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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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File Folder 07/03/1986--07/05/1986 LIBERTY WEEKEND BACK-UP (3)

FOIA

S07-0069/01

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64

DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
1	MEMO	W. GREY TERRY FOR ALL PREADVANCE PARTICIPANTS (PARTIAL)	1	6/9/1986	B7(C)
2	LIST	CONTACT SHEET (PARTIAL)	1	ND	B7(C)

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

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

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

PREADVANCE TO THE
USS IOWA AND USS KENNEDY

JUNE 10, 1986

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

SPEECHWRITING, OFFICE OF: RESEARCH OFFICE
RECORDS

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1 MEMO

1 6/9/1986 B7(C)

W. GREY TERRY FOR ALL PREADVANCE
PARTICIPANTS (PARTIAL)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 9, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR ALL PREADVANCE PARTICIPANTS

FROM: W. GREY TERRY *WGT*

SUBJECT: PREADVANCE TO NORFOLK, VIRGINIA ON TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1986

The weather in Norfolk, Virginia on Tuesday is expected to be Sunny with the temperature in the low 80's.

Preadvance participants will be able to purchase USS Iowa and USS Kennedy hats during the preadvance.

H-53 MANIFEST

Presidential Advance Office

1. W. Grey Terry - Deputy Director
2. Gary L. Foster - Assistant Director for Press
3. Michael Lake - Lead Advanceman for USS Iowa *
4. Joseph Brennan - Lead Press Advanceman for USS Iowa *
5. Frederick Ahearn - Lead Advanceman for USS Kennedy **
6. David Frederickson - Lead Press Advanceman for USS Kennedy **
7. Pamela Stevens - Trip Coordinator

Office of Presidential Speechwriting

8. Carol Hayes - Research Assistant

White House Military Office

9. Commander Patrick Dunne, Naval Aide to the President *
10. David Gwinn - White House Medical Unit
11. John Moore - Liberty Weekend '86 WHCA Trip Officer
12. Eddie Serrano - Presidential Food Coordinator, Presidential Watch
13. Hilario Michal - Presidential Watch
14. MSgt Al Goodman - Radio Technician, WHCA

* Will remain overnight on USS Iowa until Thursday, June 12, 1986

** Will remain overnight on USS Kennedy until Thursday, June 12, 1986

06/9/86 12:00 p.m.

7:30 a.m. Vans depart the West Basement en route Anacostia landing zone.

Drive Time: 20 mins.

Vans arrive Anacostia landing zone. Proceed to aircraft with baggage for boarding.

8:00 a.m. H-53 departs Anacostia landing zone en route Norfolk, Virginia.

Flight Time: 1 hr. 20 mins.

Time Change: None

Food Service: None

9:20 a.m. H-53 arrives Norfolk Naval Air Station, Air Operations Terminal (804/444-2442).

Met by:

Commander James Lois, Executive Assistant,
International Naval Review

Proceed to vans for transportation to USS Iowa.

9:25 a.m. Vans depart Norfolk Naval Air Station en route USS Iowa.

Drive Time: 15 mins.

9:40 a.m. Vans arrive USS Iowa. (804/444-7402)

Proceed to Wardroom for meeting.

Arrive Wardroom and proceed inside.

Joined by:

Commander Frank Kalas, Supply Officer, USS
Iowa

Mike Ball, Special Agent, USSS, New York
Field Office **

Carl Trescott, Special Agent, USSS, New
York Field Office *

Mick Chandrani, Special Agent, USSS **

Harry Yost, TSD *

Dave Caldwell, Security Specialist, USSS *

NOTE: Diagrams of the USS Iowa will be
available.

* Will remain overnight on the USS Iowa until Thursday, June 12, 1986.

** Will remain overnight on the USS Kennedy until Thursday, June 12, 1986.

10:00 a.m. Meeting begins.

11:00 a.m. Meeting concludes. Proceed on Site Survey.

SITE SURVEY: USS Iowa

Site Survey concludes. Return to Wardroom for working lunch.

12:00 p.m. Working lunch begins.

NOTE: There will be a \$2.00 a person charge for all those wanting to eat lunch.

12:45 p.m. Working lunch concludes. Proceed across Pier to USS Kennedy.

1:00 p.m. Arrive USS Kennedy. Proceed inside to Wardroom for meeting. (804/444-3764)

Arrive Wardroom.

Met by:

Captain John Moriarty, Commanding Officer,
USS Kennedy

NOTE: Diagrams of the USS Kennedy will be available.

1:10 p.m. Meeting begins.

2:15 p.m. Meeting concludes. Proceed on Site Survey.

Site Survey: USS Kennedy

3:30 p.m. Site Survey concludes.

Proceed to vans for transportation to Norfolk Naval Air Station.

3:40 p.m. Vans depart USS Kennedy en route Norfolk Naval Air Station.

Drive Time: 15 mins.

3:55 p.m. Vans arrive Norfolk Naval Air Station. Proceed to H-53 aircraft for boarding.

4:00 p.m. H-53 departs Norfolk Naval Air Station en route
Anacostia landing zone.

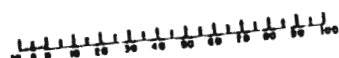
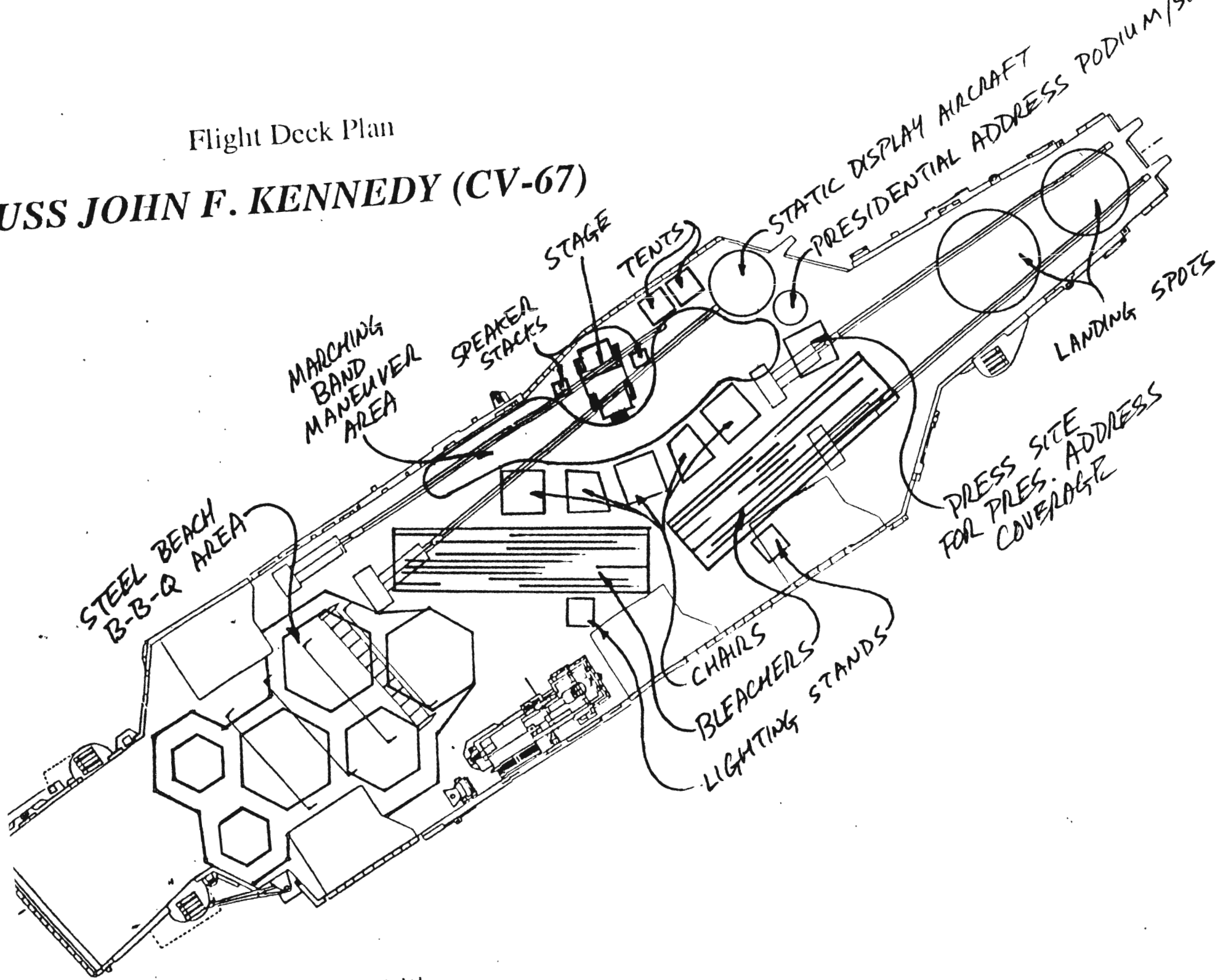
Flight Time: 1 hr. 20 mins.
Time Change: None
Food Service: None

5:20 p.m. H-53 arrives Anacostia landing zone. Proceed to vans
for transportation to the West Basement.

Drive Time: 15 mins.

5:35 p.m. Vans arrive the West Basement, The White House.

Flight Deck Plan
USS JOHN F. KENNEDY (CV-67)



Carol

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1986

Ben Elliott —

Some interesting
data re. Statue of
Liberty.

— Joel Rodota

Below: Fund-raising ticket for the pedestal
 Right: Auguste Bartholdi, the sculptor
 Below right: Sheet music cover for words and music by Emile Hornez



(continued from p. 3)

figure weighing 450,000 pounds, and rising 151 feet above its pedestal.

It took two decades for Bartholdi's dream to become a reality, and *Statue of Liberty* traces the financial obstacles that almost wrecked it. For one thing, as seems inevitable in large-scale projects, the statue's costs soared far over budget. Meanwhile, the Franco-American Union, established in 1875 to raise funds for the project in France, had little success until Bartholdi, no less innovative in commercial affairs than artistic, came up with the idea of allowing subscribing businesses to employ the statue's likeness in advertising. Soon "liberty" was splashed across Paris billboards, and francs were rolling in. Meanwhile, Bartholdi was designing and building his monument, apparently using his mother as model for Liberty's face.

Fund-raising also encountered snags in the United States. A committee hoping to finance the building of the huge pedestal at first was met with apathy or downright hostility. The 1870s, after all, was a period of economic depression. "No true patriot," intoned *The New York Times*, "can support such expenditures for a bronze female in the present state of our finances." In the end, Congress had to chip in money for the opening ceremonies in 1886, although funds earmarked for "refreshments" were deleted by the temperance-minded solons. New York businessmen, however, stepped into the breach. "Thanks to private enterprise," wrote a French

journalist, guests would "be able to smoke and take refreshment as much as they like."

Conceived at a time when both America and France were embroiled in crisis—this country just emerging from the Civil War and France suffering the twin disasters of the Franco-Prussian War and the suppression of the Paris Commune—the initial purpose of the sponsors was to enhance Franco-American relations. But, of course, in this century, the statue has come to symbolize not so much our historic connection with France, but America's self-image as a refuge for millions of immigrants, their expectant faces approaching the gateway to New York harbor engraved in our imaginations by early twentieth-century newsreels and photographs. Indeed, as the book points out, the image of the statue as symbolizing America's welcome to the oppressed of other lands persisted long after the "golden door" was slammed shut in the 1920s.

(continued on p. 6)

- 41 - JP

The President has seen 5/13

10525 Pounds Ave.
Whittier, Ca. 90604
April 12, 1986

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

How fortunate and grateful I feel to be an American today as I suffered persecution and imprisonment in Lithuania under the two totalitarian regimes, those of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

When I first viewed the Statue of Liberty upon my arrival in America in 1947, I was overwhelmed by the sight of the gigantic lady who dominated the New York Harbor. I was deeply moved by the poem inscribed on her base, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses. . ." My silent response was, "I am your tired, your poor, a part of your huddled masses."

The current refurbishing of the Statue revived those profound feelings which I experienced on that occasion almost forty years ago, and inspired the writing of the enclosed poem. Perhaps it can be utilized as part of the coming celebration. Please let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Frieda Frome Krieger

FRIEDA FROME KRIEGER
(213) 947-6898

FK/bh

encl



The Lady of Liberty

"Give me your tired, your poor . . ."

*I dragged my feet when I first arrived
Searching for liberty long, long denied*

*For suffering was I from starvation and pain
From torture inflicted so inhumane*

*My country demolished, my people destroyed
You came to my rescue. You filled the void.*

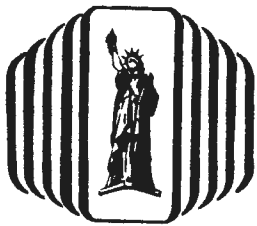
*You were my mother and father too.
You protected, nurtured, and made me new.*

*I picked up the pieces and put them together
Determined to make just one more endeavor.*

*The streets of gold I did not see
But opportunities golden awaited me*

*I built, I prospered, I opened the door.
I found freedom, who could want for more?*

*So come ye oppressed, who yearn to breathe free
Together we'll cherish our liberty.*



CONCERNED CITIZENS FOR DEMOCRACY, INC.

No Communism, No Corruption - Democracy and Capitalism in Action.

ARGENTINA
BAHAMAS
BELICE
BRASIL
BOLIVIA
CANADA
COLOMBIA
COSTA RICA
CHILE
ECUADOR
EL SALVADOR
ESTADOS UNIDOS
GRANADA
GUATEMALA
GUYANA
HAITI
HONDURAS
JAMAICA
MEXICO
NICARAGUA
PANAMA
PARAGUAY
PERU
PUERTO RICO
REPUBLICA DOMINICANA
SURINAM
TRINIDAD Y TOBAGO
URUGUAY
VENEZUELA

April 4, 1986

The Honorable Bently T. Elliott
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Director of Speech Writing
Room 100
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ben:

Enclosed is a letter signed "Callie Yates", accompanied by an original poem which the writer, evidently a patriotic lady, requests be read by President Reagan.

Accordingly, I am passing it on to you, and as I am no expert on poetry, I leave its disposition in your hands.

Sincerely,


Carlos Perez
Chairman

CP:df

Enclosures

March 10, 1986

Callie Yates
P.O. Box 712
Clear, Alaska 99704

Mr. Carlos Perez
Chairman
Banana Services, Inc.
33 Giralda, Suite 201
Coral Gables, FL 33134


Dear Mr. Perez,

I appreciate all the energies and effort that have been put forth by you and members of The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Commission and The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation for the restoration and preservation of the Statue of Liberty & Ellis Island.

I am proud to live in this great country and be called an American. The Statue of Liberty is very dear to me. I respectfully submit, "Tribute To A Lady", as my contribution to the Statue of Liberty's 100th birthday. I believe the sentiment expressed in my poem is common to most Americans.

My only request is: As an American I would be very proud and honored if President Reagan could read my poem. Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,


Callie Yates

Copies to: All forty-four members of The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Commission

RECEIVED
3/20/86
ccfd

Tribute To A Lady

You began as a dream,
An unreachable goal,
And what you've become
Stirs our hearts and our soul.

With your torch held high,
You opened the door;
And those yearning for freedom,
Found a way to our shore.

They came with ideas.
They came to work hard,
To contribute to this country
And later fight in her wars.

The abolition of slavery,
The suffrage movement,
With each step, each cause,
Came needed improvement.

From child labor laws
To minimum wage,
Our country has grown
And advanced with each stage.

In the early thirties
The Great Depression,
In the early eighties
Our recent recession.

We remember the Olympics;
The chant was U.S.A.
With pride we admit
We've come a long way.

The learning process
Is not without cost,
But the gain thereof
Will never be lost.

When the Challenger exploded
Our nation was stunned,
But we reacted quickly
And united as one.

It was commitment & determination
In these we saw.
The great courage they displayed
Is an example to us all.

As history has shown
Throughout the years,
We've given our best;
Borne our pain, shed our tears.

What we feel for you
Goes far deeper than pride.
For you, dear Lady,
Men have fought, men have died.

You represent freedom,
It's known to all.
You're crowned with honor.
You stand so tall.

You demand respect.
There's power in your word.
You speak with authority,
Though no voice is heard.

Certainly God has been with us,
And He really does care.
As a country we offer
The following prayer.

Dear God, We acknowledge your blessings
And strength for our nation,
And pray they continue
To the next generation.

