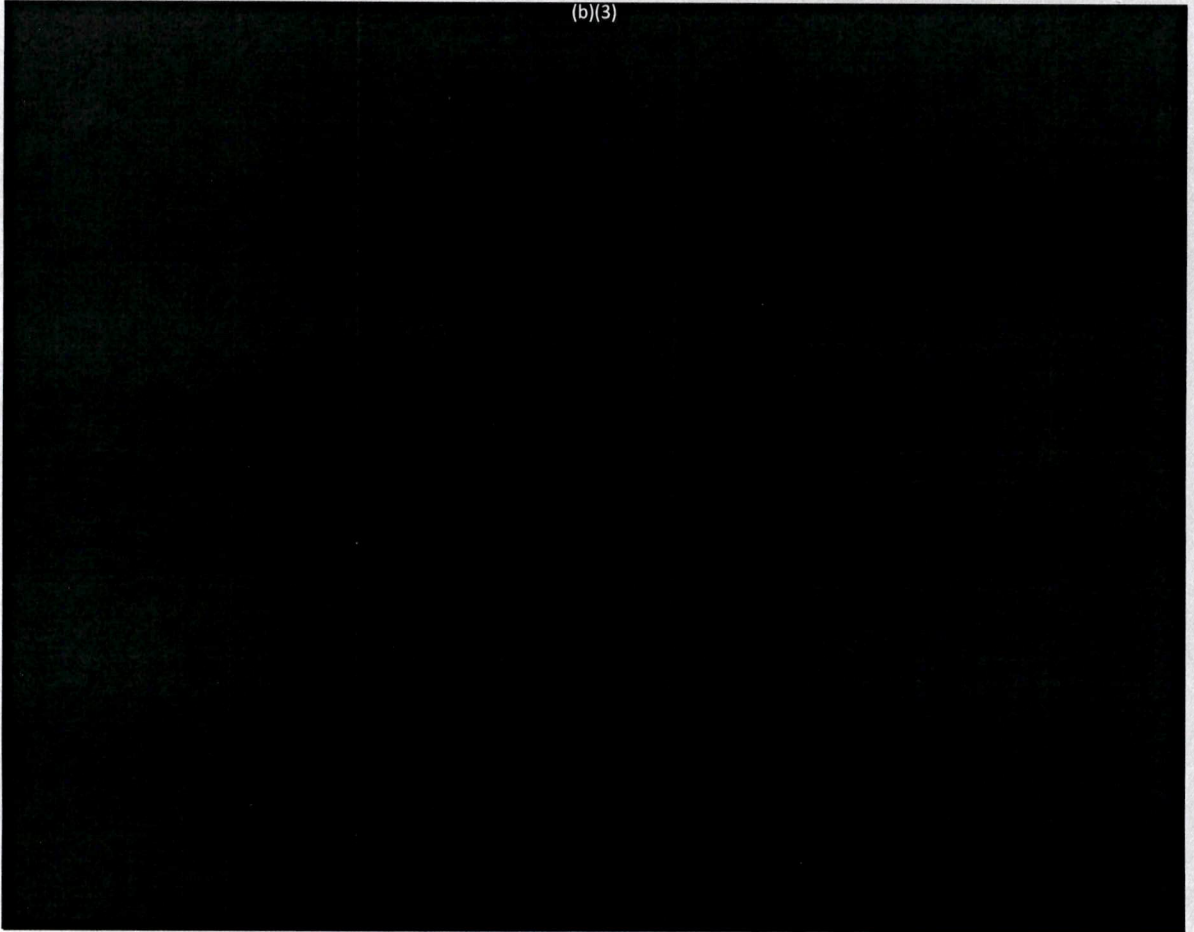
Board of Directors and Chairman of the Kirksville College of Osteopathic Medicine. (I was the first non D.O. member of this board.)

Honorary Doctorate degrees from:

Indiana State University
Butler University
Vincennes University
University of New England (Medical)
Indiana Technical Institute

MILITARY AND GOVERNMENT SERVICE:

(b)(3)



1955 - 1962 Director of the National American Legion's Foreign Relations Commission.

Formulated policy for the National Commander and the National Executive Committee on desirable U.S. foreign policy.

Wrote major speeches for the National Commander.

U.S. Naval Reserve 1949 to 1965.

COMMUNITY SERVICE:

Director of Banc One, the largest bank in Indiana.

Chairman of The National Institute for Fitness and Sport.

This institute is a joint venture of the President's Fitness Council, the State of Indiana, the City of Indianapolis and the Lilly Endowment. It has a national board of professional health research scientists and is also accredited for national olympic athletic training.

Chairman of the Indianapolis Entrepreneurship Academy.

This institution offers young business, science or technology graduates an opportunity to start a business utilizing their skills but buttressed by the experience of seasoned business executives.

Board director of Meals on Wheels.

This program serves a geriatric or out-patient population in Indianapolis able to live alone but needing help in food preparation.

Member of numerous business, professional and community organizations:

Eagle Scout

Earned my amateur radio license at age 16: W9WVO

Young President's Organization

Second Presbyterian Church, Indianapolis

The National Manufacturer's Association

The American Association of Medical Colleges

The Indianapolis Press Club

The World Future Society

The English Speaking Union

Lecturer and guest speaker on such subjects as:

U.S. Foreign Policy in the Far East

Communism as I Saw It at Work

My Years in Latin America

Everything in Chemistry in Action

What It Takes to Make Good in Business

What Will Happen to Castro's Cuba

Why the Russians Kicked Communism Out in 1922

God is What He Means to You

Are You Learning a Foreign Language or a Foreign Vocabulary

Political Action

Executive Health

FAMILY:

Born May 7, 1919, in Indianapolis, Indiana, of Dutch ancestry

Married: Cory Synhorst, January, 1950

Five Children:

Eric	Indiana University, A.B. Indiana University School of Law, J.D.
Kristin	Wellesley College, A.B. Harvard, M.B.A.
Joan	Purdue University, A.B. Indiana University School of Law, J.D.
Paul	University of Arizona School of Engineering, B.S. Purdue University, M.Sci.
Amy	Butler University, A.B. Indiana University, M.B.A.

HEALTH:

Age 69, weight 175, in excellent health, run two miles, seven days a week. Play vigorous tennis singles; have drive and energy of much younger person; organized; can communicate, get along well with minorities, women, foreigners, subordinates and superiors; goal oriented; loyal to superior or benefactor; innovative; cooperative.

OBJECT IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE:

Derive a plan for sustained action which will achieve Administration objectives, yet build, in so doing, a reservoir of good will.

CURRENT FISCAL STATUS:

Present net worth approximately \$ _____ (amount furnished on request). Willing to put stock in blind trust.

2525 West 44th Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46208
317-291-9198

Investing in the city's future

By BEURT SERVAAS

The city of Indianapolis is a \$500 million-dollar corporation in the "service" business. It has its chief executive officer (the mayor) and its board of directors (the City-County Council) elected by its stockholders (the voters).

This corporation furnishes police and fire protection, sanitation, roads and bridges for travel, parks for recreation and many other large and small services for which its "customers," the property owners and wage earners, pay according to the value of their "stake" in the corporation (assessed value of their property) or the amount of their earnings (gross income tax).

There's something wrong with this picture though. Our "parent" company (the state of Indiana) keeps the city of Indianapolis on a short leash. The parent gives its subsidiary (the city) little or no working capital, and no investment capital to build or enhance its principal source of income, the private property tax. Fortunately for all of us citizen "stockholders" of Indianapolis, developers pushed to the suburbs for private property development opportunities because land was relatively cheap and available, and so our tax base has risen. That's the good news.

THE BAD news is that good and fairly inexpensive land within our boundaries is fast disappearing.

There's further bad news.

In the "old city" there are pockets of urban decay in which population withdrawal and economic stagnation are beginning to infect our body politic. The Meadows and sections of Brightwood are much like the Indiana Avenue area used to be before IUPUI invested in campus expansion and Indianapolis invested its last federal revenue sharing dollars to create a "university city" along the canal. The Indiana Avenue renewal is attracting private investors to build new hotels (the Lincoln), apartments, a shopping center, restaurants, office buildings — in short, a renewal which will expand Indianapolis' income base substantially in years to come.

The last bit of bad news is that the building boom in new office buildings, at least Downtown, is over for some years. New applications for office structures have dried up. But the building and renewal of the "old city" need not stop, for we are much in need of new or renewed warehouse space, commercial buildings, retail establishments, light industry, recreation, apartments and service industries.

THE BIG problem, however, is that it is very expensive to assemble Downtown property, level abandoned structures, perhaps relocate streets and utilities; in brief, to create an attractive land area wherein private developers and business interests can acquire land at a reasonable enough price to justify investing. In an old, large, urban area only government can assemble and provide this incentive for private taxpaying investors to build permanent residence and business structures.

