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memo	<p align="center">Zbigniew Brzezinski to the President                      Re: State's Reciprocity Package, (2 pp.)</p>	1/31/80	A

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

2/2/80

FOR THE RECORD:

delivered to Linder for  
appropriate handling.

BILL SIMON

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 1, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LLOYD CUTLER *LUC/GNO*

SUBJECT: President's Commission on United  
States-Liberian Relations

The attached Order would implement your decision to establish an advisory commission on United States-Liberian relations. According to NSC, you informed the Liberian Ambassador that the Order would be signed by the end of this week.

The Order has been approved by Justice and OMB. It has also been seen by the speechwriters.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

- - - - -

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON UNITED STATES-LIBERIAN RELATIONS

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, and in order to review and recommend ways to improve United States-Liberian relations, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1-1. Establishment.

1-101. There is established the President's Commission on United States-Liberian Relations.

1-102. The membership of the Commission shall be composed of not more than fourteen persons appointed by the President. The President shall designate a Chairman from among the members of the Commission.

1-2. Functions.

1-201. The Commission shall conduct a comprehensive review of our relations with Liberia and will provide recommendations to improve this relationship. In particular, the Commission shall:

- (a) Make an overall assessment of United States-Liberian relations.
- (b) Identify problem areas and constraints to a better functioning relationship.
- (c) Develop appropriate recommendations based on the Commission's findings.

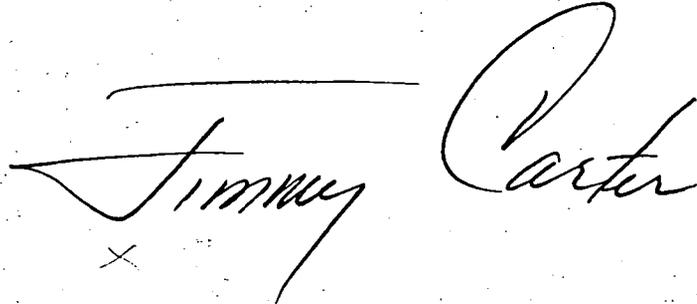
1-202. The Commission shall prepare and transmit to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State a final report of its findings and recommendations.

1-302. The Department of State shall, to the extent permitted by law and subject to the availability of funds, provide the Commission with such funds, facilities, support and services as may be necessary for the performance of the Commission's functions.

1-4. Final Report and Termination.

1-401. The final report required by Section 1-202 of this Order shall be transmitted not later than two months from the date of the Commission's visit to Liberia.

1-402. The Commission shall terminate upon the transmittal of its final report, but in any event not later than six months from the date this Order is issued.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned in the lower right quadrant of the page. There is a small "x" mark below the name "Jimmy".

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

2/2/80

Zbigniew Brzezinski

The attached was returned  
from the President's out-  
box and is forwarded to  
you for your information.

Bill Simon

Sen. Exon message

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 1, 1980

cc 269  
①

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Frank Moore

*F.M.*

I took a call late this afternoon from Senator Exon, who was calling to speak with you. He wanted me to be sure to pass on the following items to you:

- (1) He strongly urges that you make a decision soon on the land diversion set-aside for the 1980 crops, both for the winter wheat crop now in the ground and the feed grain to be planted in the spring. He has talked with Secretary Bergland today and says he does not get the right signals from him.
- (2) He says he supported you on the grain embargo but if we continue to ship phosphate to the USSR for them to make fertilizer out of, he is going to raise holy hell.

<

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

2/2/80

Stu Eizenstat  
Jack Watson

The attached was returned  
from the President's out-  
box and is forwarded to  
you for appropriate handling.

Bill Simon

letter to Sen. Moynihan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 31, 1980

C

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT  
JACK WATSON

*Stu Jack*

SUBJECT: Letter to Senator Moynihan

Recently Senator Moynihan sent you a copy of an article on Federal aid to New York which subsequently appeared in the New York Times Magazine on January 28. This memorandum briefly summarizes the article and our recommended approach to deal with it. A copy of the Senator's letter, the article and a proposed response from Stu are attached.