By Callie Yates

6/13/86

Dear Sir:

I thought perhaps, the President might wish to use my tribute 'Lady in Waiting' for his July 3rd lighting of the 'torch'. Give him my best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul May
11245 Pinto Drive
Fountain Hills, AZ 85268
(602) 837-9236

LADY IN WAITING

For 100 years.., a glow appeared, and over
distant waters came. Freedom seeking
spirits strong, like moths unto her flame.

For 100 years.., thru joyous tears, she stayed her
hallowed ground. Stood and welcomed all who
called, as they laid their burdens down.

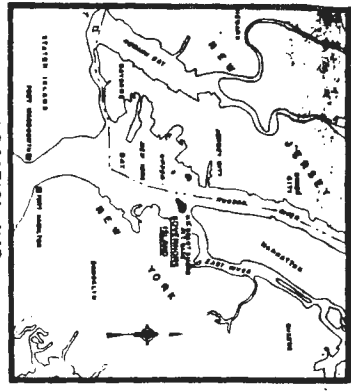
For 100 years.., with all their fears, weary pilgrims
came ashore. As they looked up, she filled their
cup, as she opened freedoms' door.

For 100 years.., they were the first to hear, freedoms'
sounds that tamed. Their anxious hearts, as her lips
did part. As she whispered each their names.

For 100 years.., from far and near, they journeyed
with their dreams. Within her glow, how well they know,
what liberty now means.

For 100 years.., pray the world still hears, her
voice or'e oceans roam. Bring unto me, your
every dream, and I will guide you home.

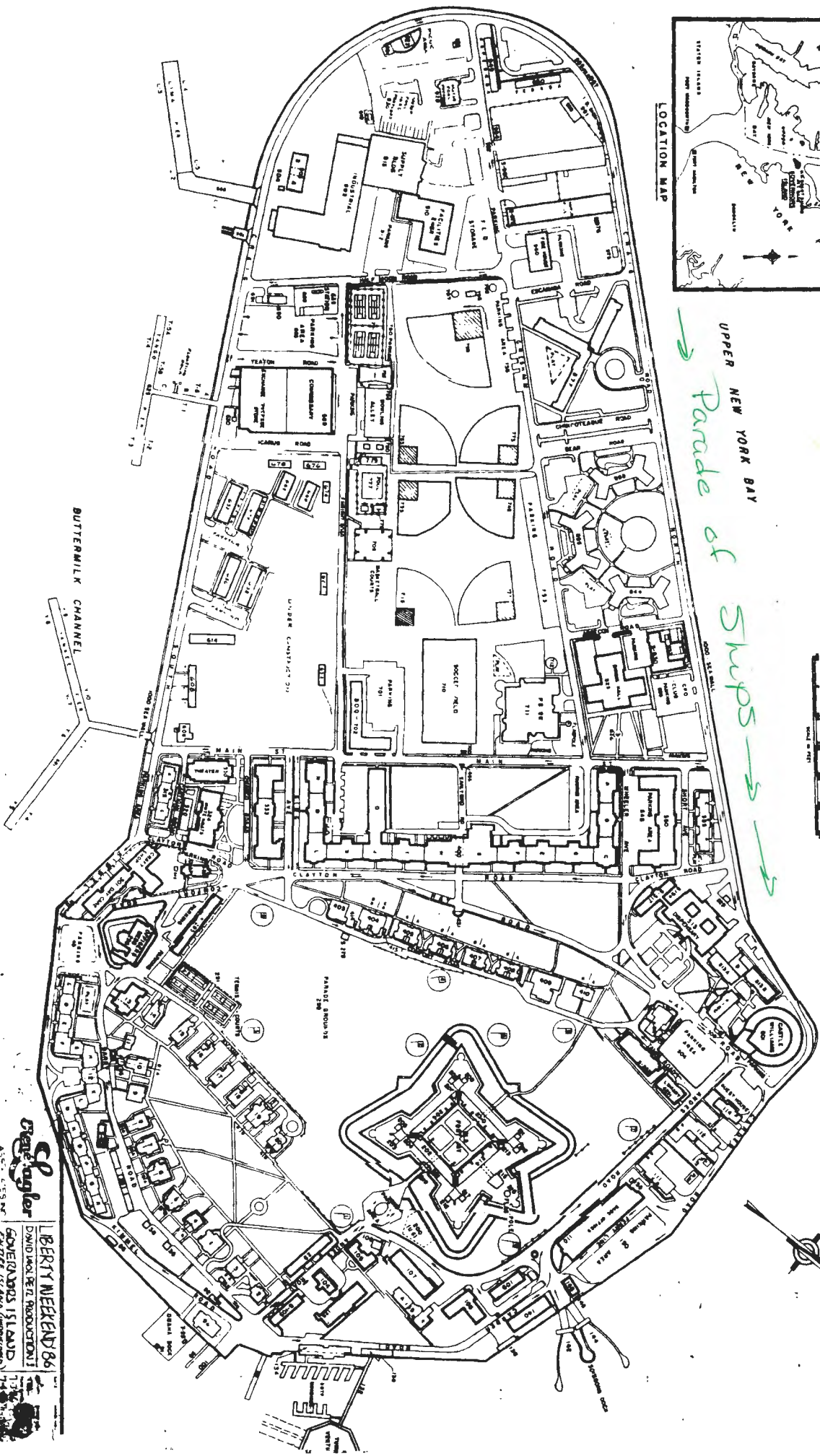
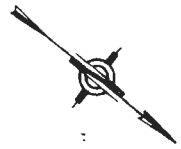
Paul May
Fountain Hills, Arizona
6/12/86



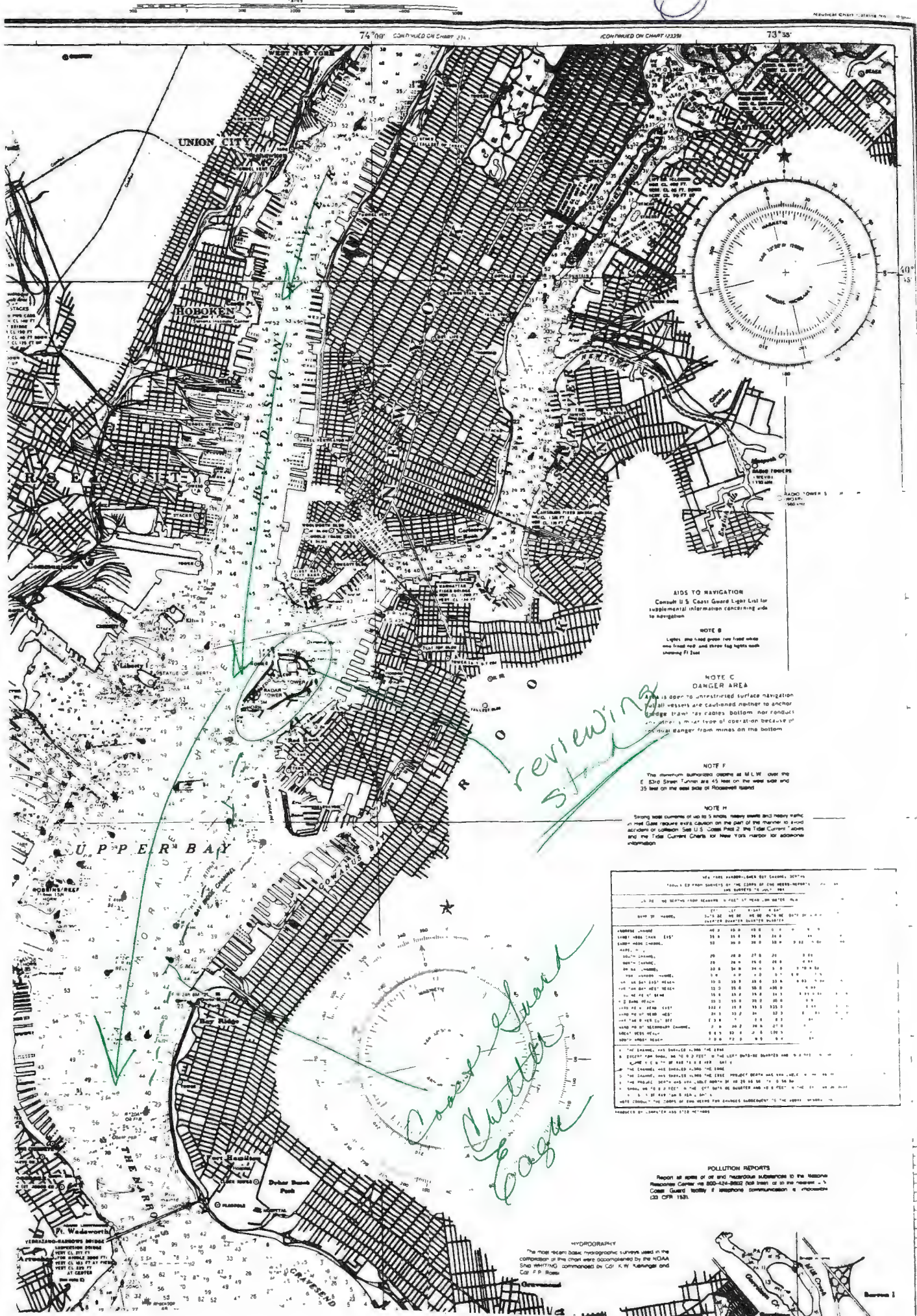
LOCATION MAP

UPPER NEW YORK BAY
Parade of Ships → →

SITE PLAN
U.S. COAST GUARD
SUPPORT CENTER NEW YORK
GOVERNORS ISLAND, NEW YORK
JAN. 1985



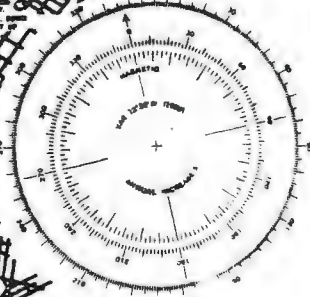
LIBERTY WEEKEND '86
DAVID HALL, BETZ PRODUCTIONS
GOVERNORS ISLAND
CIVIC CENTER (UNDERWAY)
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74°00' COMPARED ON CHART 12351

CONFIRMED ON CHART 12351

73°55'



AIDS TO NAVIGATION
Consult U.S. Coast Guard Light List for supplemental information concerning aids to navigation.

NOTE B
Light also had green two flash white and red top and three flag lights with showing Fl 2 sec.

NOTE C
DANGER AREA

This is open to unrestricted surface navigation. All vessels are cautioned neither to anchor nor to dredge for cables, bottom, nor conduct operations of a nature that may be dangerous to the general safety of navigation because of the danger from mines on the bottom.

NOTE F

The minimum authorized clearance at M.L.W. over the E 33rd Street Turner is 45 feet on the west side and 35 feet on the east side of Roosevelt Island.

NOTE H

Strong tidal currents of up to 5 knots, heavy swell and heavy wind in bad case require extra caution on the part of the mariner to avoid accidents or collisions. See U.S. Coast Guard 2nd Tide Current Tables and the Tide Current Charts of New York Harbor for additional information.

TABLE 13 FROM SURVEYS BY THE OFFICE OF THE HYDROGRAPHIC SURVEY, U.S. NAVY, 1913

TABLE OF TIDES FOR THE HUDSON RIVER AT HOBOKEN, N.J.

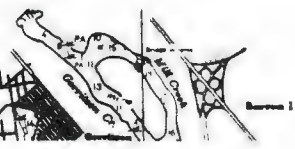
NAME OF TIDE	1913		1914		1915	
	High Water	Low Water	High Water	Low Water	High Water	Low Water
Spring Tides	10.0	1.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	1.0
Neap Tides	9.0	2.0	9.0	2.0	9.0	2.0
... (Additional rows follow similar pattern)						

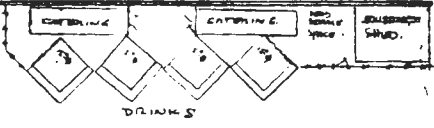
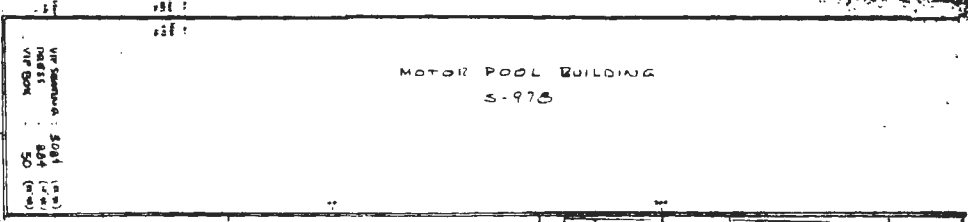
reviewing station

Cross Street Cutter Coaga

POLLUTION REPORTS
Report all spills of oil and hazardous substances to the National Response Center at 800-424-9333 (24 hours) or to the nearest U.S. Coast Guard facility if immediate communication is necessary (20 CFR 153).

HYDROGRAPHY
The most recent basic hydrographic surveys used in the compilation of this chart were accomplished by the NOAA Ship HERMES, commanded by Cmdr. K.W. Kuehner and Lt. J.P. Bower.



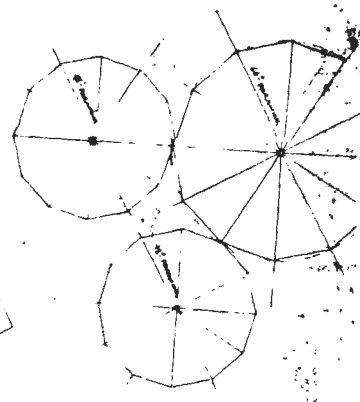
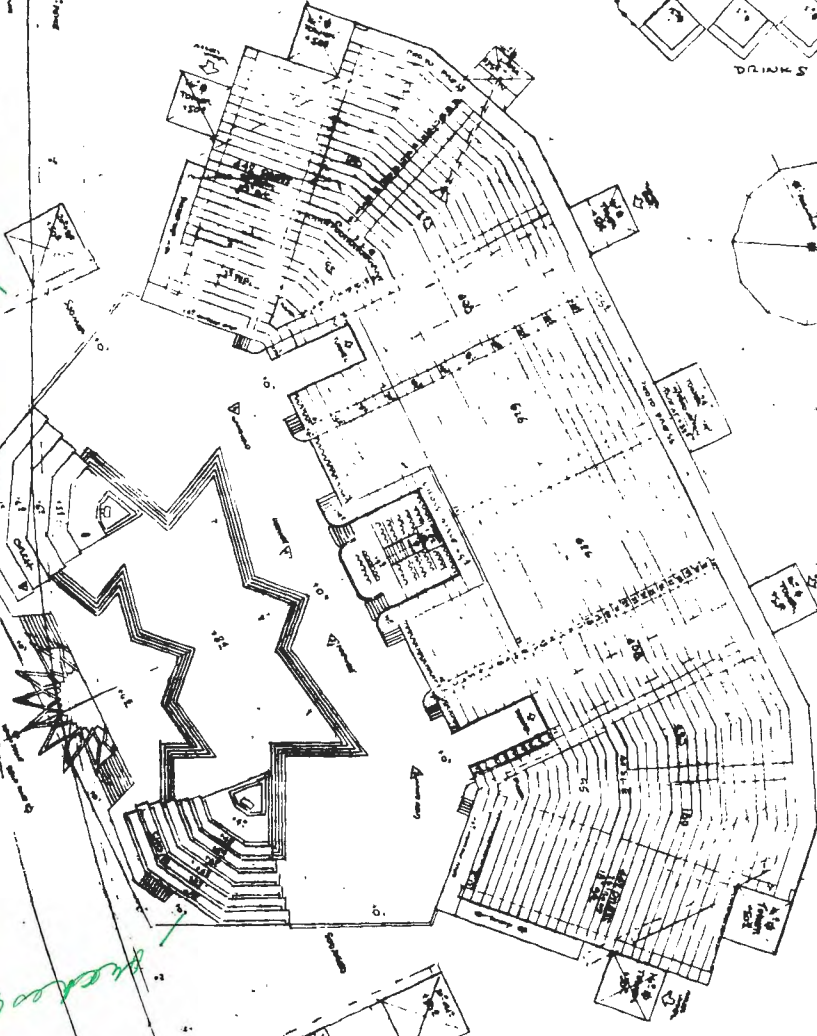
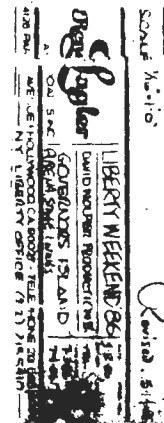


wide-open

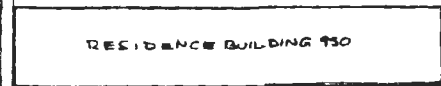
Chairs

wood chairs to starve

Orange
LIBERTY WEEKEND '86
 DAVID NEUBER ROBERTSON
 CONSULTANTS ISLAND
 400 PARK AVE. 15TH FLOOR
 N.Y. LIBERTY OFFICE (717) 218-2111



wood chairs to starve on 500



RESIDENCE 930 PARKING

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE OFFICE

LIBERTY WEEKEND 86'

