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Awards

Beijing — *melanne gary m*

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Richard Cohen

... Hearsay From a Fuddy-Duddy

On June 26, the Wall Street Journal reprinted much of Paula Jones's legal complaint against Bill Clinton, a document that never would have made it through customs years ago, never mind onto the editorial page of a major American newspaper. The paper justified such slumming by saying that since the Supreme Court had delayed adjudication of Jones's suit, "the public has a right to know" her allegations. The Journal believes in full disclosure—firmly, unequivocally, but not all of the time.

It made an exception for Gary W. Aldrich, the former FBI agent who has charged in a new book that Clinton sometimes sneaked out of the White House and went to the nearby Marriott. There, he assigned with a woman who, he said, may have been a celebrity but, as he now has had to concede, may not even have existed—the very ultimate in safe sex, I should say. What Aldrich stated as fact is just sheer rumor.

Yet the Journal on June 13 published an essay by Aldrich about how several hundred FBI files somehow wound up in the White House. Among other things, he said that Craig Livingstone was "hand-picked" as White House security director by, of all people, Hillary Clinton herself. The Journal identified the hitherto obscure Aldrich as "an investigative writer, retired from the FBI in June 1995." Not a word about his book. Not a word about his passionate hatred for the Clintons.

Where the Journal rushed in, other newspapers did not fear to tread. The New York Post printed the gist of what Aldrich charged in his book, and so did the Washington Times.

Josette Shiner, the Washington Times's managing editor, had a ready explanation: "What's the difference between Bob Woodward's book and this?" Well, for starters Woodward has either written or co-written seven best-selling books and not a one of them has been impeached—and neither, for that matter, has his Washington Post reporting. I know Bob Woodward, Ms. Shiner, and believe me he's no Gary Aldrich.

In fact, the retired G-man has little by little conceded that he doesn't know what he's talking about. The Clinton-to-the-Marriott revelation turns out to be sheer hearsay. Aldrich got the rumor from David Brock, a writer for the conservative American Spectator, who had seized it out of the Washington *Zeitgeist* and was appalled that Aldrich used it without checking. I, too, heard this rumor, although my version featured a more charming hotel with Clinton entering from an alley. I considered a stakeout, but feared running in to Bob Novak in the dark.

Aldrich's other allegations are collapsing one by one as he is being asked how he came to know what he says he knows. It turns out, for instance, that he really doesn't know how Livingstone got his job (maybe he was a desk clerk at the Marriott, Gary), and he knows nothing firsthand about why Vincent Foster committed suicide.

As for the things he does know, they turn out to be just plain weirdly trivial. He knew for instance that a certain female White House staffer did not wear underwear and that another wore Space shoes. The young

Clintonites were an unruly, unkempt bunch. His hatred for the Clintons and their aides is both apparent and transparent. The Clintonites may be slobbs, but Aldrich is a fuddy-duddy.

If there is an investigation to be launched here—yet another job for the special prosecutor—it would be to determine how someone like Aldrich got to carry a badge and a gun. Aren't FBI agents trained to distinguish between rumor and fact? Don't they know the difference between hearsay and evidence? Do they care so little about the bureau's reputation that they risk trashing it to settle a personal or political vendetta?

A second area of inquiry, although no business of the government's, is why some elements of the media think their hatred for Clinton justifies abandoning normal journalistic prudence. Aldrich should be nothing more than a point of departure: Listen to what he has to say, and then have it checked out. To simply accept his word on what, after all, are some pretty serious charges is just plain irresponsible.

As for the Clinton White House, it has once again proven itself the master of the double-reverse publicity full-twist off the high board. It yelled so loudly about Aldrich's appearance on ABC's "This Week with David Brinkley" that half the country must have tuned in. What it saw was the sort of FBI agent that J. Edgar Hoover would have loved—politically orthodox, socially conservative and dumb as a post. If guys like him are in the bureau, I'd prefer my file to be at the White House.

Amy E. Schwartz

Work vs. Family—Too Many Secrets

Earlier this month, as the annual flood of fathering and mothering rhetoric from Father's Day and Mother's Day crested and began to ebb, President Clinton added a few well-chosen but wholly unreported drops of verbiage to the topic in a speech at Glendale Community College. After reiterating his Princeton commencement offer of a tax credit to ease payment of tuition—the part of the speech that got the headlines—the president pointed out that his listeners, working at jobs and classes and child-raising simultaneously, are engaged in “hard, hard work.”

We need, he said, to think about how a society would look “in which people can succeed at work and at home.”

How can you be successful in your job or in a series of jobs over a lifetime and be successful in building a family? How can you do well raising children as well as going to work every day, and if necessary, going back to school over and over again for a lifetime? And if

you think about it, any great society that forces people to make a choice in the end is going to fail. If you have to fail at home in order to succeed at work, we're in trouble. But if the only way you can succeed at home is to fail at work, we're in trouble.

This is so sensible an observation, in line with the fears and preoccupations of a vast cohort of young parents, and yet so glaringly absent otherwise from the usual exhortations to those parents—especially, still, mothers—to spend more time with their kids, that its failure to attract any press coverage was unnerving. No news story I saw so much as mentioned the work-family part of the speech, though wire services carried the full transcript; some stories discussed the tuition tax credit plan, others led with Clinton's gracious remarks on the occasion of Bob Dole's Senate retirement.

The same relative silence marked the next week's “Family Reunion” summit in Nashville, where both the

First and Second Couples talked at length about work and family issues. It wasn't on front pages when the president issued a call for corporations to adopt a variety of small-scale “family flexibility” policies that are supposed to let parents coordinate their hours better—for instance, a guarantee of 24 hours' unpaid leave a year to attend school functions or teacher meetings.

Doesn't anybody think this stuff worth discussing? The president's words were unusual in being framed so as to apply to both fathers and mothers, recognizing the career-family issue as a struggle for both parents even if one is the major breadwinner and the other has taken a few years off. But congressional Republicans too have taken up the flexibility theme. A group of Republican women offered a proposal that avoids mandating anything and leaves the actual granting of flextime in employers' hands. But it shares enough points with Clinton's plan that the Dole cam-

paign responded to the latter by accusing the president of stealing yet another conservative initiative.

That flexibility for both parents would be claimed as a conservative issue shows how far this discussion has moved since the last wave of Father's Day rhetoric. A year ago, when the day featured the first big Washington rally of the Christian men's group Promise Keepers, the argument most often heard from that and other evangelical groups was not just that children suffer if their fathers desert them—everyone now seems to agree on that—but that the modern, involved “new father” who did his bit with child care was somehow also an “absent father.” Why? Because his involvement amounted to blurring away the presence of a traditional daddy-not-mommy person, one who went out to work and was demanding and distanced.

This year, that silly argument is fading. The “Father Facts” booklet produced by the National Fatherhood

Initiative, a moderate group, has a section on father-work conflict and supportive employer policies and notes that “about 20 percent of preschool children in 1991 were cared for by their fathers—both married and unmarried—while their mothers worked.” (It also cites a Harvard study that showed involved fathers over four decades advancing faster, not slower, in their careers.)

For evidence that these changes are well-kept secrets, ignored by the culture even when the president and Congress debate them, consider the New York Times science section the day Clinton spoke at Glendale. In it, a profile of the noted biologist Shirley Tilghman, recently elevated to the National Academy of Sciences at age 49, described how she had addressed a group of young female scientists at Yale and told them that they, like her, could raise children while having a successful career as a scientist.

The women, Tilghman said, didn't believe her. They told her that her

experience would be impossible today and that they expected to have to make a choice between “gametes and glory.” Repeated surveys of college-age students have conveyed similar results: A majority of women students—but far fewer men students—dread those choices and think career-family issues will be a terrible struggle.

When people try to imagine work and family life, a lot depends on what stories they hear told and retold. How many times by now have we heard the story of a parent—usually, not always, a mother—deciding that family is more important than job, that you can never make up for slighting your kids, that you should read to them more and give them quantity, not just quality time? Enough, already: Let's finish the stories. Once you've decided to do all this, then what? How do you manage? What happens next?

The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.

*File Aldrich
Book*

a strange way and I think a sad way, ABC has also become a tool ... In the studio today with Gary Aldrich, is an adviser to the Dole campaign, a paid agent of the tobacco lobby, a paid agent of the gun lobby, a representative of an associate of a group that is closely tied to speaker Gingrich and operatives from the Buchanan presidential campaign. So you have a smear campaign being conducted by Republican party operatives" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/30). One of those to whom Stephanopoulos referred was Craig Shirley, who is doing PR for Aldrich's book. In an interview, Shirley said he "briefly arranged some radio interviews" for the Dole campaign and said he no longer works for the Nat'l Smokers Alliance. He said he still does work for the NRA, as a publicist, not lobbyist. The "Gingrich link" Stephanopoulos mentioned was Matthew Glavin, pres. of the conservative Southeastern Legal Foundation who is helping Aldrich with any legal matters which may arise from the book. Dole press sec. Nelson Warfield "dismissed" the comments about Shirley being a Dole operative, saying Shirley has no "formal role" in the Dole effort: "If Bill Clinton's top aides are confused about who is on the Dole payroll, they must be reading the wrong FBI files. In fact this is a laughable reach for a distraction about Mr. Shirley. ... The fact is Bob Dole knows nothing about this book" (Kurtz/Weisskopf, W. POST, 7/1). More Warfield: "I doubt Bob Dole would know Craig Shirley if he bumped into him on the street." Also with Aldrich at ABC were ACU's Cliff Johnson and Keith Appell, who is also helping with Aldrich's PR. Appell works with Greg Mueller, who also continues to serve as Pat Buchanan's spokesperson (Galvin, N.Y. POST, 7/1). More Stephanopoulos: "This is a character test for Senator Dole. He should denounce the book and he should cut all ties to all those connected with this campaign of character assassination. ... Dole has a responsibility to repudiate him or he's complicit in this campaign of character assassination" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/30).

TAKE 2: Aldrich and Stephanopoulos returned this a.m. for another round of separate ABC interviews, this time on "Good Morning America." Aldrich, under tough questioning from Charlie Gibson: "I don't imply that the President does anything at the hotel. He may be having his palm read there. The fact of the matter is it's not impossible for the president to evade his Secret Service detail." Stephanopoulos repeated his claim that nothing Aldrich says can be trusted (7/1).

ASSORTED PUNDITRY: George Will: "[Aldrich] has clearly gone into print with information, the sourcing of which would not pass muster in any particular journalistic organization I know of." ABC's Cochran: "It seems to me that this is like last week's story about [HRC] communing with Eleanor Roosevelt. Seems to me this is probably a one- or two-cycle news story, I don't think this has got legs" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/30). L.A. TIMES' Sam Fullwood: "This book is not well sourced and we don't know where this stuff is coming from" ("Inside Washington," 6/29). Mark Shields: "This guy is obviously a guy with real problems" ("Capital Gang," CNN, 6/29). ABC's Zelnick: "Aldrich's methodology appears to have been so slipshod that even would-be allies are keeping their distance" ("GMA," 7/1). Rush Limbaugh, on the pres. sneaking out for nocturnal adventures: "I have trouble believing that. ... The President of the United States just can't go anywhere without people knowing. ... You think the Secret Service is going to let this guy out of their sight?" (TALK DAILY, 7/1).

CLINTON WEIGHS IN: While in France for the G-7 summit,

Clinton was asked about Aldrich's book. Clinton responded with "an air of amused befuddlement": "I hardly even know how to comment on that. I mean, I hardly know what to say. I feel bad for the FBI" (Harris, W. POST, 6/30). WH Press Sec Mike McCurry, asked why Clinton has not "spoken more strongly" about the book's charges: "He's at a loss for words because he can't believe anyone is taking it seriously" (Lewis, N.Y. TIMES, 6/30).

TUNNEL OF LOVE? U.S. NEWS' Walsh points out that while some of the facts in the book, are "wrong," some of his information "has been corroborated by past and present" WH officials. In regard to Aldrich's allegation that Clinton would sneak out of the WH to meet women at the Marriott, most aides contend Clinton "could never slip out ... undetected." Others, however, who are "intimately familiar with the buildings and grounds" believe Clinton "could elude at least some of his minders" by using a "secret underground tunnel" that connects the Oval Office to the East Wing residence. The tunnel was designed to allow an escape from the Oval Office in the event of attack by terrorists. Pressing a panel on a wall adjacent to the president's restroom causes a "secret door to slide open, leading to a staircase down to the passageway. Any president, sources say, could use the tunnel to move between the residence and the Oval Office with minimal chance of detection" (7/8 issue). NBC's Williams: "Even though much of Aldrich's book is unproven gossip, the congressional committees investigating misuse of the FBI files say they may call him to testify" ("Today," 7/1).

CANCELLED TOUR DATES: Aldrich was to appear on NBC's "Dateline" and CNN's "Larry King Live" this week, but both of those appearances have been cancelled. "LKL" senior producer Wendy Whitworth said the decision to cancel Aldrich had nothing to do with WH pressure: "Everyone in town has heard the rumors, but they are unsubstantiated. And I find nothing in the book that substantiates them any further" (Price, W. TIMES, 7/1).

THE EX FILES: CLINGER WARNS WH ABOUT BLACKED-OUT DOCUMENTS

House Gov't Reform & Oversight chair Bill Clinger said his review of the additional 2,000 files the WH released revealed that "some instances where there are 20 to 30 pages which are marked non-responsive material redacted. ... If it's non-responsive material, I'm not sure why it was listed as part of the 2,000 pages. We're going to review these and if we determine that is going to require us to hold additional hearings on the Travelgate issue" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 6/30).

LIVINGSTONE: On "Brinkley," WH adviser George Stephanopoulos said Vince Foster made the initial decision to hire ex-WH personnel security office head Craig Livingstone. Stephanopoulos: "He came to the White House and he had a meeting with Vince Foster and [associate WH counsel] Cheryl Mills. And Vince decided to put him in the security office on a temporary basis. While he was there, Bill Kennedy came in as associate counsel, took over the supervision of Craig Livingstone, finished the hiring process" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/30). Before Stephanopoulos' explanation, some speculation about the hiring focused on Hillary Rodham Clinton, based on an account in Gary Aldrich's book. In Lyon, Pres. Clinton said he had no idea who hired him, but he was "confident" it was not HRC. Clinton, on Aldrich's account: "Now I know for a fact that is not true" (Harris, W. POST, 6/30). Clinger hinted that he would not ask HRC to testify before his cmte in person: "We have ... in the past asked [HRC] to respond to questions by affidavit. ... If we

File
Books

— ON BACKGROUND —

File Books
Aldrich

- Much of Gary Aldrich's book consists of regurgitated right wing innuendo -- the kind of rank and reckless charges that routinely appear on right wing internet home pages. With few exceptions, Aldrich does not claim to have first-hand knowledge of any of the matters he is writing about. These bizarre and slanderous stories have been fodder for the right wing conspiracy industry's attack machine for the last three years.
- Gary Aldrich's work has thus far appeared only on the conservative editorial page of the Wall Street Journal and in the form of a book published by a company committed to putting out right wing books. Regnery and the Journal's editorial page are notoriously anti-Clinton Administration. Because of Regnery and the Journal editorial pages well-known viewpoints, these attacks are almost never covered as "news" by other journalists.
- Regnery Press, the company which published the Gary Aldrich book, is a conservative publisher of right wing screeds. Works published by Regnery include: NRA president Wayne Lapierre's tome espousing extremist views on gun control; the American Spectator's editor Emmitt Tyrell's biography on Bill Clinton; and Stacey Koon's book justifying his actions in the beating of Rodney King.
- The owner of Regnery Press is Tom Phillips who was described by the Washington Times as "an influential force in modern conservatism."
- Gary Aldrich is being represented by the self-avowed conservative Southeastern Legal Foundation. The foundation receives hundreds of thousands of dollars in funding from right wing conservative recluse Richard Mellon Scaife. Scaife, a major benefactor of the right wing conspiracy industry, contributes millions of dollars to a long list of extremist organizations dedicated to tearing down the Clinton Administration. The Southeastern Legal Foundation is closely linked to Newt Gingrich and GOPAC. Gingrich has appeared at a fundraiser for the organization, and a number of GOPAC's prominent members serve on the board of the foundation.
- According to reports, some of Gary Aldrich's publicity is being handled by extreme right wingers Greg Mueller and Craig Shirley -- two conservative political operatives who were previously involved at one level or another with the Willie Horton negative attack ad. Shirley previously served as the publicist for Paula Jones and worked alongside Floyd Brown to create the infamous Willie Horton negative attack ad. Currently, he is an advisor for Bob Dole's Presidential

campaign. Mueller is Pat Buchannan's press secretary. His clients have also included Rush Limbaugh, Oliver North and Americans for Bush, the group responsible for the Willie Horton ad.

This pen is mine.

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June 28, 1996

STATEMENT BY LLOYD N. CUTLER

My alleged brokering of an alleged 1992 "deal" between Governor Clinton and Mrs. Clinton never happened, in 1992 or at any other time. I have never discussed the subject of any such deal or allocation of function with either of the Clintons. Until the post-November transition period, I had known Governor Clinton only casually and I do not believe I had even met Mrs. Clinton. If Mr. Aldrich had a source, it was certainly not a reliable one.

Oliver Stone -
December 2,

Christmas -
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46TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1993 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

December 2, 1993, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 602 words

HEADLINE: Conservative publisher acquires book concern ;
Regnery now under Phillips umbrella

BYLINE: David Field; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

The Phillips publishing empire, parent of more than 100 newsletters and the political weekly Human Events, grew yesterday with the acquisition of Regnery Gateway Inc., a 46-year-old Washington publisher of books on public policy issues.

The acquisition will merge Regnery into Eagle Publishing Inc., a Phillips subsidiary that puts out the half-century-old conservative weekly newspaper.

Both companies are privately held, and they declined to reveal financial details.

Both Alfred Regnery, publisher and chief executive of the company his father founded, and Eagle President Jeffrey Carneal said the deal was a friendly one.