Stripped of its rhetoric and dramatic "facts", the Moynihan argument is that New York State pays the Federal government more than it gets back, that the City will experience periodic fiscal crises until it receives its "proportionate" share of Federal outlays, and that this issue ought to be part of the 1980 national political agenda. Moynihan contends that New York State and City provide extensive public services, that State and local revenue resources are inadequate to fund those service levels, and that a "radical restructuring" of Federal policy (i.e., full assumption of welfare costs and changes in the Medicaid formula) is necessary to address New York's problems.

At its best, the article raises issues that are legitimate from a New Yorker's perspective: that a disproportionate share of defense spending as well as certain other expenditures flow to areas outside the Northeast, that the capital flight from New York may have been exacerbated by Federal anti-urban policies, and that without some major infusion of aid, the City's fiscal outlook is not good. At its worst, the article is extremely unfair to the Administration: it fails to note any of the Administration initiatives which have benefitted New York, it ignores Congressional sentiments and opposition to targetting, and it understates Federal aid levels. Moynihan reaches sweeping adverse conclusions: that the Administration is unable to understand the problems of New York State and City, and that our "non-radical" response

to New York can be likened to the Hoover Administration's approach to the economy. In sum, the article raises some legitimate issues but presents a harsh and unbalanced indictment of the policies and record of this Administration.

The attached draft response is designed to be polite but curt. Stu is doing a detailed critique of the article. The Senator says that he wants our candid views; if you agree, our intention is to give them to him on a private basis and to provide this critique to our supporters in New York.

DECISION

Send attached letter *from Stu, not me*  
 Other

By Daniel Patrick Moynihan

A long Presidential campaign, with many contenders, is just the setting in which New Yorkers might hope to place an issue on the national political agenda.

The issue is New York.

This will not seem new. Any big state, or, for that matter, any little one, has interests that set it apart, and candidates try to respond. But the issue of New York is different. It is regional, affecting much of the Northeast to a degree that will grow more pronounced as Federal spending on energy and arms increases, two areas of the budget in which expenditures are almost wholly concentrated in the South and West. It is ideological, in the sense that a great political tradition is at stake. And it is cultural. Our greatest city is at stake. When the French historian Fernand Braudel sought to describe what Venice meant to the Mediterranean world of the 15th and 16th centuries, he wrote: "Venice dominated the 'Interior Sea' as New York dominates the Western world today." If that city should enter a protracted crisis and decline, so will this nation and so will the West.

To be dealt with, the issue must be understood. The Carter Administration has actually reduced Federal aid to New York City. But this is trivial compared with the Administration's inability to grasp the problems of this city and state.

To borrow from Daniel Bell's concept of a postindustrial society, the issue of New York has to do with the management of a post-New Deal political economy.

The term "political economy" has fallen out of use somewhat, and I would like to revive it. The men of the 18th century who wrote our Constitution considered themselves, and were, students of this subject, which for them meant developing government policies for the promotion of the wealth of the government and the community as a whole.

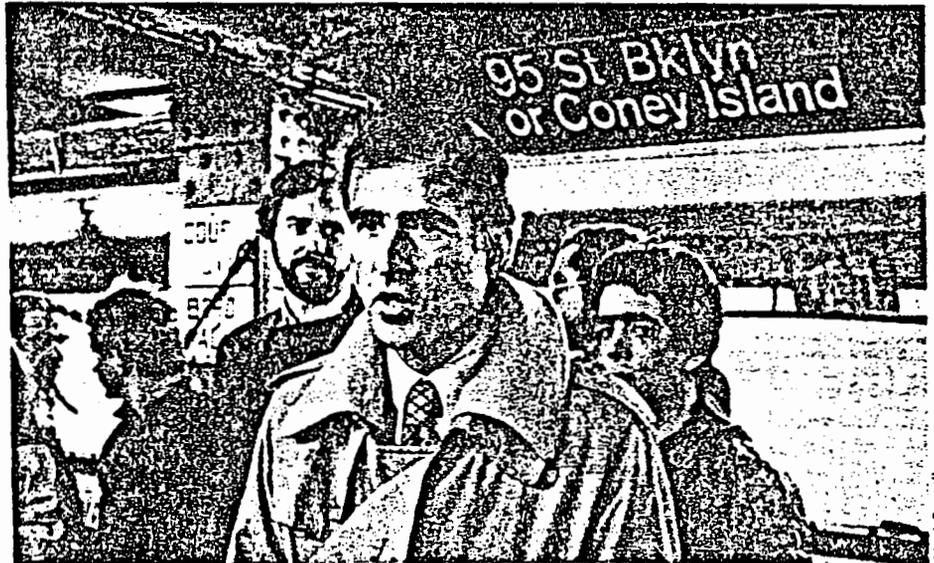
The issue of New York involves relations with the Federal fisc that make it ever more difficult for the public and private sectors of our city and state economy to operate successfully. In the simplest terms, we pay too much out and get too little back. That is why the city almost went bankrupt in 1975. That is why something similar is almost certain to happen again in the next few years. And again after that. And then yet again. Until we face the issue.