MEETING AGENDA

I. WELCOMING REMARKS AND MEETING OVERVIEW

James L. Hooley, Special Assistant to the President and
Director of Presidential Advance

W. Grey Terry, Deputy Director of Presidential Advance

II. INTRODUCTIONS AND DESCRIPTION OF PRESIDENTIAL SCHEDULE

W. Grey Terry, Deputy Director of Presidential Advance

PROGRAM BREAK

III. EVENT BY EVENT DESCRIPTION

W. Grey Terry, Deputy Director of Presidential Advance
Gary L. Foster, Assistant Director of Presidential Advance
for Press

VI. WRAP-UP

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

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S07-0069/01

Box Number

272

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DOC Document Type

No of Doc Date Restriction

NO Document Description

pages

tions

2 LIST

1 ND B7(C)

CONTACT SHEET (PARTIAL)

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

White House Communications Agency

MAJ Ken Bassmann WHCA Operations
LCDR Johnnie Moore WHCA Trip Officer

White House Military Office

CDR Patrick Dunne Naval Aide to the President
LCDR Vivien Crea Coast Guard Aide to the President
Eddie Serrano Assistant Presidential Food Service Coordinator
MAJ Mack Reynolds HMX Advance

White House Photo Office

Billie Shaddix Director of White House Photographic Services
Carol McKay Photo Editor

Office of the Press Secretary

Mark Weinberg Assistant Press Secretary

National Security Council

Tyrus Cobb Director for Soviet and Western
European Affairs

Michael Castine

Office of Political Affairs

Edward Rogers Associate Director for Political Affairs

Offices of Presidential Scheduling and Private Sector Initiatives

Frederick Ryan Deputy Assistant to the President and Director
of Presidential Scheduling and Private Sector
Initiatives

Anne Kelly Associate Director for Special Projects



United States Department of State

Jeannie Bull Chief of Presidential and Vice Presidential
Travel Support, United States Department of
State

Becky Boyd Visits Officer, Office of Protocol, United
States Department of State

Liberty Weekend

James Murphy Security Director for Liberty Weekend

G. Edward Smith General Manager of Liberty Weekend

Nina Lederman Senior Producer/Manager, Opening Ceremonies

David Nash Associate Producer, Opening Ceremonies

Thomas Walker Producer/Director, Operation Sail and Liberty
Island Opening Ceremonies

Rene Lagler Art Director, Liberty Weekend

William Hussy Protocol/Federal Government Relations

Richard Perelman Press Coordinator

Needs to be
cut.

Some of these letters are in the permanent Statue Museum exhibit.

~~STATUE OF LIBERTY EXHIBIT~~

DEAR MISS LIBERTY
EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS

Dear "Statue of Liberty!"

It was in 1920 when my youngest sister, then 18, and I, 24, saw you for the first time! You were so very beautiful and promising! It has been a long time and now you need a little help yourself! So here I am with my humble offering.

I wish it could be more but...you understand. I am now 91 years old. You have kept most of your promises and I have done the best I could. I have not grown rich but I have been happy--most of the time. I love you America and thank you.

Dear Mrs.,

I very like sends money on the restoration Statue of Liberty. Can only send two dollars because much more am only Polish money not U.S. dollars.

I very like put in money on this best, beautiful Symbol of Freedom for all World and Poland Special in this time yes no good for Polish. If I can recieve informations on other Statue of Liberty facts I be very happy for all this information and very like all big Statue on photo locate in my room. I be endeavor for much more U.S. dollars.

"I ONLY CRIED"

I left for Europe WW 11 Ocotber '42...with 788th Field Artillery. Returned about two years later. When I departed and steamed by the Statue of Liberty I was so emotional, I cried,... both for being proud and also for leaving for war and the frpedom of the United States. On returning on a Victory Ship approaching the Statue of Liberty I was so emotional that I cried again...that is the only occasion that I remember crying other than the passing of loved ones. It has meant so much to me to have had such a privilege of viewing the Grand Old Lady, when leaving and returning America.

DEAR MISS LIBERTY
EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS (cont)

"After considerable thoughts, I am sending the enclosed photograph as a donation in the effort to restore the Statue of Liberty. I came to this country in 1977 as one of the Vietnamese boat refugees. I was deeply moved by the Statue since I know the real meaning of Freedom and Liberty. I once lost them in my homeland. The Lady is the most intimate symbol of what we, the Boat People, are willing to risk our lives for. The photograph has special value to me. This is rather personal but I am losing my vision due to a rare eye disease. This inspiring picture makes me feel very fortunate that, at least once in my life, I could see such beauty." I prefer to remain anonymous. Thousands of refugees feel the way I do about the Lady."

(from a 1915 soldier's letter to his mother)

...it was a grand and glorious feeling when Miss Liberty loomed up on the horizon to us and our transport started making for the New York harbor. When we first got a glimpse of The Statue of Liberty (there were close to two thousand men on board and every man on deck with his eye peeled) a cheer went out over the water and it seemed like even the boat came to attention. Someone yelled, 'there's my sweetheart now' and then everyone sang, "My Country Tis of Thee" and I'll tell you, Mother Mine, there isn't another spot in this whole world like this one and you'll never, never believe it until you've seen it for yourself."

"Came through E.I. in 1914 and saw the Old Girl for the first time. Hope she gets squared away."

"I printed tablet size book of my life. If I have a chance to see Statue of Liberty for the second time I would take picqure of it. I have photograf of the Statue of Liberty in my book. I am thankful to God that he help us come to Freedom country. and I hope she'll stand there hundreds of more years."

DEAR MISS LIBERTY
EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS (cont)

Dear Friends:

I am a black, 30 years old inmate here at the Mississippi Department of Corrections. I have been doing time here since May 1972-a long time to be confined, but I have done my best to continue seeking the knowledge and understanding of myself that will hopefully one day keep me out of such a place as this prison. Money is too tight to mention for me here, but thanks to some kind caring people-I have a surplus of postage stamps at this time and I wish to share some of them with you to help restore the Statue of Liberty. Please find enclosed 5 U.S. postage stamps-I wish it could be much more, for I am the type of person that cares about such worthy causes. If I am blessed with more funds soon I shall send as much as I can. Have a Happy Easter Day and God Bless America, Respectfully submitted,

Dear Miss Liberty

I'm sure you will receive many letters such as mine, but I want you to know how much I admire you and the things you stand for. I first heard about you when I was a small child and I think of you as an old friend. I am the daughter, one of six children. As children we loved to hear our mother tell of her voyage to America. She in the company of a maiden aunt, left Copenhagen, Denmark in 1895. She told of coming into New York harbor, all the passengers were gathered on deck to view a new land, and there you stood, in all your glory, welcoming them to America, their future home. One of my greatest thrills was seeing you for the first time, remembering my mother's happiness, which I shared vicariously with her.

From Miami Beach, Fla.

I am 98 years "young" I will be 99 in December 1984. I am donating \$10 dollars for the restoration of the Statue of Liberty. She represents freedom and a better life for everyone. That is what I believe in and I hope you can trim her in gold so she can shine in the dark Someday I will come to see her when you have finished.

DEAR MISS LIBERTY
EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS (Cont)

"In order to express our eager desire for Freedom, as well as contribute our humble share to the rehabilitation of the Statue of Liberty on the occasion of her 100th anniversary, we sincerely request that the JVA Sikiew Camp team and the Bangkok American Embassy pass the amount of 2,760 baht and twelve U.S. dollars to you with the realization of our shared responsibility for the defense of the Free World.

---Attached, a list of contributors.

"I was born at Ft. Wood, Bedloe's Island on June 13, 1930. The Lady, Miss Liberty, attended my birth and virtually baby s^(a) for me until Ft. Wood was disbanded as an army base and my Dad was transferred to Governor's Island. I am enclosing a copy of my birth certificate as I am very proud of my birth right."

"Hi. I guess you've noticed my last name is Liberty. My grandparents changed it to that from Svoboda, A Czechoslovakian name. At any rate, due to all the teasing, I've recieved and a streak of patriotism, I do feel a certain kinship with the statue. Having also admired her personally in 1979, it saddens me to imagine the statue deteriorating. Here is my contribution. Good Luck. Sincerely, M. Liberty."

Dear MS. LIBERTY:
I've sent you a lot of money. About \$60 dollars. I won first prize in our poem contest. My parents are taking me to the ocean or near the beach somewhere. Love, Eric. P.S. A Statue deserves a letter."

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RESEARCH CENTER

July/Aug: 86

For

THE
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AD



Torch replaced and face-lifted, the statue displays her new good looks.

On August 29, 1927, Harry, Jack, Murray, and Izzie, four immigrant brothers from Poland, stood on the deck of the U.S.S. *Leviathan* as it sailed into New York harbor. As the ship passed the Statue of Liberty, they looked up at her and wondered: Would she be for them and for their families what she had represented to the world for the previous 43 years—a symbol of



The last of the 500-member work crew employed on the renovation takes down the world's tallest scaffolding.

LADY LIBERTY'S NEW LOOK

In 30 months, some 500 workers from almost every nationality of immigrants to America have rekindled Liberty's light in New York harbor.

by Fred Rosen

hope and freedom, a harbinger of economic prosperity in a country where the only limitations seemed to be the extent of one's own dreams?

“In landing beneath its rays, people will know that they have reached a land where individual initiative is developed in all its power; where progress is a religion; where great fortunes become popular by the charity they bestow, and by encouraging instruction and science and casting their influence into the future.” So said the Frenchman Count Ferdinand de Lesseps at the dedication ceremonies of the Statue of Liberty on October 28, 1886. After de Lesseps finished, Sen. William Evarts rose to address the crowd.

It was a cool, rainy day, but Bedloe's Island (renamed Liberty Island in 1956) was packed with dignitaries, and the surrounding waters were crowded with boats of every description, all decked out in colorful bunting. Everyone was eagerly awaiting the great moment of un-

veiling, for the face of the statue was still covered by a gigantic French flag.

In his speech, Evarts referred to the long ties of friendship between France and the United States that dated to Lafayette's service with George Washington. He praised the Franco-American Union, which raised money from the French people for the statue's construction.

After speaking for ten minutes, the senator paused, as if finished. Actually, he was only catching his breath. Meanwhile, a young man on the speaker's platform watched him intently; way up in the mist, on a scaffolding next to the head of the statue, three men eagerly watched the young man. They were Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi, the statue's sculptor; Richard Butler, the secretary of the American Committee; and D.H. King, who was in charge of erecting the statue. In their hands they held a cord, attached to the veil over the statue's face.

The young man below held a white handkerchief in his hand.



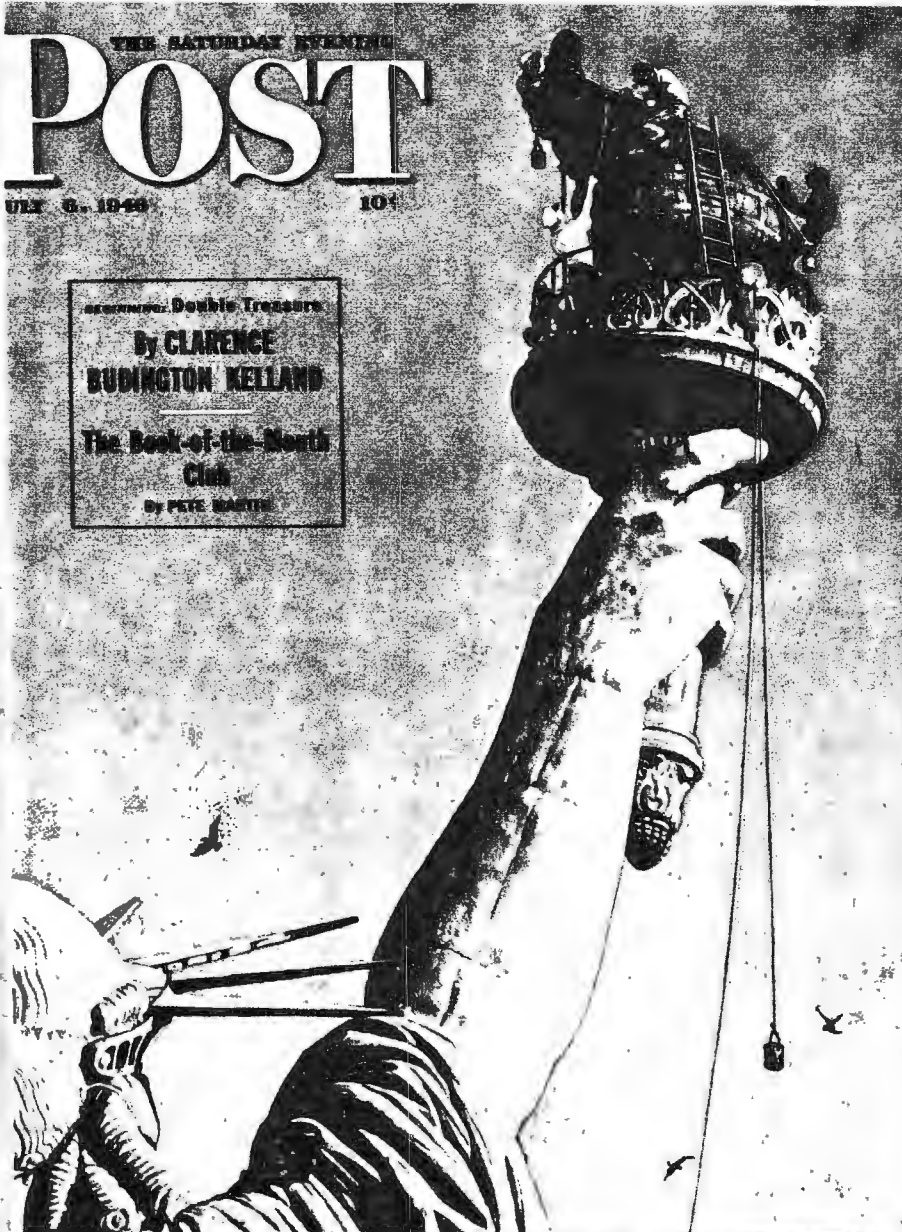
Constructing a small wooden model of the flame was one of the early steps in restoring Liberty's torch to the sculptor Bartholdi's original specifications.

THE SATURDAY EVENING
POST

JULY 6, 1949

10¢

SPECIAL Double Treasure

By **CLARENCE
 BUDINGTON KELLAND**The Book-of-the-Month
 ClubBy **PETE MARTIN**

Norman Rockwell climbed to the top of the administration building on Liberty Island to make sketches for a Fourth of July Post cover of steeplejacks cleaning the torch.



With extensive new landscaping, Liberty Island will finally become the statue's "little jewel box" that Bartholdi planned in his 1874 drawings.

Seeing that the speaker had paused, as if finished, the man madly waved his handkerchief. The three men above gave the cord a pull, and the veil fell from the face of Liberty. Bartholdi, shaken with emotion, turned and kissed and embraced the two men with him. A reporter from the *New York Times* described what happened next:

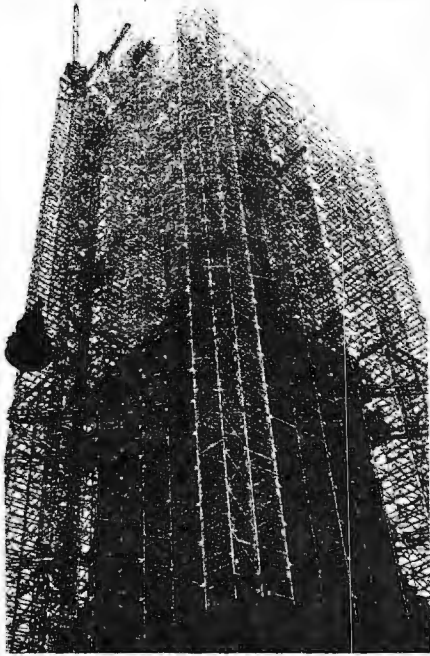
"All the noise that had gone before was child's play to what broke forth then. The whistles blew, the guns boomed, the bands played, the drums rolled, and the throngs on the island and on the river shouted one thundering paean of acclamation that swept down the bay on the wings of the northeast gale and smote the hills of Staten Island with a huge shock of sound. Through the mist in every direction could be seen leaping sudden, sharp flashes of light, and then the peal of guns echoed across the water.