Regnery is known for a conservative-oriented perspective, and two Regnery titles - William F. Buckley Jr.'s "God & Man at Yale" and "The Conservative Mind" by Russell Kirk - are considered bases of contemporary conservative political philosophy.

Mr. Regnery will stay on as president of the Regnery Publishing division. He said in an interview that Phillips' direct-mail and marketing capability will help it expand.

Regnery, which moved to Washington from its home in Chicago in 1986, has a dozen full-time employees and issues about 30 books a year. It is the largest independent publisher in Washington, Mr. Regnery said.

Eagle also controls the Conservative Book Club, a 30-year-old concern with more than 40,000 members, Mr. Carneal said.

"The book club relationship is a real opportunity, because selling to bookstores is more and more difficult if you're not one of the five big publishers," Mr. Regnery said.

"Tom Phillips and I are old friends, and we have served on each other's

The Washington Times, December 2, 1993

boards. . . . This is a friendly transaction that will help us both grow," Mr. Regnery said of the company's founder.

Potomac-based Philips Business Information Inc., the parent of Eagle Publishing and of three other subsidiaries, has grown over the past 20 years from a newsletter enterprise Mr. Phillips ran at his home to the largest independent U.S. newsletter publisher, the company says.

With about 700 employees, 500 of them in Washington area, Phillips will have \$117 million in sales this year, according to spokeswoman Jennifer W. Young.

The Regnery acquisition is Phillips' largest so far, she said.

Mr. Carneal said Eagle has made no major changes in the management or content of Human Events since it acquired the weekly, 50 years old next year, which claims about 75,000 readers a week.

Mr. Regnery said that while his company had published such volumes as "Tackett," which he called "a whimsical Western novel" by former White House aide Lyn Nofziger, as well as books on taxes and inheritance and about five softcover books a year, the press will continue to focus mainly on "political public policy matters from a conservative perspective."

"We'll continue to grow, as we have in recent years, but we won't set an arbitrary goal of a certain number of titles a year," Mr. Regnery said.

The firm recently published "Environmental Overkill," by former Gov. Dixy Lee Ray of Washington state.

On its backlist (noncurrent titles still in print) is "Senatorial Privilege: The Chappaquiddick Cover-Up," a work on the 1969 death of Mary Jo Kopechne, who died in a car driven by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. That book made The New York Times' best-seller list.

Eagle, half-owner of the Conservative Book Club, also issues a monthly newsletter edited by Jack Kemp, the former congressman and secretary of housing and urban development.

GRAPHIC: Photo, Publisher Alfred Regnery

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 2, 1993

40TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

September 29, 1994, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part C; METROPOLITAN TIMES; ABOUT TOWN; PARTY LINES; Pg. C12

LENGTH: 667 words

HEADLINE: Eventful evening for right bunch

BYLINE: Sean Piccoli; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

It was the sort of improbable pairing only a talk show or a political gala could produce: There in the main reception room of the Mayflower Hotel on Tuesday night, big hawk Rep. Robert K. Dornan, the hard-right California Republican, stood toe-to-toe with little hawk Sonny Bono, late of "Sonny and Cher."

Fellow guests at the 50th anniversary salute to Human Events, the journal of hard-wonking conservatives everywhere, Sonny and Bob briefly coalesced ("Bob, I Got You, Bob . . .") before separating in the crowd.

"I'm thrilled to be here," Mr. Bono said, looking more dazed than thrilled.

Mr. Bono, ex-mayor of Palm Springs and GOP celebrity candidate for California's 44th congressional district, was in town to take the now-trendy Republican "pledge" of taxpayer fealty on the Capitol steps.

"I was on the steps today, and somebody invited me to this event," he said.

This human event, mind you, which truly it was. The 850 guests at the \$100-a-plate dinner - which included many of the conservative movement's biggest names - were treated to an evening of conflict and comedy, politics and punditry, reverie and renewal.

"Welcome to the Federal City," toastmaster M. Stanton Evans, a longtime Human Events contributor, told the out-of-towners in the crowd, "or as we like to call it, Rodham and Gomorrah."

It was no place for a sensitive Democrat.

Conflict - unintended - flared up between speakers Pat Buchanan and Jack Kemp, who sparred in their separate turns at the podium.

Looking out over a crowd of loyal Human Events readers - neocons, paleocons, Reaganauts, Christians and libertarians - Mr. Buchanan quipped, "I even ran into a Lane Kirkland Republican - Jack Kemp."

The Washington Times, September 29, 1994

Mr. Buchanan teased his old cohort a bit more, encouraging him to give up his "\$25,000 speaking fees" and rejoin the good fight. Mr. Kemp, seated with his wife, Joanne, watched with a strained smile glued to his face.

In his own remarks, Mr. Kemp shot back, "You're a good conservative. So am I."

Mr. Evans later joked, "It wasn't just Human Events that brought them [Mr. Kemp and Mr. Buchanan] together. It was the last-minute marathon intervention of President Jimmy Carter which made this possible."

It was Mr. Evans' comic touch that kept the five-hour event from drooping through a reception, dinner, a stage show, a video greeting by the dinner's absent honorary chairman, Ronald Reagan, and nine speakers who lavished praise on the magazine for its longevity and right-thinking philosophy.

"In the spirit of President [Jean-Bertrand] Aristide," Mr. Evans told the crowd, "we're taking a long time to say thank you."

Speakers included Human Events editors Tom Winter and Alan Ryskind; its publisher, Tom Phillips; columnist Phyllis Schlafly; Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican; and Virginia Senate candidate Oliver North.

"I have not been in a room with so many unindicted co-conspirators since the special prosecutor left town," Mr. North quipped.

Mr. North was not only indicted: He was frisked. During a comedy revue by the Capitol Steps, the retired Marine was hauled to the stage by the troupe's Janet Reno-in-residence and searched for weapons. Mr. North suffered this assault on his liberty cheerfully.

There were no real Democrats in the room, only impersonators, including the Capitol Steps' Bill and Hillary Clinton stand-ins and a drop-dead Clinton clone, Damian Mason from Indiana, who worked the tables pleading for political clemency. He got very little.

The dinner drew conservatives of every stripe, from right to far-right, including Bill Kristol, Paul Weyrich, Ralph Reed and Robert Bork, who nursed a scotch - no ice - and a cigarette in one hand while trying to put this luminary gathering into perspective for a stranger.

"You'll see the same crowd at an American Spectator dinner," Mr. Bork said.

GRAPHIC: Photos, A) Oliver North gets a humorous frisking from the Capitol Steps' Janet Reno look-alike.; B) Sonny Bono talks to Bob Olson and Louis and Andrea Sheldon. Behind them, Rep. Robert Dornan converses with Cliff and Lisa Kincaid.; C) Sen. Jesse Helms rubs his hands in anticipation as Phyllis Schlafly (left) indicates where liberals can go. Dorothy Helms listens in.; D) Sen. Phil Gramm pops in long enough to chat with Blanca and Bob Reilly., All By James R. Brantley/The Washington Times ; Photos, E) U.S. Senate candidate from Virginia Oliver North (center) poses with the Phillips publishing clan, from left: Mark, Jan, Karen and Tom.; F) Jack Kemp in animated conversation with Patrick Buchanan at Human Event's 50th anniversary celebration at the Mayflower Hotel Tuesday night, Both By James R. Brantley/The Washington Times

LEVEL 1 - 8 OF 363 STORIES

Copyright 1996 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

June 23, 1996, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; NATION; Pg. A3

LENGTH: 855 words

HEADLINE: Regnery, publisher of conservatives, dies

BYLINE: THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

Henry Regnery, whose Chicago publishing house nurtured conservative authors when most of the established publishing houses in New York wouldn't touch their works, died last week in Chicago. He was 84.

His son, Alfred Regnery of Alexandria, said his father died Tuesday of complications from brain surgery.

Mr. Regnery was the son of a Chicago textile mill owner who flirted briefly with the New Deal shortly after the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. He was a graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard. At Harvard, he studied under Joseph Schumpeter, the noted free-market economist, and later helped found Human Events, the conservative weekly.

Alfred Regnery is president of Regnery Books now, and both the publishing house and Human Events are subsidiaries of Phillips Publishing Co. of Washington, whose founder, Tom Phillips, is an influential force in modern conservatism.

Regnery published William F. Buckley's "God and Man at Yale," an attack on the closed-minded academic establishment that is regarded as seminal to the modern conservative movement. Regnery has since published books by such conservative authors as Russell Kirk, James J. Kilpatrick, James Burnham and Whittaker Chambers. An early account of Bill Clinton's rise to power, "On the Make" by Meredith Oakley, was widely acclaimed, and next month Regnery will publish a biography of Mr. Clinton by R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., editor of the American Spectator. The Regnery house also published paperbacks of such literary lions as Wyndham Lewis, T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound.

Mr. Regnery entertained many leading lights of the conservative movement at his home in Hinsdale, Ill., outside Chicago. Mr. Buckley recalled, in an interview in the New York Times, that Mr. Regnery would not serve alcoholic beverages at these gatherings because his wife's Quaker convictions were offended by alcohol. But, not wanting to disappoint guests who enjoyed wine and spirits, he often escorted his guests across the street to the the home of a friend, who kept a well-stocked bar and wine cellar.

The Washington Times, June 23, 1996

In addition to his son, Mr. Regnery is survived by his wife, the former Eleanor Scattergood; two daughters, Susan Schnitzler of Trier, Germany, and Margaret Caron of Chicago; 11 grandchildren; and a great-grandchild.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 23, 1996

LEVEL 1 - 248 OF 363 STORIES

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Copyright 1989 National Review Inc.
National Review

June 16, 1989

SECTION: Vol. 41 ; No. 11 ; Pg. 40; ISSN: 0028-0038

LENGTH: 2521 words

HEADLINE: Henry Regnery: a public private man.

BYLINE: Coyne, John R., Jr.

BODY:

THOSE WHO BLINK FREQUENTLY, irritated by today's ideological mote, may have missed it. But in the trend of its popular thought and culture, in social inclination and political preference, the decade of the Eighties has taken on a decidedly conservative cast,

It's probably not pure enough for some of our more committed comrades. And this may be just as conservative as it gets. Nevertheless, it's here, having blown in with Ronald Reagan and showing some signs of lingering into the Nineties and perhaps beyond.

Where did it come from? Politically, there are numerous sources-Taft, Goldwater, Nixon (much more than we're yet able to admit), the New American Majority, the Old Right, the New Right, the New New Right, the Neoconservatives (perhaps we could call them the Left Right or, eventually, the Left Right Left), all arriving at the same point at about the same time at the end of the Seventies and joining together in the somewhat unlikely phenomenon of Reaganism.

Spiritually also it was fed by a variety of sources, among them a book by Russell Kirk entitled The Conservative Mind, published in Chicago in 1953 by Henry Regnery. According to Regnery, it was Kirk's book that gave the postwar conservative movement "its name and, more important, coherence."

Two years earlier, Regnery had published another book which was to become central to the conservative movement. The book was God and Man at Yale, the author Wm. F. Buckley Jr. It was an expensive book, costing Regnery as it did his contract with the Great Books Foundation. But the investment paid off, for, as Regnery- put it, Bill Buckley "has not only served ever since as an inspiration and a rallying point, particularly to student generations; he has given the conservative movement a style and rhetoric of its own, and has done more than anyone else to reconcile potentially conflicting viewpoints into a coherent intellectual force."

It has been the sometimes bewildering variety of "potentially conflicting viewpoints," characteristic of conservative thought, that typifies the books published over four decades by the Henry Regnery Company (now Regnery Gateway,

and still publishing). Despite the conflicting viewpoints, however, Regnery's books were all selected, as he puts it, "for being in accord with the traditional values of Western civilization."

Some of the Regnery titles of the early years now awaken only dim and musty memories. There is the matter of immediate postwar German rehabilitation, for instance, a theme running through the works of a number of early Regnery authors, among them Victor Gollancz and Freda Uteley. There are also the World War II revisionists, mostly notably William Henry Chamberlin, Charles Callan Tansill, and Admiral Husband Kimmel.

Their works explored such issues as what Holmes Alexander has called "the unconstitutional Atlantic war" and "the Pearl Harbor coverup." True, many of these arguments, postwar manifestations of pre-war positions taken by such groups as the America First Committee, which Henry Regnery's father helped found, are decidedly dated - in fact became dated on the day that Hitler declared war on the United States. However, those books did serve a purpose, one which present-day muckrakers should find laudable. In an article in *Reason*, Justus D. Doenecke put it this way: "Although few historians today accept Regnery's brand of revisionism, his books did much to crack official history . . . stressed the constitutional limits upon presidential war-making, and pointed out the conscious and calculated deception by the nation's highest leadership."

REGNERY'S CONTRIBUTIONS transcend that of publishing unfashionable authors crowded out by accepted theories of history, however. Even on the Right, causes are not always lost. And during the years of intellectual exile, Regnery played a central role in keeping conservative thought alive, publishing or reissuing, in addition to Kirk and Buckley, the works of James Burnham, Richard Weaver, James Jackson Kilpatrick, Felix Morley, Albert Jay Nock, Frank Meyer, Willmoore Kendall, Wilhelm Roepke, and Whittaker Chambers, to name a few.

Russell Kirk, writing to Regnery in 1952 of a new era in which an "enlightened conservatism" must play a role, had this to say about Regnery's unique contribution: "The struggle will be decided in the minds of the rising generation - and within that generation, substantially by the minority who have the gift of reason. I do not think we need much fear the decaying 'liberalism' of the retiring generation. . . . But we need to state some certitudes for the benefit of the groping new masters of society. More than anyone else in America you have been doing just this in the books you publish." A most moving and prescient tribute, and one which goes a long way toward explaining the conservative cast of the Eighties. We owe a great deal to Henry Regnery and his books.

We also owe Henry Regnery a good deal for his book *Memoirs of a Dissident Publisher*, published in 1979 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. It is handsomely produced and elegantly written, the style, like Regnery himself, direct, unaffected, deceptively simple, and surprisingly witty. For the most part, reviewers were highly appreciative, with especially intelligent commentaries by Doris Grumbach in the *New York Times* and Edmund Fuller in the *Wall Street Journal*.

At some point during the past several decades, nearly every conservative of note has published with or had his works reissued by Regnery. His memoir (still available from Regnery Gateway) summarizes these works, acquaints us with the circumstances of their publication and their reception, and provides us with a

number of splendid anecdotes involving most of these authors, all interwoven with the personal account of a life lived in the world of publishing, where in the end the best and most constant companions are ideas.

Perhaps because of this-and also because he is a man who knows precisely who he is-Regnery is remarkably tolerant of the foibles and idiosyncrasies of others. This serves him well in dealing with his fellow conservatives, who among us have come close to cornering the world market on foibles and idiosyncrasies.

It also serves him well in his dealings with writers he has published who are not generally associated with the conservative movement as we have come to think of it among them T. S. Eliot (who congratulated Regnery on publishing Edgar Guest), Ezra Pound, Wyndham Lewis, Allen Tate, John Dos Passos, and Roy Campbell. Regnery first met Campbell when he was roaring drunk (Campbell, not Regnery), and one anecdote captures not only the poet but also Regnery's own essential attitude-slightly ironic detachment, good humor, and good sense.

He had taken Campbell to a poetry reading at a college in downtown Chicago. "The first poet on the program was Robert Lowell, who apologized for preceding such a heroic figure as Roy Campbell, and then went on to read what seemed to me to be rather dreadful poetry about incest and similar subjects. When Campbell's turn came it was as though a fresh breeze had swept into the room; he brought the audience immediately back to life with the imagery and vigor of his poetry, and ended the occasion by singing 'John Brown's Body' in Swahili."

Regnery's book is rich in such anecdotes, telling us a great deal about the people he portrays, and as much about himself as he wants us to know. As Doris Grumbach puts it, "A private man, Henry Regnery tells us his views, his reasons for publishing what he did, and the results, but he gives us very little information about his personal life." Other commentators agree, among them Justus Doenecke, who would like more about Regnery's father and the America First movement and about his "reaction to the varied transformations of the American Right."

I think all of us would agree with Doenecke. However, in the case of the latter-reaction to the transmogrifications of the Right-Regnery would be required to make judgmental analyses of the people involved. And he just doesn't do that-a rare quality on the Right in particular and among literary men in general.

As to the former-personal observations on family members-well, he doesn't do that publicly either. Characteristically, however, in two handsome privately printed books, he pays tribute to his father, whose memory he cherishes, and to his son Henry, killed in 1979 in a

Chicago plane crash.

It is in this moving tribute to his son that Regnery briefly describes his wife, Eleanor Scattergood Regnery, as she gazes at their newborn son, "with the look of serenity and love which was characteristic of her." It still is, one might add, and there is probably no more succinct and accurate way to depict the quality radiated by this Quaker lady who chose to make her life with a dissident publisher.

Like his family relationships, his relationship with God is for the most

National Review, June 16, 1989

part publicly treated as a private matter. At one point in his memoir, he recalls a conversation with the German Catholic writer Luise Rinser, who compared the Church to an old family house. Regnery, whose grandfather was Roman Catholic, responds in this way: "Many people, needless to say, have found refuge in that old house, but however much I may at times have wished otherwise, I remain an outsider."

Yet Regnery is also capable of writing the following words, which amount to a brief but fully realized and expressed feeling for God, the world He created, and the place of man in that world: We had no choice, so far as we can know, about the circumstances surrounding our coming into the world, and no matter how hard we may think about it can know nothing about what happens to us when we leave it. . . . We are given life to lead as best we can and in accordance with the gifts and circumstances allotted to us, and those who lead a good life can face death with the composure and confidence of old Bach, who, on his deathbed, asked those around him to sing his last chorale, "Before Thy Throne with This I Come," composed only a few days before, doubtless in preparation for this event. That our Maker feels kindly toward us, His creatures, the music of Bach and Mozart would be for me sufficient evidence, if there were not more. A splendid paragraph, with music the highly appropriate metaphor. Among many public men, music is the language of an intense private life.