A good example of successful government effort is the renewal that created Merchants Plaza and the AUL building. The Indiana Avenue redevelopment effort has created hundreds of low and medium income apartments.

Today there are practically no federal funds for urban redevelopment. Indiana has no viable program for major urban redevelopment in Indianapolis. We do have an excellent city agency, the Department of Metropolitan Development, which has a fine professional staff and practical plans for the renewal of our urban areas infected with decay, including targeted neighborhoods.

Everything else equal, an increase in our tax base reduces the tax rate for all taxpayers. But alas, we have no capital to facilitate this effort which could reverse the decay and thus en-

*Let's sell off assets
and invest this
money in projects
which will increase
our tax base.*

hance our revenue-producing tax base.

WE NEED the capital now to invest in these city-saving projects. But Santa Claus comes only on Christmas. The rest of the year we're on our own. So let's do what all smart corporations in the land are doing. Let's sell off our assets that are not doing us any good and invest this money in projects which will increase our tax base, lower our taxes and save us all a hard-earned dollar.

Recently the public let local government know that it would tolerate no more landfills in Marion County. The city was then obliged to plan and construct a facility to burn the public's trash. When the city's Department of Public Works found that a private company could build and operate the new utility much cheaper and better than local government, the city elected to contract with a new private utility which bid competitively with other taxpaying private utilities for the business.

Fortunately for Indianapolis, our future natural gas supply looks good. Citizens Gas does have a fine gas distribution plant. It serves customers well, has competent, loyal employees and has been a good employer these many years. The service furnished by Citizens Gas needs to be — and deserves to be — continued because it adequately serves its customers and employees. But its "ownership" by the city, through a mechanism called a charitable trust, does the city no good. Yes, it pays the equivalent of local taxes, but its ownership by the city has no advantage to the city.

sell to private investors, through competitive bid, not the charitable trust that owns the gas company, but simply the charitable trust's assets, e.g., pipe lines, coke ovens, oil wells, etc. The prospective new private owners are willing to guarantee not to raise gas rates for at least three years. Indeed, thereafter rates could not be raised unless the Indiana Utility Regulatory Commission finds the increase justified.

What happens now to our charitable trust that used to own and operate the gas lines? Well, it suddenly has tens of millions of dollars in cash and is still governed by the same group of qualified business and civic leaders who were its trustees during its gas distribution days.

Under the plan I have proposed, and which is now in committee in the Indiana House, either the mayor or the council would initiate investments promoting only the growth of the city's tax base. The board of the charitable trust (now a "development bank") would consider the fiduciary merits (risk of loss) of any proposed investment. If the charitable trust voted yes, the City-County Council would finally approve both the quality of the investment and the terms.

ALTHOUGH NOT the complete answer, your corporation, the city of Indianapolis, would be in the business of renewing its tax base for the benefit of all citizens and taxpayers. This proposal does have bipartisan support in both the council and the Indiana House.

Of course, this idea needs debate, perhaps amendments improving its application. But if we are not to follow a plan for redeploying our non-contributing assets to improve our financial position and our ability to maintain services, from whence shall come the windfall, the miracle new cash flow we need or, God forbid, an unwanted call for a new tax on our citizenry to do what all viable corporations must do to renew themselves?

Your City-County Council must find the means for this renewal. So to the media, to our lawmakers, to our community leaders, I urge a clear view from the top, and either encouragement or thoughtful suggestions of meaningful alternatives to raise the capital we need for renewal. Surely you would not suggest more property or income taxes. Sales and excise taxes are pre-empted by the state; the federal government hogs the rest.

is it possible for anyone today to believe government can run a business better and cheaper than private enterprise? Even the communist countries are now switching from government to "private" enterprise as quickly as possible. Were I to really believe some critics of my proposal — that the government can run the gas company better and cheaper than could the private sector — I would recommend that local government take over the phone company, the electric company and the water company and then all of our rates would come down. (Not very likely).

LAST YEAR the city proposed we finance an expanded E-911 emergency call system with a small surtax on each phone bill. The proposal was laughed out of the legislature. This year the public perceived the need for this emergency service and the House dutifully passed the enabling surtax by a vote of 93-7. What a difference a year makes in what is perceived as in the public's interest.

Perhaps what is needed now is a blue ribbon committee made up of large and small gas users, several legislators and councilors, neighborhood representatives and experts in gas distribution and corporate finance to make a report to the citizenry on the highest and best use of this very worthwhile but non-contributing city asset.

Responsible critics, arise! Come forward with constructive criticism to make this plan feasible, or better yet, go public with a better "mousetrap" for catching our renewal problem by the tail.

SerVaas is president of the City-County Council.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

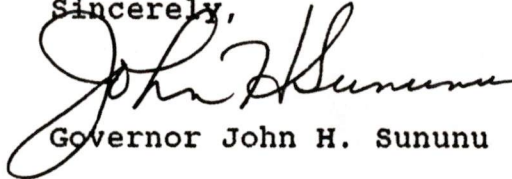
December 30, 1988

Dear Mr. Joyce:

Many thanks for your recent package of materials on the Bradley Foundation. Its active involvement in America's public life bodes well for the common good. I enjoyed meeting you earlier this month, and look forward to an ongoing conversation on matters of public policy.

Once again, thanks for writing, and please do keep in touch. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written in a cursive style. The signature is positioned above the printed name of the Governor.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Michael S. Joyce
President
The Lynde & Harry
Bradley Foundation, Inc.
777 East Wisconsin Avenue
Suite 2285
Milwaukee, WI 53202-5395

THE LYNDE and HARRY BRADLEY FOUNDATION

777 East Wisconsin Avenue, Suite 2285
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202-5395
(414) 291-9915
Fax (414) 291-9991

M E M O

19 DEC RECD

A confidential backgrounder for GOVERNOR JOHN SUNUNU
on The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation

FROM: Michael S. Joyce *WJ*

DATE: December 16, 1988

At the meeting we had on December 8 you expressed interest in the activity of the Foundation and requested that I send you more information.

1. The Bradley Foundation is one of the nation's newest (3 year old) and one of the largest private grant making foundations and the largest supporter of center-right public policy research in the country. (Asset size \$350 million; average annual grants budget \$21 million.)
2. The Foundation operates as a private foundation under the Internal Revenue Code. As such it does not support candidates for political office, and it does not lobby for or otherwise advance specific legislation.
3. The Foundation is devoted to public affairs and policy research and awards grants to scholars and researchers located at many leading universities and think tanks who work on a broad range of issues.
4. The Bradley Foundation is committed to preserving and defending the tradition of free representative government and private enterprise that has enabled the American nation to flourish. The Foundation is devoted to strengthening American democratic capitalism and the institutions, principles, and values that sustain and nurture it. Its programs support limited, competent government; a dynamic marketplace for economic, intellectual, and cultural activity; and a vigorous defense at home and abroad of American ideas and institutions.
5. The common thread and purpose of the national program is to help create and nurture a framework of new ideas and to

coordinate a network of individuals and institutions which would contribute to the health of American democracy.

6. The premise of this effort is the view that good thinking and ideas are one of the most important and decisive elements of our public life and while of course not the only one, that which is usually in shortest supply. Moreover, the Foundation's stress on the cultivation of a network of individuals presupposes that it is important to have people for whom such ideas are a living part of their thought and action, and not either cold research or hot buzz words.
7. The Foundation recognizes that responsible self-government depends on enlightened citizens and informed public opinion, and that these in turn have their basis in a deep and comprehensive understanding of the social, political, intellectual, and economic context in which our society exists. To achieve that understanding, the Foundation supports both the training of the brightest young scholars and the most highly qualified professional analysis and research directed toward the study of the present and the future of American society and the world.
8. As a result of the Foundation's activities, we work with a large and valuable pool of solid, well-trained, and thoughtful specialists in public policy, many with direct experience in government. All are specialized in the ways in which public policy issues -- including the economy, the schools, and the culture -- intersect with the concerns of liberty; all are gifted in the responsible consideration and articulation of these issues.

Should you or anyone on your staff ever wish the assistance of any of the talented scholars and experts with which we have had extensive experience please contact me at **414-291-9915**.

For the record, I enclose page proofs of a report on the first three years of the Foundation's grants and activities.

Also you will find an article from the current issue of Milwaukee Magazine which though critical from a left perspective nonetheless recognizes the potency of the ideas we have been promoting both here and at the John Olin Foundation.

Every good wish to you as you embark on the challenge of helping to realize the hope that America is for all of us.

MJ/yg

Enclosures

cc: Edwin M. Rogers

MILWAUKEE MAGAZINE December, 1988

Captivating

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The Battle of Ideas

By the time you read this, our country (or the infinitesimal percent of it that votes, anyway) will have long since chosen its new president and you'll be safely on your way to enjoying the Christmas season. But though the endless campaigning, the virulent rhetoric and the 60-second televised pleas will be over, there is another, subtler kind of debate that will rage on, irrespective of election-year wrangling and with no time off for holidays.