Why not do so now, when it is still a relatively simple issue with relatively simple solutions? And before the brutal foreign-policy crises of the 1980's strike with their full force.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is the junior Senator from New York.

# WHAT WILL THEY DO FOR NEW YORK?

The state pays \$11 billion more in Federal taxes than it gets back. It is time, the author says, for Presidential candidates to address the issue.



Gov. Jerry Brown, whose state gets \$16 billion in defense contracts, in Brooklyn.

A final preliminary. I am not writing about all the problems of New York. I deal only with those the Federal Government helps to bring about, and which, accordingly, the Federal Government can help resolve.

Now to the essentials.

First. New York has a mature public sector. A long half century and more of innovation, much of it beginning here and thereafter mandated from Washington, has brought us to the point where just about any service a modern society can afford we do provide. (That we don't always do a good job at it is beside the point. We pay enough to get the best.)

Consider the following: New York State established a disability-benefits system under Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in 1949. Just about any resident of New York State who has a job and becomes disabled, in circumstances that have nothing to do with his or her job, can receive weekly payments — sometimes full salary — for up to six months. (Four other states and Puerto Rico have since adopted similar plans.) The program has been around so long that New Yorkers themselves — even the 5.7 million persons covered — no longer think of it as a notable benefit, and

Presidential candidates can call for improvement in national health care as if the New York program didn't exist. But it does, and it costs New York employers \$389 million a year that employers in Texas definitely do not pay.

Second. Because ours is so mature a public sector, no national social program is likely to add to what we already have. For example, early in the Carter Administration, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and the Vice President jointly announced a Presidential proposal for a national system of allowances to help families with the cost of adopted children. Fair to breathless, Secretary Califano presented the proposal to a Senate hearing I happened to chair. "The Administration initiative," he informed us, "will begin the vital task of protecting thousands of American children who are, unfortunately, at severe risk under present welfare programs." Impressed, I sent a note to a New York official who was present. Could it be that the Feds have come up with an idea we have missed? The answer came back: New York enacted adoption allowances in 1968.



The President signs a New York aid bill as Mayor Koch and Governor Carey watch.



Candidate Ronald Reagan has long been an advocate of reduced Federal spending.

Third. New York can no longer support this public sector at the level it now does. Moreover, the effort to do so is making things worse, as taxes take their toll on the private sector. Here with Roy W. Bahl of the Maxwell School at Syracuse University in a recent study of New York State's economy: "By 1975, New York had become a vastly overdeveloped public sector: a per capita income 11 percent above the national average to support a level of per capita expenditures 57 percent above the national average and far and away the heaviest tax burden in the nation."

This tax burden, now compounded by energy costs, has brought on a near collapse of manufacturing in some regions of what, until just yesterday, was the nation's leading industrial state. In seven years, starting in 1969, New York City lost 400,000 jobs south of 59th Street. If the economy of the state had grown at the national rate since 1960, we would today have 2.7 million more jobs than we do.

Civil War. Let us be clear that the policies of favoring the South were in great measure first advocated by New Yorkers: Mississippians rather opposed them and are hardly to be held accountable.