"It was the end of the oration of Mr. Evarts," the reporter wrote. "What he might have said had he spoken out of the fullness of his heart at that moment will never be known, because he sat down."

The reporter's windy prose notwithstanding, subsequent speakers did get in some words. President Grover Cleveland gave perhaps the



A peek under Liberty's flowing skirts shows the armature-bar supports designed by Alexandre Gustave Eiffel.



The original torch and flame are removed after 100 years of service.

best and the shortest speech of his career:

"We will not forget that Liberty has made here her home, nor shall her chosen altar be neglected," he said. "Willing votaries will constantly keep alive its fires, and these shall gleam upon the shores of our sister Republic in the East [France]. Reflected thence and joined with answering rays, a stream of light



A new spiral staircase with rest areas and observation platforms leads to the diadem.

shall pierce the darkness of ignorance and man's oppression, until Liberty enlightens the world."

Nearly 100 years later, the Statue of Liberty's meaning remains the same. The sight of her somehow makes even the most hopeless cynic believe that in this land, anything is still possible—usually, for not all our citizens have yet achieved the American Dream. The statue is the great bastion of American ideals. The Roman numerals on the tablet in her left hand spell the date—July 4, 1776—on which history's most successful experiment in democracy began. The torch in her right hand is still freedom's light to nations of the world.

Yet, for the past two years, that light was extinguished—but only in a literal sense. Visitors to New York City were treated to the strange sight of the statue's huge frame engulfed in a lacy chrysalis of scaffolding, while workers scurried over her surface and disappeared in and out like worker bees. At night, without her flame, the statue was a brooding hulk, waiting patiently to be reborn.

During the years, Miss Liberty had been exposed to everything from acid rain to hurricanes—her torch and flame eroded beyond repair, her copper skin covered by a century's accumulated grime.

Inside, her armatures, the vertical and horizontal iron bars that support the statue's skin and hold its shape, had been slowly deteriorated by electrolysis, a chemical reaction between the iron and the copper skin.

In 1982, the U.S. Department of the Interior established a Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, headed by Lee Iacocca, to coordinate fund raising for the restoration of Ellis Island and the statue. The total cost was estimated at \$230 million, with \$30 million earmarked for the statue itself.

The foundation hired the firm of Swanke Hayden Connell Architects to draw up the plans, and the construction-management firm of Lehrer/McGovern, Inc., to supervise the project.

"We knew it wasn't just another job," Peter Lehrer declares in hindsight. "It was probably the most sought-after construction job in a decade. . . if we failed, the whole world would be watching."

Reconstruction began in January 1984, and complications immediately arose from the statue's unique location and composition. The contractors had to build a special dock to handle the heavy traffic of workers, material, and equipment to and from Liberty Island.

A huge scaffolding had to be erected so workers could reach all portions of the exterior, yet the scaffolding could not touch the statue, whose delicate copper skin is only as thick as a penny—about 3/32 of an inch. It had to remain 18 inches away from Liberty's skin. The result was the tallest, and the most expensive (\$2 million), freestanding scaffolding in the world.

The rebuilding of the torch and flame presented another problem. It required workers skilled in the



The statue's right shoulder, misaligned by two feet off-center during original construction in Paris, was reinforced, but not corrected.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

January 10, 1942

VOLUME 27, NUMBER 18

5c. the Copy

7c. IN CANADA



Beginning
SUGARFOOT

By CLARENCE
BUDINGTON KELLAND

Miss Liberty made a timely appearance as a Saturday Evening Post cover girl in a photograph by Ivan Dmitri, a few weeks after the attack on Pearl Harbor.



A worker inside the torch inspects the work of John Gutzon Borglum, the Mount Rushmore sculptor who fitted the copper flame with amber glass panels in 1916.

highly specialized craft of *repoussé*, an ancient technique of hammering metal onto a sculpted form, for which no firm existed in the United States.

Thus began the trans-Atlantic trek of Gene McGovern, of Lehrer/McGovern, Inc., to select among 24 French and German firms that bid for the job. Metalliers Champenois of Reims, France, was chosen. In September 1984, the company sent 12 craftsmen and two tons of specialized tools to New York for the 14-month task.

Besides a language problem (only 1 of the 12 spoke English) the French *repousseurs* faced a formidable challenge—to reconstruct the torch and flame from Bartholdi's original plans. Working from old photographs, the artisans recreated the torch and flame in plaster, then in iron molds, and finally, in delicately hand-hammered copper. Sheets of 24-carat gold leaf were then glued to the flame by hand.

"Copying is always more difficult than creating an original," says the *repousseur* Jean Wiart. "We had to constantly refine our work until there was no doubt that it mirrored

continued on page 102



The new lamp beside the golden door passes, with shining colors, its first illumination test.

sense of life.

Or we find a similar piece of evidence in psychological studies made of the response of children to comic books. "It is not the details of development," the researchers tell us, "but rather the general aura which

the child finds fascinating." What the child wants is the formula of the accelerating build-up of tension followed by the glorious release when the righteous Superman appears just in the nick of time. What the child wants, then, is a certain "shape" of

experience. Is his want, at base, different from our own?

At base, no. But if the child is satisfied by a nearly abstract pattern for the feelings of tension and release, we demand much more. We, too, in the build and shape of experience, catch the echo of the basic rhythm of our life. But we know that the world is infinitely more complicated than the child thinks. We, unlike the child, must scrutinize the details of development, the contents of life and of fiction. So the shaping of experience to satisfy us must add to the simplicity that satisfies the child something of the variety, roughness, difficulty, subtlety, and delight which belongs to the actual business of life and our response to it. We want the factual richness of life absorbed into the pattern so that content and form are indistinguishable in one expressive flowering in the process that John Dewey says takes "life and experience in all its uncertainties, mystery, doubt, and half-knowledge and turns that experience upon itself to deepen and intensify its own qualities." Only then will it satisfy our deepest need—the need of feeling our life to be, in itself, significant. ★

Liberty's New Look

continued from page 49

Bartholdi's genius." Eventually, this facet of the restoration was completed, and the new torch and flame were installed on the statue in November 1985. In the meantime, workers inside replaced the eroded armature bars with individually molded, rust-proofed, stainless-steel replicas. Only five original bars remain in the big toe of Lady Liberty's right foot.

Although the statue was not built to accommodate visitors, some 2 million sightseers climb through Liberty every year. The refurbished Liberty contains a 90-foot, two-level, hydraulic glass elevator that will allow visitors a dramatic view of the interior as they ascend to the parapet. A second elevator will accommodate the disabled. Two new stainless-steel staircases equipped with rest platforms, wide railings, and other safety features rise to the observation area in the crown.

The lighting system, perhaps the most dramatic innovation, features

continued on page 112



Can you name this picture?

...contest: \$100 to the author of the winning caption for this picture. Your entry can be a "one-liner" or up to five lines of limerick. Please send entry on a postcard. No self-addressed, stamped envelope is needed. We will also award \$100 to the photographer whose submitted photo is published in next month's contest. 8 x 10 photos are preferred, along with a stamped, self-addressed envelope for possible photo return. Send all entries to: Photo Contest, *SatEve-Post*, 1100 Waterway Blvd., Indianapolis, IN 46202. All eligible caption entries must be received by August 5, 1986.



Our congratulations and a check for \$100 go to Virginia L. Scheel, Superior, Nebraska, for the winning entry in our March 1986 caption contest.

*A penguin once said, "What a shame!
Staying single was always my game.
It's been a good life
Not having a wife.
Now I've lost my head over a dame!"*

switched to calcium citrate instead of calcium carbonate, and sure enough, all signs of gas and bloating disappeared. Thank you, Dr. Pak!

He further explains that this reaction, more likely to occur in younger persons who still have good stomach secretions, does not occur in those who use a calcium-citrate supplement. Older people also benefit from calcium citrate, because their ability to absorb calcium decreases with decreased acid secretions. Enhanced absorbability with calcium citrate was demonstrated by Dr. Pak's study of healthy individuals with no kidney or bone problems: "...the amount of calcium absorbed from calcium citrate given orally is greater than that absorbed from an equivalent amount of calcium carbonate."

Calcium absorption and relief from bloating are just two important benefits of calcium citrate. If you also happen to be a former of calcium kidney stones, Dr. Pak says that the calcium citrate also helps get the calcium you need while decreasing the chances of precipitating it out as a stone. Two circumstances in which calcium citrate is useful, Dr. Pak says, involve stone formers who have irritable-bowel diseases and those who are prone to osteoporosis.

Unfortunately, we haven't been able to find Citracal in our area yet. Mission Pharmacal Company assures us it is working very hard to distribute the product nationwide. You may want to contact the manufacturer directly to find out where it will be available in your area. The address is shown on page 110.

Vitamins Instead of Sulfites

Dear Dr. SerVaas:

We enjoy your lectures on CBN-TV very much.

The last one on sulfites was very interesting. It reminded me of a discovery I made. Vitamin C crystals in a very diluted water solution, poured over lettuce and other green salads, will keep them from getting rust-colored due to oxidation. Also, if you rub the crystals on cut apples or pears they will keep for days in the refrigerator without turning dark.

When we cook fruit we add a half teaspoon of crystals in a quart to preserve the light color. It works on tomatoes, too.

When my eyes itch, I put a pinch of the crystals in a cup of water. I slap it on my eyes and the itching stops.

We are growing lysine corn again this year.

Philip H. Faucett
Eureka Springs, Arkansas

We'd like to urge restaurants and grocery stores to use Vitamin C instead of sulfites to keep their produce and salads looking fresh.



Lysine Helped

Dear Dr. SerVaas:

I am writing about your segment on the "700 Club" in regard to L-lysine.

I have been subjected to cold sores or fever blisters for as long as I can remember. Too much sun will bring them out—nervousness, etc.

After hearing you that day, I started taking L-lysine (500 mg) once every day. I have not had any cold sores! The reason this is such a miracle is that my husband (age 61) had coronary-bypass surgery on January 27, and all through the testing, the changing of medications, the terrible reactions to the changes, the angiogram, and finally the coronary bypass itself (which surely in the past would have produced a "crop" of fever blisters), there have been none.

Mrs. Fred W. Zilke
Oxnard, California

Liberty's New Look

continued from page 102

20 light pits placed at the statue's base. Some lights will illuminate the statue's body; others, trained higher, will reflect off the gold-leaf-covered flame to create the effect of a lighted torch. Lighting engineers have been conducting tests for six months to make sure all is ready when President Reagan visits on the night of July 3 for the official rededication ceremony.

When you see the restored Statue of Liberty on television during the Fourth of July weekend, she will look even better than she did at her first unveiling, her future assured for at least another 100 years. Liberty will continue to stand for freedom and opportunity, especially for immigrants—like Harry, Jack, Murray, and Izzie.

Whatever happened to them? Well, Izzie, Jack, and Murray became furriers, and Harry became a candy wholesaler. They all married. Izzie had no children. Jack's son is a messenger in Los Angeles. Harry's son fled the United States to Canada, to escape the Vietnam War draft, and is now a Canadian citizen.

Murray's son wrote this article. ■

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WHERE DO YOU THINK YOU ARE?

(Answers from page 96)

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1. Hawaii | 2. Georgia | 3. Florida |
| 4. Connecticut | 5. California | 6. Mississippi |
| 7. North Carolina | 8. Maryland | 9. Michigan |

If they move effectively, the Peace Corps veterans can be more than a thorn in Reagan's side. Their Peace Corps in dispersion could become a spur to the national conscience. □

■ PRESERVATION VS. EXPLOITATION

The Battle for Ellis Island

ROBERTA BRANDES GRATZ AND
ERIC FETTMANN

In "The Selling of Miss Liberty" (November 9), we examined the corporate exploitation of the Statue of Liberty and its debasement into a marketing logo, as well as the absence of public accountability in the fund-raising/restoration campaign led by Lee Iacocca. In this follow-up, we show how that corporate takeover threatens the physical character and historical message of both the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island.

While the titans of industry divided the market shares of the Statue of Liberty, an unreported behind-the-scenes battle was raging among preservationists, historians, architects and planners over the substance of the restoration effort, particularly on Ellis Island.

Should the gateway to the United States for millions of immigrants be restored to the condition in which they experienced it, or should more than half of its historic structures be torn down to make way for modern exhibition and theater buildings, as proposed by Lee Iacocca's key architectural adviser, John Burgee? Should Ellis, scheduled to reopen in 1992, portray the history of the great immigration wave, warts and all, or will it become, in the cautionary words of Yale University historian Robin Winks, "an ethnic Disneyland?"

It is difficult to tell from the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation's fund-raising appeal—especially its advertisements that depict only the statue—that the bulk of the money will be spent on Ellis Island. Work on Liberty Island, including the statue, the pedestal and new landscaping, is currently budgeted at \$62 million. Restoration of Ellis's Registry Building, which includes the famed Great Hall, will cost at least \$128 million.

The foundation seems to relegate Ellis Island to the fine print of its ads. This decision was calculated; almost everyone connected with the project to whom we spoke is

convinced that only the statue can draw the many millions of dollars needed for the restoration. Yet about half of all Americans today can trace their roots to the nearly 17 million people who entered this country through Ellis Island between 1892 and 1954. Even Iacocca says it was concern for Ellis that first attracted him to the project.

The restoration of Ellis Island is infinitely more complex than the work on the Statue. Miss Liberty is a technical nightmare; Ellis Island, an interpretative challenge.

"All associations with the Statue of Liberty are positive," notes Michael Adlerstein, the National Park Service's historic preservation architect in charge of Ellis Island. "Ellis is more complicated." Only passengers in steerage faced rigorous medical and political examinations; wealthy passengers were simply admitted. For many, Ellis Island was the place at which they were barred from the New World, not welcomed into it. Chances are that the Ellis Island exhibits will include some of that symbolism. But is there a danger that its troubled history will be prettified? And will some disturbing political implications, like the eventually successful campaign for immigration restriction, be ignored?

The treatment of the structures on Ellis, built over several decades and in different styles, is the litmus test. If the island is sanitized through the selective demolition of some of its less esthetically appealing buildings, will the telling of its history also be sanitized?

The government-appointed centennial commission, headed by Iacocca, and its subcommittees of preservationists, historians and architects, were instructed by Interior Secretary James Watt to evaluate restoration proposals for Liberty and Ellis islands. The statue's restoration had its complications, but the issue of greatest controversy was how Liberty Island should be landscaped. On Ellis Island, however, there was a clash of philosophies: a modest facelift, preserving the distinct layers of history, versus a more ambitious and expensive approach, including demolition and new construction. According to at least one committee member, neither side seemed to understand the other's position.

Since the commission was a celebrity affair legally required to meet only quarterly (although it has convened but three times in forty-one months), it was clear from the outset that the real work would be done by its committees of experts. Two committees had primary responsibility for supervising the effort. The preservation and restoration committee, chaired by Russell Dickenson, then director of the National Park Service, and Philip Lax, a pioneer in the planning of the Ellis Island restoration, was instructed by the Interior Department to offer "advice upon requirements and all other considerations, proposals and studies concerned with the preservation and restoration of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island." The architectural and engineering committee was to provide "advice on all matters and proposals concerned with design, architecture, engineering and construction" on the two islands. Its co-chairs were Kent Barwick, then head of the New York City Landmarks Preserva-

Roberta Brandes Gratz, an expert on preservation issues, is completing a book on urban redevelopment. Eric Fettesmann is assistant city editor for the New York Post. A research grant for this article was provided by Essential Information. They wish to thank Robert Morrissey and Margo Schneidman for their assistance.

tion Commission, and John Burgee, a corporate architect and partner of Philip Johnson.

Most of the committee members had impressive credentials, but it was Burgee, known nationally for his corporate skyscrapers, who had the best connections to Iacocca, having been one of the foundation's incorporating directors (he resigned a few months after its incorporation). Although, as he admitted to us, he has "never restored anything," Burgee was the design voice to whom Iacocca listened most.