This is the debate over the underlying ideas that mold our society. These are not ideas that we vote on, in any concrete sense. Rather they percolate up into the national consciousness and shape the ways we see our world.

Because this is a debate waged not on television but at a level just below the surface of popular discussion, few Milwaukeeans may be aware what a prominent player Milwaukee's own Bradley Foundation has become. In the three years since its formation, the multi-million dollar foundation has become a major sponsor of some of the nation's conservative "think tanks," which turn out research and opinions on such crucial topics as education and welfare.

The idea is that the conclusions reached by these groups will work their way into the formation of public policy. Little by little, of course, they have.



Judith
Woodburn,
Editor

It is this fascinating process, in part, that Associate Editor Bruce Murphy explores this month in his story on the Bradley Foundation and its director, Michael Joyce. Murphy's painstaking research for his story, "The Right Stuff," has resulted in a story of national significance — the most comprehensive, thoughtful coverage produced thus far on the Bradley Foundation.

Though Joyce has less influence over the Bradley Foundation's local funding decisions than is commonly presumed, there is little question that his policy impact, though subtle, has been considerable. A local "think tank" developed by Joyce, the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute, has produced research on welfare and, recently, Chapter 220 busing that already seem to be influencing local policy-makers. Nationally, Bradley funding bore fruit in its Commission on History in Schools, which helped inspire a November *Atlantic Monthly* article on the topic and which ultimately may shape decisions on what our children study or don't study in their classrooms.

Murphy's story is a must-read for anyone interested in how policy is really shaped and ultimately how ideology is formed — for as Joyce has been known to point out, it is at this level that all the major battles of the coming years will be won — or lost.

With fond wishes for a peaceful and pleasant holiday season,

Judith Woodburn

WITH THE MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR SALE OF ALLEN-BRADLEY, MILWAUKEE GAINED MORE THAN A NEW SPORTS ARENA; IT GAINED ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS IN THE COUNTRY. AND, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF NEOCONSERVATIVE MICHAEL JOYCE, THE NEW BRADLEY FOUNDATION'S MAIN MISSION IS TO TURN WISCONSIN — AND THE NATION — TO THE RIGHT.

The problem for Michael Dukakis was that he had no songs to sing.

It was a key moment in the second presidential debate between Dukakis and George Bush. Both were asked to name the heroes of today. Dukakis offered the kind of abstract answer that earned him his reputation as an impersonal technocrat, noting the heroism of teachers, doctors, police officers and just about every possible occupational group that might be induced to vote for him.

Bush's answer was considerably more personal: The vice president named a few people he said were real heroes, including Armando Valladares, a Cuban refugee who had written a book criticizing the Marxist Fidel Castro regime.

Bush might never have heard of Valladares were it not for the fact that Milwaukee's Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation provided funding for Valladares's national speaking tour. Nor would he have had such success using "liberal" as an epithet against Dukakis were it not for the kinds of anti-liberal thinkers that the foundation's executive director, Michael S. Joyce, had funded in recent years.

"All the good songs belonged to the left," Joyce observes. "Who cannot be moved by union songs? So in a contest with the right, the left always won."

Not anymore. Today, the conservatives have a whole hymnbook of compassionate-sounding songs to sing. Whatever their impact on the recent presidential race, there is no doubting their influence on America — from the highest circles of power to the average person on the street.

That change has come largely because of the coalition forged between conservative intellectuals like Joyce and industrialists like Tiny Rader, chairman of the Bradley Foundation. While this sort of alliance predates the creation of the Bradley Foundation, there is no doubting Milwaukee's current impact on the New Right. The Bradley Foundation is the 41st largest in the country and the

most important source of private funding for conservative thinkers in America.

Nor has its impact been felt only in the national arena. Though he doesn't come right out and say it, it's obvious that Joyce wants to shake up this city and state. "There is a sort of complacency here," he says. "Its myopia is perhaps explained by its pleasant ambience."

Given that the Bradley Foundation is some five times larger than the next largest private fund in Wisconsin, Joyce can spend a lot of money to disrupt that ambience. He already has bankrolled a conservative think tank whose objective is to push Wisconsin's policymaking to the right.

In many ways, the situation is a Midwestern nightmare come true: A high-powered New Yorker comes to town and starts telling Wisconsinites what's wrong with their state. In another sense, it fulfills the dark vision of those business leaders who foresaw a loss of local leadership when the Allen-Bradley Company was sold and this new foundation was created. But in fact, the home team still wields considerable power: Joyce may only set the agenda for about half of the foundation's funding. There are signs, however, that his control over the fund could increase.

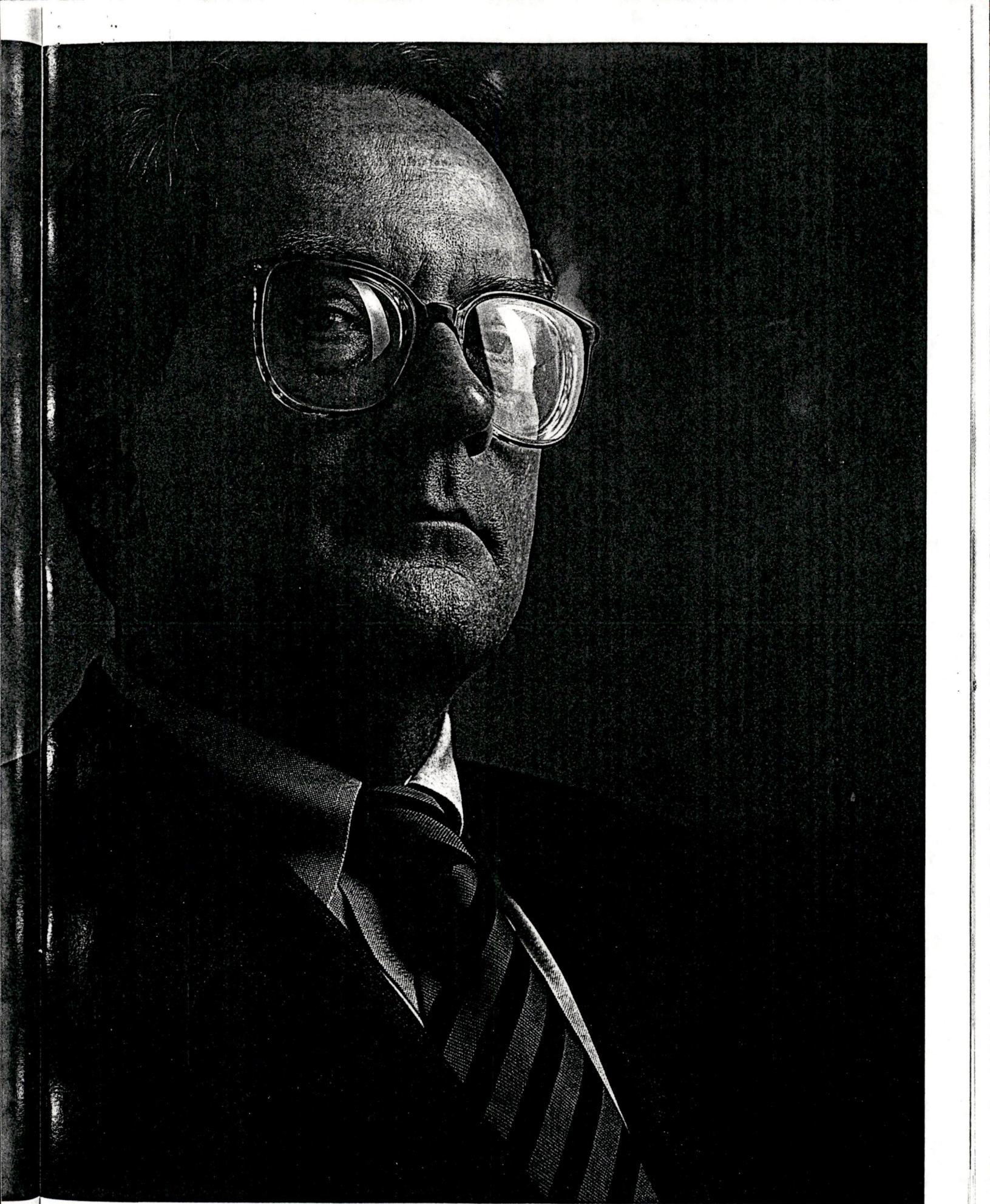
When asked to explain the secret to Joyce's success, his supporters discourage any attempts to discuss his personality or ideology. Joyce, they seem to be saying, is a kind of rarefied, abstract being who can objectively choose

THE (Sic 14th) RIGHT STUFF

BY BRUCE MURPHY

PHOTOGRAPHY BY TOM BAMBERGER

Bruce Murphy is an associate editor of Milwaukee Magazine.



the best ideas to fund. It's his command of the world of ideas, they emphasize, that has been his springboard to power and prominence.