Second, Federal outlays in areas such as defense and public works are incredibly biased against New York (and, generally speaking, the Northeast). This is a bias as old as the original 1899 Rivers and Harbors Act, and as new as the Houston Space Center.

A general proposition about the political economy of New York is that the Federal money we do receive is "soft," compared with the relatively "hard" money that goes South and West. We get food stamps; they get infrastructure. Lewiston, Idaho, is a seaport; New York Harbor is silting up. The

Instead, we have had a huge and unprecedented out-migration. A middle-level executive in Manhattan may increase his real income a third simply by taking the same job in Houston. (A family on welfare would lose a third of its income.) A million persons have left New York State in this decade alone. This should be seen for what it is, a massive flight of capital.

Now to work worthy of a President.

The principal problem of the political economy of New York is that we pay much more to the Federal Government than we get back. We pay almost 12 percent of Federal taxes; we get back about 8 percent in Federal outlays. For 1978, \$46 billion in taxes returned \$35 billion in outlays, a deficit of \$11 billion. (These numbers can get rather too familiar. A billion minutes ago St. Peter was 10 years dead.)

There are two reasons for this gap. First, Federal social policies from the time of the New Deal have been designed to transfer resources from "high" income areas such as New York to "low" income areas such as Mississippi. The New Deal, in particular, took up the regional problem of the South, which had tormented American politics since the

'The President has achieved nothing that changes the political economy of New York. The Carter Administration has actually reduced the amount of Federal aid going to New York City, our most vulnerable jurisdiction.'

Army Corps of Engineers is cloning the Mississippi, building a canal from Mobile Bay on the Gulf of Mexico to Pickwick Pool on the Tennessee, leading thence to the Ohio. Farther west, the corps holds Congressional authority to turn Dallas — 300 miles upriver from Galveston — into a seaport. The Erie Canal is just about defunct.

Part of the problem — the part of the problem not attributable to our own previous indifference — is that the public-works programs of the Federal Government were first designed to support the westward movement and then, following the Civil War, to help rebuild the South. The momentum of such longterm enterprises can be considerable, so that even efforts at redress somehow fail. Thus, Federal water programs are traditionally concerned with agriculture, flood control and power generation. The Bureau of Reclamation will build systems to water cattle or wash coal, but never simply to supply water for humans to drink. (New York City is building its third water tunnel entirely on its own, just as it built the first two, only the third is just about stalled for lack of funds.) The Water Supply Act of 1958 was supposed to be a general-use, nationwide program. So far, \$1.4 billion has been spent, not one cent of it in New York State.

But it is defense that has been our undoing. In 1978, California received \$16 billion in defense contracts; New York, \$5 billion. The \$11 billion difference is the reason the Governor of California sits on a \$7 billion or \$8 billion surplus each year. (The much-proclaimed Proposition 13 "tax revolt" in California was not at all what it seemed. It was a revolt against local-government taxes. Property values, and hence taxes, were rising rapidly with the booming California economy, while the Governor sat on a vast, unallocated surplus.) In 1978, New York received \$1.1 billion in research and development contracts from the Defense Department; California re-

"thumbs down on the people of New York" if in that same statement, made in December, the Senator had not likened the President to his two predecessors, saying, "I believe that 12 long years of Republican Administrations is enough, and it's time we put in a real Democrat."

Senator Kennedy's charge doesn't fit the facts at all. In the eight Nixon-Ford years, Federal aid, in constant 1980 dollars, rose \$1,739,000, a real increase of 95 percent. Aid doubled. The problem was that almost all this aid (revenue sharing being the conspicuous exception) followed the New Deal formula whereby upward of half the cost of any new Federal program, in New York, is paid by the state or by the state and a unit of local government. The Republican aid was generous, but it was not radical. It only swelled our public sector, raised our taxes, and indeed brought on the first collapse.

Let me not appear too harsh to either Mr. Carter or Mr. Kennedy. The President almost certainly thinks he has increased aid to the city (although his budget director, James T. McIntyre Jr., noted recently that last year's budget had "radically lowered expectations").