"As soon as it was obvious that Burgee was Iacocca's handpicked representative, we knew our input was meaningless," said one participating architect. "Burgee is not known for taking anyone's advice seriously."

"It was clear from the start that we weren't going to be used properly," said another preservation committee member, who, like others in the field we interviewed, did not want to be quoted by name. "No one in the architecture and urban design community wants to take on John Burgee publicly, any more than anyone in the corporate world wants to take on Lee Iacocca."

What Iacocca has in mind for Ellis, he has said several times is "an ethnic Williamsburg." One committee member complained: "A lot of committee time was spent trying to figure out what Iacocca meant. Even Iacocca probably doesn't know what he meant." According to Burgee, Iacocca "had a vision that there should be some kind of place where people in this country could go to understand what immigration was all about and see some of the ethnic culture that was brought to this country." Some committee members, however, say that Iacocca cares little about the substance of the restoration, as long as it's big, successful and finished on time. "Lee Iacocca has acted like a man trying to make his political mark and has pushed the Park Service to do his bidding," said one preservationist. "His is not the behavior of a man who loves the task. He has isolated himself, picked his own team, shown no sense of hands-on caring, as he had at Chrysler." Others say he cares deeply about Ellis Island but doesn't know how to translate his concerns into design.

THE SELLING OF MISS LIBERTY

The November 9 Nation reveals how major corporations, under the direction of Lee Iacocca, have taken over the statue restoration for their own publicity and profit and excluded the American public. \$3 each. Special discount on bulk sales (through 12/9) 10-49 copies \$1.50 each, 50-99 \$1.25 each, 100 or more \$1 each. Prepayment required. Send order to Miss Liberty, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.



Just as Iacocca was in full control of the fund-raising campaign, so Burgee sought to shape Liberty and Ellis Islands. Before Iacocca and Burgee came on the scene, the Interior Department and the National Park Service had taken steps toward restoring the hospital wards that take up the portion of Ellis Island known as the "outer half," opposite the Great Hall. The site was declared "excess" government property in 1954, but not until years later did the Park Service seek to turn it over to a private developer, under the Historic Properties Leasing Act. Proposals were solicited in the fall of 1981, and by the time Iacocca's commission was appointed, in May 1982, the Park Service was leaning toward a plan submitted by the Center for Housing Partnership (C.H.P.), a nonprofit rehabilitation firm in New York City headed by William Hubbard. The \$50 million proposal called for building a conference center and lavish hotel, complete with tennis courts and pool; that was later scaled down, after objections were raised, to a conference center modeled on the Aspen Institute. The hospital units were to be "meticulously" restored to create "a living re-use of Ellis Island."

At the commission's first meeting, in September 1982, Iacocca prevailed on its members to ask James Watt for a ninety-day delay on deciding on proposals for Ellis Island. The commission promised to make a formal recommendation to Watt by January 1, 1983. At that point, Burgee told us, Iacocca asked him to "see what the other possibilities might be." In early 1983 Burgee submitted a new plan, in conjunction with Herb Rosenthal & Associates, an exhibition and economic consulting firm. It envisioned restoring the Great Hall to its 1907 condition, building a Museum of Immigration and creating an exhibit on "the special skills, ideas and customs of individual ethnic groups."

Burgee's most controversial recommendation involved the demolition of approximately two-thirds of the existing structures and the erection of buildings to replace them. "I didn't feel the necessity to save every single last element or thing on Ellis Island," Burgee told us. "A lot of it was falling down and couldn't be used by anybody. I didn't carry my historical feelings as deeply as some other people did." He insisted that the buildings he would demolish "are small and just not appropriate for exhibition uses," adding that "since so few of the immigrants actually experienced those places, they aren't historically and architecturally important."

Park Service restoration guidelines, however, insist that "every reasonable effort will be made to use a historic structure for one or more of its historically intended purposes," that "historic material or distinctive architectural features are not to be altered or removed" and that "alterations that have no historic basis are prohibited." For Ellis, in particular, the Park Service gave instructions to "preserve any buildings superfluous to the need for exhibit buildings [and] restrict new construction."

In its formal report the preservation committee faulted the Burgee plan in every respect, noting that it would require an additional \$60 million to \$100 million and that 2 million tourists a year (more than visit the Statue of Liberty) would be needed to make it economically viable. Dickenson opposed

the Burgee plan in even stronger terms, calling it "the antithesis of what we are trying to do."

Eventually a compromise plan was worked out that won the preservationists' support. It would keep the C.H.P.'s conference center but move it to an "inconspicuous" part of the island. Dickenson's committee said the compromise "combined the best elements" of the previous plans and "few if any of the disadvantages," and recommended that it be presented at the centennial commission's next meeting, scheduled for February.

But that meeting was never held. "I talked to enough people to know the compromise would pass," recalls Garnet Chapin, the Park Service's liaison with the commission on the project. But when he arrived for the meeting at Chrysler headquarters in New York on February 4, Chapin was told it had been called off. Instead, he says, "Iacocca, Burgee, [J. Paul] Bergmoser, [Richard] Rovsek and [Armen] Avedisian held a rump session. Iacocca told us later that the commission had met and disapproved the compromise."

If in fact that group convened, it was not a legal commission meeting. Avedisian and Iacocca were the only commission members present. The others were connected with the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation. Also, the Federal Advisory Committee Act, which governs the commission's operations, requires that a duly designated government representative attend all meetings.

Burgee continued to push his own plan. Eleven days after the so-called rump session, he wrote Iacocca that the architectural and engineering committee thought the conference center proposal was "inappropriate" and suggested that the foundation hire an architect to draft a master plan. Iacocca was receptive, and Burgee notified his committee that the Chrysler chief had reiterated that "the hotel was undesirable and should not be approved." But on April 4, James Watt designated C.H.P.'s William Hubbard as the developer of the outer half of Ellis Island.

Four days later Dickenson presented what Chapin described as "a very thoughtful study of alternatives" to Iacocca and several commission members. At a hearing of Representative Bruce Vento's Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation this year, Chapin testified that in the middle of the presentation, "Iacocca got up and said, 'I don't want to hear any more of this goddamn Park Service shit.'" Another source said Iacocca railed against the conference center, vowing to resign from the commission if it was adopted.

Not long after that meeting, the foundation hired its own architect. The choice? John Burgee—who is not paid, foundation officials told us, although his firm gets expenses "without the usual industry markup." A formal contract is being negotiated only now. On May 25 of last year, after a special subcommittee failed to break the stalemate that had existed for more than a year, Burgee submitted a new plan. This time he said that a conference center was "not inappropriate" as long as it was "under the control of the foundation"; in addition, he suggested building an exhibition hall and a theater large enough to accommodate a five-story screen for a state-of-the-art photographic process. Most committee members charged that these propos-

als were out of scale with the historic setting.

Meanwhile, Burgee's committee and Dickenson's committee had merged. In August, Dickenson called on this committee to adopt a master plan. But Carole Rifkind, a noted preservationist on the committee, urged Dickenson to postpone the meeting. "Our meetings have been only sporadic, with inadequate prior notice and without benefit of minutes, studies or essential planning documents," she said in an urgent Mailgram. "I am utterly dismayed at the manner in which the business of this so-called committee has thus far been conducted." Many members shared her view.

The meeting was rescheduled for September, but no plan was adopted. According to Chapin, "Burgee had been asked to draw up a recommendation of what action the committee should take. Instead, he came back with a plan without a conference center. He said the foundation asked him why the conference center was running the entire plan for the island."

In a final effort to break the deadlock, the Park Service bypassed Burgee and the foundation and hired an exhibition design consortium composed of Metaform Inc., Rathe Productions Inc. and Design & Production Inc. Some participants hoped that this new group of highly regarded professionals would focus on the real problems and reconcile the differing points of view. That, however, was not its assignment. In four weeks, it produced a conceptual plan for the exhibits in the main building of Ellis and endorsed the idea of a conference center. The working concept was approved by the committee last December; it is still being refined.

Burgee also clashed with the experts on the Liberty Island restoration. In the same February 1983 letter to Iacocca in



DRAWINGS BY RANDALL ENOS

which he proposed his demolition plan for Ellis Island, Burgee suggested a major expansion of the entire Liberty Island plan, asking that it "be studied to determine if improvements are necessary in pedestrian circulation, concessions, landscaping, lighting, etc." He also urged Iacocca to hire a separate architect "to oversee and coordinate the work" on Liberty Island. However, the French-American committee that was directing the statue's restoration had already hired one, Richard Seth Hayden of Swanke Hayden Connell, and work on Miss Liberty was scheduled to begin in September of that year. On Burgee's recommendation the foundation hired two key contractors. Lehrer-McGovern, a highly regarded firm with which Burgee had worked before, was named construction manager, and G.S.G.S.B., a Pennsylvania firm, was selected as managing architect and planner.

The head of G.S.G.S.B. is E. Lawrence Bellante. In 1973 he headed another architectural firm, which pleaded guilty to Federal tax fraud charges stemming from illegal political contributions to then-Governor William Cahill of New Jersey. The company was fined \$2,500 and Bellante agreed to become a government witness. Bellante admitted to us that he never informed the foundation about the indictment and his guilty plea. "I didn't see any reason to," he said. Bellante said that J. Paul Bergmoser, the foundation's executive director and former president of Chrysler, brought him into the project because Bellante's partner, Jack Gilboy, had done some work for Chrysler. Others claim that he was brought in by Bergmoser to force out Hayden and place the work under foundation control.

As work on the statue proceeded, so did planning for the rest of Liberty Island. When the Park Service asked for plans to rebuild the dock shelter, Burgee presented a \$15 million proposal for a four-story building with a twelve-story tower on each end. Park Service officials attacked the plan, saying the structure would detract from the statue. Burgee also envisioned a dramatic landscaping of the island, including a mall ringed by the flags of the fifty states. But he failed to consider the island's high winds, which, Park Service experts said, would necessitate the flags being replaced every forty days. "Someone said, 'Let's do the sky's the limit. Do what you think this ought to be,' so I did it," Burgee told us, explaining his plan's rationale.

Burgee considered his plan for the shelter to be perfect: "It was rather large, but I thought its scale was in keeping with the monument. Instead of having this funny little park-scale building when you circle around and approach the statue, I felt you should come to the point of arrival and say, 'Wow! This is important.'" Apparently Miss Liberty herself did not convey that impression.

In October 1984, a meeting of the merged committee was held to adopt a master plan for Liberty Island. Burgee said he had been "asked by Lee Iacocca to present his proposals . . . as an alternative to the Park Service 'patch and fix approach.'" As he had done with the Ellis Island restoration plan, Burgee forced a stalemate. "The Park Service was not happy with Burgee's design philosophy and vice versa," Bellante told us. "John fought for his principles, like a good architect should, and the Park Service fought for theirs."

One Burgee defender notes, however, that "the Park Service people are so wedded to the idea of leaving things as they always have been that it is difficult to conceive of them making even positive changes to existing buildings."

But should there have been a fight? "Of course there has been resistance on our part to the Park Service," foundation counsel Palmer Wald told us. "If we think something is financially unrealistic or we disagree, we'll say so." Some participants fault Garnet Chapin, now a vocal critic of the foundation, for not working harder to effect a compromise.

Today, a master plan for Ellis Island is still nowhere in sight and the content of the permanent historical displays on both islands has yet to be revealed. The government-appointed centennial commission met for the first time in nearly two and a half years on November 22—a meeting called just days after publication of our first article.

How historical appropriateness on Ellis Island will be balanced with commercial hucksterism is anybody's guess. Iacocca and company, some observers argued, have not yet focused on Ellis because they have been preoccupied with raising funds and completing the restoration of the statue in time for its opening next July. It is disquieting, though, that there has been no challenge to the process by which Lee Iacocca and a small group of his trusted associates will decide the fate of Ellis Island behind closed doors. □

■ TAMIL DEMANDS FOR AUTONOMY

Sri Lanka Lurches Toward Civil War

RICHARD GREENBERG

The island of Sri Lanka is shaped like a tear, and in the past two years its people have had much reason to grieve. Ethnic violence between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority has left more than 2,500 dead and made hundreds of thousands refugees. For months now, the country has been teetering on the brink of civil war.

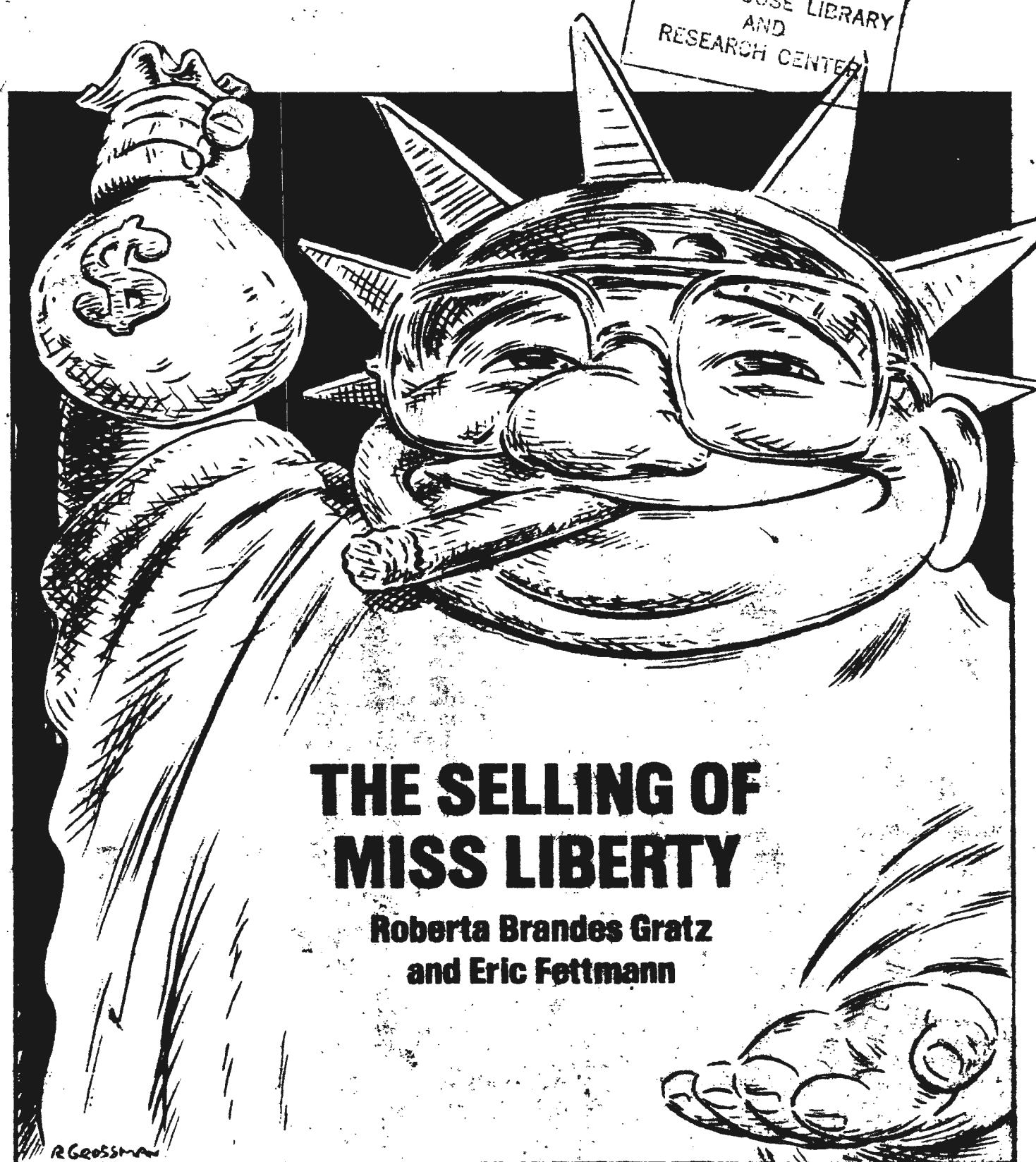
A cessation of hostilities implemented in June by Tamil guerrillas seeking a separate state and the Sri Lankan government was breached by both sides. In August negotiations initiated by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and held in the remote mountain kingdom of Bhutan broke down. Tamil leaders walked out of the talks, prompted by reports of mass killings of Tamils and by the government's failure to make substantive proposals to meet rebel demands. No date has been set for the resumption of the talks, and with reports of the collapse of a second cease-fire, which took effect in October, the prospects for a settlement are dim.