But whatever the intellectual content of Joyce's agenda, it was shaped in a particular context that also helps explain it. In the world of Michael Joyce, in the world of the Bradley Foundation, only certain kinds of people sit on the board. Only certain kinds of organizations are supported. Only certain kinds of thinkers are funded. And ultimately, only certain kinds of ideas are entertained.

From the time I. Andrew (Tiny) Rader created the foundation by selling the company he once ran to the most recent philanthropic decisions of Michael Joyce, the Bradley Foundation has been influenced heavily by people with the right connections and the right politics. Those connections began to be forged in secret, when Rader decided to auction off Allen-Bradley.

Birth Pains

Had it been up to Harry and Lynde Bradley, the foundation bearing their name might never have been created.

The brothers who started the Allen-Bradley corporation believed in philanthropy. But they adamantly opposed the public sale of company stock, which is how the foundation was created. Only private ownership, they felt, would protect the company from the push for dividend earnings and short-term profits that often plague public corporations.

To avoid this scenario, the Bradleys held all the stock in the company themselves. When Lynde died in 1942, he left his holdings to Harry. And to prevent a public sale after his death, Harry set up a complicated arrangement whereby all company stock would always be held in trust by a small group of people with close ties to Allen-Bradley. Beneficiaries of the trust (mostly descendants of Harry Bradley) would receive all gains from dividends and stock growth, but would have no control over the company.

The whole theory was to prevent outsiders who were not intimate with the company from selling it. What Bradley never anticipated was that the insiders might violate his wishes. As it turned out, it was some of Milwaukee's top corporate executives, with close ties to Allen-Bradley, who turned the trick. And they were aided in this scheme by the city's biggest law firm — Foley & Lardner — which had been founded by Harry Bradley's grandfather.

The last person anyone would have expected to sell the company was I. Andrew (Tiny) Rader, who took over as Allen-Bradley chief executive officer in 1970. The tall, heavy-set, gruff but genial executive had risen to his position from sales, and he had a salesman's ability to tell a good story. He often was in demand to give speeches, and one of his favorite topics was the virtues of private ownership.

As one former Allen-Bradley board member puts it, "Rader was the greatest apostle of private ownership I've ever seen."

If further insurance against a company sale was needed, it was there in the presence of Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company Chief Executive Officer Francis Ferguson as an Allen-Bradley trustee. Rader and Ferguson, after all, were the two most powerful business executives in Milwaukee; few charitable projects succeeded without

their participation. And any civic progress in turn depended on whether the city could avoid losing more home-based companies through sales and mergers.

"At the time," says a knowledgeable observer of the business community, "we were coming out of a recession. There was one rock that was looked on like the Prudential and that was Allen-Bradley."

The rock began to teeter slightly even before Rader stepped down as CEO in 1981, as Rader appeared to have trouble finding a successor. He fired his first heir apparent after six months. The second one didn't last much longer.

Former board member Robert Sisk, an attorney with the New York firm Hughes, Hubbard & Reed, told *The Wall Street Journal* that Rader suffered from the "I-Will-Never-Retire Syndrome. He picked weak successors but eventually the board forced him to do better."

Eventually, C. R. (Bud) Whitney was appointed CEO and Tracy O'Rourke was named president. Rader continued as head of the corporate foundation and the board made him the chairman of a new executive committee, a paper title for a group that never actually met. The company also built a plush suite of offices in the A-B clock tower for him. But none of this hid the fact that there was nothing left for Rader to do.

For Rader, a still-vigorous man in his 60s, it must have been a bitter pill to swallow. "Tiny spent a tremendous amount of his time with direct and indirect work activities," O'Rourke observes. "Once you step down as CEO, a lot of those civic and charitable activities come to an end because these organizations want the new guy."

Not long after Rader stepped down, Ferguson retired as head of NML. Both, however, continued as members of the group of five trustees who held Allen-Bradley's stock. Beginning in 1983, the two came up with a project that would keep them very busy: the sale of the company. As *Wall Street Journal* reporter James B. Stewart wrote, some observers believed that Rader concluded that "if he couldn't run Allen-Bradley as a private company, no one would."

The other trustees were Rader men who had been appointed to their positions by him. One of them, Briggs & Stratton Corporation Chief Executive Officer Frederick P. Stratton, did all he could to fight the sale, and finally resigned as trustee. Two others — William H. Brady, chairman of the W.H. Brady Company, and Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company heir David V. Uihlein — went along with Rader. As an Allen-Bradley board member put it at the time: "I don't think it would have occurred to them to . . . doubt that he [Rader] was doing what he thought best for the company. These men were of a generation for whom Rader was Allen-Bradley."

Rader has always denied any personal motivation for selling the company. In 1985, he told *The Wall Street Journal* that he feared Allen-Bradley's success would attract too much competition from larger companies and that Allen-Bradley might meet the same fate as Schlitz, which had been forced to sell for substantially less than its appraised value.

Another motivation for the trustees was suggested in the trial that occurred when Marion Via, a stepdaughter of Harry Bradley, sued the trustees who sold the company. Trial testimony showed that the trustees voted themselves a raise in annual compensation while pursuing the sale: Each got a raise from \$45,000 to \$100,000. Fergu-



AS ONE FORMER
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BOARD MEMBER
PUTS IT, "RADER
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EVER SEEN."

son, who succeeded Rader as head of the trustees (Rader reached the mandatory retirement age of 70 just before the sale was completed), received \$125,000.

For Rader, because the corporate foundation owned about 17 percent of the company stock, there would be a huge new foundation to run. And because there was no mandatory retirement age for its board members, Rader could continue as president. The trustees also included a huge consulting fee for Rader as part of the sale contract. At the trial, Rader admitted that he collected \$575,000 from Rockwell International Corporation and never did any work for the money.

The Via trial also revealed how the trustees went about selling the company. Testimony shows that Rader solicited confidential appraisals of Allen-Bradley's value without telling members of the company's management. Meanwhile, the trustees asked their counsel, the Hughes, Hubbard & Reed firm, for an opinion approving the sale. The firm refused, concluding that the trust document was intended to protect Allen-Bradley's status as a privately held company. Eventually, the trustees went to Foley & Lardner, and attorney Harrold McComas wrote the desired opinion.

In a sealed bid auction, Rockwell International made the high offer, of \$1.65 billion, and Allen-Bradley's continuous history as a privately held company came to a sudden end.

The sale left the Milwaukee business community, the company and the Bradley family divided. Marion Via declared that it went "against everything my father believed in . . . They walked over daddy and I think it was an immoral thing to do." As a result of her suit, she received \$3 million in damages from the trustees who sold the company and had a new slate of trustees appointed to oversee her share of the stock.

Allen-Bradley executives publicly criticized Rader for selling the company. To some other members of the business community, it was as though "there was a Benedict Arnold in the community," as one prominent observer puts it.

Rader, an outgoing, good-humored man who had always been well-liked by the business community, must have been stung by the criticism. By his own account, he never stepped foot in the Allen-Bradley building again. As for the reaction of other businessmen to Rader, retired First Wisconsin Chief Executive Officer Hal Kuehl observes that "It has proven difficult for Tiny."

First Wisconsin was one of the institutions that stood by Rader. Both Rader and David Uihlein were on its corporate board. Kuehl, an old friend of Rader, successfully asked the board to waive its retirement age to allow Rader to remain on it. Soon after that, Rader chose First Wisconsin to handle the financial transactions of the new foundation.

Today, there is less bitterness about the sale of Allen-Bradley. Rockwell International has not moved any of its operations out of town. And the sale of the stock generated more charitable giving to Milwaukee, by Bradley heir Jane Pettit (who paid for the new Bradley Center) as well as the new Bradley Foundation.

But the alliance that created the sale of Allen-Bradley and stood united against other business leaders in town remains intact: Now it runs the Bradley Foundation.

Rader dropped the three representatives of Allen-Bradley from the foundation's board. The new board included one current and two former NML board members, as well as NML Senior Vice President James D. Ericson. It also included one current and one former First Wisconsin board member. And recently, Foley & Lardner attorney Allen Taylor was added to the board. The staff includes Francis Ferguson's daughter, Susan Bonneau, who is listed as a consultant.

Rader had created a new empire, one that offered him everything he enjoyed as Allen-Bradley CEO: money, power and prestige. The power came from heading up a foundation that ranks in the top 1 percent of U.S. foundations, with more than \$350 million in assets. And that ranking is certain to jump some time in the future: Rader negotiated with Bradley heir Sarah Barder, adding her to the board in return for her promise to leave 70 percent of her assets — which could add about \$90 million — to the foundation upon her death.