But it's the public Regnery we're concerned with here, and the public Regnery is still publishing interesting and unfashionable books.

Kent Barry and I had lunch with Regnery on April 18 at the Wrigley Building Restaurant, like Henry a solid and venerable Chicago institution. (The Wrigley, incidentally, is just across Michigan Avenue from the Chicago Tribune, which for some long-forgotten ideological reason still refuses to give Regnery his due as one of Chicago's primary civic and cultural assets.) It was an ordinary day, high spring in Chicago. A lake-blown snowstorm briefly raged outside, causing a host of golden daffodils to scream primally.

Things were normal with Henry. He'd recently had bypass surgery, and during a visit to his son Alfred had pitched down a flight of stairs. But Henry is only 77, and he stays in condition by working in his shop and garden at Three Oaks, the Regnerys' Michigan home. And so, despite these minor physical annoyances, Henry had already put in his lettuce, potatoes, and peas.

We ate well and talked about a number of things, with Regnery reminiscing about old comrades like John Chamberlain and telling of an encounter between Bill Buckley and Norman Thomas. Kent Barry, a promising young conservative polemicist, devoured all this, and one of the wonders was that after nearly eight decades, Regnery could still find it interesting to talk to an enthusiastic young conservative,

Most of the conversation, however, had to do with the fortunes of Regnery Gateway, which recently moved its editorial offices to Washington and is being run by Alfred Regnery, with Henry providing guidance and counsel. Given the new mood in the country, the business is doing well. In fact, according to Alfred, sales have tripled during the past two years.

The standard works- The Conservative Mind, God and Man at Yale, Suicide of the West, Witness-are still selling healthily (Conservative Mind is now in its

National Review, June 16, 1989

seventh edition). There are also a number of new titles that are doing well. Profscam, by Charles Sykes, is an expose of our languid professors which, I am told, provides a 1980s perspective on themes explored two decades ago in The Kumquat Stalement. Reviews of Sykes's book in the New York Times, Washington Post, Detroit News, Miami Herald, and Wall Street Journal have been favorable. The Chicago Tribune is yet to be heard from, although Bill Granger, a noted Chicago novelist, recently wrote a first-rate column for the Tribune Sunday magazine lauding Sykes.

Also doing well are William Casey's Secret War against Hitler and Leo Damore's Senatorial Privilege.- The Chappaquiddick Coverup. (The publication histories of these books-the latter especially-involve amusing anecdotes about large advances from leading publishers like Random House, acute cases of cold feet when the authors delivered what was promised, and Henry Regnery there as backstop to ensure the books weren't buried. But Regnery's been doing that for years, and that's another story.) And also, lest we forget revisionism, which Henry Regnery isn't about to let us do, there's Roosevelt and Stalin: The Failed Courtship, by Robert Nisbet.

WE TALKED about books for a couple of hours, and then Henry left us to return-on foot, of course to the downtown office which was once the first Playboy headquarters. He seemed a bit slower now, but that was no doubt the gale-force wind and had nothing to do with surgery or pitching down stairs.

However, the thought couldn't help but intrude. He is one of a kind, and perhaps the last. As Edmund Fuller wrote a decade ago, "Mr. Regnery was able to match ftee enterprise with his ideals and ideas, and for this we all owe him a debt . . ."

Indeed we do, for through his efforts he kept something alive. And by keeping that something alive, he helped make a return to the traditional verities in America possible.

The public Henry Regnery would no doubt put all this much less grandly, perhaps preferring to summarize his contributions with the words he used in the last paragraph of his memoir:

The publisher of Milton's Paradise Lost, we are told, paid its author five pounds, and is remembered, if at all, for the miserliness of his payment in comparison to the magnificence of the work he bought. But it should not be forgotten that he probably lost money on the venture, and that his participation in it, although of a quite different order from the author's, was also necessary.

As was Henry Regnery's, and our country is better for it. In fact, a Presidential Medal of Freedom, with a citation reflecting this sentiment, would not be at all out of order.

GRAPHIC: Portrait; Henry Regnery. (portrait)

SIC: 2700 PRINTING AND PUBLISHING

IAC-NUMBER:, IAC 07672537

LEVEL 1 - 52 OF 363 STORIES

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Business Week

July 31, 1995

SECTION: BOOKS; Number 3435; Pg. 14

LENGTH: 999 words

HEADLINE: INSTANT MANIFESTOS FROM NEWT AND DICK

BYLINE: BY RICK DUNHAM; Dunham covers Capitol Hill for BUSINESS WEEK.

BODY:

TO RENEW AMERICA By Newt Gingrich HarperCollins 260pp \$ 24

THE FREEDOM REVOLUTION By Dick Arney Regnery 318pp \$ 24.95

House Speaker Newt Gingrich and House Majority Leader Dick Arney have much in common. Both are former professors at state schools in the South who became conservative political revolutionaries. The 1994 Republican landslide propelled them to power on Capitol Hill. And now, both have written books to spread the gospel of free-market capitalism and social conservatism.

Despite their ideological similarities, Gingrich, a former history professor at West Georgia College, and Arney, a North Texas State University economist, have starkly different personalities. Info Age philosopher Gingrich fancies himself as the CEO of the GOP revolution, while the well-organized Arney acts as its chief operating officer. Arney cultivates bipartisan friendships, though his withering wit sometimes gets him into trouble. Gingrich is relentlessly partisan and incessantly serious. These divergent personalities are readily apparent in their books.

Neither of the quickly produced works is destined to become a classic. Both lack scholarly polish, and both contain sloppy mistakes. (Gingrich misspells the name of NASA Administrator Daniel S. Goldin and calls muckraking journalist Brooks Jackson "Jackson Brooks," while Arney confuses McCaw Cellular Communications Inc. with the McGraw-Hill Cos.)

Gingrich's To Renew America too often seems to be the random thoughts of Speaker Newt. Many of its ideas have been lifted from speeches, and there is no unifying theme. A chapter on crime is followed by a spirited defense of Rush Limbaugh, which is followed by a discussion of taxes.

Like Gingrich the politician, the book is uncompromising, humorless, and often rambling. But like Gingrich the thinker, it is also provocative, imaginative, and sometimes brilliant. His proposals to streamline defense procurement and to modernize health-care delivery are compelling. But Gingrich's self-righteousness can, at times, alienate even a sympathetic reader. Take his unbending conclusion after he outlines eight innovative solutions to the nation's welfare dilemma: "If we are truly serious about helping the poor," he writes, "we must undertake all eight reforms simultaneously." It's Newt's way

Business Week, July 31, 1995

or no way.

Armey's *The Freedom Revolution* is better-focused. Citing his economics background and quoting his own folksy axioms (''The market is rational and the government is dumb''), the Texas lawmaker fingers New Deal and Great Society programs as the greatest threats to America's freedom. To cure problems as diverse as poverty, education, health care, and trade, he suggests unfettered capitalism -- and his 17% flat-tax plan, to which he devotes a thought-provoking chapter. Occasionally, harsh Armey doctrine is jolting: He compares New Deal architects to Stalinist state planners, and he dismisses Watergate as ''one incident of breaking and entering and one lie.''

But those intense moments are broken up by wonderful bits of offbeat humor. The best: Armey's sarcastic account of a Democratic hearing at which Jane Fonda, Jessica Lange, and Sissy Spacek pleaded for federal assistance to family farmers. The actresses, he wrote, were ''on hand to share the knowledge they'd recently acquired playing farm women in movies.... Jane's expert testimony carried particular weight because she was a second-generation Hollywood farm girl, her father having starred in *The Grapes of Wrath*.''

Gingrich and Armey agree on most issues, although Armey views the nation's problems through an economic lens and Gingrich is more concerned about the social roots of our ills. That distinction may explain their deepest area of disagreement: immigration. Gingrich focuses on curbing illegal immigration and even suggests introducing a national identity card with an embedded hologram. Armey dismisses such a card as a Big Brother scheme to gather information on law-abiding Americans in ''a giant government computer bank.''

And he delivers an impassioned defense of immigration, arguing that newcomers don't take jobs from the native-born and contribute far more in taxes than they receive in government benefits.

While Gingrich directs all of his fire at Democrats, Armey is particularly bitter about what he sees as the economic-policy treason of former President George Bush and his budget director, Richard G. Darman. He derides the Bush Presidency as a backslide from the heady days of Ronald Reagan. He's still furious about the 1990 budget deal -- in which Bush agreed to raise taxes as part of a deficit-reduction plan. Still, he sees a silver lining to the 1990 cloud: It accelerated the antitax revolution that culminated four years later in the GOP takeover of Congress.

It's just that kind of conclusion that makes Armey's overall tone far more upbeat than Gingrich's. In Armey's view, the environmentalists, the antinuke activists, and the population-bomb Cassandras have been exaggerating our world's problems -- which can be fixed if we follow the teachings of classical economist Adam Smith. Gingrich warns darkly of a decline and fall of American civilization if recent trends are not reversed in a hurry. His stark conclusion: ''To renew or to decay. At no time in the history of our nation has the choice been clearer.''

Gingrich's book has been the subject of controversy ever since he accepted (and then returned) a \$ 4.5 million advance from a publishing house affiliated with media mogul Rupert Murdoch. Still, Gingrich could make millions from royalties if the book remains a best-seller. Thanks to HarperCollins' able publicity machine and Gingrich's genius as a self-promoter, that's likely. Armey, on the other hand, stands to gain little. He took no advance and is

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donating all proceeds to charities, such as the Special Olympics. And if you are seeking hot political rhetoric for a summertime diversion, his is the better book.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 27, 1995

LEVEL 1 - 54 OF 363 STORIES

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The Times Union (Albany, NY)

July 23, 1995, Sunday, ONE STAR EDITION

SECTION: LIFE & LEISURE, Pg. I8

LENGTH: 862 words

HEADLINE: 2 new books get up close, personal with the FBI

BYLINE: JOE MAHONEY

BODY:

For most of this century, the flagship of American law enforcement has been the FBI, and the name that remains synonymous with the agency, even though he has been dead longer than Elvis, is J. Edgar Hoover.

Two new books "'Hoover's FBI,'" by Cartha D. "'Deke'" DeLoach, and "'Inside the FBI,'" by Diarmuid Jeffreys offer fresh perspectives on the Hoover legacy and the inner workings of the FBI.

Both books would seem to get a bounce from the stir still lingering from the book "'Official and Confidential,'" by Anthony Summers. It was Summers who reminded us of what the publishing industry has long known: that there is a mint to be made from murdering the dead. Summers cashed a big check after he painted Hoover as a bureaucrat who led a double life and supposedly dressed in a short skirt at a party where he batted his false eyelashes at guys who called him Mary.

So it is refreshing that DeLoach comes along to present a far more balanced portrait of perhaps the nation's most powerful public servant ever. DeLoach, the No. 3 man in the FBI during the turbulent 1960s, gains credibility by admitting right away that Hoover had some warts, including a "'monstrous ego.'"

The memoir defends Hoover as "'an old-fashioned political conservative who truly believed in limited government'" and strove to ensure that the bureau was as insulated as possible from politics. Hoover, DeLoach argues, stood up to the pressure brought to bear on him by a parade of politicians, ranging from Richard Nixon to Bobby Kennedy.

If the book has a fundamental flaw, it is DeLoach's decision to let loose with a stream of contemptuous invective for those who disagreed with government policy, as if dissent were somehow un-American.

DeLoach, remembering Hoover's dealings with slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., bills King as a communist sympathizer, offering weak evidence to buttress this view. He takes this deductively argued slap at King: "'Judging from his speeches and actions, we tended to believe that he was not a member (of the Communist Party), since he operated with far less discipline and far less cunning than seasoned communists. But he obviously leaned heavily'" on two men with Communist ties, Stanley Levison and Jack O'Dell.

The Times Union, July 23, 1995

DeLoach, by concentrating on selective King alliances and rehashing tales of adulterous affairs, seems to show an utter lack of appreciation for King's historic accomplishments in helping to bring about long-needed reforms in civil rights. While others were preaching revolution by any means necessary, King stuck to non-violence, yet DeLoach impugns King as a militant who wanted "'confrontations, injuries and deaths'" at his marches and was bored when they were peaceful.

Discussing what he argues was the need for the FBI to spy on the New Left during the late 1960s, DeLoach again raises questions about the motives of an FBI critic, this time lambasting Sen. Frank Church with McCarthyesque criticism.

DeLoach denounces Church, who led a 1975 probe into domestic spying by the FBI, as a man "'who combined the self-righteousness of a spoiled preacher with the ideological zeal of an early Marxist.'"

Yet DeLoach himself admits of the FBI's conduct then: "'Some of what went on the black bag operations was unambiguously illegal. And many of the other tactics, while merely skirting the edges of the law, were incompatible with the idea of a nation committed to equal protection under the law for all people. . . .'"

While DeLoach presents his insider's account of the FBI in the Hoover days, British journalist Diarmuid Jeffreys peers in from the outside to assemble a more sweeping look at the evolution of the modern FBI, revisiting the well-worn accounts of the agency's origins and Hoover's rise to prominence and bringing us to the present day bureau headed by Louis J. Freeh.

Jeffreys holds a magnifying glass to the agency, examining its role in unsuccessfully attempting to bring about a peaceful solution to the ultimately disastrous standoff between federal authorities and Branch Davidians at Waco, Texas, a standoff that ended in disaster and the deaths of 75 people, including 25 children.

Though he questions the advice agents provided Attorney General Janet Reno in advance of the decision to storm the compound, Jeffreys submits it would be "'grossly unfair'" to pin the blame on the FBI for the Waco debacle, instead saying it would not have happened at all were it not for the hold cult leader David Koresh had over his following and the badly botched raid on the compound by the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms.

Jeffreys, whose book is intended as a companion to the recently completed public television series "'Inside the FBI,'" provides some crisp reporting on the agency's efforts to nail a crew of New England mobsters (some of whom, though the book does not note, had tried to muscle their way into the Capital Region in the mid 1980s.)

While DeLoach's book is an interesting footnote on the life of Hoover, Jeffreys provides a comprehensive view of the FBI, and his book is the more readable of the two.

Joe Mahoney is a Times Union staffer.

The Times Union, July 23, 1995

NOTES:

'The Bureau.' By Diarmuid Jeffreys. 359 pp. Houghton-Mifflin Co. \$ 24.95
'Hoover's FBI.' By Cartha D. 'Deke' DeLoach. 419 pp. Regnery Publishing. \$
27.50. 'The Bureau.' By Diarmuid Jeffreys. 359 pp. Houghton Mifflin Co. \$
24.95 'Hoover's FBI.' By Cartha D. 'Deke' DeLoach. 419 pp. Regnery
Publishing. \$ 27.50.

LOAD-DATE: July 24, 1995

LEVEL 1 - 81 OF 363 STORIES

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DM News

February 27, 1995

SECTION: Pg. 10

LENGTH: 747 words

HEADLINE: Mail Effort Benefits Rodney King Cop;
More than \$ 1-million raised for defense of convicted LAPD officer Stacey Koon

BYLINE: Jon Birger

BODY:

A direct mail campaign that started with 60,000 pieces targeted to police officers, their families and subscribers to conservative publications had raised over \$ 1-million for the defense fund of Stacey Koon, a Los Angeles police officer in jail for the beating of Rodney King that was caught on videotape.

Koon was one of two white former officers convicted by federal jury of violating the civil rights of King, a black motorist, during a March 1991 confrontation that was caught on tape by a bystander. Koon and three other officers had previously been acquitted on state criminal charges, prompting four days of rioting in Los Angeles that took the lives of 55 people.

Created in 1993 -- following Koon's conviction -- The Stacey Koon Defense Fund helps pay his legal bills and also provides financial support for his family. The fund was the brainchild of Washington, DC-based book publisher Alfred Regnery, whose company had published "Presumed Guilty: The Tragedy of the Rodney King Affair," a book Koon wrote about the King incident.

After the initial mailing netted \$ 80,000, "It was apparent that this was going to work," said Regnery.

Regnery hired Vienna, VA-based Bruce Eberle & Associates to run the direct mail campaign. Thus far, the campaign has received donations from about 120,000 of the six-million households that received mailings, according to Bruce Eberle. The firm has also followed up with 750,000 mailings to people on the house list. Included in this mailing were reprints of the first chapter of Koon's book.

The campaign has collected about \$ 5-million in donations, though 75 percent of that has been used to cover direct mail expenses and publicity costs, Regnery said.

More recently, Eberle has broadened the campaign, using lists ranging from subscribers to financial newsletters to members of Beer Drinkers of America, he said.

The two most successful mailings? The subscriber list of the National Review magazine and the membership list of Accuracy in Media, the conservative media watchdog organization.

DM News, February 27, 1995

A return of only 25 cents on the dollar for a campaign of this kind is not unusual, according to one veteran fundraiser. "I would say that when you're starting from ground zero, to net 25 percent is not too bad," said Max Hart, director of fundraising for Disabled American Veterans.

The average donation is about \$ 27, and 30 percent of the contributions are Californians. Those who contribute more than \$ 30 receive a free copy of Koon's book.

"It's not a wealthy bunch of people," Regnery said. "People who are contributing seem to be middle American, working-class people."

"Your gift of just \$ 20 would mean so much to Mary and our five children," Koon wrote in a letter included in one of the mailings. "If justice is not done, tens of thousands of police, not only in California, but across America will be afraid to act the next time they are faced with the same thing my men and I faced."

Regnery became friendly with Koon when they spent a week together following the publication of Koon's book. After Koon's conviction, Regnery decided to do what he could to help him out.

\$ 1.5-Million in Legal Bills

Between the state trial, the federal trial and an unsuccessful civil suit King filed against Koon and the other three officers, Koon has incurred over \$ 1.5-million in legal bills. The Los Angeles police union paid for the bulk of his defense, but Koon was still responsible for several hundred thousand dollars in attorney's fees.