Richard Greenberg is a former Nation intern who recently spent six weeks in India and Sri Lanka.

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THE SELLING OF MISS LIBERTY

Roberta Brandes Gratz
and Eric Fottmann

ARTICLES.

■ IACOCCA'S GOLDEN DOOR

The Selling of
Miss LibertyROBERTA BRANDES GRATZ AND
ERIC FETTMANN

It is the Year of the Statue. Miss Liberty's image is ubiquitous—in the newspapers, on trains, in shopping malls, at the drugstore counter, on the airwaves. Everywhere the message is the same: Give for the restoration of the monument that has become the most widely recognized symbol of the United States.

In 1865 the French decided to build the statue in commemoration of their alliance with the colonies in the American Revolution and as a tribute to the spirit of republicanism and political liberty. In 1885 Joseph Pulitzer, the publisher of the New York *World* and a Hungarian immigrant, launched his famous "workingman's campaign," soliciting small contributions from the average worker to pay for Liberty's pedestal. In the same way, Lee Iacocca, son of Italian immigrants, promised to restore the Lady of the Harbor through a grass-roots effort, a "schoolchildren's campaign," in time for the one-hundredth anniversary of its dedication, in 1986.

There is a widespread assumption that although more money is surely needed, the repair of the statue is in good hands. Who would question what is being done when the effort is headed by the man who saved Chrysler? At the start, the idea was simple and historic: restore the Statue of Liberty with private funds generated through a well-organized multimedia campaign appealing to all that is noble and caring in the American spirit. But the result has been the commercialization of the statue, the franchising of a national symbol to corporate interests, who reap millions of dollars in public relations benefits—not to mention direct profits from tie-in sales—from the exclusive rights to market the statue's image. And the man in charge of it all, Lee Iacocca, has enhanced his stature as the country's newest folk hero.

What began as a \$15 million to \$20 million restoration of the statue alone has grown into a \$62 million project, including an extensive new landscaping of Liberty Island, where a more limited one would do. And what started as a \$50 million to \$100 million fund-raising appeal for renovating the statue and part of Ellis Island has mushroomed into a more than \$230-million campaign. What started as a privately run, privately financed operation that would avoid

Roberta Brandes Gratz, an expert on preservation issues, is completing a book on urban redevelopment. Eric Fettmann is assistant city editor for the New York Post. A research grant for this article was provided by Essential Information.

governmental red tape and the precariousness of Federal funding has grown into a sizable bureaucracy, the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, with offices around the country and a paid staff of at least 120.

The restoration of the statue and Ellis Island comes none too soon. The history of government neglect of these important landmarks of the American heritage is a national tragedy. But behind the promotion campaign's poignant image of the weeping statue there is the story of a less-than-noble effort that raises serious and disturbing questions. Allegations of mismanagement and improper procedures were first raised in June at a Congressional hearing conducted by the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, chaired by Representative Bruce Vento. Following that hearing, the General Accounting Office began the first comprehensive audit of the restoration effort. Neither inquiry has received much attention in the press, but a three-month investigation we have conducted has turned up even more disturbing issues and questions.

What follows is the story of a corporate takeover of a national shrine at a time when corporate raids are an everyday occurrence. This takeover, accompanied by a brilliantly conceived corporate marketing strategy, was led by Lee Iacocca. His autobiography extolling the virtues of hard work and ethnic pride has sold more than 2 million copies and has fueled suggestions of a Presidential bid, echoed by prominent Democrats like Governor Mario Cuomo, Joseph Califano Jr. and Representative Thomas P. O'Neill (who are apparently unaware that he is a registered Republican).

The story involves:

§ How the government of the United States stood back



DRAWINGS BY ROBERT CROSSMAN

and watched a group of private businessmen take control of two of the country's most historic sites, Liberty and Ellis Islands.

§ Apparent conflicts of interest on the part of the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation's initiator and two of its three original directors, who awarded themselves lucrative marketing, architectural and advertising contracts.

§ The lack of a properly approved master design plan for Liberty Island less than a year before its scheduled reopening, and no plan for Ellis Island either, although the commission's committee of experts carefully worked out their recommendations nearly a year ago.

§ A misleading fund-raising effort that long ago abandoned the goal of a schoolchildren's campaign in favor of corporate sponsorship, granting donors exclusive rights to use the Statue of Liberty's image for their own profit.

§ The publication of deceptive figures to mask a continuing cash shortage. The financial crisis is so severe that the foundation, which was set up to raise funds from private sources, is relying heavily on tens of millions of dollars in projected income from sales of souvenir coins minted by the Treasury Department.

§ A power struggle over the heart and soul of the project—how each monument will be restored and what will be preserved, demolished or rebuilt—in which Lee Iacocca and his associates attempted to thwart the proposals of the government and the commission's experts and pushed instead their own lavish design schemes.

Efforts to Save the Statue

More than 17 million immigrants passed through the portals of Ellis Island from 1892 until it was closed, in 1954. In the next decade, efforts to sell the twenty-seven-and-a-half-acre island to private developers proved unsuccessful, and it was reclaimed by the National Park Service, an arm of the Interior Department, in 1965. But the preservation of Ellis Island was never a high priority for the Park Service or for Congress, which appropriated only enough money over the years to arrest some of the decay. As the buildings of Ellis deteriorated, plan after plan for rebuilding them fell by the wayside.

In 1975 a private commission, formed at the instigation of Peter Sammartino, founder of Fairleigh Dickinson University, mapped out a \$1.5 million restoration plan. New Jersey land developer and Jewish community leader Phil Lax replaced the elderly Sammartino in 1980 and signed an agreement with the Interior Department under which he promised to raise private funds toward a \$54 million restoration budget. By the time Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, the Interior Department had also signed agreements with the Friends of Ellis Island in Boston and the American Folk Life Center of the Library of Congress, authorizing them to raise funds for the Ellis Island restoration.

The first suggestion for completely restoring the Statue of Liberty came in 1980, from French metalwork engineer Jacques Moutard and French philanthropist Philippe Vallery-Radot. Early the next year, accompanied by the brother-in-law of then-President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing,

Vallery-Radot approached the Interior Department with a proposal to refurbish the structure in time for its centennial. He suggested that the effort be financed the way the original construction had been—by private contributions from the United States and France. Late that spring Vallery-Radot formed the French-American Committee for Restoration of the Statue of Liberty. The key American officials were Paul Windels, a prominent New York City lawyer long active in Franco-American affairs, and Susan Snyder of the U.S. Pathfinder Corporation in Washington. The committee signed a memorandum of agreement with the Interior Department, made a detailed engineering survey of the structure and planned to raise \$15 million to \$20 million.

In the early days of the Reagan Administration, Garnet Chapin, a young Tennessee architect who was named to the White House staff after serving on the Reagan campaign, was appointed as the Interior Department's permanent liaison to the groups spearheading the rebuilding effort. "The department was signing memos of agreement with these private groups left and right," Chapin said recently. "The problem is that none of them were interested in both the statue and Ellis. We needed an overall commission that would coordinate a joint effort."

At Chapin's suggestion, Secretary of the Interior James Watt (not Reagan, as Iacocca repeatedly claimed in early fund-raising letters and brochures) appointed a blue-ribbon "centennial commission" to coordinate the often overlapping efforts of the existing groups. Watt and the Park Service decided that those groups would do the actual planning, fund-raising and restoration, and that a nationally recognized figure would be appointed chair of the commission to attract the spotlight, cut red tape and smooth whatever feathers might get ruffled in the process. Iacocca apparently wasn't the Interior Department's first choice for the chair, nor did he eagerly volunteer. By one account he negotiated with the department for nearly two months before agreeing to take the post. Nevertheless, he accepted a task that others were unwilling to undertake. Whatever criticism may be leveled at him for his subsequent handling of the job, it is arguably to his credit that he took it on.

In its Federal charter (not formally approved by the Interior Department until April 1984, two years after the commission's appointment), the commission is mandated to "serve as the primary citizen advisory body . . . on all matters pertaining to the preservation of Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty." The document instructed the commission to make recommendations "on the means and schedules of preservation, the needs and uses of donated funds and the programs and activities associated with" the islands' respective centennials. Other groups and individuals, the charter stressed, "will be encouraged to work with and provide their ideas . . . through the Commission." Under the terms of the Federal Advisory Committee Act, which governs its activities, the commission was required to meet at least quarterly and keep "Congress and the public" fully informed on its activities and costs.

But instead of a commission of experts to oversee the work, a group of celebrities was enlisted. Among its initial

twenty-one members were Bob Hope, Lionel Hampton and Peter Ueberroth, along with a number of prominent businessmen and government representatives. Hope, Hampton and a few corporate officials were selected by the White House, according to one source. The rest of the commission members, including United Automobile Workers then-president Douglas Fraser, were named at Lee Iacocca's request. Despite its legal obligations, the commission has convened only three times in forty months.

The Foundation Is Formed

Once Iacocca accepted the job of heading the commission, he was determined to play an active role. As he said on at least one occasion, "I don't just write checks." Other people, several of them Iacocca's close associates, saw an opportunity for power and profit. Six months before the commission was appointed, but while Iacocca was considering the commission chairmanship, a group of businessmen formed the Statue of Liberty Foundation (Ellis Island was added to the name after the commission was formed). Its stated purpose was to raise money for restoration of the statue, an odd goal considering that several fund-raising groups were already in place and neither the Park Service nor the Interior Department had indicated the need for such an agency.

The key organizer, never mentioned on any founding document, was Richard Rovsek, president of the Westport Marketing Group, a well-known Connecticut firm with 110 corporate clients. "I got the idea for the foundation on July 4, 1981, while standing next to Jim Watt on the White House lawn," Rovsek told us. "I suggested a private setup to get corporate sponsorship to restore the Statue of Liberty." The White House lawn was not an unusual place for Rovsek to be standing. His company stages the annual White House Easter-egg roll and July Fourth picnic. Rovsek had also been involved with the Reagan inaugural committee, raising \$1 million through the sale of memorabilia like first-day postal stamp covers and \$2,000 sculptures.

Rovsek moved quickly. In November 1981, apparently without authorization from Watt or the White House, he arranged for three longtime friends to incorporate the Statue of Liberty Foundation. (Rovsek's lawyer prepared the documents and served as founding secretary.) The three were John Burgee, a noted corporate architect; John Sargent, a vice president of Du Pont; and John Morrissey, then the chair of the Kenyon & Eckhardt advertising agency and a close friend and adviser of Iacocca. Morrissey was the central figure. His agency has handled the Chrysler account ever since Iacocca snatched Kenyon & Eckhardt away from Ford in a coup that made the front page of *The New York Times*. An Iacocca loyalist, he arranged for a former K.&E. employee to write a gushing paperback biography of the Chrysler chief. Later, when the Advertising Council, a consortium which does public interest campaigns, agreed to give the foundation hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of free advertising, the agency that got the prestigious account—"assigned randomly and coincidentally," foundation officials insist—was Kenyon & Eckhardt. The agency is

not paid any fees for work on that campaign but its expenses are reimbursed. Morrissey was paid more than \$25,000 in fees and expenses to handle public relations and television production for the lowering of Liberty's torch on July 4, 1984. (His son-in-law directed the ceremony.) Foundation officials defended the hiring of one of their directors, saying only that an "emergency situation had arisen." They also admitted that Morrissey has been paid additional expenses but refused to say how much.

Burgee, too, has played a pivotal role, even after he resigned as a foundation director, in March 1982, pleading lack of time. Although he admits he has "never restored anything," Burgee was chosen by Iacocca not long after to evaluate plans submitted to the centennial commission for the renovation of the two islands. With Iacocca's support, he blocked a development and preservation plan for Ellis Island recommended by the commission's architectural and preservation experts and pushed his own proposal, which called for refurbishing the three major historic structures, including the Great Hall, and demolishing the rest of the buildings to make way for construction of buildings designed by him. Next he turned to Liberty Island, proposing to redesign the island's historic landscaping. His plan included a lavish 160-foot-high dock shelter, which Park Service officials charged would detract from the statue. Dedicated Park Service staff members and diligent preservationists continue to chip away at his proposals, at a tremendous cost of time and energy. Although work on the statue proceeds, less than a year before its scheduled reopening the plans for buildings and landscaping on both islands are still not officially approved. Burgee and foundation officials insist that his services are donated. His firm is reimbursed for costs but "without the standard industry markup," according to foundation general counsel Palmer Wald. The foundation refused to disclose how much money Burgee and his firm have received. A formal contract is being negotiated only now, although the job has been under way for more than two years.

Iacocca used his connection with the project to benefit Chrysler. Earlier this year he unveiled plans to market a small high-technology car to compete with General Motors' Saturn and Ford's Alpha. Its name: the Liberty. In addition, Iacocca's highly visible role as the savior of Miss Liberty—he has insisted on being the sole spokesman on television commercials for the restoration—can hardly hurt whatever political ambitions he may have. He has refused repeated suggestions that he run for President, but we have learned that Iacocca discussed entering the 1984 race with at least one top media strategist and what sources described as "a dozen Wall Street Democrats" while having lunch at the "21" Club in New York City. If he does make a bid for the White House in 1988, Iacocca could conceivably have at his disposal a useful mailing list of millions of contributors, each of whom has received several computer-generated personalized letters from Iacocca in connection with the Liberty project.

In principle, the public and private groups overseeing the restoration are totally separate. The commission's mandate

is to implement policy; the foundation's merely to raise money. But in practice the foundation has become the tail that wags the dog, and the available evidence suggests that Lee Iacocca wanted it that way. Whatever his motives, the result has been the downgrading of the role of the commission, a public body operating under a Federal mandate, and its unauthorized takeover by a private group that is legally accountable to no one.

Although until a year ago Iacocca was officially connected only with the commission, his close friend and adviser John Morrissey was the foundation's chair from the beginning. And in July 1982 the foundation named as its first executive director J. Paul Bergmoser, retired president of Chrysler. Bergmoser signed on "as a favor to Iacocca," Burgee said, adding that "when Iacocca wanted to set up this office, he wanted his man of action there." Minutes of the meetings of the foundation's board of directors, which we obtained independently after the foundation refused to release them, show that Iacocca also helped choose Bergmoser's successor, in October 1983.

The foundation, a private corporation not legally answerable to the U.S. government and incorporated under the lenient tax laws of Delaware, supplanted the original fundraising groups and took over the entire restoration effort. In October 1983, after eighteen months of negotiations with the Interior Department and the Park Service, the foundation signed a formal memorandum of agreement by which it was designated the "primary fund-raiser" for the restoration. The memo retroactively endorsed what the foundation had been doing for a year and a half: executing and awarding construction contracts.

Foundation documents show that the foundation was instructed to "respond to the Commission on campaign policies and prepare and implement [its] strategies." Specifically, the documents show that the commission was required to approve all "strategies" relating to "fund raising, celebrations, special events, corporate sponsors, marketing, advertising, public relations and all other media support activities." The foundation was merely supposed to "supervise and execute all those activities"; instead, it was the foundation, not the commission, that set the policy.

The commission never really got off the ground. (Its \$60,000 staff budget was never spent.) Legally, the commission's members and employees are barred from raising funds. The commission also "has no operational or management authority" on either island, according to an Interior Department directive. Foundation documents we obtained show that it assigned itself "management, operational control and custody" of both Liberty and Ellis islands for the duration of the project. Officials say that the declaration was necessary for insurance purposes. "You can't get insurance on something you don't own," one spokesman said. Representative Vento maintains that the foundation acquired its authority without Congressional authorization, required for any private group to have management responsibility for government property. Foundation officials declined comment on this charge, saying

the G.A.O. has the matter under investigation.

Why did the Interior Department and the Park Service allow the foundation to usurp so much power? Virtually everyone connected with the project explains it by asking, "Have you ever tried to say no to Lee Iacocca?" On the commission as at Chrysler, the man presses his point until he gets what he wants.

Foundation and Commission: An Iacocca Show?

What was Lee Iacocca's involvement in the foundation's early stages? People connected with the foundation insist it operated independently from the outset, that Iacocca did not become aware of their activities until much later. Yet, as already mentioned, he was considering the commission post at least a month before the foundation was incorporated. His chief adman was the foundation's original chair. If he really wanted complete financial and organizational power over the project, the foundation was the way to get it. Iacocca could shed light on the subject of his intentions, but despite our repeated requests, he has declined to be interviewed.