As for Senator Kennedy, the danger — and it is that — of his position is that it reinforces the autotherapeutic illusion among Democrats that Republicans nearly starved the city into bankruptcy in 1975. This was the conceptual foundation of the 1975 "settlement" which avoided bankruptcy at that time. The settlement made sense if one assumed that a Democratic Administration would come to office shortly and, on a tide of Federal money, all boats would rise, including our grounded scow. This myth began with us. But as a candidate, Kennedy should know that at least some of us no longer think we can afford such self-delusion.

The year 1976 held some promise, however. The Democratic platform called for full Federal assumption of welfare costs, state and local. As a candidate, Mr. Carter abso-

lutely committed himself to assuming at least the local cost. Now this would be a change in the political economy. A change of Rooseveltian order.

New York State has 1.2 million persons on welfare. Their living allowance has not been increased since 1974, with the effect that their purchasing power has been cut nearly in half. Literally. The suspicion

that New York City has filled its rolls with able persons is nonsense. A third of the children born in the city now are born out of wedlock. Such children, with their mothers, make up the overwhelming portion of the welfare population, and they are truly dependent. Nor does the notion hold up that this is a problem peculiar to cities. Nassau County on Long Island, with 1.4 million suburbanites, spends half its budget on welfare and Medicaid and enjoys the distinction of being the highest-taxed community in the highest-taxed state in the nation.

Mr. Carter has broken his welfare promise. That is what hurts. It is not that he has tried and failed: he has not tried. Which means he has not understood. He brought into his Cabinet Washington lawyers who saw their task as picking up where Lyndon B. Johnson left off and finishing the New Deal. The President's latest welfare "reform" proposal would establish a minimum family payment — where? — in 13 Southern and Southwestern states. Texas, slithering in oil revenues, would have any increases in its welfare payments paid by the Federal Government. New York would get a token 5 percent increase in Federal participation. Leaving 1.2 million people stranded still.

Medicaid is another such situation. The distribution formula is based on the Hill-Burton Act of 1946, which began Federal aid to hospital construction. A colleague has described it as "the South's compensation for the Civil War." But this is not quite fair. In 1946, Alabama needed an advantage, and besides, rela-

tively small sums were involved. But Medicaid costs are vast, and the bias has become ruinous to New York, which not only has a vast welfare population, which by Federal law is entitled to Medicaid, but a vast illegal-alien population (a Federal responsibility also!), which we try to take care of because this is our social inheritance. (Other than New York City, only one city in the nation has more than two municipal hospitals, Los Angeles, which has three. New York has 17.)

To change the Medicaid formula would change the political economy. But this is not what has come out of Washington. Instead, the President sends us the Vice President with \$30 million to enable Brooklyn Jewish Hospital to keep from going bankrupt for another three years. But three

years from now? Will the illegal aliens it cares for be eligible for Federal reimbursement? Will the reimbursement formula represent true costs? If not, nothing has changed. If the political economy that has brought us to the verge of bankruptcy is still in place, then the cycle of crisis and bare recovery will persist.

The shame of it all is that not that much is required — just as Roosevelt didn't do that many things, but the things he did were radical. So it is with the crisis of the public sector. A few basic changes would set things right. And — Republicans and Governor Brown please take special note — no increase in the overall public sector is required. All that is required is for New York to get its proportional share of Federal outlays, thereby reducing its own. The problems of city and state would not disappear, but the Federal Government would no longer be part of the problem.

The list of specifics could go on a bit further: under the 1975 Education for All Handicapped Children Act, the Federal Government required that extensive services be provided such children and began by putting up 12 percent (sic) of the cost, leaving New York with yet another increase in a huge education budget; because of a peculiarity of the

law, twice as many Vietnam-era veterans in California go to college as in New York; New York's parochial schools, which once educated one child in four and now one child in six, are prevented from receiving even state aid by the Supreme Court. A bill for tuition tax credits would have passed in 1978 save for the adamant and not wholly attractive opposition of the Administration. As Bishop Edward D. Head of Buffalo — where half the Catholic high schools have closed — recently put it, parochial schools in New York are “dropping like leaves from a tree.” As they drop, the public sector must pick up their students, and this, too, is the doing of the Federal Government.