"It's been pretty rough for him," Regnery said of Koon. "He's got five kids -- the oldest is 17. His wife is a school nurse."

Regnery said Koon is touched by the large number of people who responded to the direct mail campaign: "It's sort of what keeps him going."

Many of those people who have contributed have also written to Koon at the Pleasanton, CA prison where he has been serving a 30-month sentence. According to Regnery, Koon received 30,000 birthday cards from well-wishers, and at one point more than half the mail coming into the prison was for Koon.

Recent mailings to the house list have asked Koon's supporters to write to U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno to protest the U.S. Department of Justice's ongoing attempt to lengthen Koon's sentencing to 84 months.

An upcoming court hearing on this matter could cost Koon another \$ 500,000 in legal fees, but Eberle said he's confident the defense fund will be able to raise the money.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 08, 1995

LEVEL 1 - 89 OF 363 STORIES

Copyright 1995 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

January 14, 1995, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; Pg. A1

LENGTH: 1269 words

HEADLINE: NRA chief aims book right at public ;
Says people's anger made it best seller

BYLINE: Michael Hedges; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

Publishers wouldn't touch it, major newspapers wouldn't review it, and political analysts said the American public wouldn't buy it - a tome espousing the ideals and viewpoint of the National Rifle Association.

So it seemed audacious when the NRA's chief executive officer, Wayne LaPierre, wrote "Guns, Crime and Freedom" - his first book - and took it on a five-month national signing tour last year.

The result is part of a phenomenon started by the likes of novelist Tom Clancy and talk-show host Rush Limbaugh, in which works by conservative writers make the New York Times best-seller list while bypassing traditional marketing routes.

Mr. LaPierre, who has spent the past 16 years fighting the NRA's battles, said his book has succeeded by tapping into the national consciousness expressed in November's midterm elections.

In traveling across America, the 44-year-old Roanoke native said, "You could feel the anger, you could feel the fear. I've never seen the American public with the fear of federal government intrusion in their life.

"Then I would come back to Washington and it was business as usual. Clinton was calling these congressmen saying, 'You won't be hurt voting for gun control,' " he said.

So far, 200,000 copies of "Guns, Crime and Freedom" have been sold, without the fanfare of an aggressive advertising campaign, reviews by major news outlets or the backing of the NRA, said Megan Butler, marketing director for Regnery Publishing, which published the book.

The "Guns" project began during the NRA's winter of discontent. In November 1993, Congress passed the Brady bill, the toughest anti-gun measure to succeed in a generation. Last summer, another bill banning 19 types of assault weapons was passed.

The Washington Times, January 14, 1995

Liberals in Congress and the media cheerfully sang dirges over the NRA.

A New York Times editorial of Nov. 25, 1993, noted the "humiliating loss" of the NRA, which "went down with a whimper" on the Brady bill and now "must face the prospect of more comprehensive gun laws."

On Capital Hill, the crowing was even louder:

"This is the first time since 1968 the NRA has been beaten on a major issue, but it won't be the last," said Rep. Charles E. Schumer, New York Democrat. "Lawmakers will learn there is life after voting against the NRA."

That was almost exactly one year before the midterm elections, and Mr. LaPierre smiles as he maintains that the electorate taught a different lesson in November.

"I think one thing this election did, it gave a lot of politicians a splash of reality right in their faces, and that is going to make a difference. They had really lost touch," he said.

Mr. LaPierre named several Democrats as victims of their votes for the Brady bill and the assault-weapons ban: Pennsylvania's Harris Wofford, Tennessee's Jim Sasser and Jim Cooper, and Oklahoma's Dave McCurdy - all of whom lost Senate bids; and Washington's Thomas S. Foley and Texas' Jack Brooks - who lost their re-election bids in the House.

"Not one senator or congressman who supports firearm freedom was defeated and replaced by somebody who wants to ban guns. But 50 to 60 congressmen and senators who wanted to ban guns were defeated," he said.

Not everyone agrees with that analysis. Richard Aborn, president of Handgun Control, said: "Not a single Republican who voted for the assault-weapons ban, and I think there were 38, lost in November. So I think the election was about other things."

But Mr. Aborn conceded, "I certainly feel more gloomy than before the election."

Asked if gun-control measures passed since the election of 1992 were in danger of being rolled back, he said, "I think in the House at least we have a very, very difficult fight on our hands."

Indeed, one congressman, Rep. Jim Chapman, Texas Democrat, already has sent a letter announcing he will introduce a bill to repeal the assault-weapons ban.

From concern over maintaining its political viability a year ago, the NRA now expects to push several initiatives in the new Congress, Mr. LaPierre said.

The rifle association's first target is the semiautomatic-weapons ban that passed Congress last session. "There is no doubt we want that off the books," he said.

Asked who might introduce legislation to change that law, Mr. LaPierre said he is confident that "there are a whole number of people who want to do that."

The Washington Times, January 14, 1995

A second priority in the coming year is to get congressional hearings on what the NRA has called abuses of authority by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) in such high-profile tragedies as the 1993 raid against the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, and the 1992 killings of white separatist Randall Weaver's wife and son in Idaho.

A GOP staffer of the House Judiciary Committee said hearings on "federal law enforcement abuses" are a strong likelihood in the current congressional session.

"I believe the theme of this election was fear of federal government intrusion, and this was a big part of it. It fit into everything else that was going on," Mr. LaPierre said.

The NRA's third ambition is nothing less than an overall reform of the criminal justice system.

The last chapter of "Guns, Crime and Freedom" is a 20-point plan for such an overhaul. It includes measures such as the "three strikes and you're out" policy, which Mr. LaPierre said the NRA pioneered in Seattle, and other tough law-and-order initiatives endorsed by conservatives.

Handgun Control's Mr. Aborn agreed that "a test of strength" between gun advocates and gun-control supporters is at hand. He said the Senate would be a likely place for his group to stop efforts to roll back gun-control measures.

Yet Mr. Aborn said attempts to repeal gun laws passed since 1993 could lead to a showdown in which gun-control advocates call on President Clinton to fulfill promises to back them.

"I think the president is determined to veto any bill eliminating the assault-weapons ban," he said. "There are a tremendous number of people in this town who believe he will waffle on anything, but I am betting that he won't."

Mr. LaPierre said the NRA initiatives reflect the fears and concerns of people he met from August through December as he traveled across the country promoting his book.

Regnery Publishing, a small house in Washington that mostly produces books on conservative topics, published "Guns, Crime and Freedom" early last year.

Mr. LaPierre said Regnery was the only company willing to take a chance on his book; larger firms turned it down.

Regnery is known for publishing books that are controversial in ways that make more-liberal publishers nervous. For example, it printed Leo Damore's "Senatorial Privilege," a highly critical expose of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's actions at Chappaquiddick.

The foreword for Mr. LaPierre's book is by novelist Tom Clancy, who has been an outspoken advocate of gun owners' rights. Miss Butler said Mr. Clancy wrote the foreword for no fee because "it is an issue he believes in strongly."

Structured as a series of essays, "Guns, Crime and Freedom" is a primer on

The Washington Times, January 14, 1995

the NRA's view of what has gone wrong in America on the crime issue.

It is sprinkled with anecdotes and details cases in which armed civilians protected themselves from predatory felons released by the criminal justice system Mr. LaPierre depicts as morally and fiscally bankrupt.

GRAPHIC: Photo (color), 'Guns' slinger: Wayne LaPierre isn't surprised by his book's success., By Daniel Rosenbaum/The Washington Times

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 14, 1995

LEVEL 1 - 150 OF 363 STORIES

Copyright 1993 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

December 2, 1993, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE C1

LENGTH: 706 words

HEADLINE: Publisher Adds to Conservative Empire

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: David Streitfeld, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Media entrepreneur Tom Phillips announced yesterday he had bought Regnery Gateway Inc., the venerable Washington publishing firm whose list of authors reads like a roll call of modern conservatism.

The purchase caps a string of acquisitions, including Human Events magazine and a 50 percent share of the Conservative Book Club, that will make Phillips a major conservative presence.

"Much of the mass media is either moderate or liberal," he said. "There is a vacuum, a need and a desire for an alternative voice -- an alternative viewpoint, if you will."

When Bill and Hillary Clinton came to town, he added, "I felt this would crystallize the feelings of a lot of Republicans, conservatives and those who didn't believe in a liberal philosophy. They want more information, more leadership. ... I thought there would be a wonderful opportunity in the marketplace."

Phillips, who said his ideal presidential candidate last year would have been Ronald Reagan, knows his markets. He started his Potomac-based publishing company 20 years ago in a converted garage and has seen it grow to \$ 117 million in annual sales. The vast majority of his publications are non-ideological newsletters that target very specific markets, from Air Safety Week to Mobile Phone News to Health & Healing.

Regnery, however, will come under the wing of Eagle Publishing Inc., a division of Phillips Publishing International that was formed earlier this year to do public-policy publications. In addition to the Conservative Book Club and Human Events, both acquired this summer, Eagle has started the Jack Kemp Newsletter, a \$ 69-a-year monthly edited by the former HUD secretary. Other newsletters are planned.

"We're a for-profit business," said Eagle President Jeffrey Carneal. "We believe we'll do some good things as a byproduct." One thing's for sure: "We won't be issuing any liberal publications."

The Washington Post, December 2, 1993

Eagle consequently provides a natural home for Regnery, which began in 1947 with "Blueprint for World Conquest," a collection of documents designed to shed light on the Soviet Union's plans for takeover. The firm has books in print by Barry Goldwater, Patrick Buchanan, Russell Kirk, Whittaker Chambers and Edwin Meese. Among its most successful books have been William F. Buckley's first outing, "God and Man at Yale," and Leo Damore's "Senatorial Privilege: The Chappaquiddick Cover-Up," an indictment of Ted Kennedy.

Alfred Regnery, chief executive officer of the firm that was started by his father, Henry, said there were "fairly ambitious plans to increase our size several times over the next couple of years." Currently, Regnery Gateway has a dozen employees and issues 30 books a year. Its annual sales are about \$ 3 million.

Here's how the synergy would presumably work: Regnery publishes a book. It's offered through the Conservative Book Club, which claims 35,000 members. There's an ad in the 40,000-circulation Human Events, or maybe a review, or maybe a feature. Ditto with the newsletters.

Why, if Eagle continues to expand and everything comes together, this might make the hitherto little-known Phillips, 51, a prominent conservative kingmaker. Considering that his most high-profile moment thus far was this past summer, when he took his staff of 500 to Disney World, that would be quite a change. Does he look forward to the prospect?

Loooooooooooooooooooo pause. "I've always strived to have impact with my ideas more than my personality," he said. "I think of myself as a leader that can give guidance and inspiration to talented people, rather than someone who acts through manipulation, force or pure power."

Neither Phillips nor Regnery would disclose any financial aspect of these deals. Phillips said he is "by far the largest shareholder" in the company, but that his executive vice president, Robert King, owns a minority stake and other officers have an interest through stock options.

While it's unusual to have a publishing company that mixes both ideological and non-ideological publications, Phillips said any strident Kennedy supporters at, say, Helicopter News or Oil & Gas Interests need not fret.

"They haven't had to worry for 20 years," he said. "I don't think they should have to start now."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, TOM PHILLIPS STARTED HIS PUBLISHING FIRM IN A GARAGE TWO DECADES AGO.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 2, 1993

LEVEL 1 - 181 OF 363 STORIES

Copyright 1992 The Times Mirror Company
Los Angeles Times

October 15, 1992, Thursday, Home Edition

SECTION: View; Part E; Page 1; Column 1; View Desk

LENGTH: 241 words

HEADLINE: PAGES;
OFFICER KOON STARTS BOOK TOUR

BYLINE: By GARY LIBMAN

BODY:

Stacey Koon, one of the Los Angeles Police Department officers acquitted in the Rodney King beating case, is launching a national publicity tour for his new book.

"Presumed Guilty: The Tragedy of the Rodney King Affair" is scheduled to be released Monday by Regnery Gateway, a Washington publisher that tends to choose books with a conservative view. (A number of publishers turned the book down because of its "political slant," says the publisher's managing editor, Megan Butler.)

Of the book tour, "I've got some butterflies because this is something I've never done," Koon says. "You're talking about addressing hundreds of thousands of people on news programs. I have a hard time keeping from squinting because the lights are so bright. You have the fear of maybe having your zipper down with bazillions of people watching."

Koon, whose \$19.95 book reasserts his innocence in the King beating and criticizes press coverage of the case, will begin a week of local appearances Monday with a news conference at the L.A. Press Club.

On Tuesday he is scheduled to be interviewed from Los Angeles on CNN's "Larry King Live." Wednesday he is slated for radio interviews with KABC's Michael Jackson at 9 a.m. and KFI's Barbara Whiteside from 6-8 p.m.

He will spend Oct. 25-29 in Washington, New York and Dallas.

A February trial date has been set for Koon and the three others facing federal charges in the King incident. GARY LIBMAN

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

Southeastern Legal Foundation: Right-wing law firm funded by Gingrich's GOPAC allies

Gingrich was featured at 1995 fundraiser for Southeastern Legal Foundation. On April 11, 1995, Gingrich spoke to 1,000 people at a fund-raiser for the Southeastern Legal Foundation. [CongressDaily, 4/13/95; USA Today, 4/13/95]

GOPAC donor/conspiracy theorist Richard Scaife gave foundation at least \$300,000. The Southeastern Legal Foundation has received at least \$300,000 since 1988 from the Scaife Foundation, which is controlled by Richard Mellon Scaife -- a \$60,000 GOPAC donor who has given millions of dollars to groups who promote conspiracy theories about the Clinton White House. [Scaife Foundation annual reports, 1988-1994]

Company run by Southeastern Legal Foundation officers has given GOPAC almost \$300,000. According to *The Right Guide 1993*, the Chairman Emeritus of the Southeastern Legal Foundation was William H. Flowers and its Secretary/Treasurer was Amos McMullian. McMullian is the CEO of Flowers Industries, the Thomasville, GA baking company founded by Flowers. Flowers Industries has given GOPAC \$297,592, as well as \$24,800 to Gingrich's campaigns and \$15,000 in Republican soft money. [Common Cause, 2/10/95; GOPAC 1st quarter, 1995; LA Times, 1/29/95]

Gingrich ally Barr headed foundation in 1990-1991. Current Republican Rep. Robert Barr was the president of the Southeastern Legal Foundation in 1990 and 1991. Barr lost a race for the Republican nomination for US Senate in 1992, but was elected to represent Georgia's 7th district in 1994. Barr had previously served as Cobb County Republican chairman and as a US Attorney under Presidents Reagan and Bush. In Congress, Gingrich ally Barr has been an especially vocal critic of President Clinton. [Atlanta Constitution, 7/7/92]

4 RR office
Gingrich

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SARAH SCAIFE FOUNDATION INCORPORATED

Schedule of Grants Payable. Continued

	Payable, December 31, 1999	January 1 to December 31, 1999 <u>Approved</u>	Paid	Payable, December 31, 1999
Safe Streets Alliance, Washington, D.C. General operating support.	8	75,000	75,000	.
Shadow Financial Regulatory Committee, Chicago, Illinois General operating support.	15,000	.	.	15,000
Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts Center for the Study of Social and Political Change	.	75,000	75,000	.
Social Philosophy and Policy Foundation, Bowling Green, Ohio General operating support.	.	250,000	250,000	.
Publication support.	.	100,000	100,000	.
* Southeastern Legal Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia General operating support.	.	50,000	50,000	.
Southwestern Missouri State University Foundation, Springfield, Missouri Center for Defense and Strategic Studies	.	91,000	91,000	.
Stanford University, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California Research support.	.	120,000	50,000	50,000
Various programs support.	200,000	350,000	200,000	350,000
Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy	120,000	225,000	145,000	100,000
University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California Institute for East Asian Studies	.	100,000	10,000	10,000
University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois Center for the Study of the History of	.	.	.	.