An Interior Department directive stresses that the distinction between the commission and the foundation "must be adhered to for both legal and policy reasons." From the beginning, however, there was a conscious effort to blur the two bodies' identities. The presence of Bergmoser and Morrissey gave the foundation the imprimatur of commission chair Iacocca, and press releases were issued on behalf of both organizations on joint stationery printed by Richard Rovsek, which for a while incorrectly listed Bergmoser as executive director of the commission.

Probably the most blatant merger of the two, from which the foundation was forced to backtrack, can be found in the



memorandum of agreement with the Interior Department. As Vento brought out at his subcommittee hearing, there are two such documents: one dated October 14 and another, identical in language, dated October 24. Foundation and Interior Department officials had no explanation for the dual documents when asked about them by Vento. In a recent interview, foundation counsel Palmer Wald dismissed the duplication as a matter of convenience: "The right document wasn't in Washington when it needed to be signed."

But there's another explanation. The first document was signed by foundation treasurer John Sargent and Lee Iacocca, who had no legal authority to sign anything for the foundation, since he was not officially connected with it. On the second document, Iacocca's signature is missing. "There was a lot of early confusion between the two groups," Wald said. "It took a year before everyone was clear on the difference." Asked about the Iacocca signature on the memo, Wald maintained: "The Interior Department asked for him to sign. There wasn't the sensitivity then to the difference that there is now." And there was no sensitivity on the inside, either. "I've treated them kind of interchangeably," Burgee told us recently.

In the course of our inquiry, foundation officials became more scrupulous in distinguishing between the two bodies. Although press releases are still issued on joint stationery, foundation officials refuse to answer questions about the commission, referring them to the Interior Department. That gets Iacocca's lieutenants out of answering such embarrassing queries as why the commission, in clear violation of its legal obligations, does not meet quarterly, or why it has not yet approved master plans for Ellis and Liberty islands.

The question of Iacocca's role in the foundation became academic when its directors elected him chair in October 1984. "I'm not sure why [he was elected]," Wald said recently. "I assume it's because he was so publicly identified with the project, and because he felt that merely being chairman of the commission did not completely serve his purposes."

Indeed it didn't. Iacocca's assumption of the foundation leadership simply made official a situation that had existed for nearly three years. No longer was he solely an organizer charged with overseeing a group of little-known fund-raisers. Now he was the fund-raiser, and he personally had expanded the initial goal of \$50 million to \$230 million. One foundation official has confirmed that the higher figure came from Iacocca's off-the-cuff question at a foundation meeting: "How many Americans are there? Let's get a dollar for every American." It's taken a lot of fiscal finagling by the foundation to keep the project pegged to that figure.

In June 1982 the foundation estimated total restoration costs to be \$167 million. That amount has now risen to \$190 million; additional work at Liberty Island has driven estimated costs there from \$15 million to \$62 million. But it is on staffing and planning costs that the figures have fluctuated wildly. Fund-raising costs were pegged at \$10 million for the entire project back in 1982. Two years later the

estimate had nearly tripled, to \$29 million. Latest figures, supplied to us by the foundation and effective as of July 17, projected fund-raising expenses at \$26.4 million.

Estimates of management costs not related to restoration or fund-raising have also varied over the years, from an original \$5 million estimate, up to \$17 million two years later, down to \$15 million early this year and reduced sharply to \$6.9 million in July. The biggest variation, however, has been in the budgeted costs for "public awareness and celebrations." The 1982 projection was \$28 million, mostly for public events. By 1984, it was down to \$4 million. A year later, the figure was back up to \$28 million. The most recent estimate is \$6.7 million. The bottom line has also changed. The latest total, \$230 million, does not include the \$20 million permanent endowment cited in every previous budget. In June, during a press tour of Ellis Island, Iacocca admitted that \$230 million "probably won't be enough to finance the restoration." Pressed for a figure, he suggested the final cost would reach at least \$260 million.

More important, Iacocca is no longer merely heading a government advisory commission under the thumb of the National Park Service. Now the restoration of Liberty and Ellis islands is a Lee Iacocca show, thanks to his total control over the foundation. "It's a quasi-governmental structure they've set up there," charged Representative Vento recently. "Is there some empire-building going on? And quite frankly, who the hell elected them?"

Give Me Your Fat Cats and Big Bucks

"The dollar of the hard-working mechanic, the railroad laborer or the shop-girl is a more liberal and more noble gift, representing more self-sacrifice, than \$10,000 would be from any of our millionaires," Joseph Pulitzer wrote in the *World* on April 19, 1885. "The *World's* fund is emphatically the fund of the sons of toil. It has been built up to its present grand proportions by the middle class and the comparatively poor people."

Liberty's pedestal may have been erected by the sons of toil, but its restoration is being made possible by the titans of industry. "We should start at the grass-roots level," Lee Iacocca declared shortly after assuming the commission chairmanship. "We should get the school kids, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts involved. Each guy sending in five or ten bucks is better than ten corporations sending in a million each." It never worked out that way.

One of those who say it wasn't supposed to is Richard Rovsek. "Lee really gave lip service to the idea of a schoolchildren's campaign," he told us. Foundation documents bear him out. Even in its earliest budgets, the foundation never expected more than 13 percent of its revenue to come from the schoolchildren and working people, who were the symbolic backbone of Pulitzer's campaign. Corporate donations, sponsorships and "individual leadership gifts" would provide 83 percent of its income, according to an April 1983 projection.

It's not as if corporations were riding to the rescue of a failing fund-raising drive either. The foundation never tried to solicit contributions from corporations without a com-

mercial tie-in. After all, the tradition whereby private individuals and businesses make donations for important civic and cultural purposes is older than the statue itself. Symphonies, museums, botanical gardens, community centers and Y.M.C.A.s all get money that way. But from the foundation's inception the Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island effort was intended to be a commercial opportunity.

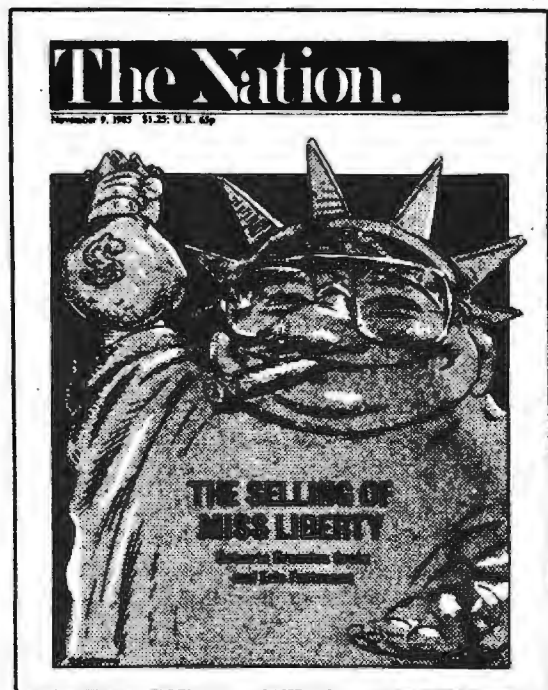
On March 10, 1982—more than two months before the Iacocca commission was even unveiled—the foundation took its first substantive action, signing a “public relations, publicity and promotion services agreement” with Richard Rovsek's Westport Marketing Group Inc. The five-year contract, signed for the foundation by Rovsek's friend John Sargent, provided for payments to Rovsek of \$60,000 a month plus expenses; in return Rovsek drew up plans for a P.R. and fund-raising campaign of \$50 million to \$100 million. And he knew exactly where to go for that kind of money.

When the foundation kicked off its drive in June 1983, thirteen corporate giants pledging a total of \$58.8 million had been signed up as founding or official sponsors. They included Coca-Cola (whose head, Roberto Goizueta, was an original commission member), Kodak, Chrysler, Nestle, Avon, Time Inc., Kellogg, Oscar Mayer, American Airlines, Stroh Brewery, *USA Today*, U.S. Tobacco and its subsidiary Chateau Ste. Michelle vintners. Each sponsor was granted the exclusive right to use the statue in its advertisements and promotions. According to foundation executive vice president Stephen Briganti, each sponsor “was induced to contribute . . . based on the foundation's promise that competitive companies in [its] product or service categories will not be licensed by the foundation.” Like the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, on which the campaign was modeled, the Statue of Liberty now has its official cereal, newspaper, soft drink, wine, beer—and bologna. And under separate licensing agreements with novelty manufacturers, Miss Liberty's image is also being used on “official” products, such as beer mugs, popcorn bags and air fresheners.

Although foundation counsel Palmer Wald insists the restoration campaign does not have official products, merely “official sponsors in certain categories,” Chateau Ste. Michelle recently ran magazine advertisements extolling its “Wines of the Liberty Centennial.” And just last month, while promoting a Lady Liberty Sweepstakes, American Airlines declared itself “Official Airline of the Statue of Liberty Restoration.” “They went for the corporations because that's where the big bucks were,” Wald explained. “The idea was to get the most amount of money in the least amount of time.”

Contrary to the foundation's publicity, however, the corporations are not reaching into their own pockets. Instead, they are subsidiary fund-raisers. In return for pledging a certain sum to the restoration effort, to be paid over ten years, they have been granted the right to use the statue for advertisements or promotional gimmicks designed to boost their business. Thus, Stroh contributes “a portion” of the entry fee from its annual Run for Liberty races. American Express donated a penny for every use of its

THE SELLING OF MISS LIBERTY



This issue of *The Nation* uncovers a corporate takeover of a national monument. It tells how a group of businessmen led by Lee Iacocca assumed control of the campaign to restore the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island—and what they did with it. More than an exposé, the story raises questions about private initiative and the public good in the Age of Reagan.

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credit card over a three-month period in 1983 (business has increased by 29 percent). Oscar Mayer promises a nickel for every supermarket coupon redeemed. Kodak contributes part of the \$10 fee it charges those who want their family pictures placed in the firm's permanent Liberty Island exhibit. Black & Decker donated an unspecified sum for every power tool purchased in a three-week period. And Coca-Cola is now using its sponsorship to sell Cabbage Patch Kid "pin-ups." Dolls clustered under a picture of the statue plead, "Please Help the Lady"; a donation is made to the foundation for every pin-up sold.

The foundation does its part by providing free plugs for its sponsors in its publications. "Buy all your summer picnic supplies at Grand Union and you'll help restore The Lady," its quarterly newsletter urged. "The Kellogg Company loves America's schoolchildren and the kids love Kellogg's cereal" reads another section.

Critics have decried this commercialization, but Iacocca sees things a different way, as he told a West Point, New York, audience on October 18. Rovsek, on the other hand, has no apologies for the campaign he devised. "If you don't get large [corporate] donors at the front end, you won't get them on the back end," he said in a recent interview. He also defended the use of corporations as subsidiary fundraisers. "Look," he said, "these companies pay a lot of money in order to tell the public they're spending a lot of money" on the restoration.

Wald, who blames Rovsek for many of the foundation's fiscal problems and once said, "I'd like to meet anyone who has something nice to say about him," also defends the corporate scheme. "There's no one textbook answer on the question of whether the statue is being commercialized," he said. "You could conceivably make the case that America was built on marketing, you know." What about asking those corporations to make a contribution without the marketing tie-in, much as they support the arts? "It just doesn't work that way," according to Rovsek. "It's not successful." Foundation controller Gary Kelley said, "You can't get the really big money without the tie-in."

Conflicts of Interest

But Rovsek apparently gave away more than marketing rights, as the foundation eventually learned. Each founding sponsor, sources say and Wald admits, was promised a virtually exclusive concession on Liberty Island in return for its sponsorship. Coca-Cola was promised exclusive soft-drink rights in the reopened snack bar. American Express was told it could have Liberty Island closed for private parties. Rovsek told Kodak it could have a permanent exhibit near the statue. The company became skeptical about his ability to deliver and asked Park Service officials to sign a separate contract. At first they refused, but eventually Kodak won

out. Called America's Family Album, the exhibit will feature anyone's "old favorite picture of ancestors" projected on a video screen. The size of the permanent Kodak logo has not yet been determined. Rovsek denies that any exclusive concessions were promised to corporate sponsors. However, as Garnet Chapin noted, not one sponsorship contract was ever submitted to the the Park Service for prior approval.

That wasn't the first time Rovsek bent the law to make a promise. In 1976, according to *The New York Times*, he produced a catalogue of materials for Gerald Ford's Presidential campaign that assured buyers they could make purchases exceeding the \$1,000 legal limit on individual campaign donations. The Federal Elections Commission investigated, but no charges were filed.

The first Liberty marketing campaigns were subtle compared with recent solicitations. Individual stores and shopping malls have now been invited to launch Liberty promotions centered around official products. "Special Offer For Retailers! A Monumental Profit Opportunity," cries one recent full-page ad the foundation took out in a trade magazine. "Now you have a profit opportunity of historic proportions. At no charge, the Foundation will designate your retail store(s) an Official Retail Headquarters for the program."

The foundation realized early on just how important exclusive sponsorship was to the corporate benefactors. "[It] is a major attraction," Briganti said; and the foundation was prepared to defend it in court. Last November the foundation moved to get a Budweiser commercial thrown off the air. Budweiser's parent company, Anheuser-Busch, was approached in February 1983 to become "the exclusive beer and malt beverages sponsor of the restoration effort," according to an affidavit filed by Briganti. But the offer was rejected, a Budweiser official testified, because "Anheuser-Busch had a very large financial commitment" to the Olympics—besides which, "the proposal did not make sense . . . based on the amount of money and . . . how much potential there was to that sponsorship."

In August 1984, though, the firm decided to film a "This Bud's for You" tribute to "the crew that's restoring America's pride in Liberty." It applied to the foundation (which by then had signed up Stroh for the beer sponsorship) for permission to film the restoration workers. Although it has no legal control over the island, the foundation said no. Then the Park Service authorized the company to film the statue and the island (but not the scaffolding, which belongs to the foundation) and cast actors as restoration workers. The commercial hit the airwaves on November 12 during *Monday Night Football*.

Within three weeks the foundation won a temporary restraining order from Manhattan Federal Judge John Sprizzo, barring Budweiser from airing the spot. But after a day-long hearing, Sprizzo declined to make the order permanent, saying the foundation had no legal right to copyright anything but its official logo. The statue is public domain, he ruled, and the commercial did not imply Budweiser's sponsorship of the restoration.

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The Fall of Rovsek

Although by that time Rovsek had been gone from the foundation for several months, his shadow hung over the Budweiser case. This was not simply an instance of corporate commercialization. It involved a clause in Rovsek's contract with the foundation that was virtually ignored when he signed it, in 1982. It said Westport "may provide services under separate fee arrangements to persons who contribute to, contract with, or are associated with the Foundation." That allowed Rovsek to sign up sponsors as Westport clients and market their sponsorships.

Rovsek also worked the other side of the street. Some of the sponsors, including Stroh, Kellogg and Kimberly-Clark, were already on Westport's client list, and they got special financial breaks to join the team. Although Anheuser-Busch had been asked to pledge \$10 million for the beer sponsorship, Stroh paid only \$3 million.

Almost from the start Rovsek's actions caused eyebrows to be raised at the foundation. In November 1982 his lawyer petitioned the board to grant him the title of executive assistant to the chairman. Rovsek "believes that he would be better able to serve the interests of the Foundation" with the title, attorney John Zulack wrote, adding: "According to Mr. Rovsek, he discussed the propriety of that title with Lee Iacocca. Mr. Iacocca did not believe there was any prob-

lem." For reasons that are not explained in the minutes of the foundation board meeting, the request was denied.

Rovsek's request apparently prodded the board members into taking a closer look at his contract. And when they realized the implications, they sought to renegotiate the terms. At the November 18 board meeting, Paul Bergmoser, then the foundation's executive director, proposed a new policy on conflicts of interest. It stipulated that officers and employees "must not have any personal interests which might conflict or appear to conflict with the interest of the Foundation." Efforts to reach an agreement with Rovsek on a new contract were unsuccessful throughout most of 1983, and he flatly refused to sign the foundation's conflict-of-interest policy until the terms were settled.

