

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

7 October 1994

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
FROM HAROLD ICKES (H*)
RE TELEPHONE CALL TO FORMER GOVERNOR WILDER
(804) 643-4019 - office
(804) 643-1781 - office
(804) 329-5657 - home

Senator Robb is under the very distinct impression that you agreed to call former Governor Wilder to tell him how pleased you are that he withdrew from the Virginia Senatorial race. Senator Robb thinks it will be extraordinarily helpful to him in his race which, as you know, is very close, and will depend in no small part on Black turnout.

cc: Leon Panetta
Erskine Bowles
Nancy Hernreich
Billy Webster

*Good idea
I need to
see him & soon -*

GS
we need to get
up to date stats
every if we can

B.



CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY INC.

1414 22nd Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 • (202) 887-8690 FAX: (202) 785-8784

Mark Willen, Managing Editor

September 12, 1994

To: President Clinton
Fr: G.S.

Mr. George R. Stephanopoulos
Senior Advisor to the President
for Policy & Strategy
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

FYI.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/10/94

Dear Mr. Stephanopoulos:

Congressional Quarterly's August 9 request for an interview with President Clinton on health care has been overtaken by events, and I understand that the President would prefer to wait until Congress makes progress on its health care efforts. But I believe there is more need than ever for a presidential interview with the CQ Weekly Report that would put the legislative record in perspective.

As you know, CQ has been keeping a number of statistics on presidents and Congress over the past 40 years. In 1993, President Clinton's success rate with Capitol Hill was 86.4 percent, the highest since Lyndon Johnson's first year. To Labor Day, his 1994 success rate was virtually unchanged (86.1 percent), yet the common perception is that the Administration has had very little success with Congress.

CQ also measures partisanship in Congress by studying the votes on which majorities of Democrats and Republicans oppose each other. Through Labor Day, the 1994 score was 58 percent, down somewhat from last year's record high 66 percent, but enough to make the 103rd Congress the most partisan in history.

Given the opportunity to interview the President, Congressional Quarterly would want to look at the record of the 103rd Congress in a broader context than the hot-button issues of the day that tend to dominate most of the media. And we would be eager to explore the President's view of his dealings with Congress, as well as his plans for the future.

As Congress approaches the final month of its session, we think now is the time for such an interview. But if that is not possible, an interview between the end of the session and the election would also be very timely.

Sincerely,

Mark Willen
Managing Editor

MW:blf



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE SECRETARY

August 8, 1994

10/10/94

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Richard W. Riley

SUBJECT: Initiative Promoting Family Involvement in Education

I. SUMMARY

We plan to launch in September a campaign promoting greater family involvement in children's learning. We will focus on the importance of family involvement in achieving high standards of learning for every child. I plan to speak on this subject in a number of states throughout the academic year as part of a campaign that ought to resonate with the American people and reinforce Goals 2000.

II. DISCUSSION

This initiative follows up on a theme in your State of the Union address: "parents who know their children's teachers and turn off the television and help with the homework and teach their kids right from wrong--these kind of parents can make all the difference."

A month later, I spoke at Georgetown on the state of American education. I called for a new family involvement initiative to encourage every adult--parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, stepparents, and interested citizens--to instill in every child a love of learning. I called upon businesses, houses of worship, and community groups to help families in this effort.

I believe we have a simple but compelling message that people will find relevant to their lives. Whenever I have spoken of the need to reinforce the family connection, the need for parents to slow down their lives and help their children grow, it seems to strike a chord. Now we are prepared to provide not only a rallying cry but specific suggestions about how to get involved. With a new academic year beginning, we are now ready to launch a sustained national campaign to increase families' involvement in their children's education.

In demonstrating the need for this campaign, we will point to research showing that all families, regardless of income or education levels, can take concrete steps that help their children succeed in school. We will also underscore research showing that:

- * 40 percent of parents believe they are not devoting enough time to their children's education;
- * 72 percent of students age 10-13 say they would like to talk to their parents more about schoolwork;
- * teachers believe that strengthening parents' roles in their children's schooling ought to rank as the highest priority in education policy.

We will emphasize the crucial importance of family involvement, as evidenced by research and experience. We will offer practical advice about the forms that involvement can take, at home and at school. We will discuss schoolwork as a shared experience that can bring families closer together at a time when so many other factors are driving them apart. We will describe steps that schools and businesses can take to facilitate family involvement in education.

We will explain how family involvement lies at the heart of efforts to lift standards in every community and provide a world-class education for every child. We will note that promoting parental involvement in the social, emotional, and academic growth of children is one of the eight national education goals in the Goals 2000 Act.

In August, we are conducting focus groups to refine our message so that it most effectively reaches those who can benefit from this campaign. On September 7, I will speak at the National Press Club on family involvement. On September 13, we will launch the family involvement campaign at events in Kentucky and another state we will soon select. We intend to show at that time a broad base of support for this initiative among parents, educators, students, businesses, and religious, and community leaders. I have already met with several groups of religious leaders to seek their suggestions and participation, and have found them quite receptive to the idea of a national campaign along the lines we plan.

Among the states where I will be speaking in September and October are:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| • Tennessee | September 9 |
| • New York | September 22 & 23 |
| • Georgia, Texas, Massachusetts | Week of September 26 |
| • Maryland | |

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| • Colorado, Michigan | Week of October 3 |
| • Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey | Week of October 10 |
| • Michigan | Week of October 17 |
| • Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Arizona
California | Week of October 24 |

I will also be speaking in August in Georgia, Alabama, New Mexico, Missouri, and Pennsylvania.

Madeleine Kunin will be speaking in a number of states over the next few months as well, including Delaware, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Wyoming, California, Massachusetts, New York, and Washington. Both she and I expect to add states to this schedule as we drive home our message of family involvement. We envision an intensive communications campaign, featuring speeches, articles, interviews, satellite town meetings, teleconferences, and printed materials to provide meaningful assistance for families. Tipper Gore has expressed interest in participating.

I am excited about getting started in a campaign closely linked to all the work you have done to elevate education, emphasize responsibilities as well as rights, and support strong and loving families.



Llady

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

Pls do reply
to Schuller for me,

B.



10/10/94

LINDA LESOURD LADER

5 October 94

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

Mr. President:

Here's the transcript
of Andy Young at the
Crystal Cathedral — plus
a video tape and a
note from Robert
Schuller.

Also — my copy
of Andy Young's book
— which I'm still
reading, but which
Phil finished and
found very moving —
especially in its description
of the time in Birmingham.
Linda



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

ROBERT SCHULLER

October 4, 1994

Dear President,

What an honor it was to receive the request from you for a video tape and transcript copy of the Hour of Power from this past Sunday when we featured Andrew Young, both from the pulpit and as my interview guest. Both our local congregation and our national television audience were blessed with the substance and spirit of Andy Young's presentation. I esteem him, admire him and respect him!

I recently saw an article about you and your strong religious feelings and roots. Knowing your dependence upon God and the Bible for wisdom and guidance gives me great promise of hope for our country.

I'm dictating this from Hong Kong on my way home from South Korea where I was privileged to meet with President Kim. I also visited with David Yonggi Cho in Seoul where I was honored to be a part of his Church Growth Conference and speak to one million people live in Yoido Plaza.

Know that I will make myself available to you and look forward to meeting with you one day soon. I consider you and Mrs. Clinton my brother and sister in Christ, and you are in my prayers. I hope you will keep me in yours.

God loves you and so do I!

Robert H. Schuller

Dictated and signed in his absence

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

RHS/bae

P.S. I've taken the liberty to advance the video tape to the beginning of the interview with Andrew Young.

THE CRYSTAL CATHEDRAL
12141 LEWIS STREET, GARDEN GROVE, CALIFORNIA 92640

PROGRAM OPENING - VOICE OVER/CLIPS

10/10/94
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

ANNOUNCER: From the Crystal Cathedral in Garden Grove, California, welcome to the Hour of Power with Robert Schuller, now in our 25th year of broadcasting the face and voice of positive Christianity to the world, together with Churches Uniting in Global Mission. Today on the Hour of Power, Dr. Schuller welcomes former United Nations Ambassador, Andrew Young, to bring a truly inspiring morning message.

ANDREW YOUNG: What we want to do is redeem the soul of America. And to redeem the soul of America you can't follow the paths of violence. You must somehow find God's holy path.

ANNOUNCER: Also, legendary Jazz drummer, Louie Bellson, famed for his work with the Benny Goodman Orchestra and Johnny Carson, Tonight Show Orchestra, joins us in the Crystal Cathedral.

Louie Bellson plays the drums:

ANNOUNCER: And the Cathedral Choir, under the direction of Frederick Swann.

CATHEDRAL CHOIR SINGS: We lift up hands of prayer, both for ourselves and those...

ANNOUNCER: That's today, here on the Hour of Power.

CALL TO WORSHIP - "Joyful, Joyful..."

Joyful, joyful we adore You, God of glory, Lord of love;
Hearts unfold like flowers before You, opening to the sun above.
Melt the clouds of sin and sadness; drive the dark of doubt away;
giver of immortal gladness, fill us with the light of day.
Alleluia! Amen!

OPENING SENTENCE

Good morning! You're going to hear some wonderful words from a man that I admire with all my heart, after reading his biography yesterday. I never knew Andrew Young until I read his book yesterday. He will be with us later in the service. And Louis Bellson, greatest jazz drummer in America, and in history I suppose. I never thought a drummer would get a bounding, standing ovation in this church, like he did at the first service. You never heard anything like it. So I can promise you, this is the day that God has made. We will be rejoice and be glad in it, because, God, You have mixed all of these elements together to create an unbelievable hour like we have never experienced before. It's going to make believers out of unbelievers. And it's gonna turn believers into beautiful people. In the name of Christ, we thank You. Amen.

HYMN - "Now Is The Time For Faith"

Now is the time for faith, God's love flows fresh and true,
Oh Lord of all our nights and days, we give ourselves to You; our
fervent gift receive, and fit us to fulfill, through all our
years, in joy and tears, our Heavenly Father's will.

Teach us wherever we live to act as in Your sight, and do
what You would have us do with radiant delight. Not choosing
what is great, nor spurning what is small, oh lead us to Your
noble work, and glorify us all.

SCRIPTURE - Psalm 139 (RHS)

Please be seated. Now listen to the word of God. Psalm 139. Before you hear these words, think that they were written by a Jew, to His people, under the inspiration of God. They knew there was a God. They believed it. These words still live in the Holy Bible and are now shared with you. Think of it. October, 1994, you are going to hear the words written well over 2,000 years ago, by someone who knew more about God than you or I. Psalm 139:

"Oh Lord, You have searched me and known me. You know my sitting down and my rising up. You understand my thoughts, afar off. You comprehend my path and my lying down and are acquainted with all my ways. For there is not a word on my tongue, but behold, oh Lord, You know it altogether. You have protected me behind and before, and touched me. Such knowledge that You have is too wonderful for me. It is high, I cannot attain it. Where can I go from Your spirit? Where can I flee Your presence? If I ascend into heaven, You are there. If I make my bed in hell, behold, You are there. If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the utter most parts of the sea, even there, You're hand shall lead me and Your Right Hand shall hold me. For You have formed my inward parts. You have covered me in my mother's womb. I will praise You. For I am wonderfully made. Marvelous are Your words. Amen.

ANTHEM - "More Things Are Wrought By Prayer"

More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of, dreams of, dreams of. For who are we that God would care for us, care for us, His children on earth filled with hope and trust, and knowing, knowing God, and knowing God.

We lift up hands, hands of prayer, we lift up hands of prayer. Both for ourselves and those, and those who call us friend. And those who call us friend. Both for ourselves and those, and who call us friend. More, more things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of, more things are wrought by prayer, by prayer, by prayer, by prayer.

"GOD LOVES YOU AND SO DO I" HANDSHAKES - RHS

Turn around, shake hands with somebody behind you. Give them our greeting, "God loves you and so do I."

DR. SCHULLER INTRODUCES LOUIE BELLSON

We have so many friends and in the 25 years of our television ministry some of them have moved on to heaven. One of our friends was Pearl Bailey. She wanted to be a guest here and it never worked out in her calendar and ours. And now we have as our special performer, her husband, who loved her and was a faithful and beautiful husband until she died just a few years ago. And let me tell you about him. Many of you know the name, Louis Bellson, one of jazz history's more phenomenal drummers. At the age of 15 he was dissatisfied with his drums and he began to sketch a drawing for a new drum. It took him 7 years before a drum company would implement his drawings. Now, today, 75 percent of all drummers use the Bellson originated two bass drum set up. At age 17 he emerged as first class winner in a drum contest with 40,000 contestants. He became Benny Goodman's drummer when ballroom crowds had reached 9,000 a night. Served as musical director for his late wife, Pearl Bailey. Played with Doc Severson, in Johnny Carson's band and in January 1994, he received the most prestigious American Jazz Master's award. He has composed a number and he's arranged it with Johnnie Carl and you are about to hear music such as has never been heard in a Cathedral and it brought the earlier service to their feet. Get set. It's fantastic!

DRUM SOLO - "Percussion Internationale, IV Movement" (LOUIE BELLSON) with Hour of Power Orchestra

DR. SCHULLER THANKS LOUIE BELLSON

Thank you, thank you, thank you, Louis Bellson, thank you, thank you.

HYMN - "I Would Be True"

I would be true, for there are those who trust me; I would be pure, for there are those who care: I would be strong, for there is much to suffer; I would be brave, for there is much to dare; I would be brave, for there is much to dare.

I would be friend of all - the foe, the friendless; I would be giving, and forget the gift; I would be humble, for I know my weakness; I would look up, and laugh, and love, and lift; I would look up, and laugh, and love, and lift.

INTERVIEW - ANDREW YOUNG

My guest this morning is a man that I would call my spiritual brother. Here's a man, Andrew Young, who is a Christian person in tremendous service to God and you know, of course, that he was with Martin Luther King when that 39 year old man was shot and killed. You know that he became a congressman. Then President Jimmy Carter had made him Ambassador to the United Nations. He came back to become the Mayor of Atlanta and following Maynard Jackson, what he did in Atlanta, is fantastic. He made it a great enough city so that he believed it could host the Olympics. And I walked with him for about a mile, side by side, in Seoul, Korea some years ago. He and I went there for the Olympics. And he said, "Bob we're going to get the Olympics in 1996 in Atlanta." He is a positive dreamer and his dreams come from God, flows through that mind, gives him the motivation and courage to be what he is. And you know last night I talked to J.B. Fuqua, one of our dearest friends and friends of this ministry. He's been here often. And he said, "Let me tell you." J.B. lives in Atlanta, Georgia. J.B. said, "Let me tell you. Andrew Young is a good man." "Oh" he said, "let me put it this way. He is a fantastic gentleman." "Oh" he said, "and let me tell you something else. Maybe next to Bob Schuller, he's the second greatest preacher in the world today." So Andy Young, tell us what God is laying on your heart!

AY: Thank you. Thank you.

RS: A Way Out of No Way -- The Spiritual Memoirs of Andrew Young. But I have to ask you: Why so spiritual?

AY: Well, because that's really what life is all about. And I think I discovered that on the way home from college, after kind of muddling through and not knowing what life was all about

from my university training. On a mountain top, I suddenly got a glimpse of everything in the world making sense but me. And I decided and became aware that maybe everything understood that it was God's creation and I had not yet understood that I was a child of God.

When I began to understand that and began to ask not what I want to do with my life and not what my parents want, but what is it that God put me on this earth for, it lead me on an incredible journey that even my mother, who loved me and who believed I was, you know, the sun would rise and set on me, but she would never have imagined, well she didn't imagine that I'd be a preacher, for one thing. And, then that a preacher in Georgia could begin working with Martin Luther King, and Martin Luther King the 3rd is with us this morning...

RHS: Oh, we want to...

AY: ...and I wanted him to be here, too.

RHS: Stand up. I met him before. Hi!

RHS: Give my love to your mother, Corretta, who has been up here and preached for us, too, in this place. Carry on.

AY: But, you know, he was a young man who somehow God took hold of, and at a time when this nation could have been divided black against white, he said, "No, we are all children of God and we have got to learn to live together as brothers or we will perish together as fools." And I think that's what I have tried to do. I've tried to break down dividing walls that separate men and women, rich and poor, black and white, young and old, and that's what the Olympics is trying to do in Atlanta now. But that's what we were trying to do in the Civil Rights movement. We were trying to help people to realize that God is no respecter of persons. That we are all children of the same Father.

RHS: I must say instead of asking him questions and answers, I want him to share where he is within his walk with God. He came here, even though only a few days ago he buried his beloved wife of over 40 years, yet he still wanted to come. Share with us your walk with God as it comes out of your heart Andrew.

MESSAGE - "A WAY OUT OF NO WAY" BY ANDREW YOUNG

Thank you very much. First I want to say that Bob Schuller is a man of the spirit and he is trusting in the spirit this morning. We have heard God praised with high sounding cymbals and we have participated in the vivacious rhythm of a Louis Bellson. And he's asked me to give witness, testimony to who I am and how I got to be. But he, maybe also by the providence of God, gave me a text that I was not particularly familiar with in the first service, but as I read that text I think it is a text for all of us in this time. It's the 58th chapter of the prophet Isaiah. "Then you shall call and the Lord will answer. You shall cry and He will say, 'here I am.' If you take away from the midst of you the yolk, the pointing of the finger and speaking wickedness, if you pour yourself out for the hungry and satisfy the desire of the afflicted, then shall your light rise in darkness and your gloom be as noonday and the Lord will continually guide you and satisfy your desire with good things. And you shall be like a watered garden. Like a spring of water, whose waters fail not and your ancient ruins shall be rebuilt. And you shall raise up the foundations of many generations and you shall be called the repairer of the breach. The restorer of streets to dwell in."

Isaiah was talking of Los Angeles. He was talking of

Atlanta. He was talking of people like you and me. But he was talking in a time in which the cities were far more desolate than ours. He was talking in a time when Jerusalem had been invaded. When people had been taken in exile. When virtually all of the people to whom he spoke were living in situations of great degradation and depravity. They were in the kind of misery and suffering that you and I have never known. And yet, in the midst of that Isaiah says, "If you can stop pointing your finger, and if you can stop speaking wickedness, and if you can care for the hungry and if you can concern yourself with the afflicted, then everything is going to be alright and you will be the repairer of the breach and the restorer of the streets to dwell in." Isn't that what we need? Isn't that what we want?

Now let me just say a little bit about how we might get there. There's a hymn that I keep humming in my heart that all of you know. But the second or third verse says, "It's not with swords loud clashing, nor roll of stirring drum, but it's through deeds of love and mercy that the heavenly kingdom comes."

Now let me skip again, because it was only Monday that I buried my wife of 40 years. After a struggle of three and a half years with liver cancer and after almost six weeks of lying in wait for death, and something happened to my daughters. My engineer daughter, who though she's faithful tends to be very logical and scientific and mathematic about everything she does. And maybe because of her engineering training in electrical engineering, it was very, very difficult for her to deal with the question of her mother's death. But something happened to remind her and to remind us of what life's all about.

Jean who was almost comatose, sat up in the bed and said to Lisa, "Lisa I'm going to die." And Lisa fell apart. But she

noticed that Jean was still talking. And she didn't understand what she was saying and she wasn't talking to her. And she said it was as though she was talking to someone else in the room. And she didn't understand what she was saying, but she was pleased because her mother was not afraid. Whomever it was to whom she was speaking, was someone that she felt very comfortable and loving towards. And after a moment of quiet she turned back to Lisa and she said, "But it's going to be alright and it's going to take a little time."

Lisa is convinced that the angels of mercy or the angels of death, had come to get her mother. But her mother was so concerned about her mother of 91 years old, who incidentally just got off the city council in Marion, Alabama last year, and who still drives a car and still worries about everything going on in the town in which she was a teacher for almost 60 years. But it was very hard for a 91 year old mother to deal with the death of her baby daughter. It was also hard for our three daughters and her youngest son. And so it was as though she negotiated a little more time to prepare us for her transition to a life beyond.

We came to view death, not as something to be feared. Not as something to shun, but something to embrace, even as we embraced our children going off to college. We knew it was going to be a sad time and we cried every time each one of them left. But we knew we had to help them go on, because going on to the next stage of their development was our responsibility as parents. We came to understand that our responsibility as husband, as mother, and as children of Jean Childs Young, was to help her move on to the next stage of her life.

And during the period of her suffering we came more and more

to realize that life is not flesh and blood. Life is not the material things that we give so much of our time and energy to accumulate. Life is really spirit. And the power and the message that she shared in her dying, was essentially the message that we must all learn for life.

I had heard it first from Martin Luther King. And Martin had been stabbed when he was 29 signing copies of a book in Harlem. And as he lay in the hospital, in a coma, he says it was as though he was in the upper corners of the room, looking down upon his body and the ministers who were gathered around him praying. And you don't think of Martin Luther King having a sense of humor, but he made a big joke of it. Because you see he was a 29 year old who had been thrust into the middle of the Montgomery Improvement Association and leading a bus boycott and here were all of the venerable black leaders of the church in New York, gathered around his bedside.

And at that time, most of them really didn't appreciate what he was trying to do. They were moving in one direction and here he was talking about non-violence and here he was getting large numbers of people to follow him and so even though they were praying for him to live, he felt like many of them wished he would go on and get out of the way. But he said he wished that he could tell them, "Don't worry fellows, I ain't gone yet. God is not through with me yet and I'll be around for awhile." And he joked about this moment of coming very close to death.

And he would turn to us and say, "You don't know what life is all about, because you have never faced death." He said, "I've been there." And when they removed the knife from his chest in order to get it out, they had to carve, literally, a cross in his chest, and so he said, "Every morning when I wash my

face and brush my teeth, I'm reminded that this day might be my last. And I'm reminded that the purpose of life is not just what is going on here, but I am reminded that this is my Father's world.

And so the intensity with which he lived. The dedication with which he pursued the purposes of God. The willingness that he had to go against the crowd and to be different than anybody else at that time, essentially came out, not only of his wanting to be successful in terms of the times of this life. In fact, it was not about success at all. It was essentially the message of the cross which is not success, but service.