Statement 12 of 12 continued

SARAH SCAIFE FOUNDATION INCORPORATED

Schedule of Grants Payable, Continued

	Payable December 31, 1992	January 1 to December 31, 1993 Approved	Paid	Payable December 31, 1993
Pepperdine University, Malibu, California				
Establish a Chair of Public Policy	\$ 250,000		250,000	
The Philanthropy Roundtable, Indianapolis, Indiana				
General operating support		25,000		25,000
Political Economy Research Center, Bozeman, Montana				
General operating and internship program support	50,000	250,000	200,000	
The Reason Foundation, Los Angeles, California				
General operating support		75,000	75,000	
Shadow Financial Regulatory Committee, Chicago, Illinois				
General operating support	20,000		15,000	15,000
Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts				
Center for the Study of Social and Political Change		75,000	75,000	
Social Philosophy and Policy Foundation, Bowling Green, Ohio				
General operating support		250,000	250,000	
* Southeastern Legal Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia				
General operating support		50,000	50,000	
Southwest Missouri State University Foundation, Springfield, Missouri				
Center for Defense and Strategic Studies		85,000	85,000	
Stanford University, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California				
International Studies, Security Affairs, Domestic Studies and Political Science Programs support	300,000	250,000	250,000	200,000
Special Archive Project	100,000		100,000	

Continued

Statement 29. Continued

SARAH SCAIFE FOUNDATION INCORPORATED

Statement of Grants. Continued

	Payable, December 31, 1991	January 1 to December 31, 1992 <u>Approved</u>	<u>Paid</u>	Payable, December 31, 1992
Social Philosophy and Policy Foundation, Bowling Green, Ohio				
General operating support	\$ -	250,000	250,000	-
* Southeastern Legal Foundation, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia				
General operating support	-	50,000	50,000	-
Southwest Missouri State University Foundation, Springfield, Missouri				
Center for Defense and Strategic Studies support	-	85,000	85,000	-
Stanford University, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California				
International Studies and Security Affairs and Domestic Studies Program	200,000	350,000	310,000	240,000
Political Science Program	25,000	120,000	85,000	60,000
Special Archive Project	-	500,000	400,000	100,000
The Teller Foundation, San Diego, California				
General operating support	-	25,000	25,000	-
Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts				
The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy	75,000	225,000	200,000	100,000
UCI Foundation, (University of California, Irvine) Irvine, California				
Graduate Fellowships in Public Choice Theory	-	50,000	50,000	-
UCLA Foundation, Los Angeles, California				
UCLA Graduate School of Management programs	50,000	-	50,000	-
United States Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the United Nations, Washington, D.C.				
General operating support	-	50,000	-	50,000
University of California, Berkeley, California				

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SARAH SCAIFE FOUNDATION INCORPORATED

Statement of Grants, Continued

	Payable, December 31, 1990	January 1 to December 31, 1991 <u>Approved</u>	<u>Paid</u>	Payable, December 31, 1991
Social Philosophy and Policy Foundation, Bowling Green, Ohio				
General operating support	\$ -	250,000	250,000	-
Special project funds for conference, "Restoration of Ideological Balance, Diversity and Tolerance within the Academy"	-	60,000	60,000	-
* Southeastern Legal Foundation, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia				
General operating support	-	50,000	50,000	-
Southwest Missouri State University Foundation, Springfield, Missouri				
Program support for the Center for Defense and Strategic Studies	-	85,000	85,000	-
Stanford University, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California				
Political science program	50,000	-	50,000	-
Conflict Management Research	-	50,000	25,000	25,000
International Studies and Security Affairs and Domestic Studies Program	-	350,000	150,000	200,000
The Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington, D.C.				
Research Project on Proliferation of Military Technology	-	50,000	50,000	-
Tax Foundation, Washington, D.C.				
General operating support	-	25,000	25,000	-
Tufts University, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts				
International security affairs graduate program	-	225,000	150,000	75,000
UCI Foundation, Irvine, California				
Graduate fellowships in public choice theory	30,000	-	30,000	-

(Continued)

STATEMENT 11

SARAH SCAIFE FOUNDATION INCORPORATED

Schedule of Grants Payable

	Payable, December 31, <u>1989</u>	January 1 to <u>December 31, 1990</u> <u>Approved</u>	<u>Paid</u>	Payable, December 31 <u>1990</u>
National Flag Foundation, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania General operating support	\$ -	5,000	5,000	-
National Strategy Information Center, Inc., New York, New York General operating support	-	300,000	300,000	-
New England Legal Foundation, Boston, Massachusetts General operating support	-	50,000	50,000	-
New York University, New York, New York Austrian Economics Program Publication support	-	100,000 11,000	100,000 11,000	-
Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy, San Francisco, California General operating support	-	100,000	50,000	50,000
The Reason Foundation, Santa Monica, California General operating and special projects support	-	100,000	100,000	-
Shadow Financial Regulatory Committee, Chicago, Illinois General operating support	-	20,000	15,000	15,000
Shady Side Academy, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Faculty Merit Compensation Endowment Fund	120,000	-	60,000	60,000
Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts Center for the Study of Social and Political Change	-	75,000	75,000	-
Southeastern Legal Foundation, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia General operating support	-	50,000	50,000	-
Stanford University, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California Domestic Studies program Friedman Scholar Fund	-	150,000 100,000	150,000 100,000	-

Schedule 2. Continued

SARAH SCAIFZ FOUNDATION INCORPORATED

Grants Payable

	Payable December 31, 1988	January 1 to December 31, 1989 Approved	January 1 to December 31, 1989 Paid	Payable December 31, 1989
Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts Center for the Study of Social and Political Change	\$ -	75,000	75,000	-
Social Philosophy and Policy Center Foundation, Bowling Green, Ohio General operating and program support	-	250,000	250,000	-
* Southeastern Legal Foundation, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia General operating support	-	25,000	25,000	-
Stanford University, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California National Security Affairs Program	-	100,000	100,000	-
Political Science program	-	75,000	25,000	50,000
Texas A&M University Development Foundation, College Station, Texas Karl Brunner Symposium	-	30,000	30,000	-
Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy	-	225,000	225,000	-
United States Global Strategy Council, Inc., Washington, D.C. General operating support	-	40,000	40,000	-
University of California, Berkeley, California Institute of East Asian Studies	-	60,000	60,000	-
University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois Center for the Study of the Economy and the State	50,000	100,000	100,000	50,000
Law and economics program	-	95,000	95,000	-

(Continued)

SARAH LAWRENCE FOUNDATION INCORPORATED

Grants Payable

	Payable December 31, 1971	December 31, 1970	December 31, 1969	December 31, 1968
* Southeastern Legal Foundation, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia General operating support	\$ -	25,000	25,000	-
Stanford University, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California Domestic Studies Program	-	150,000	150,000	-
International Studies Program	-	115,000	115,000	-
National Security Affairs Program	-	100,000	100,000	-
Tufts University, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts International Security Affairs Graduate Program	125,000	125,000	125,000	-
The UCLA Foundation, Los Angeles, California UCLA Graduate School of Management Research Programs	-	65,000	65,000	-
United States Global Strategy Council, Inc., Washington, D.C. General operating support	-	40,000	40,000	-
University of California, Berkeley, California Institute of East Asian Studies	-	40,000	40,000	-
University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois Center for the Study of the Economy and the State	-	100,000	100,000	-
Law and Economics Program	-	85,000	85,000	-
University of Rochester, Rochester, New York Bradley Policy Research Center support	-	50,000	50,000	-
International Seminar support	-	50,000	50,000	-
University of South Carolina Educational Foundation, Columbia, South Carolina Institute of International Studies	-	100,000	100,000	-

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National Journal's CongressDaily
April 13, 1995

SECTION: TAXES

LENGTH: 98 words

HEADLINE: Gingrich Blasts Tax Compliance Procedures

BODY:

House Speaker Gingrich trashed new tax compliance procedures Tuesday night and proposed using his so-called Corrections Day to eliminate the IRS lottery to determine audits. "We hope to replace the income tax and get the IRS out of your life," Gingrich said at an Atlanta fund-raiser for the Southeastern Legal Foundation. He later added his remark was "hyperbole," but said, "We will shrink it significantly." Corrections Day was proposed earlier this year as a weekly opportunity to have House floor votes to stop bureaucracies from enforcing regulations in specific situations.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 13, 1995

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USA TODAY

April 13, 1995, Thursday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 7A

LENGTH: 829 words

HEADLINE: Georgians have Gingrich on their mind / Hero or enemy, top Republican's talk of the town

BYLINE: Richard Wolf

DATELINE: KENNESAW, Ga.

BODY:

Like a triumphant warrior, House Speaker Newt Gingrich has come home to the people who sent him to slay the federal government just 100 days ago.

Having left as conspirator, he returned as captain. Where once he preached revolution, he now leads it.

But the folks back home have a message for the nation: You ain't seen nothing yet.

Love him or hate him, the speaker of the House is thought of as a neighbor to residents of Georgia's 6th congressional district in the posh Atlanta suburbs. So excuse them if they're not shocked by his sudden stardom.

Ever since the ex-history professor first ran for Congress in 1974, his populist conservatism has been part of the local lexicon. The political revolution Gingrich led last November and the legislative blitzkrieg he completed last week were hatched here.

"He's seen as a hero, as someone who's doing what they never thought could be done," says Atlanta's Emory University political scientist Merle Black. "He's one of these rare politicians who really thought the status quo could be changed."

And so Gingrich's return has been marked by packed houses, standing ovations and cries for more - at least from the Republicans and conservatives who make up the majority of his district. Liberal Democrats - "the other side," in Newt-speak - counter those cheers with jeers.

But on one point, there is agreement from friends and foes about the man who nearly lost his job here in 1990 and 1992: Despite his new duties, the former back-bencher really hasn't changed very much.

"This guy has been consistent since he was 15 years old," says Dick Williams, an Atlanta Journal columnist who's writing a book on Gingrich. "I think his language is a tad more moderate. I don't think for a minute his beliefs are."

Despite his fame - Gingrich now is accompanied by security officers, staff and reporters whenever he steps foot in public - the 51-year-old Pennsylvania native is still "Newt" back home. Unlike most predecessors, he does not use the

title "Speaker" when signing autographs. And he still takes time for small talk.

The reaction to his first 100 days in power has been positive. While "the other side" opposes his initiatives, he gets high marks for his energy and leadership abilities.

At Town Center mall northwest of Atlanta, shoppers are impressed:

-- Bob McCafferty of Woodstock, 72, a retired businessman who once considered Gingrich a "feisty loudmouth," says he and President Clinton are "the two best politicians I've seen since Roosevelt."

-- Molly McDonald, 24, a Kennesaw optician's assistant who's never been a big Gingrich fan, likes him better now. "I think he's trying to clean up Congress," she says.

But some folks wish he'd slow down - or even reverse course. "It seems like he's aiming to take everything away from the poor," says Daquen Owens of Marietta.

To be sure, Gingrich still has detractors who aren't impressed by the House's march through his Contract with America.

"It just confirms what I've always known, which is that he's a power-mad megalomaniac who's out to grab as much power and attention as possible," says Jonesboro lawyer David Worley, who nearly defeated Gingrich in 1990. "Getting people to vote for mom, the flag and apple pie does not make you another LBJ."

The lawyers and business people who turned out for Gingrich's speeches here in recent days have been treated to vintage Newt: attacks on Democrats, labor unions and liberal lobbyists; and conservative antidotes ranging from a smaller federal government to a balanced budget.

The tone has not changed - Gingrich lashes out at everything from the Internal Revenue Service to the American Association of Retired Persons, which stands in the way of his plan to transform Medicare. But gone is his reference to the "counterculture," subsumed into his tirade against the "welfare state."

"He's trying to appear more conciliatory," says Democratic consultant Beth Schapiro. "But it doesn't take long for your true colors to come out, and I think the nasty Newt's going to reappear sooner rather than later."

What remains are Gingrich's big ideas - including a "new partnership" between government and governed capable of rescuing not only "American civilization" and the "human race" but "the planet."

"I talk about a new partnership the same way in which in the 1930s the Democrats talked about the New Deal," Gingrich tells 1,000 conservative backers of the Southeastern Legal Foundation. "I believe in a free society; we're all partners. We all have to do our share."

LEVEL 1 - 162 OF 231 STORIES

Copyright 1991 PR Newswire Association, Inc.
PR Newswire

November 19, 1991, Tuesday

SECTION: Financial News

DISTRIBUTION: TO BUSINESS EDITOR

LENGTH: 467 words

HEADLINE: AMOS R. McMULLIAN OF FLOWERS INDUSTRIES ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF
SOUTHEASTERN LEGAL FOUNDATION

DATELINE: ATLANTA, Nov. 19

BODY:

Amos R. McMullian, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Flowers Industries, Inc. (NYSE: FLO), has been elected chairman of the board of trustees of the Southeastern Legal Foundation, Inc. (SLF), a non-profit, conservative law center working to support the general interest, the rights of individuals and limited government.

McMullian succeeds William W. Sprague Jr., chairman and chief executive officer of Savannah Foods & Industries, Inc., as chairman of the Atlanta-based foundation. Sprague continues to serve on the board of trustees of SLF and as a member of the foundation's executive committee.

"The mission of SLF is to stand up against unwarranted intrusion by individuals, governments, and courts seeking to oppress individual and property rights," McMullian said. "Our aim is to expand the work of the Foundation in the fight against the intrusive excesses of government, to work for limited government and to support the general interest. To do this will require continued backing from our friends and sustained financial support."

Since 1981, McMullian has been chief executive officer of Flowers Industries, Inc., a Fortune 500, New York Stock Exchange-listed specialty foods company based in Thomasville, Ga. Flowers has 33 manufacturing facilities located in 15 states serving regional and national markets with a variety of branded food products.

McMullian began his career with Flowers in 1963. He was appointed president and chief operating officer in 1976, chief executive officer in 1981 and chairman of the board in 1985. In addition to his service with SLF, McMullian is a director of the National Association of Manufacturers and chairman of the Thomasville Team 2000. A native of Jackson County, Fla., McMullian served three years in the Marine Corps. After his military service, he attended Florida State University and received a B.S. degree in 1962. McMullian and his wife, Jackie, live in Thomasville.

The Southeastern Legal Foundation, founded in 1976 as part of a nationwide movement to bring balance to the judicial system, has represented a wide variety

1991 PR Newswire, November 19, 1991

of individuals and organizations without charge in cases involving the public interest.

Currently the Foundation is involved in a case in which a federal district court held unconstitutional the city of Jacksonville's (Fla.) Minority Business Ordinance. Oral argument on the city's appeal of the ruling was heard last week by the U.S. 11th Circuit Court of Appeals. SLF is also defending a retired Tennessee school teacher who has been sued by environmentalists seeking to prevent her from using the farm that her family has operated for the past 70 years. CONTACT: Stephen Parker of the Southeastern Legal Foundation, 404-458-8313

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: 111991 AT010

The Gingrich Money Grid

FOOD & ALCOHOL & TOBACCO

	GOPAC	Progress & Freedom Fndn	Gingrich Camp. Cmte	Republican Soft Money
Coca-Cola	<i>unknown</i>	SECRET	\$25,349	\$69,356
Flowers Industries	\$272,592		\$24,800	\$15,000
Jos E Seagrams & Sons	<i>unknown</i>	SECRET	\$1,000	\$25,000
Quaker Oats	\$5,000		\$1,000	\$26,750
RJR Nabisco	\$50,000		\$14,500	\$414,752
Mrs Marvin Delores Schwan, <i>Schwan Sales</i>	\$279,905		\$8,600	
Thornton Stearns, <i>Vacuum Barrier Corp</i>	\$50,000		\$3,000	

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution
July 7, 1992

SECTION: STATE NEWS; Section D; Page 4

LENGTH: 908 words

HEADLINE: ELECTION '92 THE SENATE CANDIDATES Tough pitch by GOP's Bob Barr

BYLINE: By Mark Sherman STAFF WRITER

BODY:

Conservative platform: Former U.S. attorney talks about cutting taxes, spending.

The Republican Senate campaign is not being run in a courtroom, but don't tell former U.S. Attorney Bob Barr.

"The way you defeat Wyche Fowler is the way you defeat drug cartel members, corrupt politicians and white-collar criminals," Mr. Barr says often in his speeches. "I'm going to get in his face because that's the only way to defeat him."

This is tough talk from a man whose campaign slogan is "Tough Enough to Make a Difference." Mr. Barr is talking tough in this campaign about reducing taxes and spending, opposing socialized medicine and his opponents.

He is the only candidate, for example, suggesting elimination of the tax on capital gains. He is also the only one who opposes a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution in favor of a statutory cap on federal spending and an amendment that would require that surplus revenues be used to reduce the national debt.

The same brash confidence marked his tenure as the chief federal prosecutor in Atlanta. But unlike those days of constant media attention, Mr. Barr, a partner in a small Cobb law practice, is toiling in relative obscurity.

He has been unable to raise money and, once the lone candidate making a pitch to the party's right wing, he is now being pressed by another candidate, former Waycross Mayor John Knox, who is just as, if not more, conservative. Some Republicans believe his prosecution of former U.S. Rep. Pat Swindall, a fellow Republican, has turned off some voters as well.

Expects spot in runoff

Admittedly frustrated by the lack of attention, Mr. Barr, 43, nonetheless is certain that his fame has survived two years out of the limelight and will get him at least a runoff in the July 21 primary. "Not a day goes by when someone doesn't recognize me," he says.

The stocky lawyer from Cobb County burst onto the Atlanta scene in 1986 when President Reagan plucked him from a criminal defense practice and installed him as U.S. attorney for the Northern District of Georgia. He held the post for more

than three years until resigning in early 1990.

Mr. Barr's record includes successful prosecutions of members of the Medellin drug cartel, county commissioners and Swindall, who was convicted of lying to a federal grand jury.

"That said that whoever you are, you have to abide by the same standard everyone else does," says Mr. Barr.

Swindall, who is appealing his conviction, said his trial sent a different message.

"Why would a Republican do that to a Republican?" he said in an interview last week. "He had his sights on political office."

As a prosecutor, Mr. Barr was skillful in bringing media attention to his office, transforming an operation wary of publicity that could damage its cases into a virtual quote machine. Although Mr. Barr left the trial work to his subordinates, it was he who spoke for them.

His record also included highly publicized investigations of the Coca-Cola Co.'s business dealings in the Soviet Union, and whether then-Mayor Andrew Young had obstructed justice during a 1987 police investigation of former state Sen. Julian Bond.

In both instances, the probes were dropped without indictments, but critics maintain the publicity the principals received was, by itself, damaging.

"I've heard the criticism and I also heard a tremendous amount of praise for the way the office was run in an open manner, letting the citizens know what was going on," he says.

Robert Lawrence Barr Jr. was born in Iowa, but grew up traveling the globe as the son of a civil engineer.

He graduated from UCLA at the height of the Vietnam War and joined the Central Intelligence Agency as an analyst, working there through Watergate and under the leadership of George Bush.

Since moving to Atlanta from Washington in 1978, Mr. Barr has made no secret of his taste for politics. He worked for Mr. Bush's unsuccessful 1980 campaign for president. By 1985, he was Cobb Republican chairman.

When Mr. Barr decided to leave his post, it was widely assumed he would soon seek elective office. After a year as president of the conservative Southeastern Legal Foundation, Mr. Barr announced he would seek the Senate seat.

Relying on volunteers

Unable to afford professional political help, the campaign has relied on young volunteers to churn out news releases attacking Mr. Fowler and his Republican rivals.

Without TV, Mr. Barr's campaign has consisted mainly of speeches to civic and Republican groups and tiring drives across the state in search of votes.

Indefatigable though he may be, Mr. Barr has seen his share of frustration. Mr. Barr says he was offended, for instance, when the president - whom Mr. Barr greatly admired from their days at the CIA - endorsed former Peace Corps Director Paul Coverdell in the Senate race.