The money for Rader came in the form of compensation to board members. The old corporate foundation paid no fees to board members. The new foundation paid each trustee well and Rader quite handsomely: He receives \$75,000 a year plus travel and club expenses. According to figures provided by the National Council on Foundations, Rader is paid more than any such board member in the country, and about \$20,000 more than the next highest figure reported to the council.

The foundation also helps make up for prestige lost by Rader because he sold Allen-Bradley. After the sale, the company renamed the Rader Automation Center and took down an oil painting of him. Today, the foundation funds programs at Texas A & M University and Milwaukee School of Engineering that are named after Rader.

But if Rader had taken the foundation firmly in hand, he knew he was lacking one thing: someone to direct a national program of conservative funding. What he needed was someone like Michael Joyce.

Up From Liberalism

In January 1986, an *Atlantic Monthly* article on the triumph of the conservative intellectual movement in America credited three people as most responsible for this success. One of them was Michael Joyce.

Back in the 1960s, no one, including Joyce himself, would have ever expected this. Joyce was raised in an Irish Catholic and fiercely Democratic household in Cleveland. As an adult, he campaigned for Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey. But with the 1972 election, he began to gravitate toward the Republican party.

Joyce's switch came at the same time as a number of American intellectuals began to split off from New Left Democrats. Members of this splinter group of one-time liberals have come to be known as neoconservatives, a term Joyce now embraces.

A key spark to this movement was the campus rebellions of the '60s. The rhetoric of the time was youthful, emotional and at its worst, irrational; the student protesters saw the Vietnam war as a life-or-death issue — which is precisely what it ended up to be for some of them.

Joyce, then a high school teacher, was appalled by the excesses of the youth movement. As it happens, he was not as directly affected by the military draft (like a number of neoconservatives, he was old enough to avoid it). He also was an educated, highly disciplined man who took a dim view of uninformed polemics.

"I reacted very badly to the New Left," he once recalled. "It shook me. It wasn't a rational force."

Joyce was one of a number of Democratic hawks who conceded that the Vietnam war was a mistake — but one that shouldn't lead America to cut back its global commitment against Communism. Many of these future neoconservatives backed Henry Jackson against George McGovern in 1972 and increasingly were isolated within the ranks of the left. It must have been a bitter turnabout: The Democrats had always been the party that went to war and that had built up U.S. defense. Now the McGovern-

RADER ADMITTED
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ites were turning their backs on this tradition.

Vietnam became the big issue for the neoconservatives — the one they lost and the one they have been trying to win ever since. In their emphasis on national security, some neoconservatives criticized President Reagan for not being strong enough on defense. At the recent "Second Thoughts" conference (funded by the Bradley Foundation), some neoconservatives suggested that anyone who opposed the Nicaraguan contras was "objectively anti-American," which by that definition would have included the majority of the U.S. Congress.

The other big issue for neoconservatives was quotas. It was at the 1972 Democratic convention that quotas of a kind were used to seat more minorities and women — another loss for some of the old-line Democrats, who were frozen out. But as Joyce argues, quotas also reversed 1960s liberalism, as articulated by Martin Luther King Jr., that a man should be judged "by the content of his character."

As liberals like Joyce became disenchanted with the New Left, they began to drift toward the right, where they often found more acceptance. As neo-conservative thought developed, its practitioners began to show more appreciation of the free enterprise system and more scepticism of government social programs. While they didn't oppose such programs, neocons argued that their "unintended consequences" must be taken into account. The classic example was welfare: neoconservatives argued it had harmed those it was supposed to help by fostering dependency.

The key intellectual, the so-called "godfather" of the movement, was Irving Kristol. His magazine, *The Public Interest*, helped define neoconservatism. Joyce says of Kristol that "he was my teacher. He helped me frame my intellectual view of things."

Other key neocons were Jeane Kirkpatrick (in foreign policy), William Bennett (education), Michael Novak (religion), James Q. Wilson (crime) and Charles Murray (welfare).

The rise of neoconservatism coincided with a new twist in the world of philanthropy. William Simon, former treasury secretary under Presidents Nixon and Ford, began giving speeches arguing that corporations had no obligation to fund their enemies — meaning those who criticize American business or who are not hardline anti-Communists. Wealthy industrialists like Joseph Coors and John Olin got the message and began to seek out the right people to fund.

Simon and the industrialists were looking for a better way to sell conservatism. As Joyce puts it: "I don't think you can lay down your life for the Dow Jones. I can't imagine men charging over a hill for a profit-and-loss statement."

The situation led to a natural alliance. The industrialists had the money and wanted to pay for conservative research; the neoconservatives could do the research and wanted to be paid for it. Long-time leftist Alfred Kazin took a dim view of this development in the *New York Review of Books*: "Unlike novelists, poets and ordinary scholars, whose work does not lend itself to support by an ideological pressure group, the intellectuals who depend on the cold war for their careers find not only safety in numbers but the assurance of worldly progress."

Michael Joyce became the key nexus between the neo-conservatives and their patrons. Following a stint as a

teacher and an educational researcher, Joyce had gone on to run the Goldseker Foundation in Baltimore, Maryland. In 1978, when Kristol and Simon set up the Institute For Educational Affairs, to advise corporations on how to fund their friends, Joyce was hired as the first director.

Within a year, Simon hired him as executive director of a New York-based foundation created by John Olin. The idea was to create a foundation that would underwrite all the best conservative thinking, and Joyce was perfectly suited to the task.

"Michael is extremely intelligent, he has a very good intellectual background and he has a great intellectual curiosity," Kristol observes. "All of which is very rare among foundation executives."

Joyce also had a unique ability to speak the language of both intellectuals and business people and to act as an intermediary between the two.

Finally, he was an action-oriented intellectual — and active in the right way. As his friend, former Secretary of Education William Bennett puts it, "He's an intellectual, but he's an intellectual engaged. His place is in the fight." And the nature of that fight? "Both Mike and I are disenchanted with liberals and with Democrats."

Under Joyce, the Olin Foundation became one of the principal donors to the many conservative think tanks that rose up in the 1970s: the Heritage Founda-

tion, the Center For Strategic and International Studies, the Reason Foundation, Cato Institute, Capital Legal Foundation and on and on. It also supported new conservative publications like *The American Spectator* and Irving Kristol's *The Public Interest* and *The National Interest*.

In the arts, Joyce persuaded *New York Times* art critic Hilton Kramer to quit the *Times* and start *The New Criterion*, an influential magazine that aggressively attacks any hint of leftist bias in art criticism. The Olin Foundation provided \$300,000 in funding for its first three years.

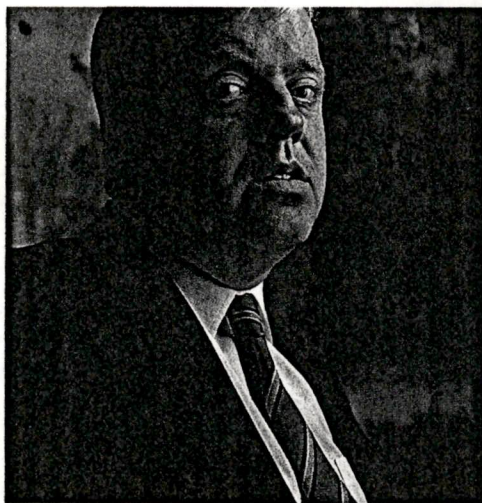
Free-market economist George Stigler won the Nobel Prize after several years of Olin funding. Economists Martin Feldstein and Murray Weidenbaum were funded by Olin prior to joining the Reagan administration. Charles Murray was funded prior to releasing his influential book on welfare, *Losing Ground*.

It was scholars like these who provided the prescription for action by President Reagan. As Joyce once observed: "The things the Reagan administration is doing now were perked in a small circle of intellectuals."

They were aided by a sophisticated network of think tanks, publications, legal action groups and media watch groups (many of them funded by Olin) that helped sell the Reagan agenda to the public and skewer any competing ideology.

Much of this happened because the neoconservatives showed the right wing a new *modus operandi*. As Joyce explains: "In the old right, there was a tendency to write in magazines that no one else read, to persuade themselves. The neoconservatives brought a different perspective — that our problem is not to persuade ourselves but to bring these ideas into the marketplace of ideas. And so the neoconservatives began being taken very seriously by others. Take one example: How has it come to pass that the word liberal has become a term of derision? That, it seems to me, is a result of neoconservative endeavor."

Certainly the Reagan administration recognized the value of the neoconservatives. A number of them received White House appointments and several — Bennett, Kirk-



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patrick and Elliott Abrams — switched to the Republican Party.

Joyce, who says he officially became a Republican some time after 1976 (when he voted for Jimmy Carter), served Reagan in many capacities: He was on the Reagan-Bush transition team and on numerous advisory boards and task forces, including the Grace Commission on government cost controls.