What has been so disappointing about the Carter Administration is that there has been no one who could see this issue in conceptual terms — in terms, that is, of a change in the political economy. All of the numbers I have used here are official; but let me say right off that they are incomplete. We haven't anything like the data base we want. For three years I have been talking to Cabinet officers about this, asking their de-

partments' help. (You never do anything about a problem in Washington until you learn to measure it.) I have been met with incomprehension and near total failure to respond. It is as if someone called at the Labor Department in 1934 suggesting that the Bureau of Labor Statistics begin measuring unemployment on a regular basis (which it did not then do), only to have Madame Perkins ask, “Why on earth would anybody want to keep count of the number of persons out of work?”

Just as indifference to social dislocation would have led to class bitterness during the Depression, so will regional bitterness arise unless something is done about the political economy of the Northeast. Take those Vietnam veterans. For three years, Senator Jacob Javits and I have been trying to get the law changed to give veterans in New York (and Pennsylvania and many other states) a better chance for college. We have not had any success.

Take defense. I have pleaded with Secretary of Defense Harold Brown that regional disparities would one day politicize the department's appropriations. On April 3, 1979, he wrote me: “How can New Yorkers, of all people, be thought so parochial as to view national defense as a local public-works program?”

He got a for instance this September. The Senate had voted a 3 percent increase in defense spending, which the Administration had requested as vital to national security. The day after the Senate voted, the House voted. The measure lost; the Democrats in our delegation voted 23 to 2 against it. This was largely a vote on political principles (which I respect even if I do not share). But wait until the next bankruptcy crisis. To vote against defense will be an act of regional vengeance.

But I go on. In sum, I plead that the issue of New York be seen as basically regional and fundamentally systemic.

The nation needs a policy for it. A post-New Deal policy. The man who persuades us that he has thought this through is likely to get our votes. I have to say I fear the moment was lost in the first two years of the Carter Administration, and that foreign crises will now take over. But even so, the man who manages to win the election (including you, Mr. President) and actually does something will be remembered, not only by us but by history. ■

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Pat:

Thank you for forwarding to the President an advance copy of your Times Magazine piece on New York.

As you know, we have devoted particular attention to the special problems facing New York. The Administration worked vigorously to achieve the enactment of unprecedented legislation to meet the City's financing needs. Over the past three years, we have consistently fought for legislation to target greater resources to urban areas.

While we differ strongly with some of your conclusions, we will carefully review the points you have raised.

I appreciate the support you have given to the President on other matters, and I look forward to continuing to work with you in areas of common interest.

Sincerely,

Stuart E. Eizenstat  
Assistant to the President  
for Domestic Affairs and Policy

The Honorable Daniel P. Moynihan  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

8:30 AM

DROP-BY COFFEE FOR CAMPAIGN BRIEFING ATTENDEES

East Room

8:30 a.m.

By: Sarah Weddington  
Gretchen Poston

sw

I. PURPOSE: Brief greeting with women supporters in town for an all-day campaign/issues briefing.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, PRESS:

A. BACKGROUND: These women are gathering in town at Sarah's invitation for an all-day meeting on the campaign and Administration issues. They will spend the morning at the Capital Hilton hearing from various campaign officials in relation to our general goals on the campaign.

After lunch, they will hear from Administration officials (Presidential Appointees) regarding Administration positions and handling of some key issues.

These women have been chosen for an invitation primarily because of the support for Carter-Mondale and their ability to speak and organize effectively for you.

We plan to give as broad as possible a view of each of the key issues, so that these women can return to their home states as qualified representatives of the Carter-Mondale ticket.

B. PARTICIPANTS: We anticipate approximately 400 participants. These women cover the full spectrum from working women recognized in their particular field, to feminist activists, straight pols, and housewives involved for the first time.

We have managed to cover most of the states and among them all of the key states.

C. PRESS: None/ White House Photo

III. TALKING POINTS:

1. Welcome them to the White House.
2. Thank them for travelling the distances they have travelled to join us for this day's activities.