He has tried to make up for the lack of money by issuing a lengthy written platform, the only candidate who has done so. It spells out Mr. Barr's staunchly conservative positions on dozens of issues. The heading "Federal Funding of Obscene Art," for instance, tells a reader clearly that Mr. Barr is no fan of the National Endowment for the Arts.

With five candidates on the ballot and Mr. Barr listed first, his hopes rest with a fractured Republican vote that would propel him into a runoff.

"There are differences between us. I just hope the public takes some time to find out what they are," he says.

GRAPHIC: The Bob Barr file Age: 43 Home: Marietta Occupation: Lawyer Experience: Partner in Plichta & Associates, Cobb law firm, 1991-present; president, Southeastern Legal Foundation, 1990-91; U.S. attorney for the Northern District of Georgia, 1986-1990. Political: Ran for Georgia House of Representatives, 1984; Cobb County Republican chairman, 1985-1986. Personal: Married, two children. Campaign theme: "Tough Enough to Make a Difference." Quote: "This is my philosophy of public service: You take on the challenge, you let people know what you are doing, you let the world and the bad guys know where you stand; you fight them face to face, toe to toe, eye to eye; you fight hard and you win!" On the issues The economy: Reduce budget deficit through a statute capping increases in federal spending at 3 percent annually; pass constitutional amendment mandating that surplus revenue be used to reduce the national debt; eliminate the tax on capital gains and end the so-called luxury tax; enact the line-item veto. Health care: Favors income tax credits for lower-income taxpayers' insurance and health care costs; full deductibility of taxpayers' health insurance premiums; tax credits to small businesses offering health coverage; tax incentives to businesses offering health plans that encourage preventive care. Photo: Bob Barr

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 8, 1992

Copyright 1991 PR Newswire Association, Inc.

PR Newswire

November 19, 1991, Tuesday

SECTION: Financial News

DISTRIBUTION: TO BUSINESS EDITOR

LENGTH: 467 words

HEADLINE: AMOS R. McMULLIAN OF FLOWERS INDUSTRIES ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF
SOUTHEASTERN LEGAL FOUNDATION

DATELINE: ATLANTA, Nov. 19

BODY:

Amos R. McMullian, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Flowers Industries, Inc. (NYSE: FLO), has been elected chairman of the board of trustees of the Southeastern Legal Foundation, Inc. (SLF), a non-profit, conservative law center working to support the general interest, the rights of individuals and limited government.

McMullian succeeds William W. Sprague Jr., chairman and chief executive officer of Savannah Foods & Industries, Inc., as chairman of the Atlanta-based foundation. Sprague continues to serve on the board of trustees of SLF and as a member of the foundation's executive committee.

"The mission of SLF is to stand up against unwarranted intrusion by individuals, governments, and courts seeking to oppress individual and property rights," McMullian said. "Our aim is to expand the work of the Foundation in the fight against the intrusive excesses of government, to work for limited government and to support the general interest. To do this will require continued backing from our friends and sustained financial support."

Since 1981, McMullian has been chief executive officer of Flowers Industries, Inc., a Fortune 500, New York Stock Exchange-listed specialty foods company based in Thomasville, Ga. Flowers has 33 manufacturing facilities located in 15 states serving regional and national markets with a variety of branded food products.

McMullian began his career with Flowers in 1963. He was appointed president and chief operating officer in 1976, chief executive officer in 1981 and chairman of the board in 1985. In addition to his service with SLF, McMullian is a director of the National Association of Manufacturers and chairman of the Thomasville Team 2000. A native of Jackson County, Fla., McMullian served three years in the Marine Corps. After his military service, he attended Florida State University and received a B.S. degree in 1962. McMullian and his wife, Jackie, live in Thomasville.

The Southeastern Legal Foundation, founded in 1976 as part of a nationwide movement to bring balance to the judicial system, has represented a wide variety of individuals and organizations without charge in cases involving the public interest.

Currently the Foundation is involved in a case in which a federal district

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 70 STORIES

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

May 30, 1996, Thursday, ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: EXTRA

LENGTH: 590 words

HEADLINE: Group drops challenge of county arts, human service grants

BYLINE: Carlos Campos; STAFF WRITER

BODY:

The Southeastern Legal Foundation has dropped its lawsuits challenging Fulton County's awarding of grants to arts and human service organizations.

Matt Glavin, president of the Southeastern Legal Foundation, said successful legislation sponsored in this year's General Assembly session by Rep. Nan Orrock (D-Atlanta) derailed the lawsuits.

"This is not unusual when we file lawsuits," Glavin said. "When we file lawsuits, it prompts legislative action, sometimes good, sometimes not so good."

Orrock openly acknowledged her role in scuttling the legal action.

"I'm proud to stand accused of derailing by the Southeastern Legal Foundation," Orrock said.

The conservative legal foundation, chaired by Sandy Springs lawyer Robert Proctor, filed five lawsuits in five days last August.

The foundation also sent out press releases each day, dubbing the event "taxpayers' revenge week."

Three of the suits challenged the county's annual issue of more than \$ 7 million in grants to private, nonprofit human service, arts and welfare groups.

But the lawsuits were quietly dropped, one by one, throughout the winter and early spring.

Last week, the county approved its arts and human service grants for the 1996-97 budget year. Arts and culture groups received \$ 2.3 million in grants, while human service groups got \$ 2.1 million.

Southeastern Legal Foundation officials argued the county grants amounted to "gratuities," or gifts prohibited by the state Constitution.

The foundation particularly questioned the constitutionality of a 1982 statute that allowed counties with populations of more than 550,000 a Fulton was the only one at the time to make such grants. Such population bills that apply to only one county are now illegal, Orrock said.

The Atlanta Journal, May 30, 1996

Although a Fulton Superior Court judge initially ruled in favor of the foundation on the constitutional question after a hearing, the Georgia Supreme Court later sent the case back for trial.

Orrock introduced legislation in this year's General Assembly session that lowered that population requirement to allow several other counties to make such contributions to nonprofit groups.

Orrock, whose east Atlanta district includes many senior citizens and artisans, said the money Fulton County gives to these groups is not a gift. It is payment for services rendered and an argument Fulton County Attorney Susan Forsling made before the Supreme Court.

"We did phoning around to the major urban areas in the state," Orrock said. "This is how they're providing services now. It's a common-sense approach. A lot of services, human needs and human services are provided without the county having to staff and set up and run an operation with public employees."

Proctor and Glavin, however, argued that individuals, not government, should choose the cultural and charitable organizations to which they wish to contribute.

Harriett Sanford, director of Fulton County's arts council, said she was pleased with the outcome of the cases.

"We're just happy that we can go back and serve the public and not spend time on legal matters," Sanford said.

Fulton Human Services Director Deborah Poole did not return calls to her office seeking comment.

Glavin said he doesn't regard dropping the lawsuits as a total loss.

"Every case we do we argue twice," Glavin said, "once in court and once in the court of public opinion. I think we instigated a public debate on that issue. Clearly this didn't turn out the way we would have preferred it to turn out."

LOAD-DATE: June 1, 1996

LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 70 STORIES

Copyright 1996 Times Publishing Company
St. Petersburg Times

May 17, 1996, Friday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

SECTION: CITY & STATE; Pg. 10B

DISTRIBUTION: CITY & STATE; METRO & STATE; TAMPA & STATE

LENGTH: 593 words

HEADLINE: Fight brews over campaign funding

BYLINE: PETER WALLSTEN

DATELINE: TALLAHASSEE

BODY:

High-level showdowns are brewing in the debate over whether the state should continue setting aside millions of dollars in public money for political campaigns.

On one side, there's Secretary of State Sandra Mortham, who dubs the program "welfare for politicians." She happily declared it dead when the Legislature decided this month not to renew the public financing trust fund.

Mortham's office is responsible for the program, but she plans to stop collecting money for it when the trust fund expires Nov. 4. The funds come from election filing fees and tax revenues.

Gov. Lawton Chiles, however, says he will sue Mortham if she follows through on that promise.

Chiles and others say the public financing law is the only protection against wealthy special interests' buying candidates - and elections. The end of the trust fund doesn't mean the end of the law, they say.

"It boils down to an issue of fairness to the public versus an overreaching advantage for extreme wealth," said Dexter Douglass, Chiles' general counsel. "And the governor obviously comes down on the side of protecting the people."

Thursday brought a new twist: The leader of an Atlanta group said he will sue Chiles if Chiles sues Mortham.

"We will attempt to have the entire public financing scheme ruled unconstitutional - because I think it's wrong," said Matt Glavin, president of the Southeastern Legal Foundation, a 20-year-old organization he calls the "conservative version of the ACLU."

The foundation, which neither Mortham nor Chiles' office had heard of until

St. Petersburg Times, May 17, 1996

Thursday, has a staff of three lawyers, an annual budget of \$ 1-million, and a network of 125 volunteer lawyers in nine Southeastern states.

"They're just another group," Douglass said. "If the governor and the state of Florida were worried about every group that wanted to sue us, I expect we wouldn't sleep much."

Even with the program intact, no candidate would be eligible to receive public financing until 1998, when the statewide races for governor and Cabinet posts occur. But money still would be collected from filing fees in local and district races.

Douglass said the governor could decide to call a special session to have lawmakers vote to renew the trust fund. If he doesn't, Chiles still expects Mortham's office to collect the money and put it in the state's general revenue pool.

The law allows candidates for statewide office to collect matching funds on contributions of \$ 250 or less. Candidates who take part must cap their spending at \$ 5-million in the governor's race and \$ 2-million in the Cabinet races. If a candidate who does not participate spends more than the cap, the state will pay enough for the opponent to keep up.

That provision allowed Chiles to compete with Republican challenger Jeb Bush in 1994. Bush raised nearly \$ 10-million in private contributions while Chiles, who agreed to the cap, raised just \$ 3.9-million. State funds made up the difference.

Mortham said that year, the program used about \$ 1-million from the trust fund and \$ 11-million from tax revenues.

"I think most citizens would agree those dollars would be better spent on senior citizens, crime prevention (and) education," Mortham said.

Supporters say the Chiles-Bush race shows why the program is needed.

"People have to ask themselves whom they would prefer to fund campaigns, the special interests or you, the public," said Sally Spener, executive director of Common Cause Florida.

GRAPHIC: BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO, (2); Sandra Mortham; Gov. Lawton Chiles

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 20, 1996

LEVEL 1 - 14 OF 231 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Atlanta Constitution
The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

March 26, 1996, Tuesday, CONSTITUTION EDITION

SECTION: STATE NEWS

LENGTH: 282 words

HEADLINE: Legal group wants in redistricting suit;
Act attacked: Constitutionality of "pre-clearance" of voting law changes is questioned.

BYLINE: Ken Foskett; STAFF WRITER

BODY:

A conservative legal foundation filed suit Monday to join Georgia's redistricting battle, striking at the enforcement of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

The Southeastern Legal Foundation asked a federal court in Atlanta to declare unconstitutional Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, which empowers the U.S. Justice Department to "pre-clear" any election law changes in mostly Southern states.

The motion to intervene was filed in a suit brought by the Justice Department against the state of Georgia last week. The Justice Department's suit seeks to prevent the state from using new House and Senate reapportionment maps drawn last summer, which Justice has refused to pre-clear because the plans dismantle some majority black districts.

An expert on voting rights law said the courts and Congress have consistently affirmed the pre-clearance portion of the Voting Rights Act, which applies in whole or in part to 16 states, including most of the South.

"I think they are trying to make a political statement," said Laughlin McDonald, an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer.

The Voting Rights Act was adopted in 1965 and the Section 5 powers to review Southern election laws was extended by Congress in 1982. The section is scheduled to expire in 2007.

The foundation argued that the Justice Department has abused its powers by using them as "a tool for partisan gerrymandering and conscious racial discrimination against majorities and in favor of race-based 'proportional representation' theories."

For the foundation's claim to be heard, U.S. District Judge Julie Carnes would first have to let the foundation into the Justice Department's case. The case is pending.

LOAD-DATE: May 21, 1996

LEVEL 1 - 41 OF 231 STORIES

Copyright 1996 P.G. Publishing Co.
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

February 11, 1996, Sunday, TWO STAR EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL, Pg. B3

LENGTH: 821 words

HEADLINE: The mother of all legal quandaries;
Conservatives are embracing judicial activism without much thought for the
alarming consequences

BYLINE: GEORGE F. WILL

DATELINE: ATLANTA

BODY:

Northeast of here, hard by the South Carolina border, in Toccoa, Ga., Waymon Earls, a tow truck driver, and his wife Sharon have started something that demonstrates the deep roots and strong sinews, but also some ambiguities, of today's conservatism. However, the Earls don't think they started the fight they are waging here with the help of the Southeastern Legal Foundation, a nonprofit public interest law firm spoiling for fights on behalf of conservative causes.

The Earls think, reasonably, that they are acting in self-defense. The aggressors who started the fight are the people in the school district who, without consulting the Earls, gave the Earls' daughters, ages 14 and 15, a bag of condoms, prescriptions for birth control pills, Pap smears and tests for AIDS.

Last June the Athens (Ga.) Banner-Herald quoted the Toccoa district school superintendent: "Schools are now taking over responsibilities that aren't being covered in the home. When parents won't do it, we have to." Won't do what -- give their teen-agers condoms? The Earls are seeking monetary damages for what they say were violations of school rules, state law and the state constitution.

Furthermore, they allege violations of their rights under the U.S. Constitution, including their First Amendment right to the free exercise of religion (which they say encompasses child rearing) and recognized 14th Amendment "due process" rights to parental sovereignty. The Earls say they are just trying to get policy to conform to precedents.

They cite a line of cases beginning with two from the 1920s. In one the Supreme Court overturned a Nebraska law (passed as a result of World War I hysteria) prohibiting foreign language instruction to school children. The court said the prohibition impermissibly infringed parental child-rearing rights. In the other case, the court overturned an Oregon law requiring parents to send children to public schools. The court said the law unreasonably interfered with the liberty of parents "to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control."

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, February 11, 1996

These cases were examples of "substantive due process," which those conservatives who stress judicial restraint have generally considered a contradiction in terms. Such conservatives oppose wringing policy substance, even conservative substance, from a clause they say has merely procedural meaning. And a lawyer for the Southeastern Legal Foundation cheerfully says, "We are out to make bad law in order to provoke legislatures to repeal bad laws."

The foundation believes that for too long liberals have been defining the substance of substantive due process, so conservatives should get into the game. The foundation has been in the game for 20 years. Similar organizations practicing conservative judicial activism -- yes, many conservatives do not consider that an oxymoron -- have proliferated since the early 1970s, when the first of them was formed with the help of a California lawyer named Ed Meese.

One can sympathize entirely with the Earls and applaud the social policies organizations like the foundation advocate while regretting the zest with which some conservatives are succumbing to the temptation to seek judicial relief from offensive policies. That often means judicial relief from the rigors of politics.

Consider the rapidly spreading movement to pass "parental rights amendments" to state constitutions. The most common formulation is: "The right of parents to direct the upbringing and education of their children shall not be infringed." Those 17 words are rich in potential for breeding litigation about matters that should be settled by legislation, or by processes of political persuasion.

Both politics and social accommodation are discouraged by casting issues in the brook-no-compromise language of rights. Is the parental right to "direct" the "upbringing and education" of children infringed by school curricula or texts or dress codes that parents disapprove? Do we want to turn every parent's grievance into grounds for suing?

Rep. Steve Largent, a freshman Republican from Oklahoma, has 125 co-sponsors for his "Parental Rights and Responsibilities Act," which says, among much else, that "no federal, state or local government ... shall interfere with or usurp the right of a parent to direct the upbringing of the child of the parent." At first blush, that may seem unexceptional. And it is reasonable to execrate the many governmental provocations, from condom distributions to propagandizing curricula, that have moved Largent and other good people, including the Earls, to seek to codify parental rights.

However, there is a competing consideration: It is injurious to democracy to write into law language certain to breed litigation that will draw courts even deeper into the unjudicial business of reviewing and rearranging the details of social life.

NOTES:

George F. Will is a syndicated columnist for The Washington Post.

LOAD-DATE: February 12, 1996

LEVEL 1 - 49 OF 231 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Atlanta Constitution
The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

February 2, 1996, Friday, ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: LOCAL NEWS

LENGTH: 423 words

HEADLINE: MULTIMILLIONAIRE CANDIDATE;
150 pay \$ 1,000 to hear new front-runner Forbes;
A poll puts the flat-tax advocate 9 points ahead of Bob Dole in New;
Hampshire.

BYLINE: Mark Sherman; STAFF WRITER

BODY:

A wide-ranging and curious crowd of well-heeled Atlantans greeted surging GOP candidate Steve Forbes on Thursday in Buckhead, where the multimillionaire candidate declared himself in the presidential race "for the duration."

On the same day he was declared the front-runner in New Hampshire, Forbes interrupted his campaign schedule in Iowa to fly to Atlanta for a chicken dinner at the Hotel Nikko, where more than 150 people paid \$ 1,000 each to hear his anti-Washington message and support for a flat tax.

"We have to change the culture in Washington," he said.

The magazine publisher has already spent more than \$ 15 million from his personal fortune of \$ 400 million. As part of his effort to build a national campaign and deflect charges that he is trying to buy the nomination, Forbes has begun raising money around the country.

"Citizens want to participate with their own resources to get the message of growth and opportunity out to the American people," Forbes told reporters.

Forbes visited Atlanta on the same day a Globe and WBZ-TV poll awarded him front-runner status in New Hampshire. The survey showed him leading his closest rival, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, by 9 percentage points. (The poll had a margin of error of plus or minus 5 percentage points.)

"My opponents have discovered that I'm on the radar screen in a very big way," Forbes said.

Republicans will hold caucuses in Iowa on Feb. 12, and a primary in New Hampshire on Feb. 20. Georgia's primary is March 5.

Greeting Forbes was a crowd that included such supporters as Matt Glavin, president of the Southeastern Legal Foundation; Wesley Cantrell, CEO of Lanier Worldwide; Jim Richards, president of Southwire Co.; and former state Rep. Kil Townsend of Atlanta, a Republican.