And so, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s life, motivated in many respects in large measure by this cross in the midst of his chest, led him to follow God in a kind of total, holy obedience that changed the world in which we live.

Remember, this was a time after the second World War. It was a time of great violence and tension. A time when everybody had guns, for we brought our guns back from the Second World War. And we were in the midst of Korea and it was a time when every response, to difference, was met with violence.

And yet, when Martin's home was bombed and Marty's big sister almost killed as she lay in the in the bed near the front of the house, when men brought their guns to his home and said "We've got to put an end to this. We're not going to tolerate this any more." Martin, as a 26 year old, said, "Wait a minute, we've got to find a more excellent way. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, will leave us with a nation that's blind and toothless. We could destroy the cities. We could destroy our nation, but we would end up with nothing. What we want to do is redeem the soul of America. And to redeem the soul of America

you can't follow the paths of violence. You must somehow find God's holy path."

My father put it to me differently. He said "Don't get mad, get smart. Use your mind. Use your heart to think through difficulties and obstacles. If you get emotional and angry in a fight, no matter how right your cause, you're almost sure to lose."

And so, the philosophy of non-violence, the willingness to look your enemy in the eye and say, "Yes, you think you're an enemy of mine. You think you're different from me. But I see in you not those things which divide us, I see in you the very image of God. That same image which I have seen and understand in myself. The Gospel starts with "I Am." I am a child of God. And in spite of all of those trappings that go with it in terms of hair and clothes and house and education and race and creed, and rich or poor, none of that is significant. Ultimately, our purpose in life is to prepare for a new life beyond.

Jean helped us to see that. Martin reminded us in his life and even in his death that there is something far more powerful and important than the things of the flesh and the materials which dominate our lives and our energy. We wondered how we would change the world without his body being present. We weren't doing that well with him. And now a bullet strikes him down and we have to face the world without a Martin Luther King. There was nobody that could get the attention of the black community. Still nobody that could speak and everyone listen. And we wondered, what would we do? And yet Martin's spirit prevailed. We have seen the spirit of Martin Luther King break down dividing walls all over America.

What happened in South Africa with Nelson Mandella and de

Klerk. One black and one white. One a prisoner, one a powerful president persecuting the people. And yet they have become brothers in a government of national unity and reconciliation. And now they are united to try to unite people who are rich with people who are impoverished. And the make of one healthy nation all of the peoples that are citizens of Southern Africa.

We saw that happen when the wall came down in East Berlin. It was no accident that they were singing "We Shall Overcome." It was also no accident that the Polish ship yard workers sang "We Shall Overcome" and moved out when the Russian tanks came. There was a direct emulation of the non-violent movement of the south by the freedom fighters in Poland and East Germany and even in the Soviet Union.

The human rights movement in the Soviet Union came directly from the spirit of Martin Luther King, as our movement had come directly from the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi and as Gandhi's movement had come directly from the spirit of Jesus Christ.

Gandhi's favorite hymn was "Lead Kindly Light" and the verse I like in that is "lead kindly light amid the encircling gloom, lead thou me on. The path is dark and I am far from home. Lead thou me on. I do not ask to see the distant scene. One step enough for me." And we have seen somehow the spirit of God moving all over this land. From Montgomery, Alabama to Birmingham to Selma to the Soviet Union, to Eastern Europe, to a young man standing in front of a tank on CNN in Beijing, China.

I've started trying to deal with our problems. And right now, unfortunately, many of us are afraid of many of our own children. We're afraid of youth who dress funny. Wear their hair terribly, it seems, and do everything they can to annoy us and be different. And we forget when we were in that stage. And

somehow rather than loving them, we shy away from them. And some of the things that are being perpetrated on our society now in the name of the repression of youth really are going to be very counter productive and we've got to find some way. You know, I say, if we could love the hell out of the Ku Klux Klan, can't we love our own children? Now it's sometimes a little harder.

It was a lot easier for me, frankly, to be non-violent with the Klan and with people that I started out with no emotional attachment to. I confess my sin that I lose my temper very seldom, but it's only been with my mother, my wife, my younger brother and my son. The people who were closest to us, we find it hardest to love, because we want them to be just like us. And we want them to agree with us and we want to help to lead their lives.

My daddy wanted me to be a dentist. And when I was sworn in as Ambassador to the United Nations by Thurgood Marshall, my daddy said to Jimmy Carter and Thurgood Marshall, at least they said to my father, "You must be very proud of this boy." And my daddy said, even then, "If he'd have been an dentist he'd of been somebody." But God didn't want me to be a dentist. God had other plans for me. And God has plans for you and for your children and even for our most obnoxious and hostile teenagers.

That somehow, in order to shake things up and make all things new, we've got to put aside our views on the materials, the physical concept of success, the things of this world and we've got to take seriously, in our lives, the things of the spirit. And then we can become the repairers of the breach and the builders, the restorers of a peaceful city for our children.

It seems like an impossible dream, but I left Howard University in 1951, driving back from Washington, D.C., to New

Orleans, Louisiana, my home and when I got to the Georgia/South Carolina line it said "Welcome to Georgia." I knew that didn't mean me. I turned around and went back into Anderson, South Carolina to buy gasoline. Because Georgia in the 50's was the worst place on the face of the earth for a black man to be driving alone at night. I did not even want to stop in Georgia for gas. I got gas in Anderson, South Carolina and went all the way to Tuskegee, Alabama before I stopped again. .

I was coming down Ponce de Leon, which is the way you got through Atlanta before the express ways, and a rat crossed the road. And do you know, I slowed down for the rat. Because I felt that rats had more rights than black folks in Georgia. And if I'd gone home and told my mother, "Mother, I'm going back to Georgia and I'm going to be a preacher and a Congressman and an Ambassador to the United Nations and I'm going to end up as Mayor of Atlanta and we're gonna bring the Olympic Games to Atlanta." My mother would have begun to look for a psychiatrist. For even my mother could not conceive of the kind of success that we have achieved, not by trying to be successful, but simply by trying to ask what is it that God wants me to do with my life and where is the power of God and the spirit of God leading us in our daily lives?

The spirit is moving all over this land. This is the time for a spiritual presence in the midst of our work place. In the midst of our politics, in the midst of our business. In the midst of our geo-political catastrophes looming. In the midst of all of the stress and the strain on this fragile human and natural environment. God has so ordered this planet. And there's enough here for all of us.

The hungry can be fed. The naked can be clothed. The lion

and the lamb can lie down together and black and white and rich and poor can live and work together. But it depends on our deeds of love and mercy by which the heavenly kingdom comes. It depends on our not pointing our fingers and speaking wickedness. It depends on our pouring out ourselves for the hungry and attempting to satisfy the desires of the afflicted and then your gloom will be as noonday. And then show your light rise in darkness and you shall rebuild your cities and you shall raise up the foundations for many generations. And you shall be called the repairer of the breach and the restorer of the streets to dwell in. May God empower us, that we might see day by day, the evidence and presence and power of His kingdom in our midst. Amen.

HYMN - "This Is My Father's World"

This is my Father's world, and to my listening ears all nature sings, and round me rings the music of the spheres. This is my Father's world: the birds their carols raise, the morning light, the lily white, declare their Maker's praise.

This is my Father's world: Oh, let me ne'er forget, that though the wrong seems often strong, God is the Ruler yet. This is my Father's world: why should my heart be sad? The Lord is King: let the heavens ring! God reigns: let earth be glad!

CLOSING COMMENTS - DR. SCHULLER

Please remain standing. I was prepared to give a message to you this morning, but never before have we had a man like an Andrew Young. And for me to just ask him four questions and get short answers, you would have missed out on the blessing. His life is a profound blessing. I never realized it. And he was here to share his faith only six days after saying goodbye to his wife. Thank you for that sermon, Andrew Young.

BENEDICTION

And now, may the Lord bless you and keep you. May the Lord make His face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you. And may God give you His peace, in your going out and in your coming in. In your lying down and in your rising up. In your labor and in your leisure. In your laughter and in your tears, until you come to stand before Jesus in that day in which there is no sunset and no dawning. Hey come back next Sunday, we have a fabulous service. Amen. Make it a good week!

HYMN - "We've A Story..."

We've a story to tell to the nations that shall turn their hearts to the right. A story of truth and mercy, a story of peace and light, a story of peace and light. For the darkness has turned to dawning, and the dawning to noonday bright, and Christ's great kingdom has come on earth, the kingdom of love and light.

INTERNATIONAL GREETINGS - ED ARNOLD

Good morning and welcome to another inspiring service of worship here at the Crystal Cathedral. If you are a first time viewer, a very special welcome to you!

We are so glad to be able to come into your home every Sunday, bringing you a positive and uplifting new outlook on life.

Dr. Schuller's messages of hope and encouragement are making a difference! We receive many cards and letters from viewers all over the world, sharing how their lives have been changed from watching and listening to the beautiful music, inspiring guests and dynamic sermons each week on the Hour of Power.

If this program has touched your life in some special way, we would love to hear from you.

Thank you for watching the Hour of Power today. This global ministry of hope and encouragement is seen weekly throughout America, Canada, Australia, the entire European Continent, Russia, The Commonwealth of Independent States, Latin America, South Africa and in the Middle East.

Please join us again next week and invite a friend or relative to join you for the next spiritually uplifting Hour of Power. And remember, God loves you and so do we!

CHURCHES UNITING - PROMO (John Myers)

Hello, I'm John Myers, pastor of Clay United Methodist Church in South Bend, Indiana. I'm honored together with Robert Schuller of the Crystal Cathedral to be a member of the exciting movement, Churches Uniting In Global Missions.

We join together to build and strengthen our churches in our communities and our country. And I want to thank the Hour of Power and Robert Schuller for sharing with America and the world our positive faith.

Many churches of all denominations in your community have already joined Churches Uniting In Global Missions. You'll find a warm welcome there.

And for you, who live in my community, I invite you to Clay United Methodist Church on Cleveland Road in South Bend. God loves you and so do I.

PRODUCTION AIR & PRODUCTION SCHEDULE

FAMILY LIFE CENTER

AUSTRALIA
BETTY BEHR
CANADA (2)
SARA CLARK
JIM COLEMAN
THERESA HAISLETT
MARY HOUSER
MARY HEAN HOWER (c/o THERESA HAISLETT)
PAULA JOSEPH
SHIRLEY KEIKWOOD (2)
MICHELLE LARSH
CAROL MILNER
GRETCHEN PENNER
JIM PENNER
SHANNON SCHATT
ARVELLA SCHULLER
FRED SOUTHARD
NANCY WARSHAW
SUE WOOD
BARBARA YEAGER

SERVICE CENTER

CECIL MALACARNE
ROLAND PEREZ

CATHEDRAL CONCOURSE

JOHNNIE CARL
STEVE CONRAD
CARLA HERMAN
TERRY LARSON
NEVA PENNER
PHIL ROBERTS
FRED SWANN
BARBARA TODD
GARY VAN PELT (AUDIO)

TOWER OF HOPE

BONNIE BALLOCH
BETTY CORNELL
DANA HOUSE
LARRY SONNENBURG
TOWER LOBBY
CAROL WHEDON

DONOR SERVICES

SANDY BUTLER
SARAH CRUCE
TOM CRUCE
FREDA HAMAS

OTHERS

CAPTIONS'S, INC. (MAIL)
JEANNE DUNN (MAIL)

1265

Sam run together
I still think them say
and average is it

B

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

Special Interests, With Backing of GOP, Defeat Numerous White House Efforts

By RICK WARTZMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Before he became president, Bill Clinton pledged to "break the stranglehold" that special interests have on the capital. But time and again, it is the special interests that have been able to break him, thanks partly to the Republicans in Congress.

Numerous bills backed by the White House—dealing with everything from environmental cleanup to the "information superhighway"—have died in recent weeks at least in part because of a GOP strategy to keep the Democrats from scoring any legislative triumphs before the November elections. In the process, interest groups bent on preserving the status quo have been handed victory after victory.

"Gridlock has been a bonanza for special interests," says Charles Lewis, executive director of the Center for Public Integrity, a Washington watchdog group that examines the government decision-making process. "It is exactly what they sought."

The next casualty may well be a measure that would hit virtually all interest groups head-on: lobbying reform. "This definitely is a victory for the special interests," complained Sen. Carl Levin (D., Mich.), whose bipartisan proposal to bar lawmakers from accepting gifts, meals, and recreational junkets from lobbyists was blocked by a Republican filibuster yesterday. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, of Maine, still hasn't abandoned hope for the bill, which also would tighten lobbying registration requirements. But prospects for its passage are dim.

Special-interest representatives expressed delight with the filibuster. As Sen. Jesse Helms (R., N.C.) left the Senate chamber after an unsuccessful vote to break the filibuster, a group of lobbyists in the hallway outside began to cheer. The House had passed the bill by a wide margin.

The unabashed obstructionism is part of a pattern that has been unfolding for weeks. On health-care reform—by far President Clinton's biggest legislative failure—growing Republican intransigence proved "the final nail in the coffin," says Frank Coleman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which worked closely with Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole of Kansas, GOP Sen. Paul Coverdell of Georgia and others to stop comprehensive reform.

The demise of telecommunications legislation, another Clinton priority, also accelerated after Sen. Dole weighed in with a

set of nonnegotiable demands that would have helped the seven regional Bell phone companies. R.L. Mickey McGuire, the chief lobbyist for BellSouth Corp., insists that the seven companies were willing to compromise, and he blames "the calendar and the complexity of the issues" for the death of the legislation. Still, he acknowledges that the changes sought by Sen. Dole were "put on the table in a take-it-or-leave-it mode."

Partisanship, mixed with regional politics, also played a role in an ill-fated attempt to overhaul the Mining Law of 1872, which allows companies to extract hardrock minerals from federal land without paying the U.S. government any royalties. The reform effort fell apart last week after Western Democrats joined a large number of Republicans in opposing it.

The Clinton administration's final push to rewrite the Superfund hazardous-waste law also was frustrated by partisan politics. The bill, which was supported by an impressive array of environmental and business groups, faced steady opposition from smaller insurers who opposed a 10-year, \$8.1 million tax in the bill (even though nearly all of them would have been exempted from it). With time running out and the legislative calendar crowded by many bills, a primarily Republican bloc effectively killed the Superfund legislation by threatening to seek drastic amendments on the House and Senate floors.

"There were enough bad provisions in Superfund... that gave the opponents rightful arguments to make," said Paul Mattera, a vice president at Liberty Mutual Insurance Co., one of the few larger companies in the industry that opposed the tax provision. But, he added, "whether it was partisanship or the substantive arguments" that ultimately doomed the bill "is hard for me to say."

Of course, some special interests have lost out because of hardball GOP tactics. Senate Republicans, for example, helped squelch legislation sought by unions and supported by the Clinton administration that would have set up a subsidy program to encourage cargo-ship operators to use U.S. crews and U.S.-built ships. Cargo shippers, including Midwestern farmers, opposed the bill because it would have increased their shipping taxes. Republican Sen. Larry Pressler of South Dakota used a procedural maneuver to prevent advancement of the bill.

Just as certain special interests have profited from the partisan rancor, politicians have benefited from special-interest sparring. House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich's success in delaying a vote on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade world trade pact until after the elections came as the Georgia lawmaker latched onto concerns expressed by Pacific Telesis Group in an intraindustry squabble. The San Francisco telephone company is critical of a measure attached to the trade bill that would give three other companies steep discounts on wireless-telephone licenses.

Mr. Gingrich's "reaction was not anticipated or intended," says Ronald Stowe, Pacific Telesis's Washington vice president, adding that the licensing dispute has been "overblown" and "should not be driving the GATT debate in substance or schedule."

Still up in the air is the fate of a bill that would protect more than six million acres of California desert and create three new national parks. Republicans don't want the measure to pass, largely because its principal sponsor is Democratic Sen. Dianne Feinstein of California, who is locked in a tough re-election battle with GOP Rep. Michael Huffington. "We sure like the benefits" of partisan tactical warfare, says Mike Ahrens of the California Desert Coalition, an umbrella group of off-road vehicle drivers, mine operators, hunters and others who steadfastly oppose the bill.

—John Harwood contributed to this article.

Cost of Tax Refund Fraud Put at Up to \$5 Billion

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
WASHINGTON — Tax refund fraud is costing the federal government between \$1 billion and \$5 billion a year, and fixing the problem may cause some refunds to come more slowly, the Treasury Department told Congress.

Refund fraud has become recognized as a serious problem in recent years. But the new loss estimate, generated by a special task force convened by Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen at Congress's request, represents the first official stab at the scope of the problem.

Ronald Noble, the Treasury Department's under secretary for enforcement, who presented the task force's findings at a House Ways and Means Oversight Subcommittee hearing, predicted that authorities "are going to stop a lot" of the refund fraud as early as the coming 1995 tax-filing season. But he said tax returns that raise questions will be scrutinized closely before refunds are made so the Internal Revenue Service won't have to chase down money it shouldn't have refunded in the first place.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1994

Wash. Lobbyists

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

Latest victims in Bosnia: 16 Serb soldiers, 4 nurses

Sixteen Bosnian Serb soldiers and four nurses were killed in an attack by Muslim-led government troops that could jeopardize an agreement to reopen Sarajevo's airport. All were shot in the head. United Nations officials said some were mutilated, others were burned, several were stabbed and some had their throats slit. The Sarajevo government admitted its troops killed them but denied the bodies were mutilated. Yasushi Akashi, the top U.N. official in Yugoslavia, lodged a protest with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, saying he feared the "tragic incident" could jeopardize an agreement with Serbs that reopened the Sarajevo airport to food shipments Thursday. Observers also were bracing for other reprisals, noting the Serbs shelled civilians in Sarajevo in September for the first time in seven months after a Muslim assault on their lines. Bosnia's Serbs, Croats and Muslims have all been accused of atrocities against ethnic rivals in the fierce 30-month war.

MIDEAST MISSION: Secretary of State Warren Christopher is off to the Middle East next week to broker a peace treaty between the region's most implacable enemies: Israel and Syria. The United States has been acting as mediator between Israel and Syria because their diplomats haven't met face-to-face publicly for many months, since the Washington-based comprehensive Middle East peace talks were put on hold. Christopher is expected to see Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Syrian President Hafez Assad. He also plans a visit to Egypt and Jordan.



Reuters
CHRISTOPHER: Off to Mideast

BRITISH POLITICS: Left-wing members of Britain's opposition Labor Party dealt an embarrassing blow to party leader Tony Blair on Thursday when its annual conference backed the principle of widespread nationalization of the economy. Earlier, Blair vowed to drop a clause providing for nationalization, saying such socialist baggage has kept the party out of power for 15 years.

AUSTRIAN ELECTIONS: Austrian populist Joerg Haider and his ultraconservative Freedom Party are expected to increase their parliamentary share to at least 20% when Austrians go to the polls Sunday to vote in federal elections. Haider's party has campaigned on themes that have sparked anti-foreign sentiments in Austria. The elections are being watched closely by Austria's European neighbors to see whether the political right is gaining strength. The ruling coalition of Social Democrats and the Austrian People's Party are expected to maintain their parliamentary control of the government in Vienna.

ALSO . . . U.S. and North Korean officials are in the midst of a second session of high-level negotiations in Geneva on Pyongyang's disputed nuclear program, a U.S. spokesman said. . . . Irish republican leader Gerry Adams decides this weekend whether to extend his current two-week political lobbying trip to the USA by going on to Canada. . . . The Palestine Liberation Organization delegation in Belgium said a lack of financial support is forcing it to sell its office in Brussels to cover unpaid bills and wages.

WASHINGTON

GOP's 'sneak attack' prevents perk reform

A last-minute Republican campaign against lobbyist reform thwarted what would have been the first-ever prohibition on members accepting free gifts and travel.

The Senate Thursday, on a procedural vote, refused to take up a House-Senate compromise designed to prove to a wary public that Congress isn't owned by special interests.

The measure would have imposed stringent disclosure requirements on the 15,000 lobbyists in Washington.

"This was a sneak attack," Rep. John Bryant, D-Texas, said of Republican opposition. "They've preserved their free meals, free tickets and free golf outings for two more years."

With the help of popular talk show hosts, the GOP led by House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., argued the measure would put burdens on grass-roots lobbyists such as the Christian Coalition.

BRYANT: Pans Republican opposition

But Sen. Carl Levin, D-Mich., said religious organizations were exempt. He said Gingrich's strategy was to prevent Congress from

passing significant reform "so he can then argue 'Look, Congress can't reform itself.'"

LIMITED ROLES: The Army and Marine Corps aren't rushing to expand the role of women. Top officers told Congress Thursday that the Marines will take two decades to expand the number of women in the Corps from 7,713 to 10,493. And a third of all Army duty positions will stay restricted to men only. The Clinton administration says it wants more military jobs open to women.

Policy changes have opened 43,000 new positions to women in the Marine Corps, a force of 174,000, including fixed- and rotary-wing pilot positions in units that could be called into battle. Both the Army and Marines will continue to exclude women from direct ground-combat roles.

SHAKE-UP AT THE CIA: The head of the Central Intelligence Agency outlined management changes for Congress Thursday, saying the spy agency will be more effective and less vulnerable to spies inside. CIA Director James Woolsey, in closed testimony before a Senate committee, said new people will be in key management slots. Also, he'll order all the senior ranks of the agency to require officers and analysts rotate into assignments outside their own areas — whether it is clandestine operations or specialized analysis. Some changes were planned, Woolsey said, but the arrest of Aldrich Ames, the CIA officer who spied for Moscow, made the need for reform more important. Critics question if Woolsey is moving fast enough. Said Sen. Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee: "I'm not satisfied they're really going to change the culture" at CIA.

TAX REFORM: The "nanny tax," the Social Security tax that figured in damaging several Clinton administration nominees, would be eased under a bill the House approved Thursday. The bill, on its way to the Senate, where it's expected to pass, would require household employers to pay Social Security and Medicare taxes on any worker earning at least \$1,000 a year, up from the current threshold of \$50 a quarter. Teen-age baby sitters would be exempt. The nanny tax was a recurring problem for President Clinton, starting with Zoe Baird, his first choice for attorney general.