Rovsek, however, still had champions on the board, especially John Morrissey and Steve Briganti. When the foundation moved to hire a firm to license manufacturers of "official products," Morrissey tried to get Rovsek a piece of that pie too. At a meeting in October 1983, Briganti recommended that the foundation hire Hamilton Projects, the respected licensing firm that had handled the Brooklyn Bridge centennial. But according to the minutes, Morrissey "suggested that Westport Marketing be one of the companies permitted to make a licensing proposal." Hamilton won the contract, and Rovsek was angry. At the next

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meeting, Briganti told the board that Rovsek had made it clear he "wanted to perform some sort of licensing function in three specific areas." So the directors authorized Briganti to modify the Hamilton contract to "contain provisions which would permit Westport to so operate." They instructed Hamilton to meet with Rovsek "to coordinate the licensing and sponsorship efforts."

Rovsek's insistence on participating in the licensing arrangements forced a lengthy delay in product authorization. As a result, no official products were available for the Liberty Island ceremonies on July 4, 1984. The licensing agreement finally adopted suggests that the foundation's expectations of the amount of money it could raise were unrealistic—which helps explain its continuing fiscal woes. The foundation receives 6 percent to 12 percent of the wholesale price of each product sold, of which Hamilton deducts one-fourth as its commission. The licensees have guaranteed \$7.8 million to the foundation, "even if they only sell one widget," according to controller Gary Kelley. But to attain the royalties projected in the foundation's most recent report to the Interior Department, the licensees will have to sell approximately \$613 million worth of products.

The Westport contract was producing other problems. In September 1983 the foundation's independent auditors, Deloitte Haskins + Sells, said it was "[unable] to render its opinion" at that time on the annual financial statement because of "the Foundation's significant accrued liability to Westport." (Kelley says that was caused simply by confusion over whether Westport's fees were to be charged to fund-raising or management.)

Also in 1983, Morrissey informed the board that Rovsek and Bergmoser had negotiated an agreement through John Mitchell, a Los Angeles television consultant and former Columbia Pictures executive, for a television special on the upcoming torch lowering on Liberty Island. Mitchell persuaded the foundation to award the contract to one of his clients, Metromedia Television, whose chair, John Kluge, is also a member of the centennial commission. The special was later aired on CBS, and the foundation, which laid out the entire \$2 million budget, kept all of the revenues. Only \$600,000 in commercial time was sold, but foundation officials maintain they made a profit of \$1.1 million because the show, which starred Frank Sinatra and Brooke Shields, "led to additional contributions from 107,000 people giving \$2.69 million." That money, however, came in response to a direct-mail letter sent after the show was aired. It is impossible to know how much would have come in without the show.

Financial Problems

At its January 1984 meeting the board assessed the "potential problems posed by Westport's offering marketing services directly to corporate sponsors." Some weeks earlier, Richard Goodyear, Chrysler general counsel, had discussed Westport with board members.

One source told us that Goodyear, who had no legal connection to the foundation, was "brought in to keep Lee Iacocca's nose clean when they realized what was going on with Rovsek." Another said Goodyear also "unveiled the

whole Rovsek file" to the Interior Department in June 1984, reporting "tens of thousands of dollars in food and entertainment expenses charged by Rovsek." Foundation officials refuse to say how much Rovsek got in expenses.

As the board was souring on Rovsek, the Park Service was coming to the end of its tether. It had previously expressed dismay about Rovsek's high-powered techniques, but the last straw came with his insistence on depicting the statue in a state of neglect and decay. It was one thing, Park Service officials said, to complain that the statue had suffered the ravages of the elements; it was something else again to suggest Miss Liberty had been neglected by the government. Garnet Chapin, the Interior Department gadfly on the project, told Congress that Rovsek had introduced a poster at a 1983 fund-raiser showing "a dead statue, gray and flat on its back."

"The Park Service objected to the idea that it was responsible for the statue's present ills," Chapin said, and then Park Service director Russell Dickenson ordered that the poster be withdrawn from circulation that day. Nevertheless, within a week the same illustration appeared in a Chateau Ste. Michelle ad in *USA Today*, another foundation sponsor.

Park Service complaints about Rovsek continued to grow until the dispute came to a head. In July of last year the foundation fired Rovsek and bought out his contract for an undisclosed sum. Foundation officials will not divulge the reasons for their action. Rovsek also won't discuss the specifics of his firing. In a recent interview he charged: "It was political. Mr. Iacocca shared the same viewpoints I had. . . . The major problem is bureaucracy and the involvement of the Park Service."

Rovsek's wasn't the only apparent conflict of interest. In November 1983 former Manufacturers Hanover Trust vice chair Llewellyn Jenkins was brought in to replace Bergmoser as executive director (Jenkins later insisted on the title of president). Before Jenkins took over his new position, the foundation had already purchased \$2.1 million in short-term notes from a number of other major financial institutions, according to internal documents and the foundation's 1984 tax return. In January 1984, after those notes came due and Jenkins came on board, the foundation invested \$3.3 million in shorter-term commercial paper, all but \$200,000 of it issued by Manufacturers Hanover. The notes were eventually reclassified as "temporary cash investments" and are no longer itemized on the foundation's Federal tax return. The current investment total, according to controller Kelley, is \$46 million, most of it in Citibank but with Manufacturers Hanover now second. Kelley conceded that the large investment in Manufacturers Hanover notes started about the time Jenkins took over. "But that's the same time we opened the Chemical Bank account, too," he insisted. "I don't have an allegiance to any one bank."

Chapin Goes Public

Chapin and Representative Vento charge that the foundation has failed to file required financial reports with the Interior Department. Gary Kelley calls that charge a

"damned" and insists that all the necessary reports have been sent to the Interior Department. Chapin claimed that Briganti threatened his job if he continued to press for compliance. In a letter to Vento in September, William May, the former president of American Can Company who took Jenkins's place in late 1984, dismissed Chapin's allegations.

But Chapin did lose his job, early this year, without explanation. He was given two days' notice, and his files were shipped to Boston—after the foundation had gone through them and removed several documents. After Chapin testified at Vento's hearing the foundation took another look at his files when it submitted a Freedom of Information Act request with the Interior Department. Contrary to the usual procedure, the foundation was granted direct access to the files and the right to pick and choose the documents it wanted copied. After learning of the incident, Vento immediately moved to have the files placed in the custody of the G.A.O.

Foundation officials say Chapin was seeking revenge for the loss of his job by testifying against them. When Chapin was still at his post and the foundation's auditors suggested an independent or government audit, Kelley said, "Chapin called me up and really ranted and raved, 'That's going to cause a G.A.O. investigation and you don't want that.' Next thing I know, he leaves the Park Service and he's down there in front of the G.A.O. making these statements that are not true and he knew were not true."

But Chapin wasn't the only one who noticed problems. A February 1984 report by the accounting firm Touche Ross (whose former managing partner, David Moxley, is the foundation's treasurer) cited "hazy long-range objectives," "lack of a detailed business plan," "lack of a detailed management process" and "increased fund-raising requirements." The report warned: "There is a very good chance that the foundation's fund-raising will not meet the cost requirements of the statue, Great Hall and Unit 1 [of Ellis Island] by 1986. . . . It is critical that the potential gap be closed by an effective regional and major corporate fund-raising campaign."

To this day, however, the foundation has minimized what both Wald and official spokesman Hank Nielsen concede is "a serious cash flow problem." In June, Iacocca told the press on Liberty Island that the foundation had raised about \$170 million, but Wald and Nielsen recently admitted that the foundation has less than half that sum in hand. In its March 1, 1985, annual filing with the New York Secretary of State, the foundation reported it had collected only \$70.2 million, including \$2 million raised by other agencies. The current figures, supplied in a June report to the Park Service, reveal \$93 million in cash available out of the \$170.7 million in cash and pledges. Half the shortfall represents legally binding corporate pledges, most of which will not be fulfilled for several years, leaving some \$40 million in unredeemed nonbinding pledges. "We need cash," Wald stressed.

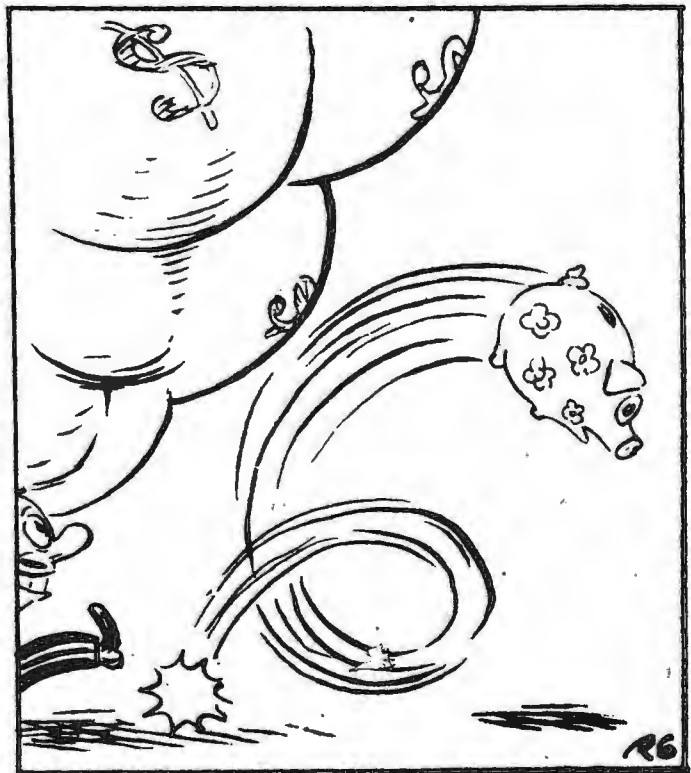
Treasury Bailout

Just as Lee Iacocca turned to the Federal government to bail out Chrysler, so the foundation turned to the

Treasury Department to bail out the restoration effort through the sale of souvenir coins. The bill authorizing the sale was passed by Congress in July. According to the bill's sponsor, Representative Frank Annunzio, and Grey Advertising, which was chosen to mount a \$20 million ad campaign, the coins would bring in as much as \$137.5 million. During the summer, foundation officials lowered their estimate of profit to \$100 million and then to \$50 million. Now, after some criticism of the government bailout, the foundation estimates are down to \$40 million.

A four-page brochure issued by the foundation in 1983 pledges: "There will be no government funding contribution. Funding will be provided through corporate sponsorship and gifts, foundation giving, major individual gifts and grass roots contributions." But the coins will be sold directly to the public through banks, savings and loan institutions, and Federal credit unions. The foundation isn't even involved. "There's no question they're raising money for us," conceded Wald. But he insisted the foundation's policy has always been "no public money, meaning the funds don't come from the general treasury or appropriations."

Despite its cash shortage, the foundation has begun a major drive to stop all promotions it hasn't authorized—even when it is the intended beneficiary. When the New York Statue of Liberty Celebration Foundation, an unaffiliated fund-raising group now run by Garnet Chapin, signed licensing agreements for Liberty products, Iacocca's colleagues pressed New York Attorney General Robert Abrams to file "deceptive" fund-raising lawsuits against the group, claiming erroneously that the national foundation "is the only organization authorized by the Interior Department to fundraise for the restoration effort." In fact, the state organization has letters of authorization from Interior and





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The National Historic Mint of Long Island marketed unauthorized commemorative medallions with the promise that a portion of the proceeds would be donated to the restoration. It sent the foundation a check for \$150,000, which was returned uncashed. Because of the Interior Department's policy of accepting contributions directly, Neil Moritt, a lawyer for the mint, mailed a cashier's check to the department, without identifying his connection to the company. The department deposited his check but five days later, after learning of the connection, sent Moritt a refund, which he immediately returned. Several weeks later the Park Service, in a revision of policy, announced that it would no longer accept commercial donations directly and that all money derived from such transactions had to be funneled through the foundation. Vento, for one, has called that policy illegal, saying, "They cannot refuse to accept donated funds even if it's on a commercial basis. . . . I think they should be forced to justify that."

Park Service solicitor Keith Eastin (a voting member of the foundation's board, in contravention of the memorandum of agreement) convinced the department to stop accepting outside contributions, a policy that virtually cripples competing fund-raising groups. At Vento's hearing, Eastin explained plausibly that the foundation was determined to protect the public from being conned into buying unauthorized merchandise. "Since we can't audit all unofficial promotions," he said, "we told them, 'We are just not going to take your contributions.'"

The foundation has also gone after small-time vendors, such as a Burnham, Pennsylvania, couple who run a flower shop and who promised to contribute \$1 for each \$1.88 "Statue of Liberty bunch" they sold. Their contribution was \$175, and Wald promptly mailed a "cease and desist" letter warning of the "unauthorized use of our logo, which is protected by copyright." A similar letter was dispatched to a Kenosha, Wisconsin, store owner who had contributed \$95 earned from the sale of cigarette lighters. He was told by Wald that his meager contribution would "endanger the officially sponsored programs and products of the foundation and thereby undermine the restoration efforts by jeopardizing the largest single source of funds to the Statue's restoration." In all, eleven contributions, totaling more than \$200,000, were returned as unauthorized commercial promotions. It's a long way from Joseph Pulitzer.

As we have suggested, the selling of Miss Liberty need not have happened. There was a better way: a campaign that would have tapped private sources, both individual and corporate, in a dignified way. Such an effort would have pointed up the moral that the statue and Ellis Island belong to all Americans. Instead, we have been given an example of what Alan Wolfe in these pages called the logoization of America, the renting out of billboard space on two public monuments. As often happens when private control is substituted for public accountability, the unifying power of the public good is diminished. A great opportunity was lost to place our common heritage above private gain.

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Toward a Breakthrough in US-Soviet Relations

... Let us create a climate of trust and hope for the coming summit meeting. US-Soviet differences have been magnified beyond measure for decades; now is the time to set our relationship in a new context. For this to happen it is not necessary to ignore the deep divisions between the two countries on a whole range of issues, but it does require the will to see these differences in the light of the common destiny we share on this endangered planet. It is only when this begins to happen that we will be able to resolve what now seem to be irreconcilable differences and intractable problems. . . .

For the full statement from which the above is taken and concrete suggestions for immediate steps for improving the US-Soviet relations, contact:

US-USSR Reconciliation Program
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960
(914) 358-4601

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is negotiating a formal memorandum of agreement.

The National Historic Mint of Long Island marketed unauthorized commemorative medallions with the promise that a portion of the proceeds would be donated to the restoration. It sent the foundation a check for \$150,000, which was returned uncashed. Because of the Interior Department's policy of accepting contributions directly, Neil Moritt, a lawyer for the mint, mailed a cashier's check to the department, without identifying his connection to the company. The department deposited his check but five days later, after learning of the connection, sent Moritt a refund, which he immediately returned. Several weeks later the Park Service, in a revision of policy, announced that it would no longer accept commercial donations directly and that all money derived from such transactions had to be funneled through the foundation. Vento, for one, has called that policy illegal, saying, "They cannot refuse to accept donated funds even if it's on a commercial basis. . . . I think they should be forced to justify that."

Park Service solicitor Keith Eastin (a voting member of the foundation's board, in contravention of the memorandum of agreement) convinced the department to stop accepting outside contributions, a policy that virtually cripples competing fund-raising groups. At Vento's hearing, Eastin explained plausibly that the foundation was determined to protect the public from being conned into buying unauthorized merchandise. "Since we can't audit all unofficial promotions," he said, "we told them, 'We are just not going to take your contributions.'"

The foundation has also gone after small-time vendors, such as a Burnham, Pennsylvania, couple who run a flower shop and who promised to contribute \$1 for each \$1.88 "Statue of Liberty bunch" they sold. Their contribution was \$175, and Wald promptly mailed a "cease and desist" letter warning of the "unauthorized use of our logo, which is protected by copyright." A similar letter was dispatched to a Kenosha, Wisconsin, store owner who had contributed \$95 earned from the sale of cigarette lighters. He was told by Wald that his meager contribution would "endanger the officially sponsored programs and products of the foundation and thereby undermine the restoration efforts by jeopardizing the largest single source of funds to the Statue's restoration." In all, eleven contributions, totaling more than \$200,000, were returned as unauthorized commercial promotions. It's a long way from Joseph Pulitzer.

As we have suggested, the selling of Miss Liberty need not have happened. There was a better way: a campaign that would have tapped private sources, both individual and corporate, in a dignified way. Such an effort would have pointed up the moral that the statue and Ellis Island belong to all Americans. Instead, we have been given an example of what Alan Wolfe in these pages called the logoization of America, the renting out of billboard space on two public monuments. As often happens when private control is substituted for public accountability, the unifying power of the public good is diminished. A great opportunity was lost to place our common heritage above private gain. □

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