"Mike was certainly a major outside player in the Reagan administration," says Bennett. "He's dined with the president in a small group. Bush visited him when he came to Milwaukee. He's a guy who's listened to."

Joyce's obvious level of comfort with the Reagan administration may reflect the fact that he seems more oriented to the right than most other neoconservatives, who largely have remained Democrats. Joyce, for example, opposes abortion, a stand he concedes many other neoconservatives would not favor.

But whatever the disagreements within the ranks, as a group the neoconservatives had pushed the country to the right. As for Michael Joyce, by the mid-1980s, the man who once had been a fervent champion of liberalism had done as much as anyone to make that ideology the object of national ridicule. Which made him the perfect choice to run the Bradley Foundation.

Joyce Takes Over

At first glance, Michael Joyce would appear to have little in common with Tiny Rader. Joyce is very self-controlled and rather professorial; Rader's crusty, direct style is anything but intellectual.

Both, however, see themselves as self-made men who were not born into wealth yet rose to positions of power. Both have strong ethnic backgrounds. Joyce's forebears are pure Irish on both sides. The grandchild of immigrants, he revels in his heritage. Rader, whose first name is Italo, is ethnically 100 percent Italian, the son of immigrants (to Canada, where he was born). And both are conservative Catholics who still regret the introduction (some 25 years ago) of the English mass.

Perhaps most important, the two offer a classic example of the relationship that formed the backbone of the New Right — between a neoconservative intellectual who can provide the kind of policymaking a right-wing industrialist wants to buy. In Joyce, Rader would be hiring an executive director who had a national reputation in philanthropic circles. In the Bradley Foundation, Joyce would have the chance to give away some \$26 million annually — compared with about \$9 million at Olin.

Several articles about the Bradley Foundation have put all the emphasis on Joyce, as though he single-handedly sets its agen-

da. In fact, as Rader emphasizes (and Joyce acknowledges), the executive director has more impact on national funding, while local grants are influenced heavily by the preferences of board members.

In its first three years of operation, about half of the grants, or \$39 million, has gone to Wisconsin organizations, about 12 times as much money as the old Allen-Bradley foundation gave to the state. And most of that goes to Milwaukee institutions.

This local funding continues the tradition of the old corporate foundation, with a strong commitment to private colleges in the state (which received about \$12 million), medical care providers (almost \$9 million) and the arts (more than \$6 million). The new foundation, however, gives to fewer local organizations than did the old. Many of the newer, smaller and less-established agencies in Milwaukee have been overlooked.

"The question for private philanthropy," says former Cudahy Fund Executive Director Richard Yeo, "is whether they played fair with the full range of the community, including groups that are smaller and have less access to foundations."

By that test, the Bradley Foundation would be found wanting. In a way, it has run contrary to normal expectations in the philanthropic community. Now that it has much more money than the old corporate foundation and has added a first-rate professional staff, it should be able to reach out to more of the community. Unfortunately, the original board members Rader chose represent a select group with connections to the city's top corporations. Nationally, foundations have moved toward broader representation of the community and have added more women and minorities. The Bradley foundation board includes no minorities and only one woman, Sarah Barder, who was chosen because she plans to leave more money to the foundation.

There have been some examples of unexpected local funding: Joyce has successfully championed a grass-roots organization like Esperanza Unida (which provides auto repair training for the unemployed) and a public institution, the University of Wisconsin — Milwaukee's Professional Theatre Training Program. And Joyce convinced the board to bypass United Way and the United Performing Arts Fund, arguing that a huge foundation like Bradley should directly fund members of these umbrella organizations.

But for all the controversy sparked by that decision, the foundation's support of these groups, or of the city's old-line institutions, has not wavered. The most dramatic illustration of the foundation's approach is its funding of the performing arts: About 98 percent of its grants have gone to the seven original members of UPAF (the Milwaukee Symphony, the Milwaukee Ballet, et cetera), with just 2 percent left over for the dozens of other performing arts groups in town. Because of Bradley's heavy bias toward more established arts

groups, the newer groups in town now receive a smaller proportion of total arts funding than they did before the historic opening up of UPAF (which added 15 groups as associate members).

The irony of the situation is that Joyce once wrote an influential task force report on the National Endowment For the Arts, arguing that it should de-emphasize funding of more established institutions in favor of newer artists and groups. The disparity between this philosophy and the Bradley Foundation's funding speaks volumes about Joyce's influence on local grants.

By contrast, Joyce has all but dictated the national agenda. For starters, the foundation has adopted Olin's emphasis not just on conservative cause, but on conservative policymaking. Of \$40.5 million in national grants awarded by the Bradley Foundation in its first three years, some \$24 million paid for policymaking and research, while another \$9 million supported the policy-makers of the future: a selected group of graduate students.

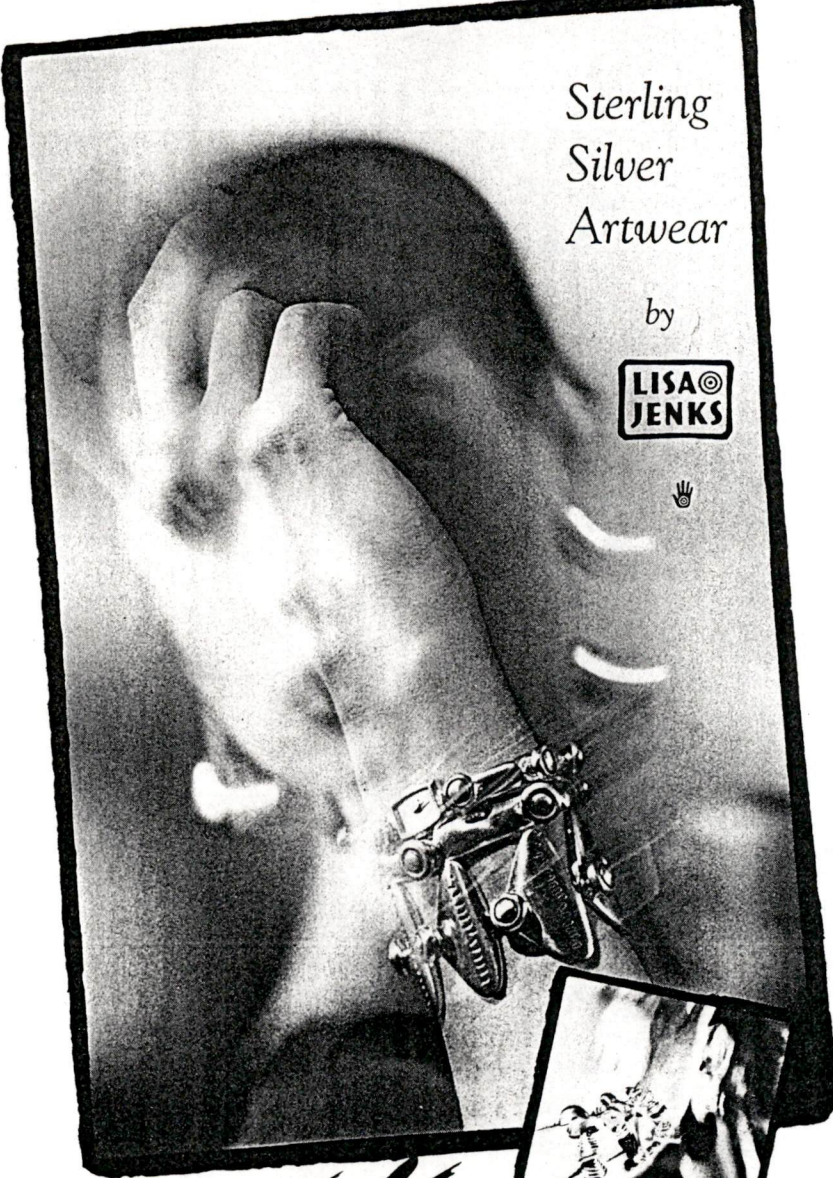
The Bradley Foundation now supports about 60 percent of the organizations Joyce funded at Olin in 1985 (his last year there). Ironically, a number of the grants indirectly help honor the name of John Olin (rather than Harry Bradley) because they fund institutions named after Olin (in response to that foundation's funding).

Given the vast number of universities in the country, the Bradley Foundation's grants to academia are all the more striking. Of the universities that were funded by Olin in 1985, some 50 percent have continued to receive funding from Bradley — and this was not just the same university, but the same university *department*. In some cases, it was the same scholar who got the money.

The net effect is to foster a kind of intellectual cronyism, in which a select group of conservative individuals and groups get all the grants. The approach was described by *Atlantic Monthly* writer Gregg Easterbrook as "a society of like-minded people reinforcing one another's preconceived notions and rejecting any thinking that does not fit the mold — practicing what consultants call the art of 'directed conclusions.'"