GOP Taking Joy In Obstructionism

Clinton Agenda Dying on Hill

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

AT

It started last year as loyal opposition, turned this year into "principled obstructionism" and now, even some of their own wonder if the "principled" part of the obstructionism remains.

Republicans this week rolled over most of the last of a Clinton agenda, scoffing at the notion there would be a price to pay at the polls for stopping or stalling anything incumbent legislators could call accomplishments. Not only are Republicans ignoring last month's rule—kill it but leave no fingerprints—they are crowing over the lifeless legislation, arguing no law is better than bad law.

"Defeating this president's health care plan was the most positive thing that this Congress did. I'm proud of [the Republican] role in it," Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) boasted on Sunday. "This is the kind of bill that gives gridlock a good name," said Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) on Monday as he led the successful effort to kill campaign finance reform legislation.

Reform of the Superfund to clean up toxic waste dumps, efforts to reform western land use policies and restrictions on lobbyists all fell. As final proof that almost nothing is sacred, the Re-

See GOP, A16, Col. 3

GOP, From A1

publicans seized on a Democratic opening and stalled the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, virtually the only thing everyone agreed free-trade-loving Republicans would vote for this fall.

The Republicans were emboldened and aided by a combination of factors: a weak president, a splintered and undisciplined Democratic Party, legislation that Republicans took little part in drafting and a calculation that making Congress look as bad as it can these final days all help the GOP, according to Republican strategists and leaders. Being tagged a guardian of gridlock is no big political problem in the climate of 1994, they said.

House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who spearheaded much of the obstruction on the House side, said what the GOP is stopping is bad law, and what has changed the past weeks is the once-solid fear that it would be suicidal to kill anything labeled reform.

"The country has gone very sour on Congress," Gingrich said in an interview, "and beginning in July, you began to see huge numbers [of voters] on health care that said pass nothing this year before you pass something risky or bad. And suddenly, it became easy to say, 'If we cannot do it right, let's not do it at all.'"

At the same time, he said, Clinton became "astonishingly unpopular and sunk to a level of weakness that is astounding." That weakness meant that his labeling of legislation as reform and good for the country carried little weight and left little fear of opposition in the hearts of Republicans or Democrats.

As if to prove the point, Gingrich boasted, "I invite him to come into any district of the country and campaign against a Republican as a guardian of gridlock." The president, he noted, is "now at 26 reelect in my district," a number he said that is common throughout the South and in many suburban districts.

Clinton, sources said, will make the "guardians of gridlock" argument today at a news conference called to put the White House's spin on the end of Congress's session and launch a month of campaigning in a dozen states.

Clinton advisers insist that Repub-

licans have gone too far and the combination of killing legislation and proposing a Reaganesque platform for the party this fall gives Democrats a stronger argument. George Stephanopoulos, a senior adviser to Clinton, said "in trying to wound the president, the Republicans have ended up wounding themselves."

But a Republican member of Congress said the demise of health care overhaul brought no political consequences for Republicans and "has given us sweeping confidence to oppose what we don't like even if it has the word 'reform' attached to it. People don't buy that it's reform just because the Democrats say it is."

Bill McInturff, a Republican pollster whose firm is handling 70 congressional races this fall, said yesterday that disapproval of Congress is nearing 70 percent, an historically high number, and that the number of voters willing to vote against their own incumbent in order to "change Congress" has picked up 16 points since spring. But Democratic incumbents, he said, are at a far greater risk than Republicans because their attachment to an unpopular president is seen as part of the problem in Washington.

Even some advocates of obstructing "bad" Democratic initiatives wondered aloud this week whether the party is going too far. Republican strategist William Kristol, who coined the phrase "principled obstructionism," said that "opposing, even delaying, legislation that is good for the country will give principled obstructionism a bad name. And it may backfire politically" by giving credence to Democratic charges that Republican resistance is politically motivated.

Kristol said even he is surprised at how willing Republicans were to oppose Clinton on major initiatives. He said while health care was a key, the crime bill of August, when Republicans forced compromises by labeling the legislation social pork, showed the political saliency of opposition.

Noting that it was originally thought impossible for a politician to oppose a crime bill in a year that crime is the major national concern, Kristol said the handful of Republicans who did so found "the country was more receptive to a conservative message than even I thought."

Some Republicans don't rule out the pure joy of revenge in explaining GOP motivation. One GOP strategist, unwilling to allow his name to be used, said: "I tell you, I wake up every morning happy. I remember every minute of what George Mitchell and the Democratic leaders did to George Bush for four years. And every time I think we are going too far, I think, hell, no, hit 'em again."

Republican Filibuster Leaves New Lobbyist Curbs Unlikely

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

A1

Senate Republicans yesterday blocked legislation to tighten controls on lobbyists as Congress struggled to wind up its work and salvage whatever it could from President Clinton's legislative agenda.

Efforts were underway to find a way out of the impasse on the bill, as the House and Senate in the closing hours of the session passed a revised nanny tax and sought to take a stand on the Haiti operation, break a GOP stall over the California desert bill and deal with legislation to make Congress comply with the worker protection laws it imposes on others.

But the lobbying bill's sponsors said there is only the slimmest chance of reviving the measure before Congress adjourns, probably this weekend, and goes home for the Nov. 8 elections.

"It seems a Republican-led filibuster has killed the toughest lobbying and gift ban law that Congress has been able to consider in decades," said Sen. Carl M. Levin (D-Mich.), a sponsor of the bill.

The legislation would tighten registration and disclosure rules for all lobbyists and ban them from giving free meals and other gifts to lawmakers.

Republicans, apparently anxious to avoid looking as though they wanted to continue the free meals, trips and charity golf weekends that have drawn the ire of many constituents, drafted a proposal to impose the gift ban by changing Senate rules to include it.

But Levin and other Democrats described this as a face-saving, halfway step that falls short of the bill's goal of closing loopholes in existing law that allows thousands of lobbyists to escape registration and disclosure rules.

In a counter-proposal, Levin offered to change the bill to eliminate language that Republicans said could impede grass-roots lobbying activities. But Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) said there were other GOP objections that were not addressed. "It's fatally flawed," said Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.).

LOBBY, From A1

The bill was blocked when the Senate, reeling under a surge of opposition prompted by conservative lawmakers, talk show hosts and "grass-roots" lobbying organizations, fell 14 votes short of the two-thirds needed to end GOP delaying tactics and pass the bill.

Ten Democrats joined 36 Republicans in the 52-46 vote. Sixty-six votes were needed to break the filibuster.

Another vote to rescue the lobbying bill is scheduled today—theoretically the last day of the 103rd Congress. But it was not clear whether a compromise could be reached by then. Levin and Rep. John Bryant (D-Tex.), House sponsor of the bill, expressed skepticism that Republicans would let the legislation pass.

In speeches and news conferences throughout the day, angry Democrats accused Republicans of conducting a disinformation campaign and pursuing a "scorched earth" strategy to convince people that Congress cannot reform itself so they will throw out its Democratic majority and turn to them.

Congress has already shelved Clinton's proposal to overhaul the health care system, legislation to rewrite campaign finance laws and

modest proposals for streamlining congressional operations. Action on a major new world trade pact has been delayed until after the elections. The Senate has still not acted on the only remaining "reform" bill on its agenda, which would require Congress to live by the worker protection laws it imposes on others.

Although the lobbying bill previously passed both houses by large margins, a House-Senate compromise barely got through the House last week after conservative talk show hosts, prompted by House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), generated thousands of phone calls against the measure.

Critics charged that the bill would infringe on the rights of religious groups and curtail grass-roots lobbying in a number of ways, including intimidating people from contributing by threatening them with public disclosure. The bill's sponsors denied the charges, saying religious groups were exempt and that those who join or give to groups that engage in grass-roots lobbying are not subject to the disclosure requirements.

But the frenzy escalated this week, and groups ranging from the National Rifle Association to the American Civil Liberties Union, Humane Society and Planned Parenthood expressed qualms about the bill's impact on their lobbying efforts.

In brief debate yesterday, Republicans continued to argue that the bill would have what Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.) described as a "very chilling effect" on grass-roots lobbying by forcing disclosure of names of those who contribute other than membership dues. "Let's defeat this . . . and go home," he said.

Democrats and Sen. William S. Cohen (R-Maine), a cosponsor of the Senate bill, denied Nickles's allegation, saying there was no intention to force contributors to disclose their names. Cohen suggested addressing the concerns by making a two-word change in the bill to clarify that contributors would not be covered. But he got no takers.

Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) denounced what he called "fictional objections . . . to cover objections to real reform." He contended that the bill was "nearly identical" to the Senate's original version of the legislation, which was approved by votes of 95 to 2 in the case of registration requirements and 95 to 4 for the gift ban.

But Nickles said the provisions under attack by Republicans were House provisions approved by the conference committee, not part of the original Senate bill.

The bill started as an effort to tighten lobbying registration and disclosure laws, which have not been overhauled in the last half-century. It would close loopholes and require all

paid professional lobbyists who target either the executive or legislative branch to register with a new regulatory office. Strict new disclosure requirements would be imposed.

Along the way, the bill was broadened in both houses to include a ban on virtually all gifts from lobbyists to members of Congress and their staffs, including meals, trips and entertainment. Also banned were gifts worth more than \$20 from non-lobbyists, with exceptions for family, personal friends and home-state events. Travel expenses could be accepted only if related to official duties.

Without the new restrictions, lawmakers could continue to accept free meals, vacation trips, Redskins tickets and the expenses-paid weekends at charity golf, ski and tennis outings at posh resorts that have been featured on television expose programs.

Senate Roll Call

Associated Press

Following is the 52 to 46 roll call by which the Senate voted yesterday to sustain a filibuster against a lobbying and gift reform bill.

DEMOCRATS FOR

Alaska (Hawes), Baucus (Mont.), Biden (Del.), Boren (Okla.), Boxer (Calif.), Bradley (N.J.), Bryan (Nev.), Bumpers (Ark.), Daschle (S.C.), DeConcini (Ariz.), Dodd (Conn.), Dorgan (N.D.), Eassey (Neb.), Feingold (Wisc.), Feinstein (Calif.), Ford (Ky.), Glenn (Ohio), Graham (Fla.), Harkin (Iowa), Inouye (Hawaii), Johnston (La.), Kennedy (Mass.), Kerry (Neb.), Kerry (Mass.), Kohl (Wisc.), Lautenberg (N.J.), Leahy (Vt.), Levin (Mich.), Lieberman (Conn.), Metzenbaum (Ohio), Mikulski (Md.), Mitchell (Maine), Moseley Braun (Ill.), Moynihan (N.Y.), Murray (Wash.), Pell (R.I.), Pryor (Ark.), Reid (Nev.), Riegle (Mich.), Robb (Va.), Rockefeller (W.Va.), Sarbanes (Md.), Simon (Ill.), Wellstone (Minn.), Wofford (Pa.)

REPUBLICANS FOR

Brown (Colo.), Chafee (R.I.), Cohen (Maine), Hatfield (Ore.), Jeffords (Vt.), Roth (Del.), Specter (Pa.)

DEMOCRATS AGAINST

Bingaman (N.M.), Breaux (La.), Byrd (W.Va.), Campbell (Colo.), Conrad (N.D.), Heflin (Ala.), Hollings (S.C.), Matthews (Tenn.), Nunn (Ga.), Shelby (Ala.)

REPUBLICANS AGAINST

Bennett (Utah), Bond (Mo.), Burns (Mont.), Coats (Ind.), Cochran (Miss.), Coverdell (Ga.), Craig (Idaho), D'Amato (N.Y.), Danforth (Miss.), Dole (Kan.), Domenici (N.M.), Durenberger (Minn.), Faircloth (N.C.), Gorton (Wash.), Gramm (Tex.), Grassley (Iowa), Gregg (N.H.), Hatch (Utah), Helms (N.C.), Hutchinson (Tex.), Kassebaum (Kan.), Kempthorne (Idaho), Lott (Miss.), Lugar (Ind.), Mack (Fla.), McCain (Ariz.), McConnell (Ky.), Murkowski (Alaska), Nickles (Okla.), Packwood (Ore.), Pressler (S.D.), Simpson (Wyo.), Smith (N.H.), Thurmond (S.C.), Warner (Va.)

G.O.P. FILIBUSTER DEALS A SETBACK TO LOBBYING BILL

BROADER PLAN PERILED

Limp Toward Adjournment, Congress Is Unable to Act on Major Legislation

By ADAM CLYMER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 — A Republican-led filibuster dealt a deadly blow today to legislation intended to reveal how much lobbying goes on in Washington and to prohibit members of Congress from receiving gifts.

Senate Republicans said they would try on Friday to revive the ban on gifts by proposing a change in the Senate rules.

But the action today appeared to have doomed the larger measure, which included stricter reporting rules and broader definitions of lobbyists, covering lawyers for the first time. It would also add lobbyists who seek help from the Executive Branch.

As the 103d Congress limped toward an adjournment it hoped to reach on Friday, the blow to the lobbying bill exemplified the frustrating final days of the session, as Republicans have blocked most of the late bills that matter to Democrats, like health care and campaign finance.

For most of the day, both the House and the Senate debated non-binding resolutions about American troops in Haiti, while leaders consulted to see what other measures they might be able to agree on.

Among the measures still alive, if not robust, were bills to protect the California desert and to require Congress to obey the sort of workplace rules and anti-discrimination requirements it has imposed on private industry. But Senator Trent Lott, Republican of Mississippi, prevented the latter bill from being considered tonight.

After a blitz from conservative religious groups and radio talk show hosts, the lobbying measure was plainly in trouble, but its support proved even weaker than expected. Forty-five Democrats and seven Republicans voted to end debate; 10 Democrats and 36 Republicans voted to keep it going. The Senate dealt with the gift ban and lobby reporting issues earlier in two separate bills. Each time 95 Senators voted in favor.

Opponents of the bill said it would inhibit grass-roots lobbying and threaten religious groups by requiring them to disclose membership lists. Its supporters called those complaints "fictional," as Senator George J. Mitchell of Maine, the majority leader, put it. He said the accusations were a "smoke screen" for a desire by senators and lobbyists to continue business as usual in Washington.

Mr. Mitchell scheduled a second

Continued From Page A1

vote on ending debate for Friday, but Senator William S. Cohen of Maine, one of the bill's few Republican supporters, said, "I think the wounds are mortal." The bill's principal sponsor, Senator Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan, said it was "apparently dead."

A senior White House official acknowledged tonight that President Clinton and his aides had all but given up hope for passage of the bill. "At best it's on life support, and the prognosis isn't good," the official said.

The fate of the gift ban was less clear. Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the minority leader, and other Republicans called for implementing the gift ban by a simple rules change that would impose no new requirements on lobbyists and would not affect House members. But rules changes must be formally proposed by the majority leader, and Mr. Dole said he did not know if Mr. Mitchell would do as he asked. Another obstacle is that rules changes are subject to amendment, and that could drag out the issue.

Mr. Mitchell did not respond to Mr. Dole's invitation to propose a rules change. But at a subsequent news conference, he said Democrats would drop all references to "grass-roots lobbying" if Republicans would back the rest of the bill.

Earlier, Mr. Levin scoffed at the proposal, calling it inadequate because "most of your paid lobbyists aren't going to be affected," since the existing definition would be kept in place. But it may be difficult for Democrats to resist Mr. Dole's invitation because it would at least be one step toward political "reform" in a Congress in which other efforts, like restructuring the campaign finance law, have been stymied.

Mr. Dole told a news conference that he had voted for the earlier versions of the bill and had praised some parts of that he criticized today, because, he said, he had not read it carefully enough.

"We're prepared to correct all the abuses, real or perceived, that have tarnished the credibility of Congress," he said. "We're prepared to deal with the gifts portion right now."

One provision that the House had voted for and insisted on in conference dealt with "grass-roots lobbying," requiring identification of lob-

byists employed by such groups. Opponents insisted the bill's provisions would require that anyone who gave money to such an effort be identified, and perhaps even entire church memberships. Supporters said that was not the case at all.

Mr. Levin told reporters that what the measure was aimed at was not real grass-roots lobbying but what he called "astroturf lobbying." He said that, in such lobbying, people are hired to telephone individuals at random, talk them into supporting or opposing a bill, and then transfer their calls to a Congressional office, collecting fees of perhaps \$100 for each call they transmit.

But while some church groups have viewed the measure as menacing, major groups like the United States Catholic Conference, the Baptist Joint Committee and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the latter a Reform organization, found it harmless to their interests.

Senator Cohen tried to focus today's debate on the floor on traditional Washington lobbying. "You start with the proposition that the current registration laws are a joke," he said. "We have thousands of lobbyists in this town. Only a small percentage actually register according to the existing law. Of those few who do, the information they provide is meaningless. It is useless."

"If we are trying to find out why the people are cynical about the political process, take a look at what happens outside the Finance Committee when it takes up a tax bill," he said. "That corridor is lined with paid professional lobbyists who are paid huge sums of money to lobby on behalf of their clients. The public, we feel, would like to know who is being paid how much to lobby for whom on what issues."

Senator Dole insisted tonight that Republicans were not opposed to greater reporting requirements for lobbyists. But he said "we can simplify it next year."

G.O.P. Flexes Its Muscles

The lobbying bill's defeat demonstrates how quickly a conservative network can be mobilized in support of a minority party that feels increasingly powerful. Page A22.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1994

William Raspberry

Rampage of the Right

Am I becoming old and crotchety, or is there a new level of petty partisanship in our national discourse? And is it only my own political viewpoint that has me believing the pettiness is mostly from the right?

The evidence for these conclusions is mostly anecdotal, even impressionistic. Take Bob Dole, for example. The Senate minority leader has never been the guy who comes to mind when you hear the phrase "sweetness and light." His biting wit is legend in this town and beyond.

But hasn't the acerbic Kansan become particularly obstructionist of late? I seem to remember Dole's trying, at the beginning of the Clinton administration, to be helpful—if not to the new president personally at least to the idea of getting useful things done for America.

I thought I saw, in early 1993, a Bob Dole almost publicly wrestling with himself over whether to be a member of the loyal opposition or, like his colleague Newt Gingrich, merely to derail as much as possible of whatever Clinton tried to do.

He seems to have chosen the latter, and I believe the country is the worse for it.

This is neither a defense of every Clinton proposal nor an indictment of Dole alone. He has plenty of co-conspirators.

I'm not surprised, of course, that the Republican National Committee is partisan. What disappoints me is that the minions of the highly touted RNC chairman, Haley Barbour, find Clinton-bashing a wise use of their talents. Their (at least) twice daily news releases, faxed to Lord knows how many of us in the news business at Lord knows what cost, now go unread into my white-paper-only bin for recyclables.

The American Enterprise Institute, that influential conservative think tank, used to turn out some really thoughtful work. No matter that the authors of their studies frequently reached conclusions different from my own, they made me think again about issues I had thought were settled. Now only Charles Murray does that. Most of the rest are so predictably anti-Clinton I no longer find them worth reading. Their sole contribution to the health-care debate (so far as I could see) was a challenge that Congress should make its own health-care plan available to the

rest of us. Otherwise, it has an endless catalog of what is wrong with each and every aspect of whatever modification the Democrats happen to be considering.

I used to read the opinion pages of the Washington Times, partly to learn what other folk were thinking about important issues but also for a fresh insight—for something to make me take a new look at things that may, in truth, have been troubling me all along. Another look at

The opposition these days isn't ideological or interesting. It's petty, partisan and tiresomely predictable.

for uselessness, for instance, or affirmative action or free-market economics.

Now, with the exception of Georgie Anne Geyer, whose work is based largely on reporting, and Suzanne Fields, who insists on wrestling with ideas until they start to make logical (not merely partisan) sense, the Times' opinion-page regulars strike me as worthless, except perhaps to those who want reassurance that their anti-Clinton rage is justified.



BY OHLSSON

My complaint goes (I hope) beyond the question of whose ox is being gored. I've lived through a few Republican administrations during which the Democrats were left to the oppositionist role. But it does seem to me that much of the opposition then was principled—about programs and policies and ideas, not merely anti-Republican.

The oppositionism I'm seeing now is not even ideological. It doesn't say: Here's what we need to do, and why. It says only that Clinton, or anyone who works for him, or voted for him, or is married to him, is wrong, no matter what.

I say these things knowing full well that, to some readers, I must seem equally petty and partisan and obvious—knowing, too, that there is a market for the line of wares I'm criticizing. After all, Rush Limbaugh is rich, and I'm not.

Still it bothers me, and not merely because Clinton's priorities tend to echo my own. What bothers me is the transformation of public discourse into a nasty, largely pointless, game: like "Fat Albert's" Johnny on the Mountain, where the point (if I remember Bill Cosby correctly) was to crush the other kid simply because he was on top.

No matter how much fun the game seems to be to those who play it, this poisoning of our politics, like the growing incivility to which it is related, threatens to do a good deal of harm—not just to Clinton but to America.

#2

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

October 5, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: GREG SIMON

SUBJECT: ECONOMIC SUMMIT REDUX

One of the best successes of the Administration occurred before you entered the White House. The Economic Summit in Little Rock garnered enormous public interest and favorable press because it showed that you and the President were concerned about the economy and were devoted to doing something about it.

One of the difficulties of benefitting from our economic successes is that we are the only ones who ever talk about it. Without a reason to do otherwise, the business community always talks about their next problems --not about how good things are.

In order to assert control of the airwaves and the political dialogue between the election and the start of the next Congress, and to provide a forum to focus on our economic success, I suggest that we revisit the Economic Summit with a core of the same participants in January. This would allow us to take the measure of the economy today and compare it to what we inherited two years ago. It is hard to imagine that the participants from two years ago could say anything other than that the situation is better now and that we made the hard decisions with regard to the budget deficit and federal spending.

Without such an event on a topic favorable to us, I fear that our critics will use the winter to focus the otherwise inactive press on social and character issues to distract the public as they have successfully done this year.