The Atlanta Journal, February 2, 1996

Among the merely curious was Jack Gibbs, executive director of the Christian Coalition in Georgia. "He obviously has a message that's resonating with a lot of people," said Gibbs, noting that his own organization does not endorse candidates.

Others at the dinner were lobbyists Rusty Kidd, retired Wachovia executive John Stevens, and Paul Womack, a retired executive at First Financial Management Corp.

Forbes also spent time defending two aides, R.E. Carter Wrenn and Tom Ellis, who have been associated with racially charged political ads and mailings in past campaigns in North Carolina.

"We've got a good team. We're going to keep the team," Forbes said. He said he would accept in his campaign "everyone who subscribes to my agenda."

LOAD-DATE: February 4, 1996

LEVEL 1 - 121 OF 231 STORIES

Copyright 1994 The Atlanta Constitution
The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

September 10, 1994

SECTION: STATE NEWS; Section C; Page 13

LENGTH: 571 words

HEADLINE: School board to vote on book removals Oconee panel also will decide future guidelines

BYLINE: By Rebecca McCarthy STAFF WRITER

BODY:

Watkinsville - At the Monday night meeting of the Oconee County Board of Education the first chapter should close on removing nine V.C. Andrews novels from the high school library and a new one may open on which books in the future will be banned.

Parents Geoff and Connie Rushing in May challenged books by Andrews, a prolific juvenile horror writer whose books talk explicitly about such issues as abuse, incest and rape. The 21-member school system media committee last month endorsed removing eight of the nine, recommending that "Garden of Shadows" stay in circulation. The board is expected to vote on the committee's recommendations Monday.

Superintendent Debra Harden has suggested "Garden of Shadows" be placed in a restricted area of the library and that students be required to show written parental permission before checking it out - a recommendation the Rushings have appealed to the board. They want the book removed altogether.

The board also is expected to consider an Aug. 1 motion by school board member Kay Shepard that instructs Harden and her staff to develop procedures for screening all incoming and existing materials "to prevent offensive, vulgar, and educationally unsuitable materials from being part of the libraries/media center or curriculum." The motion adds that materials won't be "arbitrarily" removed.

The Aug. 1 motion followed a controversial order passed by the board on July 11 that provided for the evaluation and removal of books in the library and classroom found to be "sexually explicit and/or pornographic." It was later rescinded amid protests and threats of lawsuits.

"We're very concerned about this second motion and see little difference in the language," said Bill Yarbrough, co-chair of Resolving Educational Adversity Diplomatically (READ) Oconee County, a citizens' group opposing censorship that has been monitoring the board since July. "I don't agree with pulling books off the shelves even if they are challenged. They can be put in a restricted area."

The new motion was drafted by the Rushings' attorney, Josh Kenyon of the conservative Southeastern Legal Foundation, which describes itself as dedicated to the "preservation of the free enterprise system and individual liberties."

1994 The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, September 10, 1994

Kenyon said that two Oconee school board members asked for his assistance and that he consulted lawyers with the conservative Charlottesville, Va.-based Rutherford Institute, which has an office in Atlanta. He said he was "trying to get language that was approved by the Supreme Court" in a case involving parents who asked a school board in New York state to remove a list of school library books.

But there may still be problems with the Aug. 1 motion, said William Lee, a University of Georgia journalism professor. The second part of the motion intrigues him, he said, "because they're not saying they won't be removing books; they're saying it won't be done arbitrarily. But assessments by non-experts are arbitrary."

According to Lee, the 1982 Supreme Court decision says that books can be removed from school libraries for lack of educational suitability and for vulgarity. There is a distinction between those two criteria and suppressing ideas because they are offensive, he said.

"What's critical is the motivation of the decision-maker," Lee said. "The heart of the [Supreme Court] case is you can't suppress ideas just because you don't like them."

GRAPHIC: Map: Map shows the location of Oconee County.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 1994

54TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 American Political Network, Inc.
The Hotline

June 9, 1994

SECTION: GOVERNORS '94

LENGTH: 520 words

HEADLINE: GEORGIA: WILL CONTROVERSY FOLLOW THE "JESSE HELMS CROWD?"

BODY:

Businessman Guy Millner (R) is expected to unveil a new TV ad this week that "sharply criticizes" Gov. Zell Miller (D). The ad "should come as no surprise to Miller. For months he has been bracing for an assault because he knows who's behind it -- former Jesse Helms political consultant Alex Castellanos." Months ago, Miller told Dem activists that this election "is going to be the ugliest, nastiest, meanest, most brutal race this state has ever seen." He warned that "the Jesse Helms crowd" will be involved, referring to Castellanos, who is Millner's media consultant, and Jefferson Marketing Inc., which is working for ex-state Rep. Paul Heard (R). Both Castellanos and Jefferson "have drawn fire for their work with Helms." In Helms' '90 race against Charlotte Mayor Harvey Gantt, who is black, Castellanos produced an ad that showed white hands crumbling a rejection letter, with the VO blaming "quotas" for the scenario. GOPers "offer no apologies" for the hires. Millner manager David Shafer: "We intend to talk about Zell Miller's record, and that won't always be pleasant." Miller manager Jim Andrews "said consultants should not be an issue" in the race but Jefferson's actions for Helms "stepped over the line. It went beyond strategy." Heard manager Matt Glavin: "We chose them because they are experts at guerilla warfare" (Walston, ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 6/7).

PILING ON MILLER: In a 60-second spot that began airing 6/8 in selected markets, Millner attacks Miller's record on crime. Partial text: "Zell Miller is releasing through his pardon and parole board, violent criminals only serving one-third of their time. In fact, we have an average of 200 criminals a week being released into our streets and into our neighborhoods. Tell me why we are letting a violent criminal out early when we've had empty prisons that we built with our bond money that we didn't have open?" (Millner release, 6/8). Heard 6/8 unveiled a mobile billboard "that shows the amount of violent criminals released" under Miller. A Heard release said the sign will travel with Heard and "will change daily based up the rate of early release of violent criminals" 6/8). Also: State Rep. Charles "Judy" Poag, ex-Waycross Mayor John Knox (R) and USAF Col Nimrod McNair (R). Primary 7/19.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

56TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 The Atlanta Constitution
The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

June 8, 1994

SECTION: STATE NEWS; Section D; Page 4

LENGTH: 575 words

HEADLINE: Election '94 Ex-Helms advisers to take on governor

BYLINE: By Charles Walston STAFF WRITER

BODY:

Republican gubernatorial candidate Guy Millner is expected to unveil a new TV commercial this week that sharply criticizes Democratic incumbent Gov. Zell Miller.

The ad should come as no surprise to Miller. For months he has been bracing for an assault because he knows who's behind it - former Jesse Helms political consultant Alex Castellanos.

Several months ago, Miller told Democratic activists that this year's election "is going to be the ugliest, nastiest, meanest, most brutal race this state has ever seen."

Miller warned Georgia Democrats that "the Jesse Helms crowd" will be involved, referring to veterans of Helms' vicious Senate campaigns in North Carolina: Castellanos, who is the media consultant for Millner, and Jefferson Marketing Inc. of Raleigh, which is working for GOP candidate Paul Heard.

The Republicans offer no apologies for their aggressive battle plan. "We intend to talk about Zell Miller's record, and that won't always be pleasant," said David Shafer, Millner's campaign manager.

Media consultants are important to modern campaign strategy, helping to set the tone for TV, radio and direct-mail advertising. Both Castellanos and Jefferson Marketing have drawn fire for their work with Helms.

In Helms' 1990 race against Charlotte Mayor Harvey Gantt, who is black, Castellanos produced a commercial that showed a pair of white hands crumpling a job rejection letter, with narration that blamed the scenario on "quotas." Some Gantt supporters said the ad was an attempt to stir racial resentment, but Castellanos defended it.

"What we said in that ad was that nobody should get a job or be denied a job because of the color of their skin, and I believe that," Castellanos said last week.

'Experts at guerrilla warfare'

Castellanos' association with Helms began in the 1970s when he worked for the

1994 The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, June 8, 1994

Congressional Club, a conservative political action committee controlled by Helms and his supporters. In the mid '70s, Castellanos started Jefferson Marketing as a direct-mail company, but he left after a couple of years.

According to Castellanos, the Congressional Club was a "client" of Jefferson Marketing. But in 1985, the Federal Elections Commission sued Jefferson Marketing, alleging that the Congressional Club actually controlled Jefferson Marketing and that Jefferson Marketing had made illegal campaign contributions to candidates Helms supported. A year later, Jefferson Marketing officials agreed to separate ownership of the company from Helms' PAC and to pay a \$ 10,000 fine.

In 1992, the U.S. Justice Department filed a lawsuit claiming the North Carolina GOP tried to discourage blacks from voting in Helms' 1990 race by sending out 125,000 postcards that made false statements about voter eligibility. The state party and Jefferson Marketing promised not to engage in any future efforts to suppress voter turnout.

Jim Andrews, Miller's campaign manager, said consultants should not be an issue in a political race. He is a colleague of James Carville, who ran President Clinton's campaign in 1992. But Andrews said Jefferson Marketing's actions for Helms "stepped over the line. It went beyond strategy."

Mark Stephens, the Jefferson Marketing producer working with Heard's campaign, did not return telephone calls. But Matt Glavin, Heard's campaign manager, defended the decision to hire the company.

"We chose them because they are experts at guerrilla warfare," Glavin said. ||

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 11, 1994

64TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Times

November 1, 1992, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; NATION; CAMPAIGN '92; NEWS ANALYSIS; Pg. A6

LENGTH: 1658 words

HEADLINE: Four more years? Few see significant changes

BYLINE: Ralph Z. Hallow; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

Speculating about the nature of a second George Bush term once seemed like a possibility too remote to contemplate and too dull to even discuss.

President Bush has narrowed the race to a statistical dead heat in several polls and removed the remote aspect, but the dullness of limited expectations lingers.

"One of the most important things in a second Bush term is what won't be done," former Reagan adviser Martin Anderson says when pressed to name a significant, exciting accomplishment he expects from four more years.

Mr. Anderson is a Bush supporter whose greatest gratification is a belief not that the president has acquired vision, but rather that he has learned his lesson about relying on tax increases to reduce the deficit.

Like a migraine, the dullness factor nags the president's more conservative critics, who, in their lingering fixation on Ronald Reagan, long for the visionary government-slayer Mr. Bush never was cut out to be.

Nor is he the frenetic conservative activist who deeply believes government has the answers, so long as they bear the tags "entrepreneurial," "empowerment" or "pro-growth."

"I saw nothing during the campaign to suggest Bush has a coherent pro-growth message that includes shrinking the government," says former Reagan budget official Lawrence Kudlow. "He occasionally talked about freezing spending, tax incentives, privatization, limiting unnecessary law suits and empowerment in education, housing and health care, but not in a single coherent statement a la Reagan."

Even the president's fired-up delivery of a "Here's what I'll do" speech in Detroit back in September, when he sounded a bit like his spirited government-can-make-it-happen housing secretary, Jack Kemp, left some influential Republicans skeptical.

"I see very little hope we'll get much different in second term," says

The Washington Times, November 1, 1992

William Myers, president of the South Carolina Policy Council, one of 26 conservative think tanks around the country. "You have to look at what he's done, like championing the civil rights bill, the Americans With Disabilities Act and the Clean Air Act."

But to the extent these measures endorsed an activist government role, they also were not high on the president's list of priorities. Rather, they were political moves desgined to satisfy interest groups that someone told the president he needed to placate.

The problem is that Mr. Bush is a conservative not of his time, a man skeptical that the federal government can do much that isn't more harmful than good, except in foreign policy and trade. So he has no vision on the domestic front because he doesn't see the use for one, and he hasn't met one he thinks will work.

"Modern conservative activists don't think that way," says Matt Glavin, president of the Georgia Public Policy Council. "But Bush wasn't enough of a traditional, nonactivist conservative to resist pressure to spend and regulate more than any other Republican president I can remember."

Many Republicans who served in previous administrations privately acknowledge that it's hard to think of something that stands out as a passionate belief that Mr. Bush would go to the mat for in a second term, with the exception of free trade.

And several conservative leaders attending a summit meeting of the political right here last week speculated that a Bush victory Tuesday would be by such a narrow plurality as to deny any claim to a mandate.

This, they lamented, would leave to the tender mercies of a Democratic Congress his sporadic outlines for reductions in tax rates and federal spending growth and for what conservatives are pleased to call his "nonsocialist" approaches to expanding health care nationally.

These conservative leaders, part of any Republican candidate's electoral base, do want his re-election, but less for what they think he may do than for what they fear a Clinton-Democratic Congress combination will do.

Establishment Republicans profess a slightly different view of a second Bush term. Donald T. Regan, former Treasury secretary and White House chief of staff in President Reagan's two terms, thinks Mr. Bush will have something that is almo

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

August 13, 1993

SECTION: LOCAL NEWS; Section D; Page 7

LENGTH: 347 words

HEADLINE: Two groups suing city over domestic partnership laws

BYLINE: By Holly Morris STAFF WRITER

BODY:

The city of Atlanta's two new domestic partnership ordinances faced their first legal challenge Thursday as attorneys for a pair of conservative groups argued that they violate the state constitution and the Home Rule Act.

Attorneys for the Southeastern Legal Foundation and Family Concerns, a fundamentalist Christian group, also asked Fulton County Superior Court Judge Joel Fryer to grant a temporary restraining order.

The order would have stopped the city from registering domestic partners and from proceeding with plans to extend city benefits to registered domestic partners of city employees beginning in January.

During a two-hour hearing, Family Concerns attorney David Myers argued that the two ordinances, along with a 1986 amendment to the city's Bill of Rights forbidding discrimination based on sexual orientation, all violate the Home Rule Act provision that cities may not take actions "affecting private or civil law governing private or civil relationships."

The plaintiffs, none of whom attended the hearing, include state Rep. Billy McKinney (D-Atlanta) and City Councilmen D.L. "Buddy" Fowlkes and Jared Samples. They sued the seven council members and council President Marvin Arrington, who voted to extend benefits to domestic partners.

Judge Fryer scolded the plaintiffs for misusing the emergency provisions of a temporary restraining order.

"This doesn't look like an emergency. What am I going to restrain?" he asked Mr. Myers. "To restrain someone from saying, 'I am Sam's domestic partner; I want to be treated the same as any other person'? Ludicrous!"

Because the aim of the suit was clearly to get the legal issues heard by the Georgia Supreme Court as quickly as possible, Judge Fryer recommended that the attorneys ask for a stipulated order as the basis for appeal to the higher court.

At the same time, the judge confessed that he was intrigued by the issues of the case, and if the two sides could not agree on another approach, he would allow them to file briefs - one each - on the temporary restraining order in two

weeks.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: August 14, 1993

LEVEL 1 - 205 OF 231 STORIES

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ABA Journal

May, 1984

70 May ABA J. 71

LENGTH: 3199 words

SECTION: Feature; Profile

TITLE: The Ralph Naders of the Right

AUTHOR: Nancy Blodgett

Nancy Blodgett is a free-lance writer based in Chicago and has written for numerous legal periodicals.

TEXT:

THERE was a time when liberal organizations could claim a monopoly on "public interest" cases. But those days are over.

The advent of more than a dozen conservative, pro-business legal foundations has expanded the definition of public interest. What's more, these rightist groups frequently joust with their ideological adversaries and are gaining quickly on them in funding and influence.

These "Ralph Naders of the Right" seem to be doing an increasingly effective job of pressing for their causes and presenting them to the courts. Of course, this has led to a war of words between them and the liberals. For example, Dan Popeo, director of the aggressively conservative Washington Legal Foundation, dirides the American Civil Liberties Union as the "American Criminal Lovers Union." Burt Neuborne, legal director of the ACLU, responds, "As long as they keep beating their chest and acting like Tarzan, no one will take them seriously."

The granddaddy of them all

The foundation that started all the controversy is the Pacific Legal Foundation. Based in Sacramento, Calif., its mission is to defend the free enterprise system, preserve individual property rights and reduce the power of both the government and the liberals. Pacific first opened its doors in 1973 with a staff of three lawyers, all of whom had previously worked in Ronald Reagan's administration when he was governor of California. Pacific president Ronald Zumbun was a deputy director of legal affairs for California's welfare department, and Raymond Momboisse served as a California deputy attorney general. Together they successfully defended court challenges to Reagan's controversial welfare cutback program.

Since then Pacific has opened offices in Washington, D.C., Anchorage, Seattle and Santa Monica, employing a total of 20 lawyers. Its budget has grown from \$250,000 in 1973 to more than \$2.5 million in 1983. It now has more than 18,000

contributors, including foundations, corporations, private business and individuals. Some of the contributors have been the Lilly Endowment, William Randolph Hearst Foundation, John M. Olin Foundation, M.J. Murdock Charitable Trust, Southern Pacific Co. and the Sperry Corp.

In the name of the public interest, Pacific has worked to stop the Naderbacked project to require airbags in automobiles, has stymied environmentalist attempts to block construction of the Trident nuclear submarine, supported Allan Bakke in his Supreme Court case challenging minority quotas, stopped government inspectors from searching worksites without warrants, filed suit in support of California's Proposition 13 and sued the State Bar of California for using members' dues for political purposes.

California coastal fray

Pacific entered one of its most important legal frays in 1982. Pacific filed suit against the California Coast Commission, which required homeowners to dedicate part of their beachfront property for public access as a condition for a permit to make any improvement on beachfront property. Pacific argued that the requirement was unconstitutional, and the foundation represented two homeowners in another lawsuit on whether they needed to dedicate their land to repair a storm-damaged seawall.

The cases went to the California Supreme Court. By then the commission had voluntarily withdrawn its appeal against the homeowners. The high court, however, ruled that Pacific's constitutional challenge was unripe for decision. *Pacific v. California Coast Commission*, 655 P.2d 309 (1982).