Simon and Kristol argued that this approach was justified, to offset what generally is seen as a liberal bias in the foundation world.

But there may be no foundation that has so crystallized its bias as has Joyce's. One of the truisms of the foundation world is that the staff members tend to be more liberal than their often conservative board members. At Bradley, no such diversity exists. Most foundations tend to fund a variety of causes — from university endowments to poverty agencies and charitable institutions to various building projects. Not Bradley. If the Olin Foundation, according to "Foundation News," supported more writers and thinkers than any other foundation in the country, then the much larger Bradley



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Finally, the Joyce approach is much more methodical about seeking out only scholars with a certain ideology. As Stanley Katz, president of the American Council of Learned Societies, points out, the liberal foundations worked a bit differently: "They weren't systematically ideological. It was much more ad hoc, based on their perceptions as they went along. They [the conservative foundations] start with the ideology and then decide what to do."

Interestingly, Joyce embraces that description, arguing that a systematic ideology like his can be examined and criticized (unlike a vague, unstated liberal bias). "That's why the Communists were very good," he notes. "Because there was always self-criticism involved."

It is no coincidence that Joyce speaks of the Communists here. The cold war mentality that Kazin referred to is at the heart of Joyce's approach to funding. To Joyce, the universities, the media and even the church are all part of a liberal institutional hierarchy that is "hostile to the basic assumptions underlying American society." In a country so besieged, only those who oppose the enemy will be funded.

To bypass these liberals at universities, the Bradley Foundation funds scholars at conservative think tanks. Or it funds a particular university professor with the right views. It provides grants to the Campus Coalition For Democracy, which attacks liberal bias on campus, and the Institute For Educational Affairs, which has funneled start-up funds to countless conservative student newspapers (including *The UWM Times*). These papers, in turn, run cartoons and articles syndicated by the Heritage Foundation, which Bradley also supports.

To defeat the liberal journalists, Joyce funds the Media Institute, which critiques them from a conservative perspective, and the National Journalism Center, which gives journalism students training in conservative thinking. Joyce funds the Reason Foundation, which provides libertarian commentary to radio stations, and the American Studies Center's distribution of Spanish language, conservative views for Spanish radio stations.

To defeat the liberal judges, Joyce funds conservative groups like the Federalist Society, the Washington Legal Foundation and the Center For Judicial Studies. To defeat the liberal state politicians, Joyce funds the American Legislative Exchange Council, which nurtures conservative state legislators. To assure that its scholarships go to the right students, the foundation leans heavily on the advice of scholars associated with the University of Chicago (known for its conservative views) or conservative think tanks like the Hoover Institution and the American Enterprise Institute.

With this kind of grantsmanship, Katz observes, "The research is somewhat more predictable because the range of in-

terests are much more narrow and so is the list of grantees. So it comes to be a closed circle to some extent."

Within that circle, there are first-rate scholars and a good deal of interesting work being done. But the results are fundamentally ideological. All of which becomes clearer when you examine the results of research funded by Joyce.

Think Tank Thinking

Just a few blocks from the main part of the UWM campus is the Shepard House, a converted East Side home that has housed various university programs. In 1987, the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute Inc., funded by the Bradley Foundation, took up quarters there.

The irony of the WPRI's location is that it opposes the educational establishment, including, of course, UWM. The institute's director, James Miller, has this to say about the state's educational system: "Wisconsin doesn't know how to do anything."

There is considerable historical symmetry to Miller's hiring, for he represents the other kind of conservative — the grass-roots populist — that rose up alongside the neoconservative intellectuals of the '70s.

Like Joyce, he is an Irish Catholic, but he has none of Joyce's polish or intellectual breadth. Miller is a bit of a brawler, a contentious, street-smart New Yorker who probably could rub Mother Teresa the wrong way. He grew up in Queens as a conservative Democrat opposed to the Manhattan bias of silk stocking liberal Republicans like John Lindsay. Miller and his cohorts believed all the attention (and all the funding) was being directed to blacks at the expense of the Irish and other ethnic whites in the boroughs outside Manhattan.

To drive this point home, Miller developed a rather unique specialty: the demographics of Irish American poverty. Much of the attention to blacks, of course, was based on the assumption that they suffered from special conditions (like discrimination) that called for remediation. Miller's research, by contrast, merely showed that there was some poverty among Irish people who were aged — a condition one hopes is not the exclusive province of the Irish.

Miller went on to manage the unsuccessful New York mayoral bid of Democrat Mario Cuomo in 1977 and Conservative Party candidate Lewis Lehrman's race for governor in 1982 (which Cuomo won). It was during the latter race that Miller met Joyce, an acquaintance of Lehrman. Later, Joyce provided an Olin grant to Miller at the conservative Manhattan Institute For Policy Research. In 1987, Joyce brought Miller here to be interviewed for the job he now holds.

It was Joyce's idea to start a state-oriented version of the conservative think tanks. The growth of the federal deficit assured that new domestic programs were unlikely to be launched from Washington, which made the states the likely place for any policy initiatives. Joyce soon convinced the Bradley Foundation board to commit \$2.8 million in start-up funding.

Though he has no position with the WPRI, Joyce's influence on it can be seen in many ways. WPRI board member Sheldon Lubar reveals that Joyce's candidate Miller was hired without conducting a national search after looking over "three or four resumes."

As for Joyce's influence on research, Lubar says that the board "frequently invites him to meetings. He's a very valuable resource. He's able to tell you which universities have people working on what." The one scholar who has finished a research project for the institute to date, William Durden, previously received an Olin grant from Joyce.

Rader's role in this was to choose the original four board members of the WRPI. All four are friends of his who are connected to those organizations that helped create the Bradley Foundation: Lubar and Kuehl from First Wisconsin, Ericson from NML and Taylor from Foley & Lardner.

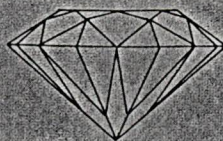
Since the board's major function is to oversee research in education, welfare and crime, it's worth noting that none of these men have any direct experience working in these areas. (Lubar did serve the Nixon and Ford administration's housing programs, but that is not an area the WPRI will address). Joyce himself says most business leaders do not understand the social issues confronted by the boards of foundations, but stresses that these men are exceptions to the rule.

Whatever their qualifications, this was not the most diversified board ever assembled. All four are good friends who live in a North Shore suburb near each other. Three have offices high in the First Wisconsin building (as does Joyce), while Ericson's office is just across the street. All four are conservative Republicans.

Despite (or perhaps because of) this striking concord of politics and lifestyles, all concerned with the WPRI emphasize its objectivity. One of the attractive qualities about Miller, Lubar explains, is that he is a Democrat, which would give the WPRI a non-partisan flavor.

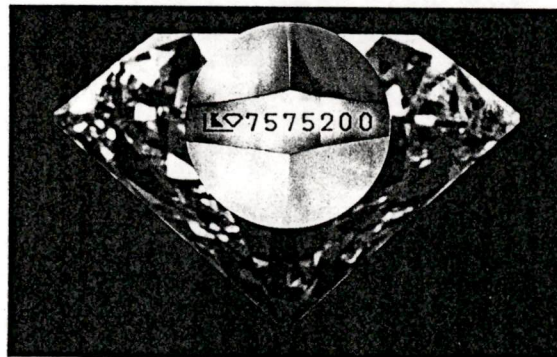
When pressed, Lubar concedes that the goal is to conduct research with a conservative orientation. The institute seems to be pointing toward a stock neoconservative agenda that distrusts the welfare and school systems and favors workfare instead of welfare, more emphasis on liberal arts in colleges and a push for master teachers, more basic skills instruction and programs for the gifted in public schools.

As of this writing, the institute has released one piece of research, on "Wiscon-



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sin's Internal Brain Drain," a report that opened with this conclusion: "College-bound Wisconsin students rank well behind their peers in other states."

The report argued that Wisconsin's number-one ranking in ACT test results is suspect because a lower percentage of students (compared with other states) takes the test. The implication is that if more Wisconsin students were tested, the average score would drop.

The only problem with this theory is that the percentage of students taking the ACT in Wisconsin has gone up, for 10 years straight, and the average score has stayed about the same. Since the WPRI study came out, the 1987-'88 ACT scores were released and the number of Wisconsin students taking the test increased 17 percent, yet the average score was almost exactly the same: Wisconsin ranked second in the nation.

When pressed about this, Miller replies that the report really aimed only to examine the performance of the gifted and talented in Wisconsin. That is a decided shift from the original language of the report (and from the claims Joyce still makes for it). And Miller also is on shaky ground here.

One major weakness in the state's education of the gifted, the report claimed, is that on a national basis, a low percentage of students take advanced placement courses. But according to the state Department of Public Instruction, the UW system traditionally has emphasized other kinds of advanced placement programs (such as the Badger Talent Search), in which many students participate. When asked about this, Miller replied, "They may have these programs, but I'm not aware of them."