I would suggest a Mid America theme that places the Summit in Chicago or Kansas City.

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anyone know (strongly)
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(Manager Jan)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/10/94

MEMORANDUMEushin / 1 chair / Graven
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TO: President Bill Clinton
FROM: Mark Grobmyer
DATE: October 4, 1994
RE: "Street Talk"

This has a lot of
good ideas - worth
reading thru for you
soon

INTRODUCTION

It's been several months since the last street talk memorandum, but I think it's a good time to bring you up to date on a number of ideas and suggestions I've heard all over the country in the last several weeks from both your critics and supporters. The sources include everyone from cab drivers to current and former government officials to scholars and business leaders.

~~Hardly anyone I've spoken with is aware of all of the many accomplishments of your administration. They are certainly not aware, taken as a whole, that your accomplishments are helping prepare America to compete and win in the 21st century. If this theme is mentioned in everything you do, then America will come to know what you're all about. It brings focus to what looks unfocused. Everyone knows that we must get our ship in order to compete and win in the 21st century. It is young and vigorous leadership like yours and Vice President Gore's that can make this happen.~~

For instance, the Crime Bill that was passed will not likely make our streets immediately safer, but America will be a safer place in the 21st century. Efforts you have made to create our National Export Strategy may not make dramatic results overnight, although they will help increase America's percentage of GNP which is export related from 11% to 25% or more over the next few years, thereby creating literally hundreds of thousands of new high paying jobs for the next century.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Although most of my street talk sources are not media experts, I do believe a consistent theme such as that set forth above would be helpful. It's like any speech. Tell your crowd in the early part of the speech what you are going to tell them, and at the end of the speech, tell them what you told them. There are, however, some specific communication suggestions are included, such as the following:

(a) At least quarterly make an address to the nation during prime time television. This need not last more than 15 minutes, and should include an economic review, a foreign policy review and a presentation on reinventing government progress that has been made during the last two to three months.

In the address showcase two or three U.S. companies and individuals that have done something outstanding. Also, any meaningful accomplishments that have been made due to programs you have passed (such as NAFTA) could be showcased. This address should be in addition to and not in lieu of press conferences. Also, consider the DNC running quarterly full page ads in the Wall Street Journal, New York Times and USA Today pointing out accomplishments such as (a) having 3 years in a row of deficit reduction for the first time since Harry Truman, (b) eliminating over 100 government programs outright and cutting 200 others, (c) cutting discretionary spending on the domestic side for the first time in 25 years, (d) increasing international trade with the passage of NAFTA, APEC, etc., (e) having, for the first time, government agencies such as the SBA, EXIMBank, State Dept. and Commerce Dept. all working together, (f) making FEMA work for a change, (g) passing a crime bill, (h) giving children hope through national service and increased ROTC programs in public schools, (i) creating over 3 million new jobs and more business incorporations than any time since WWII, and (j) increasing HeadStart Programs and school to work opportunities.

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POINT OUT TO PEOPLE THAT IF THEY WANT A PRESIDENT TO SAVE THE JOBS THAT WE HAVE AND CREATE NEW JOBS, YOU'RE THE BEST BET OF ANYONE EVEN THINKING ABOUT RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT. AND, THE PROOF IS IN THE PUDDING.

(b) The people know that you don't agree with the status quo in Washington. Tell the American people that you came to Washington to fulfill a lot of campaign promises but you ran up against the entrenched establishment. You fought hard for the people, won some and lost some, but you're not giving up.

You've been in Washington for almost two years, but you're still an outsider, compared to the ones that have been there 30, 40 and 50 years. Tell the people the job was harder than you thought it would be, but you haven't given up. People understand that you're working as hard as you can. They also understand how difficult Washington is. Tell the people that no matter who they elect, they'll run in to the same thing, but you will use the experience you've gained over the last two years to fight even harder for the people. Begin a program to relocate some of the federal bureaucracy out of Washington to the states where the cost is less and they are closer to the people. People understand the problems of Washington. Americans respect a fighter.

(c) Have a monthly event showing concrete results in the reinventing government area. Elimination of waste and frivolous programs, the streamlining of governing (such as the creation of one-stop international trade centers) are extremely popular, but most people either don't know what's happening or don't believe it's happening. Perhaps one of the morning talk shows such as the Today Show, would agree to cover this each month, and "advertise" it for you. Use interviews with "Real People" to prove these changes have been made. Attend "Ribbon Cuttings" of new export assistance centers.

Give an award each month to some government employee who does an outstanding job in the reinventing government effort.

✓ [(d) You have developed an excellent 5-7 minute video on the accomplishments thus far of the administration. I've watched this video with some sound critics and even they, after seeing the video, have much more positive feelings. I would suggest that in your speaking engagements that the video be shown as much as possible before you speak and that the DNC consider buying air time for it to run. Either it, or some shorter version. In general when your poll numbers reach a certain low level, if it is possible, it would be helpful to run some ads to counter that.

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agru ((e) Utilize the "soft media". Most associations of all types are looking for news for their newsletters and monthly magazines. Many states have car dealer associations, lumber dealer associations, contractor associations, etc., that publish magazines or newsletters. If material was made available to them, many of them would print the material verbatim. You could focus on particular accomplishments of the administration in their area. Also, if a member of their industry has been appointed to a position in the administration, a biographical showcase of that appointee could be made in the news article. Many people believe these sources more than the mainstream media.

✓ (f) In the foreign policy area, many people do not know of your many accomplishments. Videos and news articles as set forth above will help. But also, people are concerned because they see more and more low intensity conflicts developing in the future and no clear cut policy on how they will be handled. Earlier street talk memorandums have talked about the creation of a multi-lateral force on a permanent basis which would be something between the French Foreign Legion and a standard U.N. Peace Keeping Force. Recently, articles have begun to appear suggesting just that. i.e., that the U.N. create some sort of a standard "police force" of 15,000 to 25,000 men which could be a deterrent in many situations where dictators or others believe that unilateral action is politically very difficult. The U.S. has the technological ability and logistic ability to support such a force and the rest of the world has more than enough volunteers to volunteer for the force. The U.N. Building in New York has a Security force to protect the premises. Why not expand that for use in "police actions". Former U.S. military bases could be used as training facilities.

✓ (g) Although you have long been a gun owner and a hunter, you are being attacked heavily in the south for the perception of being anti-military and anti-gun ownership. This might be remedied by you participating in more hunting outings as well as fishing outings, and by you and the Vice-President visiting firing ranges on military bases wherever possible. In addition, more patriotic events could be held around the country. Consider having a "Patriotic Musical Salute to America" at the White House to be broadcast on PBS with all sorts of pop and standard songs that celebrate America.

2. With respect to "gridlock in congress" you may consider creating a "Presidential Legislative Support Team" and give each of the members (regardless of party) a special pin or other recognition to recognize their bipartisanship pledge to break gridlock. This would create a formal mechanism to bring together those Republicans and Democrats who will join together to support initiatives good for the nation regardless of party affiliation.

✗ 3. In the crime area, you need to continue to involve all elements of the country in this fight against crime. Call on churches to help more (suburban churches to "adopt" inner city churches), and set out a specific course of action for them to do so. Mobilize the "Religious Right" to put their action where their mouth is and adopt inner city churches. Call on Chambers of Commerce and Civic clubs and organizations such as Rotary clubs, etc., to develop mentor programs and other innovative ways the private sector can help fight crime. Find those communities that have significantly reduced their crime and find out why and create a national clearinghouse to share that information with other communities.

4. Consult Presidential Scholars often and seek their advice concerning the "Office of the Presidency." Many scholars such as Dr. Gordon Hoxie, the President of the Center for the Study of the Presidency, would be more than helpful in doing this, and have done this for other Presidents.

5. Talk about why Americans will be successful in the future. Host a conference of America's fastest growing growth companies. Talk about their success. Tell Americans why they should have hope for the future. Many Americans believe that our diversity of people and cultures is a handicap. As you implement your plan to fight and win the economic battles of the 21st century, cite as you have that our diversity is a strength. We have people who can market all over the world with much more cultural ease than most other of our competitors, such as the Japanese and the Germans. Run an ad such as that attached.

6. Tell the Americans you're fighting to keep interest rates low.

7. In talking about family values, point out that Tipper Gore ran all around the country years ago, before it was popular, speaking out in favor of labeling x-rated lyrics on music. Family values are not a new issue for this administration.

8. Find out what the "hot-button" issues are in each state and mobilize the government to help solve those problems. Consider naming Volunteer State Liaisons to each Federal Agency to keep them in touch with the "grass roots".

9. Utilizing the "White House". The White House could (a) let each federal agency head invite a group of business representatives at least once a month to the Roosevelt Room for a briefing, (b) have a White House Tennis Tournament, and a Putting Tournament on The Putting Green, (c) make sure you get maximum utilization out of the box seats at the Kennedy Center, etc., (d) provide supporters automatically with greetings for birthdays, anniversaries, etc., (e) invite business representatives' wives for teas with ambassadors' wives.

10. In scheduling, don't make major business groups and others wait until 3 or 4 days before an event to know that you or another member of your team will be there - they need to draw a crowd and they need time to do this. If a crisis comes up they will understand. It is embarrassing to those trying to help you with these groups for it to take so long to get an answer.

11. Lease federal lands for proper oil and mineral exploration and "escrow" the proceeds for use in acquiring important eco-system sites in the states and for the improvement of National Parks. Then visit the sites as they are acquired.

MEMORE: Potential Commerce Department Ad

President Clinton comes on TV with a globe behind him, with pictures of ships, airplanes, etc....

"I want to energize you to encourage your company to increase exporting. We have worked very hard since I took office on our government programs to help your business increase exporting, and therefore increase jobs."

"You see, America only has about 11% of its Gross National Product which is rooted in exports. Most of our competitors, such as Japan and Germany, have 40-50% or more of their GNP related to exports."

"If America were to grow its percentage of GNP that is exports to 25%, this would create millions of jobs here at home, while continuing to grow our domestic economy."

"Look at (Growth company). (Growth company) formally made 70% of its sales to the defense industry. Although we've had defense cutbacks, they have grown their non-defense business through exports, doubling the size that it was. Now 70% of their sales are non-defense related, but they have hired a lot more employees."

"Look at (Big manufacturer). (Big manufacturer) manufactures railroad engines, 600 or more were sold in China last year. This has directly created thousands of jobs in Erie, PA, which otherwise would not exist". After all, America's diversity allows us to have people from every corner of the world as our citizens, and this diversity is a strength when we begin exporting all over the world."

"Thus, I urge you to take advantage of the hard work that we in this administration have done to make it easier to export. This includes making our embassies user-friendly for business people, creating one-stop trade centers so you don't get the run-around when you're looking for help, creating an "800" number for you to call to get information, and reinventing our Export Import Bank, our Overseas Private Investment Corporation, our Trade & Development Administration to better support American Business abroad. No longer do we meet the competition. We beat it!"

The very idea of a group posing as fiscal disciplinarians, that presided over the quadrupling of the national debt in only a dozen years, proposing another trillion dollar debt for the next four years. When they left, our Nation was losing 10,000 jobs per week, now we are gaining 30,000 jobs a week. That's a contrast.

Unemployment has gone way down, from 7.6 to below 6.0. Inflation is at historically low levels. Bankruptcies and bank failures are down. The Help Wanted Index is way up, so the people who need jobs are finding it easier to get jobs. And we have changed the nation's priorities. You may remember the cover of one of the weekly news magazines that had Ronald Reagan's picture turned upside down, right after the economic plan passed by the narrowest of margins, thank you very much.

What we did, is we said look: those who disproportionately received the huge tax cuts, aimed at the wealthy during the previous twelve years, should pay a little bit more of their fair share. And yes, for the wealthiest 1.2 percent tax rates went up. That group is well represented in this room, and we appreciate the leadership that you're showing in supporting what it is good for the country.

But for every family in that wealthy 1.2 percent that received a tax rate increase, there were 14 working families that got a tax cut. Now it doesn't necessarily make news when that family is struggling to get above the poverty line gets an extra \$100.00 in the paycheck every two weeks. It may not make news but it makes a difference to that family and it makes a difference to our country because it lifts the economy up! That is why the economy is recovering!

And it makes a difference when their kids are better able to get college loans. It makes a difference when they have family and medical leave protection if they have to be with a sick or injured child.

We are trying to fix the way the government operates as well. A reference was made earlier to the reinventing government project. We're downsizing the federal government, in the way it should be downsized, and within three years we will have created the smallest bureaucracy in federal government since John Kennedy was President. We're saving the money and using that to finance the Crime Bill which now enables Americans to roll up their sleeves and start fighting back against crime in their communities..

We want to fix the government. And it makes a difference what kind of approach you take. As Ned McWerter says in Tennessee, it's like the story about the veterinarian and the taxidermist who went into business together and put up a sign that said "Either way you get your dog back." We want to fix the government not kill it and put it in the wall as a trophy.

So now because of this record, because of the fact that President Clinton has made an excellent start at solving the problems that face ordinary Americans: fighting crime, getting a good job, getting a better standard of living, getting a college loan, we have made a good start in helping to improve the prospects in the lives of ordinary Americans. And because of all this the pundits are now saying "Well, you know, actually when you look at the record, things really are a lot better. But what about that foreign policy?"

OK. -- Let's talk about it.

We've been in office for a little more than a year and a half. We have pursued a policy based on beliefs that have characterized this country since our beginning and in particular since the beginning of this century. Americans believe in the possibility of a world in which power is governed by law and law is informed by respect of the dignity of peoples. Both collectively and especially individually.

We believe in a world of open markets, whether for physical goods or the equally vital spiritual goods represented by the contrasting beliefs and intellectual constructs of other countries and societies.

Our message is one of profound hope that denies fatalism about the nature of history. It asserts the power of human beings, both individually and as societies, to transcend their worst impulses. It asserts that we are all on the planet for the purpose of moving toward the light, however distant it may seem. Let there be no mistake, this administration sees clearly the fixed stars by which we must make that journey. We approach it guided by principals of right conduct. We believe, for example, that even the most disparate governments and societies on the face of the earth today are aware of the urgent need to protect our environment.

Applying these principals will not always be easy, we understand that quite well. But in the last 20 months President Clinton has fashioned these principles into a foreign policy that will enable America to lead the world into the next century. Let me be concrete.

First, President Clinton has met the most dramatic challenges to security by forging new links with both former adversaries and allies that will allow us to lay the foundation for a post Cold War age.

Over the last three days for example, during intensive meetings with Boris Yeltsin, President Clinton continued his historic effort to ennoble and save and invigorate the historic movement by Russia toward Democracy and free markets. This bilateral relationship is now on a very sound footing.

I remember well the day when the constitutional crisis in Russia began about one year ago. Within thirty seconds after the end of the speech on worldwide television signaling the beginning of that crisis, within thirty seconds, President Bill Clinton had sent out the word for all of his foreign policy advisors to assemble and begin intensively analyzing what we must do. And many voices were raised saying, "Boris Yeltsin is finished, why are you betting your chips on this person? Why should we continue to try to work with this Russian government?" But President Clinton steadfastly organized a world-wide rescue of the prospects for Russian democracy.

And all the nay-sayers and cynics who claimed reform was dead in Russia, that their commitment to both free markets and democracy was waning have been proven wrong because the United States of America under the leadership of President Clinton has created a new relationship with Russia. Some of the fruits are already evident.

The two way trade between our countries is now growing dramatically. Privatization is growing rapidly there. Reform is continuing swiftly. Business investment there is helping to deepen the roots of free markets. And for the first time in my lifetime, because of President Clinton's negotiations, no Russian missiles are targeted on any American cities! A small but significant step.

Let me continue. Because of President Clinton, the world's third, fourth and fifth largest nuclear powers have now agreed to completely give up all their nuclear weapons. Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus are becoming non-nuclear countries. And because of the new agreement President Clinton has negotiated between Russia, Ukraine and the United States, Ukraine is transferring all of the missiles back to Russia.

In Europe President Clinton has launched the historic new venture known as the Partnership for Peace, and will soon begin the delicate and significant discussions about the expansion of NATO. Twenty-one nations have joined the Partnership for Peace.

In September, troops once under the command of the Warsaw Pact have held training exercises jointly with NATO forces in Poland, and indeed, U.S. and Russian forces have just concluded joint training exercises on the soil of Russia itself. These are the foundation stones of a new era for American security.

And, second, the President has systematically aligned America with those on the side of peace.

Who will ever forget the historic handshake between Yitzhak Rabin and Yassir Arafat presided over by President Clinton on the South Lawn of the White House? Many contributed but when the final chapter of this story is written readers will find that American diplomacy including the immense effort of Warren Christopher was indispensable in creating this achievement and the cessation of hostilities between Israel and Jordan, and the dramatic progress in the talks still underway with Syria. We now also have efforts like Builders for Peace creating the infrastructure for the West Bank and Gaza that can create prosperity for Palestinians and security for Israel.

And it is not an accident that all of the parties in Northern Ireland and Britain credit President Bill Clinton for the breakthrough that is now giving such momentum to the prospects of peace in Northern Ireland. Just today the President continued his lengthy series of meetings and negotiations on this matter as he met with the Foreign Minister of Ireland.

Now in Bosnia where the world has witnessed such tragedy for so many years, including for several years before this administration took office, we are struggling to end a savage explosion of ethnic hatred in the midst of Europe despite all the lessons of the past. We cannot expect to put out this fire ourselves. But, we continue to work in concert with others to reach a solution and a durable peace.

At the same time, third, President Clinton has promoted free markets and international economic policies that have led to prosperity around the world -- and he has succeeded where others before him failed.

For 12 long years whenever the United States met with our principal allies in the world and asked them to take steps that would ignite a global economic recovery, they always said, "Once you have the fortitude to face your budget deficits, come back and then we'll listen to what you have to say." So, never before has Japan been willing to take seriously American arguments that they should follow a more stimulative policy to increase the consumption of goods. Or, Germany, that it should have lower interest rates than they would otherwise have.

But now, because of President Clinton's historic leadership in cutting our budget deficit 40 percent in the first year and more in the second year, and in creating for the first time three successive years of deficit reduction since Harry Truman was President, and in making \$255 billion worth of spending cuts, now these other nations are listening -- and responding to U.S. leadership.

Japan just announced that its income tax cuts will not be offset for at least three years by increases in the consumption tax as had earlier been planned. And they are following a more stimulative policy. And interest rates have been more cooperative in Europe. And now the projections are that the world economy is recovering, coming back strong, creating jobs here in the United States of America. Because we put economic policy for the first time at the center of America's foreign policy.

And we plan to have GATT approved this year, to continue with the second APEC meeting this year and continue building on the success of NAFTA to open up new markets for American products. And incidentally, I just saw an article about Chevrolet moving a plant back from Canada to the United States. Because of the way NAFTA has opened the Mexican market auto sales are up 600 percent by U.S. companies in Mexico in the year since NAFTA has passed.

And speaking of promoting democracy, and our relations in this hemisphere, this year has been a watershed in our relationship with the Western Hemisphere, and in December, President Clinton will host the historic Summit of the Americas. Gathering together all the democratic nations in this hemisphere for the first time in more than three decades and it is a summit that will succeed because there are such broad areas as were we can and will be partners. A new era is dawning in this hemisphere. And now instead of 33 of our 35 nations being democracies, in a very short period of time, 34 will be democracies, because of President Clinton's deft use, in combination, of diplomacy and military strength in Haiti.

We've also taken on policies that meet global needs which have been ignored for a very long time -- including a new approach to restore U.S. leadership on issues like global climate change and the Biodiversity Convention. And just recently at Cairo, twelve years of U.S. neglect was reversed as the United States of America led the world community toward a broad consensus to form a plan to stabilize population growth in the world which many believe is the single most serious challenge the world faces in the remaining years of this century on into the next century. President Clinton did it and changed our policies and restored U.S. leadership.

When it comes to prevention, stories aren't often written in the newspapers, but they will be written by the historians. In East Africa, in the Horn of Africa, when the predictions came in about famine threatening the lives of as many of 20 million people, President Clinton immediately assembled his advisers, this time in the Roosevelt Room, and set in motion a comprehensive plan to put the supplies in place before the disaster strikes. He urged the other countries that need to join this historic effort to do so and, although it is rarely mentioned here at home, whenever we meet with leaders from that African region it is the first thing that comes out of their mouths. "Thank you President Clinton for providing the kind of leadership that the United States of America ought to provide in the world." I heard the same thing in South Africa when Tipper and I and the First Lady were privileged to represent our country at the inauguration of Nelson Mandela.

And I want to say, that when you put together this record of outstanding success in restoring U.S. leadership in the world, with the historic reversal of the economic prospects that our nation faced 20 months ago. I'm telling you here this evening, you can write it down, whatever the press says from day to day, when this record is compiled, Bill Clinton will be regarded as one of the greatest Presidents of this century for the people of the United States of America.

I would like to close, Ladies and Gentlemen, by saying that when Tipper and I and the First Lady went to South Africa it was a moving occasion. Maya Angelou who was kind enough to participate in this film, was one of the many members of the delegation. But I had a personal experience that I would like to close with.

When Nelson Mandela raised his hand to take the oath. I suddenly remembered a very personal moment four years ago when I was in our family room watching television early on a Sunday morning and world-wide coverage of the release of Nelson Mandela preempted the programming. The only other person awake at that hour happened to be our youngest child, who came and sat next to me -- he was then seven -- and he began asking me a series of questions about this event beginning with "Why?"

I gave what I thought was a very good answer and he asked "Why?" again and then I answered quite thoughtfully, I believed. And then "Why?" came back and he got on a "Why?" tear, as seven year olds can -- and I began to get frustrated.

And suddenly I caught myself and I realized how many times I had the burden with him, and with our other children when they were younger, of explaining the existence of some terrible event, explaining the existence of evil in the world, or why some tragedy was occurring. And you know children will ask, "Why Rwanda? Why are the homeless on the side walks? Why did the horrible killing take place that was covered on the evening news?" And all parents have the burden of trying to explain things that cause young children to wrinkle up their faces and contemplate the fact that this world may not be all sweetness in life.