3. Tell them you appreciate the theme of the conference: "Carter-Mondale 1980: Women Win Again" because you need their help to win and because when you win you will continue to increase the number of women appointees, support for the ERA, and concern for the issues that effect women.
4. Stress the importance that their participation in your campaign holds for both you and Rosalynn, as representatives recognized in their own communities not only as women, but as voters active in the electoral process.

IV. SCENARIO:

Enter East Room

Proceed to platform and microphone

Brief remarks

At conclusion of remarks, depart.

CARTER - MONDALE 1980: WOMEN WIN AGAIN

Issues Briefing  
Capital Hilton  
16th and K Streets N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

February 1 - 2, 1980

AGENDA

February 1, 1980

Beginning  
3:00 p.m.

INFORMATION CENTER  
New York Room/Capital Hilton  
Second Floor  
(202) 393-1000

February 2, 1980

8:00 a.m.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Meet at Southeast Gate  
15th Street, N.W.  
(Across from Treasury Department)  
(Bring Identification)

8:30 a.m.

COFFEE WITH THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. CARTER  
East Room

9:30 - 10:00 a.m.

WHITE HOUSE TOUR

10:30 - 12:00 noon

CAMPAIGN BRIEFING  
Capital Hilton  
Congressional/Senate Rooms

Welcome: Hon. Sarah Weddington  
Assistant to the President

Campaign Briefing: Diana Rock  
Deputy Chair  
Carter - Mondale Presidential  
Committee

Remarks: Hon. Marion Barry  
Mayor of Washington, D.C.

Remarks: Hon. Esther Coopersmith  
Former U.S. Representative to the  
34th U.N. General Assembly

12:15 p.m.

LUNCHEON  
Presidential Room

Moderator and ERA Remarks:

Hon. Liz Carpenter  
Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs,  
Designate  
Department of Education

Remarks: Hon. Sarah Weddington

Keynote Speaker: The Honorable Ray Marshall  
Secretary  
Department of Labor

1:45 - 3:30 p.m.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS: Overview and Panel  
Congressional / Senate Rooms

Introduction: Hon. Alexis M. Herman  
Director of Women's Bureau  
Department of Labor

Overview: Hon. Stuart Eizenstat  
Assistant to the President for  
Domestic Affairs and Policy

Hon. W. Harrison Wellford  
Executive Associate Director for  
Reorganization and Management  
Office of Management and Budget

Overview on Education:

Hon. Shirley Hufstедler  
Secretary  
Department of Education

Panel Hon. Joan Z. Bernstein, Moderator

The Arts: Hon. Joan Mondale

Health: Hon. Joan Z. Bernstein  
General Counsel  
Department of Health and Human  
Resources

Cities and Housing:

Hon. Donna E. Shalala  
Assistant Secretary for Policy  
Development and Research  
Department of Housing and Urban  
Development

Civil Rights: Hon. Carin A. Clauss  
Solicitor  
Department of Labor

Employment: Hon. Alexis M. Herman

Economy: Hon. Alfred E. Kahn  
Advisor to the President on Inflation

Energy: Hon. John C. Sawhill  
Deputy Secretary  
Department of Energy

Environment: Hon. Barbara Blum  
Deputy Administrator  
Environmental Protection Agency

Nutrition/Food Stamps:  
Hon. Carol T. Foreman  
Assistant Secretary for Food and  
Consumer Services  
Department of Agriculture

3:30 - 4:00 p.m.

BREAK

4:00 - 5:00 p.m.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: Overview and Panel  
Congressional/Senate Rooms

Introduction: Hon. Mary E. King  
Deputy Director of ACTION

~~Overview:~~ Hon. Hodding Carter, III  
Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs  
Department of State

~~Panel~~ ~~Hon. Mary E. King, Moderator~~

Women in the Military:  
Hon. Mary E. King

Human Rights: Hon. Patricia M. Derian  
Assistant Secretary for Human Rights  
and Humanitarian Affairs  
Department of State

U.N. and Women in the Foreign Service:  
Hon. Esther Coopersmith

5:00 - 5:30 p.m.

CLOSING ACTIVITIES  
Hon. Sarah Weddington

6:30 - 8:00 p.m.

RECEPTION  
Presidential Room