It is difficult to imagine an assessment of programs for the gifted that does not begin by analyzing what already exists. Yet that is precisely what the WPRI report offered. Miller and company may well be right that the state's programs for the gifted are inadequate, but they failed to make their case, perhaps because they were too blinded by their biases.

Recently, the institute added two new board members from outside Milwaukee, and it seems to be widening the scope of its inquiry. But it remains to be seen whether its operations will become less obviously subjective.

By the time this article is released, the WPRI is scheduled to release a report on whether outstate residents migrate to Wisconsin because of the level of welfare payments here. Even before the research was conducted, Miller predicted that the report's answer would be yes.

The conclusions of all of his research seem to be decided ahead of time. There will be a report on the state's Chapter 220 program ("220 is a deflection device to show we're doing something for poor black kids," Miller says). And there could be a look at colleges in Wisconsin ("We think there are too many"). All research begins

with some kind of thesis, but Miller's opinions are so adamant you wonder whether the data will do anything more than sketchily justify predetermined notions.

In addition to the work of WPRI, Joyce points to a welfare commission he funded as an important policy breakthrough. Though Marquette University received a grant to create this commission, it operated within Joyce's guidelines. According to MU professor Kathleen McInnis, the commission coordinator, "Joyce had a very clear idea where this project should go. It should include liberals and conservatives — to find a common ground [on the welfare system] they could agree on."

But according to McInnis, Joyce also insisted that Marquette work with the American Enterprise Institute on the study. "It was clear that Joyce wanted [neoconservative] Michael Novak to have a prominent role in this," says McInnis. "Personally, I think it was set up to slant it in a certain direction."

McInnis's own view of the final report is that it was "moderately slanted to the right."

Whatever its slant, the report had considerable impact on the U.S. Congress. A key finding (or agreement) of commission members was that some people, though a minority of the poor, have become dependent on welfare. Following up on this kind of thinking, a new welfare bill passed by Congress requires all women whose children are over the age of three to enroll in a workfare program.

It is a curious experience to discuss this bill with Joyce. He concedes that this program is aimed at a minority of welfare mothers — those caught in the so-called cycle of poverty, where teen mother succeeds teen mother. He concedes that most welfare mothers are overburdened women who want to work and will now face the additional hassle of workfare: Instead of taking care of their own children, he grants, many simply will be forced to provide day care for each other's children because there are no other jobs available.

Joyce goes further, observing that many congressmen support the law for political reasons, because their constituents mistakenly believe this will force a lot of lazy males to go to work. Of course, Joyce adds, "In practice, there are no men in the program."

If the process were less political, Joyce adds, this kind of inexact lawmaking would not occur. But it is Joyce and the neoconservatives and their welfare studies that have created the intellectual justification for this legislation.

Joyce and the neoconservatives love to stress the need for objective policymaking free from liberal cant. But in their approach to a problem like welfare, their new ideology appears to have just as many intellectual holes and ironically seems to favor just as much governmental social engineering as the old ideology of liberalism they are now so intent on defeating.

The Future

Since the time Michael Joyce took over the Bradley Foundation, there have been rumors suggesting that he could leave town. He is, after all, used to life in the high-powered world of New York and Washington.

One major reason he took the job is because he felt Milwaukee would be a better place to raise a family. As it turned out, his marriage ended in divorce here. But his ex-wife has chosen to stay in the Milwaukee area and Joyce sees his two children every weekend. That situation, coupled with the fact that Joyce runs the largest conservative-oriented foundation in the country, is likely to keep him here.

As his tenure continues, his control of the foundation is likely to increase. Unlike most foundation executives in America, Joyce is a voting member of the board, with the title of board president. Since he has been hired, prominent academics George Stigler (from the University of Chicago) and Clayburn La Force (from UCLA) have been added to the board. (Both previously received Olin grants from Joyce.) Now, Joyce's good friend Bennett (also a former Olin grantee) has been added to the board.

Rader bristles at the suggestion that the board is a rubber stamp for Joyce. "Mike has a lot of friends that weren't appointed to the board," he snaps.

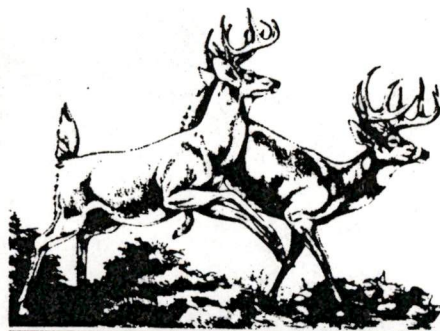
But Tiny Rader is not forever. Recently, the board adopted a mandatory retirement age of 72 (extended to 78 for board members now over 65). This means that Rader and his friend Bill Brady will retire in four years. One prominent local business leader sees the situation this way: "I think the dominance of Tiny is waning."

In the meantime, as Rader reveals, Joyce has plenty of people in mind to add to the board. And as prominent names like Bennett are added to the board, it seems likely that the foundation will beef up its national profile. As the same business leader notes, "More and more, the foundation is a national foundation with a balance of local representatives. They may pull back on local funding."

Millions of dollars will still go to Wisconsin, but the percent of total funding allotted to the state could go down. In the process, Joyce will be able to pay for more conservative policymaking, for more of those carefully selected ideas that have made his reputation.

The world of ideas is where the battle is won, Joyce reiterates, quoting John Maynard Keynes: "Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influence, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of few years back."

If Michael Joyce has his way, the leaders of tomorrow will be singing the songs of the Bradley scholars of today. ■



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December 30, 1988

Dear Mr. Davidson:

As you probably know by now, the President-elect has selected Sam Skinner as Secretary of Transportation. There were many fine candidates from which to choose, including T. Allan McArtor, but President-elect Bush has confidence that Mr. Skinner is the right person for the job.

Thank you very much for taking the time to make your recommendation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "John" being the most prominent.

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Donald C. Davidson
President
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December 12, 1988

The Honorable John Sununu
State House
Room 208
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

Dear Governor:

First of all, congratulations on your fantastic assignment with the President elect. I am confident that the country and the President will be well served by your background and experience in government, and I am delighted for the State of New Hampshire.

The purpose of this letter is to urge you, in your new capacity, to recommend to President elect Bush that T. Allan McArtor be selected as Transportation Secretary. As you know, Mr. McArtor is presently the head of the FAA, and in that capacity I have had contact with him and his staff both through the office that you appointed me to in New Hampshire on the Aviation Users Advisory Board, and also through my national position as President of the Warbird division of EAA.

Mr. McArtor's credentials are ideal for this task, and those of us in the aviation industry are most confident that his abilities would be a tremendous asset to the entire Department of Transportation.

I sincerely hope that you and Nancy have a happy holiday season. Maybe I will have the opportunity to visit with you sometime during a trip to Washington.

Sincerely,

Donald C. Davidson, President
Warbirds of America

DCD:cd

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

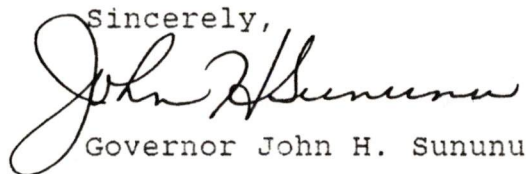
December 30, 1988

Dear Mr. Dart:

Many thanks for your kind letter of December 11. I appreciate you taking the time to get in touch, and let me know of your involvement with the Congressional Task Force on Americans with Disabilities, and the National Council on the Handicapped.

Rest assured that George Bush and I are strongly committed to help disabled Americans achieve independence, control over their own lives, and integration into the mainstream of American life. This commitment stems from our firm belief in the ideals of human freedom and human dignity.

Once again, thanks for writing, and please do keep in touch. Best wishes to you and your family throughout the new year.

Sincerely,

Governor John H. Sununu

Mr. Justin Dart, Jr.
907 6th Street, SW
Apartment # 516C
Washington, D.C. 20024

JUSTIN DART, JR.

907 6TH STREET, S.W., APT. 516C

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20024

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December 11, 1988

Dear Governor Sununu -

Congratulations on being appointed
White House Chief of Staff.

As a person with a disability and
a long time advocate for the independence
of people with disabilities, I am delighted
that our new White House Chief of Staff
will be an individual who has been
a good friend of my colleagues in
New Hampshire. I deeply appreciate
your support for New Hampshire
independent living programs during
your terms as Governor.

I currently serve as Chairperson
of the Congressional Task Force on the

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Rights and Empowerment of Americans
with Disabilities, and as a member
of the National Council on the Handicapped
(the federal agency which recommends
disability policy to the Congress and the
President.)

If there is any way I can cooperate
with you, it will be a privilege to
do so.

Sincerely,

Justin Dart Jr