And we have a duty to respond to those things. As John Kennedy said in his inaugural address, "On this earth God's work must truly be our own". But sometimes they just seem beyond us. Well here, on this occasion, as Mandela was being released from prison, I had the great opportunity as a parent to explain something extraordinarily good, and positive and wonderful and so I warmed to the task and recovered my stamina.

And I recalled that event as he was taking the oath, and when he finished the oath, I made up my mind that I would do my best to learn all I could about how that had come about. We had a few days to spend there. And of course many of the good reasons were well known. The courage of Mandela, the vision of DeKlerk. And yet there was one factor which had not received a great deal of attention in the news media, and it suddenly loomed as a very significant, in deed the most significant cause of the change there.

What I found was men and women, black and white -- of all ethnic backgrounds in fact -- professionals, business people, from all walks of life, who had absorbed the dire prophecies about the future of South Africa, and looked at their own families and decided, no, we're not going to let that happen. And they reached across the barriers that divided them. And they joined hands with their fellow human beings. And they made up their minds and hearts that they were going to create a future that was much brighter than anything they were ever told it was permissible for them to even dream of. And they went about the task of making it so.

We face the same choice in America in the 1990s: whether to go forward or to go back, whether to build a bright future of hope or to surrender to the forces of division and hatred and fear. To put it in another way; when our grandchildren look down at a young child who asks "Why?" Will we bequeath to them the burden of explaining why violence got worse, why racial divisions deepened, why the homeless population increased, why other problems that should have been addressed were allowed to fester, were ignored?

Or will we give them the extraordinary opportunity to explain the emergence of very positive and hopeful developments, the foundation for which was laid here in America in the 1990s? It really is up to us. To dig in to the details of what needs to be done to bring positive change to America. To keep fighting, to keep moving forward, to resist the temptations of the cynics who say "Nothing can be done." Those of you who are participating in these debates know how important they are. This Center has been a place that has enabled us to make progress. To all of you who are helping to create that kind of future in America and our world.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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10/10/94

Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - Sunday, October 9, 1994 - 01:00PM
Contact Social Office X6340

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. CLINTON

A Mr. Larry Akers
Pearcy, AR
A Mr. Bobbie Akers
A Mr. David Akers
A Mr. Michael Akers
A Ms. Sarah Akers
U Ms. Sandra Akin
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mrs. Brenda Anderson & Mr. Bobby Anderson
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Tim Anderson
A Mr. Doug Bailey
A Ms. Kim Bailey
A Ms. Susie Anthony
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Frank Arnold (Frances)
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Frankie Arnold
A A Dr. & Mrs. James Wesley Ashabranner (Jeannine)
Herber Springs, AR
U U Ms. Mauria Aspell & Mr. Robert W. Aspell
A A Mrs. Jane Atchley & Mr. Douglas Atchley
Hot Springs, AR
A A Ms. Sammie Jo Auman & Mr. Harlod E. Auman
Salem, OH
U Mr. John S. Ballard
U Mr. Randy Ballew
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Tom Barron (June)
Maumelle, AR
A Mr. Sean Barron
A Ms. Gia Bavelis
Columbus, OH
A Mr. George Bavelis
U Mr. William (Bill) Beck
c/o Purity Bar-B-Q
U Ms. Brenda Bell
Arkadelphia, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Wayne D. Bennett (Mary Lou)
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Marla Genert Bennett
A Mr. Blake Oliver Bennett
U U Mr. Jerome F. Berlinger & Mrs. Miriam W. Slate
Honolulu, HI

*See Mrs. Betty
and Mrs. Mary Ann
Pugh*

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Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

U Mr. Virgil Berry
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Mimi Bibb
Roland, AR
U Mr. Don Boles
Hot Springs, AR
U U Dr. & Mrs. John B. Bond (Valerie)
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Karen Boston
Hutchinson, KS
U Ms. Karen Boston
Hutchinson, KS
U Ms. Judy Boyd
Arlington, TX
A A Mrs. Patricia Bradford & Mr. Richard Knox Bradford
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Richard Lev
A A Mr. & Mrs. James Patrick Brady (Sue Ellen)
U U Mr. & Mrs. Edward Brammer (Linda)
Zephyr Hills, FL
U U Mr. & Mrs. Richard (Ricky) Brennes (Susie)
Plano, TX
A Darmon Brizendine
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Mary Cabiniss
U Ms. Wilma Jean Brooks
Little Rock, AR
A Mr Alan Brown
Hot Springs, AR
A A Rev. Ken Brown & Mrs. Sandra M. Thomas
Ellicott City, MD
A Mr. Jeremy Brown
A Mr. Aaron Brown
A Mr. Nathaniel Brown
A A Mr. & Mrs. Larry H. Brown (Janice C.)
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Shirley Brown
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Michael Rousseau Browning
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mr. Jerry Bruaghton & Mrs. Dona K. Braughton
Hot Springs, AR
A U Ms. Karon Burkes & Mr. Don Burkes
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Janice Rowland
U Mr. James Burnett
Hot Springs, AR

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Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

U Ms. Mary Lynn Burnett
Little Rock, AR
U Mr. Kenny Burton
Richmond, VA
A A Mr. & Mrs. Martin Cain (Lisa)
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Tiffany Cain
A Ms. Alice Vrbska
A Ms. Candace Cain
U Mr. Tony Capalbo
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Dorothea Lou Grown Capps
Black Jack, MO
A U Mr. & Mrs. Ronnie Cecil
Columbia, SC
A Mr. Robbie Cecil
A Ms. Jeanie Cecil
U U Mr. & Mrs. Ernest Dwayne Chambers (Gwen Nalls)
Columbus, MS
A A Mr. & Mrs. William J. Chambers (E. Marie)
Laurenceville, GA
A A Mr. & Mrs. Al Lonnie Childs (Linda)
Bonnerdale, AR
A Mr. Shea Childs
U U Ms. Linda Childs & Mr. Al Lonnie Childs
Bonnerdale, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. William (Bill) Chitwood (Nancy)
Plano, TX
U Ms. Carla Chitwood
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. George Christopher
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mrs. Karon Clark & Mr. William H. Clark
Evans, GA
U Ms. Sherry Ann Cleaver
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Charles Lloyd Clemons (Drenda)
Duncanville, TX
A Mr. Chad Clemons
A Mr. Clay Clemons
U Mr. James (Jim) Clowers
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Alan Cochran (Anne)
Arlington, TX
U U Mr. Glen E. Coffman & Mrs. Peggy L. Ross
Cheyenne, WY

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Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

A Ms. Glenda Johnson Cooper /
Little Rock, AR
A Mr. Bill Hoffman
U U Mr. & Mrs. Larry Wayne Costello (FloAnn)
Corpus Christi, TX
U Mr. Larry Costello
Corpus Christi, TX
U Ms, Rose Crane
Little Rock, AR
U U Ms. LaTricia Crews & Mr. Robert Crews
Glenwood, AR
A A Mrs. Brenda Cunningham & Mr. Merle Cunningham
Beebe, AR
A A Ms. Mary Daniel & Mr. Tommy Daniel
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Michael Laudette
A Ms. Kristin Hogaboom
A Ms. Jannette Hogaboom Laudette
U U Mr. & Mrs. Harold K. Davis (Karen A.)
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Nonnia DeRossett
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Bill Dever (Linda)
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Devron Dever
A Ms. Angela Dever
A A Mr. & Mrs. Joe Dierks (Jayne)
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Kimberly Dierks
A Mr. A.J. Dierks
U Ms. Judy Dodd
Royal, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Donald Downs (Patricia)
Asheville, NC
A A Mr. Rene Duchac & Ms. Karen D. Duchac
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Michael Shane Duchac
A Mr. Mark Steven Duchac
A Mr. David Dunham
Griffin, GA
A Ms. Frances Dunham
A Ms. Jennifer Dunham
U U Mr. Richard Dunn & Ms. Norma Dunn
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mrs. Sheila Dunn & Mr. Russell Dunn
Hot Springs, AR

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Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

A Ms. Elizabeth J. Echols
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Adrianna Barnes
A A Ms. Carolyn Echols & Mr. Tim Echols
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Sherdan Edge (Jimmy)
BAFB, LA
A Mr. John Edmiaston
Little Rock, AR
A Ms. Alicia Pierce
U Ms. Sandra Edwards
Catoosa, OK
U Mr. James Edwin
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Lottie Elam
Marina Del Ray, CA
A Ms. Betty Lou Emerson
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Virginia Espey
Collinsville, MS
A A Mr. & Mrs. Lee B. Floyd (Mary)
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Roy Foster
Rudy, AR
A Ms. Peggy Foster
Garden City, KS
U U Ms. Susan Fox & Mr. Gary D. Fox
Kansas City, MO
U U Dr. James French & Dr. Kathy French
Great Falls, VA
U Ms. Karen French
Peoria, IL
A U Ms. Virginia Garner & Mr. Delvis D. Garner
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Sarah B. Harris
U U Ms. Rebecca Lee Garner & Mr. Delbert Garner
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mrs. Shanna Gilg & Mr. Richard Gilg
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. John Gillham
Little Rock, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Donald R. Glasgow (Vickie D.)
Batesville, AR
A A Ms. Sherry Glasgow & Mr. William J. Glasgow
Bessemer, AL
A Ms. Julie Glasgow
A Mr. Gerald Glasgow

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Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

U U Mr. & Mrs. Maurice Gottlieb (Micci Halk)
Charleston, SC

U U Mr. & Mrs. Roger Graham (Connie)
Royal, AR

U U Ms. Paula Graham & Mr. Steve Graham
Briggsville, AR

U Ms. Henryetta Graves
Royal, AR

A A Mr. & Mrs. Roland Graves (Rita)
San Antonio, TX

A Mr. Michael Graves

A Mr. Jaime Graves

A Ms. Katie Graves

U U Mr. & Mrs. Wayne Graves (Carolyn)
Royal, AR

U Ms. Michelle Grisham
Hot Springs, AR

A Mr. Albert Hahm
Santa Monica, CA

A Ms. Susan Roberts

U U Ms. Judy Hamilton & Mr. Roy G. Hamilton
Hot Springs, AR

U U Ms. Janie Hampton & Mr. John Hampton
Hot Springs, AR

A Mr. Robert Hanes
Atlanta, GA

A Mr. Thomas Reiland

A A Mr. & Mrs. David Harrington (Martha)
Lexington, SC

A A Mrs. Carole Harris & Mr. Jim Harris
Fort Smith, AR

U Mr. James Paul Harrod
Hot Springs, AR

U U Mrs. Clara Jo Hart & Mr. Charles A. Hart
Camden, AR

A U Ms. Carol Ann Hartman & Mr. Frank Hartman
Fort Smith, AR

A Ms. Dixie Harvey
Little Rock, AR

A Mr. Matthew Harvey

A Ms. Laurel Harvey

U Ms. Dixie Harvey
Little Rock, AR

A Mr. John Hazlewood
Augusta, GA

A A Ms. Keats Henderson & Mr. Don Lathan Henderson
Hot Springs, AR

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Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

A A Mr. & Mrs. Rick Henry (Margaret)
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Harmony Herst
U Mr. Carl Herron
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mrs. Pat Hiett & Mr. Dennis D. Hiett
Germantown, TN
A A Mr. & Mrs. William High (Cathy S.)
Tomball, TX
U Ms. Donna Hill
Monroe, LA
A A Mrs. Nelta Hill & Mr. Larry Hill
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Ann Crafton Hill
A Mr. Harold Randall Hill
A Mr. Brian C. Hill
A Ms. Amelia Barnett Hill
A A Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Hinsley (Sherry)
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Dale Hobgood
Hot Springs, AR
A A Ms. Glenna Hodge & Mr. Jim Hodge
Shreveport, LA
A Ms. Laura Lee Hodge
A Mr. William Robert Hodge
U Mr. Don Hofstetter
Russelville, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Jan Hogaboom (Melanie)
Hot Springs, AR
U U Ms. Miese Holmes & Mr. Edwin Percy Holmes III
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Jessie L. Horton
Little Rock, AR
A Mr. Edward A. Horton
A Ms. Dina L. Horton
A Ms. Jennifer Block
A Ms. Christi M. Landler
U Mr. Rex Houston
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Harold Dan Huddleston (Mary Belding)
Hot Springs, AR
U U Ms. Judy Hughes & Mr. Charles Hughes
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Mary Hughes
Camden, AR
A Ms. Anita Hunter
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Judy Wright

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Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

A A Ms. Virginia Hunter & Mr. Tommy A. Hunter
Jesseville, AR

A A Mr. & Mrs. Peter L. Husselmann (Paula M.)
Arlington, VA

A A Mr. & Mrs. Henry Irons (Edith)
Hot Springs, AR

A A Ms. Sharron Jackson & Mr. H. Spencer Jackson
Bartlett, TN

A A Ms. Jackie Jackson & Mr. Harold G. Jackson
Florence, TX

A A Mr. & Mrs. Philip C. Jamison (Susan)
Rockville, MD

A Ms. Elizabeth Jamison

A Ms. Kathleen Jamison

U Ms. Peggy Janske
Houston, TX

A A Mrs. Peggy Janske & Mr. Charles Alan Janske
Houston, TX

A Mr. Timothy Clay Janske

A Ms. Shannon Lee Janske

A A Mrs. Diane Jarrell & Mr. William Jarrell
Scott AFB, IL

A Ms. Elizabeth Jarrell

A Mr. Blake Jarrell

U Ms. Shiela Jeffereis
Hot Springs, AR

A A Mr. & Mrs. James Jester (Linda)
North Little Rockck, AR

U U Ms. Linda Lee Jester & Mr. James Jester
North Little Rock, AR

U U Mr. & Mrs. Bobby Jines (Wyona)
Hot Springs, AR

A A Ms. Claire Johannesen & Mr. Tom Johannesen
Arlington Heights, IL

A Mr. Thomas Johannesen

A Ms. Mary Johannesen

A Ms. Kathleen Johannesen

U Ms. Linda Johanssen
Hot Springs, AR

A A Ms. Dinah Johnson & Mr. Donald L. Johnson
Russellville, AR

U Ms. Mary Jo Johnson
Hot Springs, AR

U Mr. John Johnson
Lonsdale, AR

A Ms. Brenda Johnston
San Antonio, TX

A Ms. Kimberly Johnston

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Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

U U Mr. & Mrs. James L. Jones (Traca)
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Janice L. Jones
Kansas City, MO
U U Mr. & Mrs. Robert Jones (Elise)
Saltillo, MS
U Ms. June Jones
Hickory Ridge, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Nahe R. Ka'iuwailani (Ka'ano'i Ulukoa)
Honolulu, HI
A Ms. Cheryl Kapella
Conneaut, OH
U Mr. Mike Karber
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Darla Kelly
Baton Rouge, LA
A Mr. John Kelly
A Mr. Russell Strothers, Jr.
A Mr. Randy Strothers
A Mr. Howard Kemp
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Angela Kemp
A Mr. Dustin Kemp
U Mr. Richard D. Kerr
Arkadelphia, AR
A Mr. Jim Kidd
Albuquerque, NM
A Ms. Laurie Roberts
A A Mrs. Martha Jo Kimberlin & Mr. G. Danny Kimberlin
Paris, TN
U Mr. Joel Kimery
Benton, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Richard Kimery (Sharon)
Murfreesboro, AR
U Ms. Sydnie H. Kinsey
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mrs. Jo Ann Kraft & Mr. Kenneth M Kraft
Martinez, GA
A Mr. Kristopher D. Kraft
U Ms. Mary Lou Kramer
Speedway, IN
A Ms. Pam Kuhn
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Glenn Kuhn
A Mr. Richard Kuhn
U Mr. Richard Kuklinski
Mississippi State, MS

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Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

U Ms. Dolly Kyle
Dallas, TX
A U Mrs. Joy LaRue &
Germantown, TN
A Mr. William Matthew LaRue
U Ms. Diana Lambert
Amity, AR
U Mr. Larry Land
Mablevale, AR
U U Mrs. Barbara Larkin & Mr. Jim Larkin
Hot Springs, AR
A A Ms. Brenda Laughery & Mr. Gerald Laughery
Seabrook, TX
A Dosha Laughlin
Independence, MO
A Ms. Kathleen Westman
U U Mr. & Mrs. David Leachman (Francis)
Little Rock, AR
U Mr. Doyle Lee
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Judy Lee
Mablevale, AR
U U Mr. David Leopoulos & Mrs. Linda Kay Leopoulous
Maumelle, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Mike Litwa (Elizabeth)
Little Rock, AR
A Mr. David Lockwood
Little Rock, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Al Loveday (Linda)
Idabel, OK
A Mr. Christopher Austin Plant
A A Ms. Nancy Lowery & Mr. John Lowery
Kansas City, MO
A Ms. Sidney Clara Lowery
U U Mr. & Mrs. William (Bill) Luben (Lonnie)
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Faye Lynch (Carol)
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Phillip Lynch
Murray, UT
U U Mrs. Susan Lynch & Mr. Paul A. Lynch
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Lynda Lyon
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Arnold Magby
Pueblo, CO

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A A Mr. Mike Mailhes & Ms. Tabitha B. Mailhes
Webster Groves, MO
A Mr. John Knox Mailhes
A Mr. Scott Mailhes
A Mr. Andrew Mailhes
U U Mr. Jerry Mann & Ms. Wendy Mann
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Johnny Mann
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Merrilyn Mann
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Gene K. Mapes
Athens, OH
A Ms. Royal Mapes
A Ms. Marie Mapes
A Mr. Raymond Massey
Fairfax Station, VA
U Mr. Ronnie Lee Mathis
Semmes, AL
U U Mr. & Mrs. Warren Maus (Zim Loy)
Kansas City, MO
U U Ms. Carolyn McCoy & Mr. Charles McCoy
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Don McCrary
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Jim McDougal
Austin, TX
U Mr. Carl McKee
Starksville, MS
A Ms. Carole McLaughlin
Wicks, AR
U Mr. Clifford McNeely
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Rodney McWilliams (Sandra)
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mrs. Dorothy Meek & Mr. Donald Meek
North Little Rock, AR
A Ms. Dawn Meek
A A Ms. Sandi Merriott & Mr. Johnny E. Merriott
Pearcy, AR
A A Mrs. Sharyn Miller & Mr. Kent Miller
Edmond, OK
A Mr. K. Grag Miller
A Mr. Mark A. Miller
U Ms. Sarnia Minton
Murfreesboro, AR

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Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

A Ms. Linda Mizell
South Roxanna, IL
A Ms. Lucretia Arington Robinson
A Ms. Lucretia A. Robinson
A A Ms. Cheryl Montemayor & Mr. Albert Montemayor
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Aaron Montemayor
A Mr. Andre Fujichima
A A Ms. Gail Montuori & Mr. Joseph Montuori
Radford, VA
A Ms. Marisa Montouri
A A Mr. & Mrs. Wayne Moore
Moore Travel
A Ms. Erin Moore
U Mr. Tommy C. Moran
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Raymond Charles Morgan
Palm Springs, CA
U Mr. James Mosley
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Mike Muldoon (Mollie)
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Richard Mullings
Hot Springs, AR
U U Ms. Nancy Mushaney & Mr. Harvey D. Mushaney
Kansas City, MO
U U Mr. & Mrs. Joe Newman (Francine)
Little Rock, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Johnny B. Nichol (Neilene S.)
Davenport, FL
A Ms. Jennifer Nichol
A Ms. Vicky Jaskot Niebergall
Wylie, TX
A Mr. Robert Niebergall
A Mr. Jason Niebergall
A Mr. Colin Niebergall
U Ms. Nancy Nielson
Hot Springs Village, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Dayton O. Nooner (Lisbeth M.)
Shreveport, LA
A Mr. Dayton Nooner, III
A Ms. Victoria Nooner
U U Mr. & Mrs. Thomas G. O'Neal (Mildred Gay)
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Jimmy Richard Owen (Helen M.)
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Fredrick Mark Palmer
Hot Springs, AR

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Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

A U Ms. Nancy Paolini & Mr. Deno Paolini
Reno, NV
A Ms. Kimberly Clubb
A Mr. Chad Clubb
U U Ms. Dona Marie Parker & Mr. Thomas Parker
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. James Darvis Paslay (Marsha)
DeQueen, AR
U Mr. Gary D. Pate
New Albany, IN
A Ms. Demi Penor
Little Rock, AR
A Mr. Ricky Penor
A Ms. Melissa Penor
A Ms. Ruby Kaufman
U U Mr. & Mrs. Pat Penor (Jean)
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mrs. Paula Petty & Mr. Paul Petty
Searcy, AR
U U Mrs. Paula Petty & Mr. Paul Petty
Searcy, AR
U Mr. Gary Phillips
Bonnerdale, AR
U Ms. Mary Kay Piippo
Virginia Beach, VA
U Mr. Gary Plymale
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mrs. Betty Putman & Mr. Nolan Putman
Garland, TX
A Mr. Robert Putman
A Ms. Vicky Putman
U U Ms. Diana Pyron & Mr. Jerry G. Pyron
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Sandra Ragsdale
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Merrill Rainwater
Hot Springs, AR
A A Ms. Mary Clyde Rasmussen & Mr. Todd Rasmussen
Morrilton, AR
A Mr. Jeff Rasmussen
A Ms. Katie Rasmussen
A Ms. Jamie Rasmussen
U U Mr. & Mrs. Grant Reddig (Bonita S.)
Gainesville, FL
U U Ms. Andrea L. Reppo & Mr. George W. Reppo
Havana, AR
U Mr. Mike Reppo
Hot Springs, AR

REPORT DATE 10/04/94
REPORT TIME 02:11PM

Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

U U Mr. Dennis Reynolds & Mrs Janie Reynolds
Hot Springs, AR
A A Ms. Mary Lu Rickard & Mr. David Rickard
Fresno, CA
A A Mr. & Mrs. Jack E. Ridgeway (Nancy R.)
Dallas, TX
A Ms. Robin Ridgeway
A A Mrs. Mary Marcia Riggs & Mr. Charles Edward Riggs
St. Louis, MO
U Ms. Carolyn Kay Riley
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Betsy Ringlebin
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Linda Robbins
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Sydney Robbins
U Mr. Alvin Robertson
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Gene Robertson (Frances)
Lavaca, AR
U U Mrs. Frances Robertson & Mr. Gene Robertson
Lavaca, AR
A A Mrs. Barbara Rogan & Mr. Patrick Rogan
Raleigh, NC
A Mr. Sean Rogan
A Ms. Melissa Marvel
A Mr. Brian Rogan
A Ms. Grace Rogan
A Mr. Brent Rogan
A Ms. Kim Gilboe
A Ms. Mary Jo Nelson Rogers
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. LeighAnn Van Gorder
U Mr. David Ruiz
Pearcy, AR
U Ms. Letha Ann Rupert
Boise, ID
R U Mrs. Sarah Emenhiser Rutledge
U U Ms. Velma Sanders & Mr. Douglas R. Sanders
Hopkinsville, KY
U Ms. Judy Sanders
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Shala Saracen
Phoenix, AZ
A Mr. Max Saracen
U Ms. Ann Sawyer
Little Rock, AR

REPORT DATE 10/04/94
REPORT TIME 02:11PM

Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

U Mr. Terry Scott
Fort Smith, AR
U Ms. Carolyn Seaton
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. J. Allen Seay (Penelope C.)
Austin, TX
A U Mrs. Brenda Short & Mr. Ruddy Short
Russellville, AR
A Mr. Wilson Short
U U Mr. & Mrs. Mitchell Shuffield (Debra L.)
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Bruce Sigman (Annette)
Evergreen, CO
A Ms. Carol Sikorski
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Frederick L. Silverman (Barbara Z.)
Greeley, CO
A Mr. Adam Silverman
U Ms. Judy Sipe
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Janie Sitek
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Phillip W. Small (Carol)
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Donna Smith
Greenbriar, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Fred H. Smith (Anna M.)
Cordova, TN
A A Mr. & Mrs. Mark A. Smith (Kathy)
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Katherine Smith
A Mr. Robert Smith
Clearwater, FL
U Ms. Linda Sorrell
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Joseph W. Spencer
Clarendon, AR
U Mr. Eddie Spitzer
A Mr. Eddie Spitzer
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Kim Chavarria
U U Mr. & Mrs. Jon Springs (Sheila) \\
Foster City, CA
A A Mrs. Carolyn Yeldell Staley & Mr. Jerry Staley \\
Washington, DC
A Ms. Mary Staley
A Mr. Will Staley

REPORT DATE 10/04/94
REPORT TIME 02:11PM

Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

A U Ms. Liz Stathakis & Mr. Sam P. Stathakis, Jr.
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Frank Stephens (Carolyn L.)
Houston, TX
U Mr. Richard Stephens
Hot Springs, AR
A U Ms. Sandra Stewart & Mr. Jerry L. Stewart
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. William E. Stewart (Connie L.)
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Ira Stone
Little Rock, AR
U U Ms. Vickie Stovall & Mr. James Stovall
Hot Springs, AR
A U Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Daniel Stracner (Barbara Ellen)
Whittier, CA
A Ms. Lauren Stracner
A U Ms. Janice Stroman & Mr. David W. Stroman
Richardson, TX
A Ms. Susan Studenberg
Tampa, FL
A Mr. Ray King
A A Ms. Frances Sublette & Mr. Ron Sublette
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Brad Sublette
A U Ms. Sandra Tate & Mr. Johnny Tate
Hot Springs, AR
A A Ms. Carol Taylor & Mr. Don Taylor
Bartlett, TN
U Ms. Mary Kay Terrell
Hillsboro, OR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Tom Thomason (Pamela J.)
Walworth, NY
U Ms. Angel Thomason
U Mr. Thomas Thomason
U U Mr. & Mrs. Tom Thomason (Pamela J.)
Walworth, NY
U Ms. Becky Thornton
Malvern, AR
A A Ms. Brenda Thornton & Mr. Roger L. Thornton
Royal, AR
A Mr. Robert Thornton
A A Mr. & Mrs. Roland M. Turbyfill (Peggy)
Hot Springs, AR
A Master Colin Carl Heaton
A Ms Kelly Carl Heaton
A Ms. Amber Lynn Turbyfill
A Ms. Angela Michele Turbyfill Heaton

REPORT DATE 10/04/94
REPORT TIME 02:11PM

Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

U U Mr. & Mrs. Roland M. Turbyfill (Peggy)
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Marty Uzick
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Marty Uzick
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Bobbie Vannoy
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Katherine Jeffries Walsh
A Ms. Stephanie Jeffries Webb
A Mr. Kent E. Webb
U Ms. Bobbie Vannoy
Hot Springs, AR
U Ms. Linda Vaughn
Houston, TX
A A Mr. & Mrs. Richard R. Vickers (Sandra L.)
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. Richard R. Vickers &
U U Mr. & Mrs. Richard R. Vickers (Sandra L.)
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mrs. Donna Vincent & Mr. Everett Vincent
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Jack Voorhies
Oakland, CA
U Mr. Jack Voorhies
Oakland, CA
A Ms. Sharon Wagner
Denham Springs, LA
A Ms. Gloria G. La Prarie
A U Ms. Marty Walker & Mr. Charles R. Walker
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Christopher Walker
A Ms. Beckie Louhs Walker
A A Mr. & Mrs. Rick Walker (Suzanne)
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. Robert Walker
Bonita Springs, FL
A Mr. Chase Edward Walker
U U Mr. & Mrs. Ray Walters (Maureen)
Mayflower, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. James Ward (Kathy)
Houston, TX
U Ms. Julie Watson
Fort Smith, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. James Duke Watts (Marsha)
Hot Springs, AR
A Mr. William Michail Watts

REPORT DATE 10/04/94
REPORT TIME 02:11PM

Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

U Mr. Doyle Wayman
Houston, TX
A A Mr. & Mrs. Jack D. Wells (Carolyn)
Sherwood, AR
A Ms. Leslie Wells
A Ms. Mary Alison Wells
A A Mrs. Patricia Wetmore & Mr. Stephen Wetmore
Morgantown, WV
A A Ms. Lynn Whelan & Mr. Joe Whelan
Poinciana, FL
A A Ms. Patricia Ann White & Mr. Jerry Allen White
Texarkana, TX
A Ms. Meridith White
A Mr. Nathan White
A A Mr. & Mrs. Sammy White (Paula)
Greer, SC
A Ms. Emily White
A Mr. Christopher White
U Ms. Connie Whitney
Seattle, WA
U Ms. Nancy Wilkinson
A U Ms. Mary Anne Williams & Mr. Don Wiley Williams
Lake Jackson, TX
A Ms. Mary Edmund Williams
A Mr. John Allen Williams
U Ms. Sharon Williams
Hot Springs, AR
U U Mr. & Mrs. Bennie Charles Williams (Rhonda)
Monument, CO
U Mr. Charles D. Williams
Wake Village, TX
U U Mr. & Mrs. Marvin Williams (Carolyn)
Hot Springs, AR
U Mr. Tony Williams
Hot Springs, AR
U U Ms. Susie Wilson & Mr. Joe Wilson
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mrs. Sandra Wilson & Mr. Gary Wilson
Sherman, TX
A Mr. Shane Wilson
A Ms. Cari Wilson
A Mr. Rob Wilson
A Ms. Angie Wilson
A Mr. Ben Wilson
U U Mr. William (Bill) Wilson &
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Carolyn Wilson
J.A. Wilson & Son Furniture

REPORT DATE 10/04/94
REPORT TIME 02:12PM

Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

U Mr. Clyde Wood
Hot Springs, AR
A A Mr. & Mrs. Robert L. Woodall (Betty)
Agoura Hills, CA
A Ms. Joy Woodall
A Ms. Nicole Nadolenco
A Mr. John Nodolenco
A A Mr. & Mrs. Gary Woods (Sherry)
Bryant, AR
A Mr. Michael Woods
A A Ms. Ellen Kay Woolard & Mr. Gordon Dale Woolard
El Dorado, IL
U Mr. Albert Wright
Royal Palm Beach, FL
A Mr. Chris Anthony Wright
Hot Springs, AR
A Ms. Cheryl Renae
A A Rev. & Mrs. Larry V. Wright (Susan)
Bloomington, CA
A Mr. Timothy Wright
A Ms. Kathy Wright
U U Ms. Doyle Wyatt & Mr. Marty Wyatt
Hot Springs, AR
A A Ms. Wanda L. Zeagler & Mr. James R. Zeagler
Arkadelphia, AR
A Ms. Tanya Zeagler
A Ms. Mary Jo Zullo
Hot Springs, AR

REPORT DATE 10/04/94
REPORT TIME 02:12PM

Hot Springs H.S. Reunion - October 9, 1994

REGRETS

R Mr. Warren Campbell
Hot Springs, AR
R Ms. Diane Gatling
Bryant, AR
R Mrs. Margaret Harris
Hot Springs, AR
R Mrs. Chesleigh Ricks
Hot Springs, AR
R Mr. James Ricks
Hot Springs, AR
R Mr. Terry E. Rutledge
Cypress, TX

THE
**VALUES
CENTER**

Don Edward Beck, Ph.D.

Director

☎ 817-383-1209

FAX 817-382-4597

Box 797 • Denton, Texas 76202 • United States



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

E. Bowles

Someone showed
me this
+ got a reply to him
It's interesting - B.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
The White House
Washington DC

October 2, 1994

Dear President Clinton:

I've been visiting with Buddy Young for some time about a conceptual system that could well energize the second half of your term and even improve, significantly, the prospects of your reelection. I've been aware of you and Mrs. Clinton for some time since Milton Copeland at the law school was a college roommate and debate colleague of mine at Abilene Christian University. My Ph. D. is from OU; I taught at the University of North Texas for 18 years; but have been involved during the last fifteen in major large scale systems change initiatives. Many give us a significant amount of credit for the South African "miracle."

We are developing a new view of human nature based on the evolution of what Richard Dawkins, the UK biologist, calls "memes." (See his book **The Selfish Gene**.) In the place of genetic DNA factors, this new approach examines the emergence of psychosocial DNAs -- the way in which various assemblages of people (families, organizations, and entire societies) form cultures, world-views, and operating systems. This produces a sense of stratification, a spiral-like scaffolding that maps the emergence of "self" in people and "value systems" in communities.

The seminal work that generated this massive general systems theory view was initiated by the late Professor Clare W. Graves, Union College, New York. He was a contemporary of Abraham Maslow at Brandeis, knew the Roosevelts quite well in Albany; and even played football with Gerald Ford at Michigan. All of the presentations with their underlying paradigms you have ever heard at your Renaissance event could be placed along the evolutionary Spiral.

Political parties, partisan interests, and the media all play games on the surface level. They are Flatlanders, unable to scan these vertical levels of development in people. You are presently caught in this "game" and create some confusion since you occasionally display an understanding of these vertical layers. (This is obvious when you are seen to move between "New Democrats" and "left wing" poles.)

With all due respect, what is missing in your world view analysis and related speeches and actions is an understanding of this systemic, integrated framework. You could then resolve the "prevention vs. punitive" approach to crime; the private vs. public health care interests; and the elite vs. communal aspects of everything from education to race/ethnicity related issues.



You will find this complex technology offers a way to align and synergize all other theories, approaches, ideologies, and strategies so YOU can know which one fits who, doing what, where, and why.

1. The White House, including various cabinet functions, could be integrated around a single core of beliefs and actions, all designed to create a "healthy United States." This strategy will penetrate through levels of confusion to actually meet the needs of people through a series of developmental steps and stages. It creates a laser-beam like focus that can mobilize the contributions of government, business, the churches, education, civic clubs, etc. to build local communities.
2. You, personally, could deal with the Rush Limbaughs of the world by developing a consistent, systemic, and clear philosophical view that could expose the primitive nature of both "right" and "left" wing polarities. This new thinking is especially important during major transformational times as these most certainly are.
3. You could sort out the confusion, mixed messages and personal agendas in the entire foreign affairs operations. The State Department and USA-AID operations are convoluted, conflicting, and lack any type of directional compass. We have a fresh approach to how world systems actually operate in forging "next world orders."
4. You could develop both **power** and **precision** in addressing the "values" issue and, in addition, in softening the growing boundaries around racial and ethnic enclaves.

Finally, I believe we have reached what we call "The Humpty Dumpty Effect." We are "in pieces." That is bad enough. There is a double whammy. The "king's horses and men" cannot put us together again. It will take NEW horses, men and women -- and new conceptual "glue." We believe we may have stumbled on to that "glue" - and have field tested the concept in several of the most difficult places on the planet. This is a new conceptual system that has not yet been introduced in Washington DC or among think tanks and political consultants.

I would like to visit with you about these matters, especially at this time. I sense an urgency about the situation you and Mrs. Clinton are in. The November election, according to all expectations, will create problems for you. You cannot continue to do "more of the same." We were impressed with Barbara Jordan's speech at the New York convention when she mentioned the importance of change but added: "change FROM what TO what?" We believe we can help you answer that question.

Sincerely,

Don Edward Beck
Don Edward Beck, Ph. D.
Director

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 10, 1994

Jack H. Friedental
Dean
The National Law Center
The George Washington University
2000 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20052

Dear Dean Friedental:

Thank you for your efforts in securing an extension of Beth Nolan's leave of absence from the University. I have been pleased to have Beth serve on my staff and appreciate your willingness to support her continued service to the country. I am sure her presence is as sorely missed at the Law Center as it is welcomed at the White House.

I am confident her experiences here will forever enrich her teaching and scholarship.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 10, 1994

Stephen Joel Trachtenberg
President
The George Washington University
Washington, D.C. 20052

Dear President Trachtenberg:

It is my understanding that you currently are considering whether to approve Beth Nolan's request to extend her leave of absence from the University. As you make your decision, I wanted you to know how pleased I have been to have her serve on my staff as Associate Counsel and that I look forward to her continued service here if possible.

Thank you for your consideration of her request. If I can be of any assistance in helping you reach your decision, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/09/94



TO: Don Baer

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

FYI



080932

SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON

OCT 3 1994

94 OCT 3 P5:27

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Robert B. Reich *BSR*
Subject: Remarks at Ted Kennedy Event September 29, 1994

Great job, and excellent speech. Some small suggestions.

1. **Include school-to-work youth apprenticeships.** About half a million young people will be in them during the next five years. We've got extremely positive responses from the states, and although this isn't a big outlay I'm convinced that this program will be among your most important long-term outlays.
2. **Re-employment Act.** We're already moving ahead on the start of a re-employment system (on current authority). You already have signed legislation that
 - (a) identifies workers who won't get their old jobs back, and gets them quickly into re-employment services, and
 - (b) allows unemployment insurance to be used by unemployed workers to start their own businesses.

Moreover, this year (FY 1994) dislocated workers have \$1.1 billion of help getting skills for new jobs (more than double the \$500 million in 1993), and next year \$1.3 billion. Finally, we're setting up one-stop job centers across the country, combining all unemployment and re-employment services.

3. In general, the "making government work for Americans" theme is too defensive, not sufficiently affirmative. It doesn't convey sufficient sense of what society needs to do--what your administration is doing--to help Americans achieve a better life. We're not simply making government work better. We're restoring the American dream, rebuilding the American middle class, recreating career ladders for people willing to work hard and study hard, creating new opportunities to prosper in this new high-tech, global economy (et cetera).

(picture to C. Huber)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Miss
to C. Huber

October 7, 1994

Anthony M. Alonso
4995 Southeast Mariner Village Lane
Stuart, Florida 34997

Dear Anthony:

Thanks for your letter of September 30 and for sending the photograph of my mother, Dick, and you. It was thoughtful of you to send it, and I appreciate your kindness.

I'm grateful for what you said about Mother. She was a wonderful woman, and I miss her a great deal.

Again, thanks for the photograph.

Sincerely,

Barbara



Photo OF Presidents

Mother Virginia Kelley



Handwritten vertical text, possibly a date or reference number, located on the right side of the page.



Alonso Studio

The Horse in Fine Art Since 1971

4995 S.E. Mariner Village Lane • Stuart, Florida 34997 • (407) 223-9255

ANTHONY M. ALONSO

September 30th, 1994

President & Mrs. Bill Clinton
c/o The White House
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear President & Mrs. Clinton:

Last year, on August 27th, 1993, your mother, Virginia Clinton Kelley, very graciously visited my Equine Art Exhibit at The Gideon Putnam Hotel in Saratoga Springs, N.Y. where she was staying for that weekend.

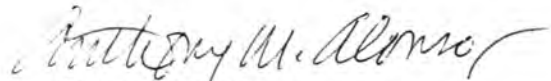
She kindly agreed to pose for a photo of herself, her husband, Mr. Dick Kelley, and myself.

Please accept the enclosed photo with my kindest wishes. I am sorry it took so long to get it to you, but this past year I moved from New York to Florida and just now found the negatives.

It was very upsetting to hear of your mother's death earlier this year and I belatedly wish to extend my heartfelt sympathy to you and the rest of your family.

Your mother was a very kind, lovely woman and very high on life. I know she enjoyed that weekend in Saratoga very much and I regret she was not able to go back this year. My best to all.

Sincerely,


Anthony M. Alonso

AMA:mqa
Enclosure

P.S. I saw Mr. Dick Kelley at Saratoga this past August and gave him a smaller copy of the enclosed. He is a very nice and charming person.

ALONSO



17th Annual "Horse in Art " Exhibition

July 28 thru Aug. 29, 1993

DAILY & SUNDAY 9 AM - 9 PM

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S. Broadway (Route 9) Saratoga Springs, N.Y. 12866

(518) 584-8713

17th Annual
ALONSO Equine Art Exhibit
Originals, Prints, Posters
plus 8th Annual Exhibit
Bronzes by Elizabeth M. Guarisco

The Gideon Putnam Hotel
(the Blue Room Gallery)
Saratoga Springs, N.Y. 12866
July 28th thru Aug. 29, 1993

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/07/94

NOTE FOR: JAY ROUSE (SBA)

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

Jay
Rouse
w/SBA

Thank you.

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

cc:

Jay Rouse
Small Business Administration

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Cathey Ross
Patterson

October 5, 1994

Gil Goldberg
20880 Colby Road
Shaker Heights, Ohio 44122

Dear Gil:

Thanks for your letter of September 23 and for sending the article about your recent appointment as director of the Small Business Administration's Cleveland office. I appreciate your willingness to serve and look forward to the many contributions you will make to the country.

Thanks, too, for what you said about Haiti. We have a good agreement and are on the road to restoring democracy there.

Finally, thanks, as always, for your friendship.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

Barack

Reid Tray
10/4/94

20880 Colby Road
Shaker Heights, Ohio 44122
September 23, 1994

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20002-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I just wanted to let you know that it is a great honor to serve your administration and our country as the new district director of the U.S. Small Business Administration, Cleveland District Office.

I am proud and honored to help entrepreneurs start, maintain and grow their businesses.

I am also proud of the way your administration has handled the Haiti situation.

Good luck and best regards.

Sincerely,



Gil Goldberg

Enc.

P.S. Jay Rouse has
been very
helpful.

8-C

Clinton classmate to head SBA here

By JONATHAN GAW

PLAIN DEALER REPORTER

A Cleveland commercial banker and former classmate of President Clinton has been appointed director of the Small Business Administration's Cleveland district office.

Gilbert B. Goldberg, 48, will administer the \$182 million business loan portfolio and oversee the office's 27 employees, the Ohio Small Business Development Center, and five chapters of the Service Corps of Retired Executives, a volunteer business-counseling organization.

"I feel like I have been training

'Having a background from the other side of the table, the non-government side, I know how the banker views the program and what their needs are and what small businesses' needs are.'

— Gilbert B. Goldberg

all my business life here in Cleveland for this position," said the New Jersey native.

Goldberg previously was assistant treasurer of Leader Mortgage Co. in Cleveland and has spent 20 years in commercial banking, primarily in middle-market and start-up business development.

The Shaker Heights resident has spent 12 years in the Cleveland area, working for Chase Bank of Ohio, Ohio Savings Bank and Society Bank, all in the commercial-banking arena.

"Having a background from the other side of the table, the non-government side, I know how the banker views the program and

what their needs are and what small businesses' needs are," Goldberg said.

"We're here to fill a void in the marketplace. We're here for companies that are growing and don't have the means to access capital. By providing a bank a guarantee, we are helping the community create jobs, and these companies will be able to survive and go on their own without government support."

In 1992, Goldberg, a Vietnam War veteran, organized a local group of veterans supporting Clinton and Vice President Al Gore. Goldberg graduated from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service with Clinton in 1968.

16 - 7
S.
Copy.
Stelle
Silverman
per
PR

THE WHITE HOUSE THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
WASHINGTON 10-3-94

DATE: 10/2

TO: ~~THE~~ PRESIDENT

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

JAMES Lee evidently
sent this to the White House
some time ago. It never
reached my office. He
sent it back over &
asked that you see it.

Leon / Tony
advis
Seunilina
good 30 Oct 93

Tolson

R



Office of the Director

Federal Emergency Management Agency

Washington, D.C. 20472

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-3-94

July 14, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

James L. Witt
FROM: James L. Witt, Director, Federal Emergency Management Agency
SUBJECT: Disaster Mitigation and Preparedness as a Foreign Policy Initiative

I am writing this memorandum in response to your guidance during our discussion yesterday on Air Force One to proceed with a program to improve emergency management internationally.

We discussed the benefits of disaster mitigation and preparedness in reducing human suffering and economic losses due to disasters, as well as contributing to world peace. I believe that if we share our related knowledge and experience we can strengthen the internal capability of developing nations to mitigate and prepare for natural and technological disasters.

This accomplishment will produce the following benefits:

1. Reducing deaths, injuries, human suffering, property damage, and economic losses resulting from disasters. A stronger infrastructure and ability to care for people reduces unrest and local strife.
2. Strengthening the stability of governments by improving the capability to deal with disasters. It is our experience that, even in the U.S., the actual or perceived inability to handle disasters has contributed to demise of an administration at the State and local levels. Therefore, I think that by assisting countries in developing their emergency management capabilities, we contribute to crisis prevention and increase stability of each country.

3. Reducing the U.S. cost of providing disaster relief, financial, and other assistance to countries after a disaster occurs, and adding a humanitarian perspective.
4. Strengthening our own emergency management program using the knowledge and experience we receive in return from countries we assist.
5. Supporting sustainable development through effective mitigation measures.
6. Protecting the environment, and protecting people from environmental threats.

The international technical assistance program we discussed would initially cost \$2,000,000, and would include sharing of information on mitigation and preparedness techniques, participating in joint training courses in the U.S. and overseas, and increasing the participation of foreign officials at the National Fire Academy and Emergency Management Institute.

Because we do not have the funds for this program within our budget, I request that an initial \$2,000,000 from the President's Discretionary Fund be allocated to FEMA to initiate these activities, followed by support in the FY 96 budget for additional funds to continue this initiative.

We realize the importance of better disaster preparedness internationally, and have been working closely with the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development to find ways to support foreign countries in disaster reduction. This cooperation has resulted in disaster mitigation being included on the agenda for the Summit of the Americas.

cc:

Leon Panetta, Chief of Staff

Warren Christopher, Secretary of State

Brian Atwood, Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{10/7}
✓cc: *zw*
Scheduling

October 5, 1994

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

My Father had a special affinity for Winston Churchill, a special trait that I understand you and he share.

The attached photograph was taken during the filming of "Why We Fight", the World War Two information film series he was commissioned to produce by General George Marshall. The Prime Minister introduced the 'Battle of Britain' segment to the British and American peoples. In this photograph they are reviewing the script.

In 1943 my Father and the Prime Minister were fighting tyranny to protect and preserve our freedoms. As a tribute to you Mr. President, as you continue to lead this noble mission, my family is proud to present this photograph to you and your family.

Today, more and more Americans need to be reassured that the American Dream is alive and well. To that end, our company is producing a series of docu-dramas featuring defining moments in the lives of America's legendary entrepreneurs. Our initial episode will feature the story of A.P. Giannini, founder of Bank of America.

We would be honored to have you provide the introduction to the series. This will provide a forum for you to describe your vision of the future of America.

Our shows will be aired on national television and widely distributed as video-cassettes. Proceeds from all commercial aspects of these productions will accrue to the National Italian American Foundation, and be distributed to their educational program.

May God continue to shower you with his grace as you continue your struggle to build a better future.

Sincerely,

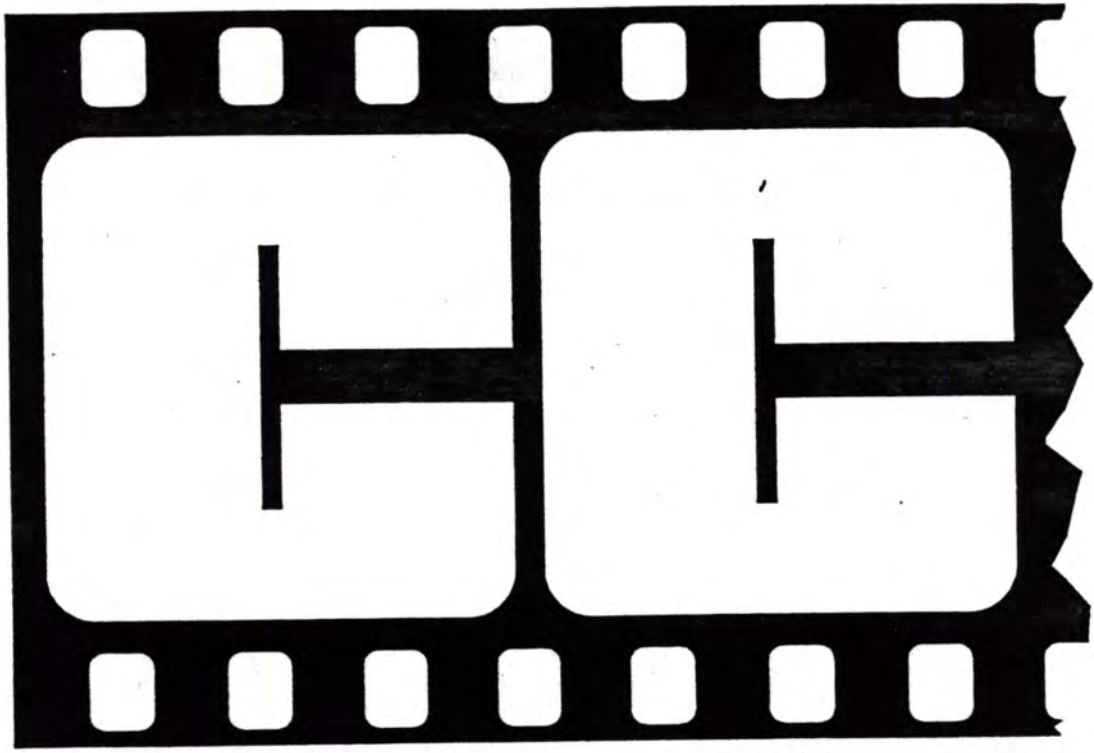
Frank Capra Jr.
Frank Capra, Jr.
Chairman

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*Potus said
hed like to
do. Return Potus* ✓ *zw*

C A P R A



COMMUNICATIONS

Docudrama
Synopsis



A. P. Giannini, the World's Greatest Banker

© Capra Communications, 1994

The production will be a one-hour television special intended to initiate a series featuring the world's most successful entrepreneurs. The format will feature Frank Capra, Jr. as the narrator who takes us through the era of the select entrepreneurs, describing key events in their lives and their impact upon our lives today.

OPENING SCENE—NARRATION

Frank Capra, Jr. is on stage. He is holding a book written by Winston Churchill, standing next to a large blow-up photo of his father working with the PM.

"A love for tradition has never weakened a nation; indeed, it has strengthened nations in their hour of peril; but the new view must come, the world must roll forward."

"It's interesting to note that Winston Churchill told this to Parliament in 1944. He knew that we must always look back to the wisdom provided by our founders, keep their lessons in mind, and forge onward."

Frank puts down the book and walks by 4' x 6' stills of San Francisco in the early 1900s. As he walks he narrates.

"Invariably the people we think of as our greatest entrepreneurs do not have as their primary mission business building. They are risk takers whose vision of change fuels the engine of economic growth and out of whose dreams of innovation comes advancement of the quality of life. The mold of 'tried-and-true' entrepreneurs has even been captured on the big screen. Such individuals belong in the Hall of Fame of our heritage because, in changing the course of events, they open up lasting opportunities for all."

Picture of Henry Ford with his first Model T.

"We think of Henry Ford, whose vision transformed transportation and put America on wheels. By revolutionizing manufacturing into assembly line production, he produced cars at a price average Americans could afford. He helped free the cause of consumerism."

Picture of Bill Gates sitting at a terminal of a modern computer station.

"We think also of Bill Gates, a contemporary paradigm, whose dedication to change has spawned technologies that would have been impossible to imagine in the past. His dream of creating an 'information highway' renders knowledge accessible to many, improving at once the fields of education, medicine, and commerce."

Picture of the first office of the "Bank of Italy."

"Almost one century ago, America redefined economic opportunity, through the audacity of its entrepreneurs. One man, A. P. Giannini, changed the face of banking, and with it, our definition of economic democracy.

"A. P. was unconventional. He extended credit to those seemingly unworthy of it, and made it work on a sound business basis by constantly broadening the bank's pool of credit. In the process, he energized the spirit of free enterprise that builds America. So, in 1904, A. P. founded the Bank of Italy headquartered in San Francisco's North Beach area. He patterned it after his democratic ideals and set out to serve the little people. This bank would be a truly people-driven business.

Picture of the great San Francisco Earthquake.

"Difficult times test great ideas. On April 18, 1906, the earth shakes and the sky burns. In the early morning hours, one of the great earthquakes in California history struck San Francisco. Soon a firestorm engulfs downtown businesses and banks, destroying all in its path. As the fires die, a meeting is called between bankers and business people. The bankers announce they're going to stay closed for six months."

Picture from It's a Wonderful Life featuring George Bailey confronting Potter.

"But A. P. sees things differently. Dad patterned George Bailey confronting Potter from A. P.'s meeting with San Francisco's business leaders. Let's see what happened.

Dramatic Recreation

This scene takes place in a board room in the region of San Francisco. The notable business leaders are present with the then upstart A. P.

The meeting is called to order. The leaders concur that it will take at the very least six months to get their books and records in order before business can resume. A. P. becomes enraged and takes the forum, announcing,

"Gentlemen, to follow the course you are suggesting will be a vital mistake. We've got to fight our way out of this spot. Tomorrow morning I am putting a desk on Washington Street wharf with a Bank of Italy sign over it. I advise all of you bankers to beg, borrow, or steal a desk and follow my example."

Return to Narrator

Picture of watercolor of A. P. manning the bank consisting of wooden planks on top of barrels, topped with a cloth sign reading "Bank of Italy."

"So he did. Amid San Francisco's smoking ruins, A. P. lends money to people whose only collateral is character, calluses, and a handshake. For A. P. that was good enough.

"An associate recalled, 'He had a human instinct, and he would always listen ... he had a feeling of trust in people ... and he never swerved from his inner beliefs that he knew were right.'

Picture of San Francisco being rebuilt.

"A. P.'s leadership made North Beach the first area of San Francisco to be rebuilt. But that wasn't all. A. P.'s experience transformed his life. He had seen first-hand the power of capital put to work for constructive purposes. And it fired his dreams. Think what productive financing could do for communities throughout California and the West.

"A. P. had found his calling. He set out to make people prosper.

Picture of A. P. at work at the bank.

"A.P.'s bank mounted aggressive deposit-taking and lending campaigns. It reached out to Italians, Greeks, Germans, French, Polish, Russian, and Chinese-

speaking peoples. It also began advertising extensively at a time when banks rarely advertised.

Pictures of early ads in many languages.

"Bank of Italy's advertisements extolled 'The Bank for Plain Folks'; and prospective borrowers were enticed with captions like 'Would Money Help You?' A. P. ran the small loan campaign himself, tramping from house to house explaining what the bank could do for common folks.

Picture of housing being built in the 1920s.

"He pioneered school savings programs and personal mortgages with affordable monthly payments, like rent. Now everyone could own his own home."

Picture of the Martinis moving into their house in Bailey Park with George Bailey offering wine and bread at the dedication (It's a Wonderful Life).

Dramatic Recreation

The scene is the open area of the Bank of Italy where A. P. kept his desk. Present is the board of directors. A. P., sitting on his desk, announces, "I'm sick and tired of good people living in substandard housing just because they can't afford to move out. If they can pay rent, they can pay off a loan to buy a house. I've worked out the program; we've got to think long term."

Return to Narrator

Picture of George Bailey's school buddy pulling up in a limousine, inviting George to join him in business (It's a Wonderful Life).

"Dad knew about this and showed it through George Bailey's dedication of the Martini house. He also put in a scene about values. For George, as well as A. P., wealth was not the most important value. In fact they knew it was a trapping. Real wealth, in their view, was the ability to help others fulfill their own dreams.

Pictures of the 1920s, street and farm scenes.

"Like George Bailey, A. P. had an unshakable faith in people and in the power of free-enterprise to grow, small-town America.

Picture of early Hollywood movie set.

"He set about making movie magic. Back in 1908, A. P.'s bank had made its first movie loan ever.

"A. P. lent \$500 to a young man of 18 who had a dream in his eye. That enabled Sol Lesser to buy the theatrical rights of a film. That was the first of many loans to up-and-coming filmmakers. In 1923, he acted as a bridge between Cecil B. DeMille and his production backers.

Picture of set from The Ten Commandments.

"... extending a colossal \$500,000, which permitted completion of *The Ten Commandments*.

Picture of Walt Disney with early depiction of Mickey Mouse.

"A. P. helped countless others. Probably the best known movie story is the one about Walt Disney.

"My father and Walt Disney were close friends. They always said that without A. P. the movies and Hollywood as we know them today would have developed more slowly. All of the great Disney full-length animations were made by combining Disney's creations with A. P. visionary support.

Dramatic Recreation

The time is the 1930s; the scene is a screening room at the nascent Disney Studio. Walt Disney is standing before the screen. A. P. and his brother Doc Giannini are the sole audience.

Disney tells the story of the making of Snow White, and how it had to be scrapped and redone using a modern, more multi-dimensional animation technique. He tells the Gianninis he can't raise the money to finance this, but in his heart he knows it will work.

The lights dim, and 2 brief segments of the film are shown.

Doc Giannini concludes the meeting telling Walt they will get back to him. Walking back to their car with Walt, A. P. turns to Walt and tells him, "Walt, you're going to make a great deal of money with this picture. See Doc and work out the details."

Narrator

"That marked the beginning of a long relationship between Walt Disney and Bank of America. During the Depression when the film industry's capital was drying up, A. P. continued to support it by offering studios loans at 6%, not the going 20%. A. P. instinctively knew that the film industry would be good for California.

"He helped my father who immortalized A. P. on the screen in *American Madness* and *It's a Wonderful Life*. In each film the banker-entrepreneur was the hero whose vision of bettering society was guided by the twin themes of helping the little person reach down inside of himself to turn dreams into reality, and who in time would see the trust fulfilled. This was the stuff from which California was built. As A. P. said himself, 'In everything we do we are actuated by one motive—to build our neighborhood, our community, our state. In that we are building a better America.'

Pictures of building in the 1930s

"Glamorous movie making is not the only testament to A. P.'s vision. Some of the longest established businesses, schools, and structures in California go back to A. P.'s special brand of banking, including the Golden Gate Bridge.

Picture of the Golden Gate Bridge

"Back in the 1920s, engineer Joseph Strauss wanted to build a bridge between San Francisco and Marin County but he met with resistance. He had to fight through 2,000 lawsuits filed by skeptics and special interest groups. Finally, in 1932 Joseph came to A. P. and said, 'If Bank of America does not buy these bonds, this bridge will not be built.' A. P. asked, 'How long will this bridge last?,' to which Strauss replied, 'Forever.' In 1933, the Golden Gate Bridge was begun.

Picture of A. P. in "New" Bank of America headquarters.

"As A. P.'s bank grew and grew, A. P. never lost touch with those he served. He led by example to ensure that every branch stayed rooted in the little people's

needs. Soon A. P. realized that everything he had done in California could be replicated nationally. He could bring his brand of caring banking nationwide.

"To do this he had to consolidate his east and west coast bastions—two Bank of Americas, which would be fused and owned in common through an organization named Transamerica Corporation. As part of the consolidation, old shareholders would become new Transamerica owners. In keeping with A. P.'s philosophy that his banks should be owned by the small people, shares were distributed to small savers who were encouraged to purchase outright five to ten shares each.

Picture of A. P. leaving San Francisco for Switzerland.

"By 1930, A. P. was very ill with polyneuritis. He thought the plan was on course and entered a clinic in Switzerland. At that time, he had appointed Elisha Walker as the new head of Transamerica. Walker, as it turned out, had

little empathy for A. P.'s convictions. With the Depression fueling a wave of withdrawals from the bank, Walker seized the moment to begin liquidation of Transamerica's holdings. And all that A. P. had created would culminate in the most famous shareholder proxy fight ever—a fight that would pitch capitalism for the few against economic democracy for the many.

Picture of A. P. and Mario Giannini after Walker's takeover.

"A. P.'s struggle to regain control of the bank was a matter of life or death. Winning meant opening the bank up to the many and giving them access to capital once again. A. P. rose from his sick bed, then returned to California where he barnstormed town after town explaining to Transamerica's owners the damage to their interests the Walker regime would levy. No compromise was possible. It would be either Walker or A. P.

Dramatic Recreation

The scene takes place in a school auditorium filled with Transamerica stockholders and bank employees. A sixty-year-old woman who counted on dividends from her Transamerica stock to pay the rent declares a lack of faith in the new management, stating, "Things would be different under A. P." And another shareholder echoes, "If Walker has a plan for distribution that is fair, why doesn't he tell us about it?"

A. J. Scampini, a young attorney and supporter of the Gianninis, speaks to the crowd damning the Walker regime.

This is followed by the quiet demeanor of A. P., who asks the crowd for their support...

The scene changes to an office where A. P., Mario, and A. J. Scampini are awaiting the outcome of the election from Wilmington, Delaware.

Mario and A. J. tell of their fears of losing, and how difficult it is to overcome entrenched powers. A. P. is silent.

The phone rings and we see an excited reporter telling them they've won. Against all odds, Transamerica's stockholders cast 15 million votes out of 24 million shares for A. P. Giannini and against Elisha Walker.

Return to Narrator

"The little people had spoken. A. P.'s bank had helped them prosper, and now they sided with him in his hour of greatest need.

Picture of George Bailey with his friends returning the graces he offered them (It's a Wonderful Life).

"Even though that memorable scene still brings tears to my eyes, Dad was always thankful that A. P. provided him with the material. I always thought it was Dad's way of saluting A. P.'s greatness.

"For A. P. as for George Bailey, the little people had returned the faith of the man who had served them. The trust was fulfilled. The blessings were returned."

Dramatic Recreation—Conclusion

A. P. is seen chairing a board meeting in 1945. The other directors cheer when the bank's comptroller tells A. P., "Bank of America just surpassed Chase National of New York and is now the world's largest bank."

Picture of A.P. as Founder-Chairman.

Narrator Conclusion

"A. P. didn't set out to build the world's largest bank. When he was asked what his greatest contribution was he said, 'I think I am most proud of anything I may have done to help with the humanization of banking.'

"At his death A. P. left a modest estate. In fact, it is argued that he had been wealthier when he started the bank than at the end of his life. Instead, by focusing on the hopes and dreams of America's diverse population groups, he helped working people everywhere fulfill their potential.

"Like George Bailey, A. P. brought the American Dream within the reach of the average person."

Voiceover of A.P.: "Bank of America is a little man's bank, and I intend . . . that it will always continue to be that." Photos of Bank of America flash by.

Closing Credits

Montage of Photographs of A. P.

#

HE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/5

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 2, 1994 94 OCT 31 P7:26

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Melanne Verveer

RE: National Medal of Arts

We have learned in the past 24 hours that Lena Horne, one of your choices to receive the 1994 National Medal of Arts, will be unable to receive the award this year for personal reasons and would like to be considered another time. The National Endowment for the Arts has recommended **Harry Belafonte** as a most deserving replacement to receive the medal on October 14th. As you know, Belafonte is a legendary black-American singer and actor who is best known for his Calypso style songs.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Alan Wurtzel
FROM: Frank Mankiewicz 
DATE: October 3, 1994

It seems to me the Republicans have made us a clear gift -- another Houston -- in their "Contract with America."

First of all, every spokesperson, the DNC, and every Democratic candidate should refer from here on that the Republicans have "put out a contract on America" -- they want to kill the recovery.

They propose to increase defense spending (against whom?), cut taxes for the wealthy, and balance the budget. As Reagan discovered, there is not enough in Social Security and Medicare to accomplish this voodoo mission. In twelve years, this program added \$3 trillion to the deficit, which President Clinton has begun to reduce.

This is the best thing to happen to the Democratic Party since Richard Nixon.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/5

~~WON HILLER~~
DSC

WHITE HOUSE NEWS REPORT
Tuesday, October 4, 1994

AP Daybook.....i

8:30 a.m. The Commerce Department releases the **Index of Leading Economic Indicators for August**.

TBD An Equifax-Louis Harris & Associates survey featuring a "Distrust Index" based on public attitudes about **faith in government and the value of voting** is released on the first day of a Privacy & America Business Conference, "Managing the Privacy Revolution."

9:00 a.m. **Secretary Reich** speaks on the changing role of business in the global economy at the Financial Executives Institute's conference. Grand Hyatt, 1000 H St., NW.

9:30 a.m. Senate Foreign Relations hearing on **U.S. assistance to Russia** and the other republics of the former Soviet Union. 419 DSOB.

10:00 a.m. The International Insurance Council discusses the **U.S.-Japan trade agreement** and GATT. 1212 New York Ave., NW.

10:00 a.m. Rep. Bob Livingston (R-La.) holds a news availability to discuss what he says is a little-known provision of the **GATT** "which guarantees a \$2 billion giveaway to the communications corporations of The Washington Post, The Atlanta Constitution and one other company." House Radio-TV Gallery.

10:30 a.m. Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry business meeting on S. 2467, the **GATT**. 332 RSOB.

10:00 a.m. Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation hearing on S. 2467, the **GATT**. 253 RSOB.

10:00 a.m. Senate Labor and Human Resources hearing on the Job Corps program with **Secretary Reich**. 430 DSOB.

10:30 a.m. Representatives of Families USA, the National Mental Health Association, the Service Employees International Union and the National Farmers Union join Sen. Wofford (D-Penn.) at a news conference to support his efforts to **cut off private health insurance coverage that members of Congress have** through the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program until Congress makes such a program available to other Americans. 468 DSOB.

10:30 a.m. John Aldersdice, head of the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland, discusses the **IRA ceasefire** and its implications for peace in Northern Ireland. National Press Club.

11:00 a.m. **The President** participates in the arrival ceremony for South African President Mandela. South Lawn.

11:00 a.m. Rep. Marcy Kaptur holds a news conference with a bipartisan group of colleagues to release a letter to House Speaker Foley encouraging postponement of a vote on the **GATT**. 2168 RHOB.

11:00 a.m. Memorial Service to honor Col. Charles Shelton, the last American listed as a **prisoner of war**. Arlington National Cemetery.

11:30 a.m. Senate Foreign Relations Committee vote on the **confirmation of Robert Pastor to be Ambassador to Panama**. 419 DSOB.

11:40 a.m. **The President meets with President Mandela**. White House.

12:15 p.m. **Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres** speaks at a National Press Club Newsmaker program. National Press Club.

12:30 p.m. **Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams** speaks to the National Press Club.

1:00 p.m. **Secretary Ron Brown, Robert Rubin, and Export-Import Bank Chair Ken Brody** hold a briefing on the Administration's National Export Strategy second year report to Congress on Wednesday.; and an update on **GATT**. 180 OEOB.

2:45 p.m. Representatives from a number of organizations concerning food and agricultural interests join U.S. Trade Rep. Kantor and members of Congress at a news conference to support the **GATT**. SC-10 Capitol.

3:00 p.m. House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on **South Africa** with Assistant Secretary of State Moose and others. 2172 RHOB.

3:30 p.m. **Lamar Alexander and William Bennett** of Empower America hold a news conference as part of an effort to kill the **Elementary and Secondary Education Act** authorization. 1776 I St., NW, Suite 890.

4:00 p.m. **Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams** meets with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. S-116 Capitol.

8:00 p.m. **The President hosts a State Dinner for President Mandela**.

9:00 p.m. CNN's "Larry King Live" with **Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams**.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{10/5}

Rasno / Galston
What's their
argument?
PS

Fading Force A1

Anti-Iran Guerrillas Lose Disciples but Gain Friends in Washington

Mujahedeen Khalq in Iraq,
Claims to Be Democratic
But Suppresses Dissent

Beatings, Jailings, Divorces

By PETER WALDMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

AL KHALIS, Iraq — On a barren flood plain near the Iranian border, Massoud Rajavi surveys his army.

"Advance!" orders the leader of the Mujahedeen Khalq, or the People's Holy Warriors, the only armed Iranian group still fighting Tehran's Islamic regime.

Firing live ammunition, foot soldiers backed by about 300 tanks and armored vehicles smash through an imaginary division of Iran's Revolutionary Guards. By the end of the exercise, the enemy is reduced to smoldering sand berms—"proof," Mr. Rajavi says, that his forces are ready for their "Operation Overthrow" blitz to Tehran against 13 battle-hardened divisions of real guardsmen.

"For the mullahs," says Mr. Rajavi, referring to Iran's clerical leaders, "time is running out."

With the Iranian government still viewed by the international community as a sponsor of terrorism, the Mujahedeen is pumping up its claim as the "legitimate democratic alternative" to the Tehran regime. The group, largely sponsored by Iran's Arab enemies, has an army,

a parliament in exile, even an "elected future president of Iran" — the 45-year-old Mr. Rajavi's third wife, Maryam, 41.

Most important, it has growing support in Washington, where majorities of both houses of Congress have endorsed the group's drive to bring "freedom and democracy" to Iran. In April, the lawmakers approved a measure requiring the Clinton administration to submit a report on the group this month, a hopeful prelude, Mr. Rajavi says, to future U.S. financial backing.

In a letter to Mr. Rajavi last year, Democratic Sen. Howell Heflin of Alabama praised the group's political arm for representing "all those who truly believe in freedom and human rights."

One problem: The Mujahedeen Khalq remains widely feared and discredited among the Iranian people. Today, some Iranians say, it is the only group less popular than the Islamic regime itself. Tehran has been blaming the group for nearly everything that goes wrong in Iran.

Once Iran's most powerful opposition movement, the Mujahedeen has become



Maryam Rajavi

an authoritarian personality cult on the dusty plains of eastern Iraq, former members say. Some adherents who challenge the infallibility of the *rahbar*, or guide, as Mr. Rajavi is called, are beaten and jailed, they say. And some members who ask to leave Iraq — where Mr. Rajavi arrived from

Paris in 1986 to build his army during the Iran-Iraq war — are put in solitary confinement for months, escapees say.

"Massoud Rajavi is Iran's Pol Pot," says Abdul Karim Lahidji, a Paris-based human-rights lawyer who, for two years after Iran's 1979 revolution, was the Mujahedeen Khalq's lawyer in Tehran. Now, as a legal adviser on refugees for France's Foreign Ministry, Mr. Lahidji fields letters from members trapped inside Iraq and debriefs those who manage to escape.

Mr. Rajavi's special envoy, Mohammad Mohaddessin, in response to written queries by The Wall Street Journal, denies that any Mujahedeen Khalq members have been imprisoned, beaten or kept against their will in Iraq.

Nevertheless, former members, now living as refugees across Europe, describe a "liberation" movement gone wrong. With the help of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, who some suspect nourishes the Mujahedeen Khalq as a bargaining chip with Iran, Mr. Rajavi has sustained the illusion of strength by mounting occasional war games and cross-border raids. Yet the group's only major offensive in the past six years came in 1991, just after the Gulf War, when Saddam Hussein ordered Mr. Rajavi to help quell a Kurdish revolt in northern Iraq, participants in that operation say.

"Saddam looked on the Mujahedeen as more loyal than some of his own army units," a Clinton administration official says.

To keep busy, Mujahedeen Khalq fighters spend most days servicing the Soviet-made weapons on loan to the group from Baghdad, former members say. They also write detailed reports for their superiors: Bunkmates inform on bunkmates, siblings tell on siblings and spouses spy on spouses, former members say. The group's leaders deny this.

The rare dissident is publicly humiliated, jailed and sometimes beaten until "wrong-thinking" is confessed, these ex-members say. Those who ask to leave Iraq are often accused of betrayal and threatened with death. After weeks or months of incarceration, the members usually are handed over to Iraqi authorities, who confine them to refugee camps until the United Nations can place them abroad, say escapees and U.N. officials.

Most children of Mujahedeen Khalq troops are raised in members' custody in Europe. Some nonmember parents, alleging they have been denied access, say the children are being held "hostage." In the 1980s, members who wanted to marry needed permission from the group's leadership, which often selected their spouses and arranged group weddings.

About five years ago, Mr. Rajavi ordered all married fighters to divorce, according to former members then in Iraq. "Rajavi said we must forget everyone else and love only him," says one man who was in the group for 16 years before escaping to Europe in 1992. (Saying they feared retribution by the Mujahedeen Khalq or the Iranian regime, former members agreed to be interviewed only if their names weren't published.)

The assertion that Mr. Rajavi ordered members to divorce "is a distortion of the facts without any basis in truth," Mr. Mohaddessin, the special envoy, writes in response to the Journal. "The reality is that the [Mujahedeen] is based in the territory of a country where... family life became impossible." Likewise, Mr. Mohaddessin states, the children of fighters were sent abroad, "as per the wishes of their parents," to live with relatives "other Iranians who volunteered."

In his letter, Mr. Mohaddessin suggests that the former Mujahedeen Khalq members interviewed for this article may be agents of the Iranian government. "All of the issues raised [in the Journal's questions to the group] are routinely used in the propaganda of the rulers and media of the Iranian regime," he writes. Far from being a personality cult, the letter says, "The Mujahedeen is a deeply democratic organization whose guiding principle on all issues is referendum and discussion until a consensus is reached."

The Mujahedeen Khalq portrayed by former members is a far cry from the group's polished image in the West. Starting in the mid-1980s, the group, under the name of its National Council of Resistance, set out to erase its association with a rabidly anti-Western ideology.

Western-educated members were dispatched to world capitals to promote a new image of Mr. Rajavi as a committed democrat. Mujahedeen offices began deluging Western news organizations with news releases purporting to describe the latest atrocities in Iran and offering "intelligence" on the political machinations in Tehran. In August, for example, the group told reporters that it had proof of Iranian involvement in the bombing of a Jewish center in Buenos Aires that killed at least 100 people. But U.S. intelligence analysts have concluded that the Mujahedeen's information is generally "unreliable," a senior U.S. official says.

Mujahedeen front groups, such as the Iranian-American Lawyers' Association and the Association of Iranian-American Scholars, according to this official, shower Congress with letters. And they organize protests — most recently in Washington in July — in which devotees chant anti-Iranian slogans and show support for Mr. Rajavi.

The high point of the group's political campaign so far was when Mr. Mohaddessin, the Rajavi envoy, was honored last year at a reception attended by more than 200 guests on Capitol Hill. Introducing Mr. Mohaddessin that night, Rep. Robert Andrews, a sponsor of the fete, called him "someone who has studied and learned the principles of democracy and the rule of law." The New Jersey Democrat also praised Mr. Mohaddessin's "acclaimed" book, "Islamic Fundamentalism: The New Global Threat."

Published last year by the Mujahedeen Khalq itself, the book rewrites substantial parts of the group's history. It never mentions, for example, the group's early support for Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Likewise, the book describes the 444-day seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran as the start of the "clerical regime's experimentation with terrorism." Yet it doesn't report that the group itself supported the taking of U.S. hostages and that it berated the regime for "capitulating to imperialism" when the captives were freed.

Mr. Mohaddessin says the Mujahedeen had only pretended to support the hostage-taking to escape being branded "American puppets" by the regime.

2/2
Still, the State Department has long promoted contacts with the Mujahedeen Khalq. In 1991, a department spokesman said the group's terrorist activities had caused 10,000 deaths inside Iran. The group's friends in Congress are pushing to lift the ban. "The State Department's views of this group are uninformed and extremely dated," says Democratic Rep. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey, who is one of the group's strongest backers in Washington.

As far back as the 1960s, the group's founders were jailed and most were slain in the 1970s by Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's secret police.

For post-revolutionary Iran, the Mujahedeen posed the only serious internal threat. After the Islamic revolution, the Mujahedeen Khalq broke with the Khomeini regime over the ayatollah's refusal to adopt the group's Marxist agenda, according to "The Iranian Mujahedeen," a book by Ervand Abrahamian, a City University of New York historian. Over the next two years, the group campaigned for democracy and social reform, amassing a huge following. Its "liberation theology," which based its critique of capitalism and imperialism on a novel interpretation of Shiite Islam, was particularly popular among educated Iranians.

The conflict culminated in June 1981, when Revolutionary Guards killed 50 people at a Mujahedeen rally in Tehran.

Together, Mr. Rajavi and Iran's then-president, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, fled to Paris. From France, Mr. Rajavi directed guerrilla attacks inside Iran, while he and Mr. Bani-Sadr gathered support for the "Democratic Islamic Republic" they vowed to install in Tehran.

To seal their "covenant," as they called it, Mr. Rajavi married Mr. Bani-Sadr's daughter. The nuptials came just months after Mr. Rajavi's first wife, Ashraf Rabbii, had been killed by troops in Tehran. The couple's infant son, who survived, was shown on Iran's state-run television lying across his mother's corpse.

"The Bani-Sadr wedding was when people realized something was changing in the movement," says Mina Rabbii, a former Mujahedeen activist and Ashraf's sister. "Suddenly the martyr's husband was marrying an 11-year-old girl in a modern style."

Between 1981 and 1985, Iranian troops, acting on a decree from the ayatollah, killed thousands of Mujahedeen supporters, all but wiping out the group in Iran. In Paris, Mr. Rajavi's alliance with the Bani-Sadr dissolved when Mr. Rajavi sided with the Iraqis in their war with Iran. He and his wife were divorced.

Mr. Rajavi's marriage to Maryam Azodanlu, the little-known wife of his chief aide, completed the group's transformation from a movement to a cult, ex-members say. In 1985, with his popularity dwindling among Iranians for having embraced Iraq, Mr. Rajavi named her co-leader. A few months later, they wed.

In its publications, the Mujahedeen Khalq trumpeted the new Mrs. Rajavi's status as a triumph for feminism, a great "ideological revolution" for Iranian women and the whole Muslim world. This new co-leader, as the group pointed out, was intended to highlight the Tehran government's ill-treatment of women.

The apotheosis had begun. After the wedding, the group published a series of testimonials to Mr. Rajavi's godly stature, including a comparison of the marriage to one of the prophet Mohammed's weddings described in the Koran. Supporters extolled Mr. Rajavi for acting as "God's light" and being a "gift" to mankind. Ultimately, the group officially proclaimed him "infallible" and "sinless," says a former member of the group's central council.

Mr. Mohaddessin says "the only correct term" for Mr. Rajavi is "leader." All other references "are absolutely bogus."

In its publications, the group divided the world into two camps: those with the Mujahedeen Khalq and those against it. Iranian exiles who publicly criticized the group were accused of collaborating with the Islamic regime and branded as "traitors" and "gutter filth." Ex-members say the group also incorrectly told the police in some European nations that certain exiles were Iranian agents.

"They attack all groups and exiles who don't agree with them," says Mr. Lahidji, the human-rights lawyer, who says Mujahedeen publications have accused him of working with Tehran.

Today, the Rajavis' control remains absolute. At his palatial headquarters in Baghdad, Mr. Rajavi explains how the Mujahedeen Khalq's army, with Iranians rising in support, will need just "one, maybe two weeks" to conquer Iran. Over a feast of fresh fruit, meat and two kinds of fish—extraordinary in today's embargo-ravaged Iraq—he says the group gets its money from Iranians abroad, and claims it collected \$45 million last year. He says the Mujahedeen now favors democracy and free enterprise, and he defends his decision to fight from Iraq.

"Does anyone have a better place?" he asks. "California?"

For the eight years Mr. Rajavi has been in Iraq, he has continually promised followers that they will soon be marching to Tehran. He was stunned, former members say, when, in 1988, Ayatollah Khomeini agreed to end the war with Iraq; the accord was a Mujahedeen nightmare that Mr. Rajavi had vowed would never happen.

A week after the cease-fire was announced, Mr. Rajavi, reasoning that the regime was ripe for overthrow, ordered his entire force of about 4,000 troops to invade Iran with almost no heavy weapons as backup. Each brigade was assigned a specific province to liberate. Dissidents were dispatched to the front lines. In the ensuing slaughter, Iran's guardsmen killed more than 1,500 Mujahedeen.

Since then, Saddam Hussein has kept the group on a tight leash. When Ayatollah Khomeini died in 1989, Mr. Rajavi put his troops on alert for another invasion. Iraq said no. In 1991, after the group suppressed the Kurds, its tanks were turned back from the Iranian border by Baghdad, a participant in that operation says.

Mr. Mohaddessin, in his letter, denies that the Mujahedeen helped suppress the

Kurds. Rather, he writes, some Kurd groups joined Iranian forces in attacking the Mujahedeen at the time.

Today, the Mujahedeen Khalq would say how many soldiers it has — "enough to topple the regime," Mr. Rajavi says. But a former member who recently fled Iraq says there are fewer than 700 fighters.

Leaving isn't easy. One escapee, a former commander in the engineering corps, says his troubles began when he questioned the operation against the Kurds. He also was upset, he says, at having to attend group meetings, run by the Rajavis, in which members were forced to describe sex with their spouses and confess to masturbating. After asking to leave Iraq, he was publicly beaten and jailed for three months, he says. Eventually, he was sent to the U.N.-run Ramadi refugee camp near Baghdad. Another Iranian opposition group helped him gain asylum in Europe.

Asked about these charges, Mr. Mohaddessin says the Mujahedeen has helped "a significant number" of Iranian refugees flee to Europe through the Ramadi camp, for "humanitarian" reasons. He says the allegations of several former members that they were pressured to confess sexual secrets before the group "are total nonsense fabricated by these elusive 'former members.'"

Representatives of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees confirm that they have handled many cases of Mujahedeen Khalq members on the run. In the past three years, the UNHCR office in Turkey alone has resettled more than 120 members fleeing Iraq. Most of them were too scared to talk about their ordeal, U.N. officers say, but a few reported having been beaten and imprisoned by the Mujahedeen.

Others have fled west across the desert into Israel. Says one: "I'll never be the same again. Being in the Mujahedeen was like being a machine."

In Washington, Rep. James Traficant has a different view. Says the Ohio Democrat's chief of staff: "The congressman feels that the Rajavis represent the best chance for democracy in Iran."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/5

THE WHITE HOUSE

~~Nancy~~-

Attached are
Sen. Conrad's
campaign ad
scripts that
I mentioned to
the President
yesterday. He
said he wanted
to see them.

Thanks -

SPB

Hitcher

Very good ad - should
be shown w/ DSCC, ACCG
if not already -

B.

GREER, MARGOLIS,
MITCHELL, BURNS
GMMB&A
& ASSOCIATES, INC.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/5

TO: Susan Brophy
FR: Jim Margolis
DT: October 3, 1994
RE: Conrad ads

Post-It™ Fax Note	7671	Date	10/3	# of pages	4
To	Susan Brophy		From	Jim Margolis	
Co./Dept.			Co.		
Phone #			Phone #		
Fax #			Fax #		

Kent felt strongly that we should do an extended-length spot, explaining and defending the President and Democrats in the Senate on last year's budget vote. You will find attached our two-minute ad regarding that issue.

In response to our spot, our opponent, Ben Clayburgh, hit back with an attack ad that included the now common charge that we are a clone of Bill Clinton.

In response to the response ad, we produced a spot of Kent speaking directly to camera, noting the meaninglessness of the Clayburgh charges given the fact that most votes are nonpartisan. We made clear the point that Kent votes independently, with the President when he thinks he's right, and contrary to the President when he's in disagreement with the Administration policies.

I think you will agree after reviewing the script that the media, in its desire to write the story the way they wanted to, has totally taken out-of-context the 30-second "Independent" ad.

If you have any questions, please contact me at my office.

Friends of Kent Conrad
TV 2:00
g:\conrad\bud4
"Charts"
9/2/94 KC94-120 FINAL

GREER, MARGOLIS,
MITCHELL, BURNS
GMMB&A
& ASSOCIATES, INC.

VIDEO

Fade to white screen. CG: A
Message from Kent Conrad.

Fade up on KC in his office at
table. Superhead: The Forum.
Clayburgh's distortions not
helpful.

AUDIO

(KC, SYNC) FOR MONTHS, MY OPPONENT
HAS MADE ONE ATTACK AFTER ANOTHER.
THE FARGO FORUM HAS EVEN WRITTEN
THAT HE HAS REPEATEDLY
MISREPRESENTED MY RECORD.

NOW HE'S DISTORTING MY VOTE ON LAST
YEAR'S BUDGET PLAN.

HE SAYS THE PLAN HAS HURT OUR
ECONOMY.

BUT THE FACTS SHOW JUST THE
OPPOSITE... THAT VOTE WAS EXACTLY
THE RIGHT THING TO DO.

WE'VE GOT A BIG DEFICIT PROBLEM... IT'S
BEEN SOARING OUT OF CONTROL... AND
THE MORE WE GO INTO DEBT, THE
HARDER IT IS TO PAY FOR THINGS WE
REALLY NEED... LIKE SCHOOLS, ROADS,
POLICE OR LOWERING TAXES.

* IT HAD TO STOP. AND THE BUDGET PLAN
BEGAN TO DO IT.

KC holds up Chart 1: "1994
Deficit"

* THIS CHART SHOWS WHAT WE DID... WE
REDUCED THIS YEAR'S DEFICIT 28%.
SOME \$85 BILLION DOLLARS OF SAVINGS.

"Deficit 1992--1995."

* IN FACT THE DEFICIT'S GOING TO BE
REDUCED 3 YEARS IN A ROW... FOR THE
FIRST TIME SINCE HARRY TRUMAN WAS
PRESIDENT.

Cut to close up of KC.

THAT'S A BIG CHANGE.

OUR OPPONENTS SAID THE PLAN WOULD
CRATER THE ECONOMY. BUT THEY WERE
WRONG ABOUT THAT, TOO.

LET'S TAKE A LOOK AT THE FACTS...

KC shows Chart 2: "Economic Growth Up"

✓ ECONOMIC GROWTH IS UP ...

"Business Investment Up"

✓ BUSINESS INVESTMENT IS UP ...

"Job Growth Up"

✓ NEW JOBS ARE UP ...

Cut to close up of KC.

TWO KEY ELEMENTS IN THE BUDGET PLAN HELPED THIS HAPPEN...

KC holds up Chart 3:

✓ FIRST, WE CUT PROJECTED SPENDING...
\$255 BILLION OVER FIVE YEARS...
SERIOUS CUTS.

"Cut projected spending \$255 billion over 5 years."

Close up of KC.

✓ THEN WE SAID IT'S TIME THE WEALTHIEST 1%... THOSE WHO GOT ALL THE BREAKS IN THE 80'S... PAY A LITTLE MORE INCOME TAX.

"1400 wealthy North Dakotans pay higher rates."

✓ IN ALL, 1400 NORTH DAKOTANS MAKING OVER \$140,000 A YEAR WERE ASKED TO PAY HIGHER INCOME TAX RATES, WHILE 29,000 WORKING NORTH DAKOTA FAMILIES QUALIFIED FOR INCOME TAX RELIEF.

"29,000 working families qualified for income tax cuts."

Cut back to KC.

WE STILL HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO... MORE CUTS NEED TO BE MADE... AND I'LL ALWAYS FIGHT UNFAIR TAXES, LIKE THE ENERGY TAX...

BUT WE'RE MAKING PROGRESS AND REBUILDING OUR ECONOMY...

Fade up logo. Disclaimer.

* AND THAT'S WHY THE BUDGET VOTE WAS SO IMPORTANT TO NORTH DAKOTA'S FUTURE.

Friends of Kent Conrad
g:\conrad\kcindep
TV :30
"Independent" **A**
9/2/94 KC94-119 FINAL

AUDIO

VIDEO

Fade to KC in office. CG: Kent Conrad.

Push in.

Fade up logo. Disclaimer.

(KENT CONRAD, SYNC) MY OPPONENT CLAIMS I VOTE WITH THE PRESIDENT A MAJORITY OF THE TIME. THAT'S A MEANINGLESS STATISTIC. MOST VOTES ARE NONPARTISAN.

FOR EXAMPLE, A MAJORITY OF THE TIME I VOTE WITH REPUBLICAN LEADER, BOB DOLE.

I SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT WHEN I THINK HE'S RIGHT -- ON A TOUGH CRIME BILL, CUTTING THE DEFICIT, STOPPING CANADIAN GRAIN.

AND I OPPOSE HIS POLICIES WHEN THEY'RE WRONG FOR NORTH DAKOTA -- LIKE NAFTA, AN ENERGY TAX, CUTS FOR RURAL ELECTRICS.

I CAST MY VOTE FOR NORTH DAKOTA.