Because of the lack of a broad ruling by California's high court, "We have a number of cases pending where people are suing the California Coastal Commission," Pacific staff attorney Tim Bittle said. "The people feel their property is being taken by the government without just compensation." Pacific's 1983 annual report called these property owners "victims of extortion."

The use of these provocative expressions in annual reports, amicus curiae briefs and courtroom arguments has prompted liberal public interest law figures to characterize Pacific and some of the other foundations as being "too ideological" in arguing cases. "One of the problems with Pacific is that they are so ideological that they are limited by their preconceptions when arguing a case," said Joan Claybrook, president of the Ralph Nader-affiliated Public Citizen Litigation Group.

Five that followed

The example set by the contentious Pacific Legal Foundation has been followed by five other conservative groups that are affiliated. They are Mountain States Legal Foundation in Denver; Southeastern Legal Foundation in Atlanta; Gulf and Great Plains Legal Foundation of America in Kansas City, Mo.; Mid-Atlantic Legal Foundation in Philadelphia and Mid-America Legal Foundation in Chicago. (See sidebar.)

These groups were launched with the help of the National Legal Center for the Public Interest. Established in 1975 in Washington, D.C., the center's principal activity has become coordinating annual meetings among the affiliated

foundations at which foundation directors get together and "steal each others' clients." joked Southeastern Legal Foundation staff attorney Robert Baker.

Assessments about the impact of these various foundations are mixed. Karen O'Conner, a political science professor at Emory University in Atlanta, noted that by 1980 various conservative foundations had tripled their amicus participation in Supreme Court cases from 1969. An article in the Christian Science Monitor once said of the leader, Pacific, "this busy and growing group of establishment-oriented lawyers has won a substantial number of victories."

The liberals, not surprisingly, say their adversaries are not making a difference. "Those foundations don't even register on my seismic scale," said Barry Goldstein, staff attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund Inc.

Consumer advocate Ralph Nader says the conservative groups are "agents of corporations, and not public interest law firms. These guys are on a company mission and they do work that companies cannot do because of public relations considerations. They marvelously waste their corporate contributors' money and show very little productivity."

Mountain States clashes

Since its establishment in 1977 Mountain States has been involved in numerous disputes with the Sierra Club and other conservationist groups over the proper use of natural resources. Mountain States' first president became the environmentalists' public enemy No. 1: James Watt, former secretary of the interior.

In one clash of wills -- Sierra Club v. Watt, No. 83-035, filed Jan. 13, 1983, in federal court in the Eastern District of California -- Mountain States, as a defendant intervenor, argued that treating the federally owned surface of disputed "split-estate" lands as protected wilderness deprives individual landowners of their rights to the minerals beneath. The case is still pending.

In Mountain States v. Andrus, 499 F.Supp. 383 (1980), it successfully argued that the U.S. Forest Service had withheld land improperly from development by not acting on applications for oil and gas exploration leases. The Wyoming federal district court ultimately held that the Forest Service either had to withdraw the land or institute action on lease applications. "A few" leases were then granted, according to Mountain States senior staff attorney Connie Brooks.

Mountain States has taken on more than the Sierra Club and other environmentalist organizations. It challenged the windfall profits tax as an "irrational and discriminatory tax that impedes United States energy independence and seizes the private property of a politically unpopular minority," according to its 1977-82 summary of legal activity. Mountain States, which represented the states of Texas and Louisiana, lost the case when the Supreme Court upheld the tax. United States v. Ptasynski, 103 S.Ct. 2239 (1983).

The Powell memo

"It's hard for them to claim that their cases have had much effect on things

on the ground," commented Bill Curtiss, who is staff attorney for the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund. "With the conservative Foundations, it's more a question of raising the issues."

Working to "raise the issues" and present the perspective of business to the courts is something once encouraged by Lewis F. Powell Jr. before he became a Supreme Court Justice. In a "confidential memorandum" to a U.S. Chamber of Commerce chairman in 1971, Powell wrote, "Business and the enterprise system are in deep trouble. It's time for American business . . . to apply their great talents vigorously to the preservation of the system itself. . . . The judiciary may be the most important instrument for social, economic and political change."

If an increase in caseload and contributions is an indication of success, the foundations are doing well in answering Powell's call to action. When Mountain States was launched in 1977, for example, it had one lawyer, James Watt, and a \$380,000 budget. It now has 11 attorneys and a \$1.26 million budget for the 1982-83 fiscal year. Its contributors have included the Scaife Family Charitable Trusts, the Adolph Coors Foundation, M.J. Murdock Charitable Trust and the Donald W. Reynolds Foundation. Several oil company foundations, including Phillips, Amoco, Cities Services and Marathon, also have contributed.

Liberal legal foundations generally do not have so well-heeled contributors, although they have attracted more total funding. The oldest and largest legal fund, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund Inc., had a 1983 annual budget of \$6.5 million, according to its director, Jack Greenberg. This compares to a 1983-84 budget of more than \$2.5 million for Pacific, the oldest and largest of the conservative foundations. The Natural Resources Defense Council, a liberal environmentalist organization, had a budget of more than \$5 million for 1983, according to Karen Holmes, the group's development officer. The ACLU's annual budget for 1983 was estimated at \$12.5 million, according to George Forman, the ACLU Comptroller.

Political clout

The liberal public interest firms may have more money, but "the conservatives have more influence because the people sympathetic to them are in power," said John Mancini, director of the Washington-based Foundation for Public Affairs, which is publishing its fourth volume of a book that examines 250 public interest groups in the country, both liberal, centrist and conservative.

The Reagan administration has moved certain foundation leaders into places of great influence. A founder of the Pacific Legal Foundation is presidential adviser Edwin Meese III. Mountain States' first president, James Watt, became secretary of the interior, while his successor, Roger Marzulla, became special litigation counsel to the Land and Natural Resources Division of the Department of Justice. And a former member of the Mountain States board of litigation, rex E. Lee, is the U.S. solicitor general.

Serving on the Mountain States board of litigation with Lee was Thomas H. Gonser, executive director and chief operating officer of the American Bar Association. Persons who serve on Mountain States' board of litigation decide what cases the foundation should pursue.

Gulf and Great Plains

The Gulf and Great Plains Legal Foundation also works to support the free enterprise system and oppose government "intervention." It focuses more than the others on defending individual and civil rights and even has been on the same side as the ACLU in some cases, according to its general counsel, Dan Peterson.

Gulf and Great Plains' most important case to date is *Country Hills Christian Church v. Unified School District No. 512*, 560 F. Supp. 1207 (1983), which it won in the Kansas federal district court in March 1983. The issue was whether the Country Hills church should be allowed to rent space in a school building owned by the Shawnee Mission district. The school rented space to community groups during the evenings and on the weekends, but it refused to allow religious meetings at the school.

Gulf and Great Plains contended that the denial of school space to a group on the grounds of their religious affiliation was a violation of the First Amendment right to freedom of speech. The church group has since held an Easter service at the school, according to Peterson.

More direct involvement

Like several of the other foundations, Gulf and Great Plains is moving away from amicus curiae briefs and toward direct involvement as counsel to parties. "We feel that for long-term impact, we want to take on lawsuits that are doing something that isn't already being done," Peterson said. "We set a precedent in the Shawnee Mission case. We delineated a church's free speech rights from a state's rights."

By becoming directly involved in litigation, the conservative foundations may be able to blunt criticism that they are making no real impact on society. For example, Michael J. Horowitz, a public interest law expert and counsel to Office of Management and Budget Director David Stockman, prepared an analysis several years ago of the conservative legal foundations for one of their larger contributors, the Scaife Foundation. He wrote, "a high ratio of amicus participation on the part of a conservative public interest law firm raises a fair presumption that the firm is engaged in pufferies intended for naive audiences of donors, and not doing meaningful work."

One widely publicized example of more direct involvement by one of the new-breed public interest legal foundations is *Westmoreland v. CBS*, No. 82 Civ. 7913, filed Sept. 13, 1982, in federal district court in Manhattan. The Washington-based Capital Legal Foundation is representing Gen. William Westmoreland in his \$120 million libel suit against CBS for its portrayal of him as a "conspirator" in its television documentary, "The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception." The program alleged that General Westmoreland deliberately underestimated enemy troop strength during the Vietnam War.

Capital, established in 1977, also has brought a lawsuit against the U.S. Department of Agriculture challenging the marketing order system it maintains in the citrus fruit industry. Jim Moody, a Capital staff attorney, said the present system is like a "federally sponsored OPEC for citrus." Moody said the California-Arizona lemon industry is run by a USDA committee that has limited domestic fresh citrus sales for 1983-84 to only 14 million cartons from an estimated total crop of nearly 60 million. This means "growers must dispose of

the remaining three-fourths of their crop at huge losses," according to Moody. Capital has an action pending in federal district court in Washington, D.C., challenging the system on both administrative and constitutional grounds.

Protecting the little guy

Both Moody and Capital's president Dan Burt stress that their foundation is a different breed from the rest. "We're more libertarian and less ideological" than the other conservative foundations, Moody said. "We put emphasis on protecting the little guy, rather than the big guy. Other conservative foundations work for the little guy, unless the big guy happens to be their friend."

Capital may be different ideologically, but it shares the conservative foundations' disdain for their frequent adversary, Ralph Nader. "Nader has grown old and stale and no longer serves the public interest," Moody charged. A few years ago, Burt wrote a book about Nader and the groups affiliated with him, Abuse of Trust. Moody claims the book shows that Nader's groups "are a secretly funded, octopus-like Washington preserve, a lot like the groups Nader criticizes."

Another organization unafraid to use strong words for its opponents is the Washington Legal Foundation. In its 1983 annual report it referred to the United Presbyterian Church and the National Council of Churches as "radical groups." The foundation is opposing the church groups, which have filed a lawsuit challenging President Reagan's Executive Order 12333, which grants the U.S. attorney general broad authority in investigations concerning foreign powers. The Washington Legal Foundation is representing Sen. Jeremiah Denton, R-Ala., and several members of the House of Representatives in support of the security-related executive order.

The Washington Legal Foundation, established in 1976 and now boasting 85,000 members nationwide, is the only conservative firm actively engaged in lawsuits involving national security and defense. It represented Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., who challenged former president Jimmy Carter's termination of a U.S. defense treaty with Taiwan and also helped sue Carter in an attempt to prevent implementation of the Panama Canal Treaty.

It went head-to-head recently with the liberal Center for Constitutional Rights. The New York-based center filed a suit on behalf of 12 members of Congress against President Reagan, the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency. The suit charges, among other things, that U.S. support for the counterrevolutionaries fighting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua was a violation of the Boland amendment to a House appropriations bill. The Washington Legal Foundation has sided with the government and says that the "radical" Center for Constitutional Rights, by its position in the case, is "attempting to halt U.S. aid aimed at blocking Soviet-Cuban expansionism in Central America."

Words as weapons

The use of provocative language may not be the most effective way to win courtroom battles. But the war between the liberal and conservative public interest groups -- over which will have more impact on the judiciary -- may prove to be a long one, with amicus briefs, lawsuits and harsh words serving as

both sides' trusted weapons.

Who's Who

Here is a partial listing of the conservative litigation foundations. Not included are legal centers that litigate on behalf of one particular organization, such as the National Chamber Litigation Center, affiliated with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, or others that focus primarily on a single issue, such as the labor-oriented Center on National Labor Policy Inc. or the media-oriented American Legal Foundation.

Pacific Legal Foundation, headquartered at 455 Capitol Mall, Suite 600, Sacramento, Calif. 95814, telephone 916/444-0154. Its president and legal director is Ronald A. Zumbrun.

Mountain States Legal Foundation, established in 1977, is located at 1200 Lincoln St., Suite 600, Denver, Colo. 80203, telephone 303/861-0244. Its president and chief legal officer is Fred D. Fagg III.

Gulf and Great Plains Legal Foundation, established in 1976, is at 1000 Brookfield Building, 101 W. 11th St., Kansas City, Mo. 64105, telephone 816/474-6600. Its president is Wilkes C. Robinson and its general counsel is Dan M. Peterson.

New England Legal Foundation, established in 1977, is at 55 Union St., Boston, Mass. 02108, telephone 617/367-0174. Its president is Joseph D. Alviani and its legal director is Wayne S. Henderson.

Southeastern Legal Foundation Inc., started in 1976, is at 2900 Chamblee-tucker Road, Building Four, Atlanta, Ga. 30341, telephone 404/458-8313. Its president is Ben B. Blackburn.

Mid-Atlantic Legal Foundation, set up in 1977, is at 400 Market St., Third Floor, Philadelphia, Pa. 19106, telephone 215/238-1367. Its president is Myrna P. Field.

Mid-America Legal Foundation, incorporated in 1975, is at 20 N. Wacker Drive, Suite 842, Chicago, Ill. 60606, telephone 312/263-5163. Its president is John M. Cannon.

Capital Legal Foundation, set up in 1977, is at 700 E. St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003, telephone 202/546-5533. Its president is Dan M. Burt.

Washington Legal Foundation, started in 1976, is at 1705 N St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, telephone 202/857-0240. Its general counsel is Daniel J. Popeo.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, The conservative foundations have been called "Ralph Naders of the Right." But consumer advocate Nader contends that these groups are "agents of corporations and not public interest law firms" who "marvelously waste their corporate contributors' money and show very little productivity.", Photo by Roddey E. Mims/Time Magazine; Picture 2, Dan Popeo, director of the

aggressively conservative Washington Legal Foundation, derides the American Civil Liberties Union as the "American Criminal Lovers Union.", Photo by Joan Marcus; Picture 3, Joan Claybrook, president of the Ralph Nadar-affiliated Public Citizen Litigation Group, criticizes Pacific as being "so ideological that they are limited in their preconceptions in arguing a case."; Picture 4, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund attorney Barry Goldstein says the conservative groups "don't even register on my seismic scale.", Photography by Joan Marcus; Picture 5, James Watt, former secretary of the interior and environmentalists' public enemy No. 1, was Mountain States' first president. Photo by Susan McElhinney/Time Magazine; Picture 6, Gulf and Great Plains' general counsel Dan Peterson, above, notes that in focusing on defending individual and civil rights, Gulf has been on the same side as the ACLU. Photo by Joan Marcus; Picture 7, Capital Legal Foundation staff attorney Jim Moody and president Dan Burt, opposite, stress that their foundation is "more libertarian and less ideological," and emphasizes "protecting the little guy.", Photo by Joan Marcus

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The National Journal

November 5, 1983

SECTION: LEGAL AFFAIRS; Vol. 15, No. 45; Pg. 2316

LENGTH: 3072 words

HEADLINE: With Their Man in the White House, Conservative Legal Groups are Hurting

BYLINE: BY JEFF DIONNE ROBERT

HIGHLIGHT:

Most of their causes are Ronald Reagan's causes, and that has hampered their ability to raise funds while helping the liberal groups' fund-raising efforts.

BODY:

In 1979, the future was as bright for "public interest" legal foundations with conservative political orientations as it was bleak for liberal ones. As people became wary of the expanding role of the federal government, blaming inflation on the deficits it caused, the mood of the country swung toward the positions advocated by the conservative groups -- limited government regulation and accelerated economic growth.

On the one hand, the liberal groups were losing financial support from many sources. The Ford Foundation, for example, was in the process of terminating its unrestricted grants to the liberal legal organizations, for many their main means of support. On the other hand, donations to the conservative firms, mostly by businesses, corporations and conservative foundations, was increasing.

The liberal organizations' financial situation worsened in 1981 when President Reagan's budget cuts denied them most of the government grants that were an integral part of their budgets. Meanwhile, the conservative organizations, which take pride in the fact that they neither solicit nor accept government funds, were again unaffected. (See NJ, 12/8/79, p. 2052.)

But that may be the only Reagan Administration policy that has hurt the liberal groups financially. For the most part, Administration policies have given liberal causes new energy, which liberal legal foundations are converting into revenue through direct mail fund-raising appeals. The same policies are having an opposite affect on the conservative firms, many of which are experiencing declines in financing. Some put at least part of the blame on the recent economic hard times. Nevertheless, during the same period, the liberal groups increased their revenues.

Of the liberal organizations, the environmentalists have had the most success in using Administration initiatives to raise money. That could be because they have had the most ammunition with which to arm their appeals. The Administration's stances on such issues as oil and coal leasing, federal land use and pollution control -- and the administrators appointed to carry out

policies -- have been so adverse to the environmental organizations' ideology that their constituency has needed little or no prodding to contribute.

One such organization is the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund. The San Francisco-based litigation arm of the Sierra Club had often taken departing Interior Secretary James G. Watt to court to halt what it argues are significant departures from historical land use practices.

Revenues for the group's defense fund increased from \$1.6 million in 1981 to \$1.8 million in 1982. Fredric P. Sutherland, executive director of the fund, expects the figure to climb to \$2.1 million by year's end.

"Clearly, the impact of Reagan and Watt has greatly improved our ability to raise funds," Sutherland said. (For a report on Watt, see this issue, p. 2306.)

Another environmental group attributing renewed public support to the Administration's environmental policies is the Natural Resources Defense Council Inc. Individuals contribute nearly half of the organization's budget, and membership is up from 32,000 in 1980 to 43,000 in August 1983. Karen Holmes, the group's development officer, noted that both the number of donors and the amounts given have increased; consequently, the organization's budget increased from \$3.8 million in 1980 to \$5.2 million in 1981 and \$6.2 million in 1982.

Many of the liberal advocacy groups have effectively used direct mail to solicit contributions. Common Cause, which litigates as well as lobbies for increased government accountability, has stepped up its direct-mail appeal from five million pieces in 1980 to seven million in 1982. The group's membership and income have increased from 206,500 members and \$4.7 million in 1980 to 260,000 members and \$6.9 million projected for 1983.

Public Citizen Litigation Group, an offshoot of a Ralph Nader organization, also targets Administration initiatives in its direct-mail appeals, and direct-mail receipts for 1983 are estimated at \$900,000, up \$270,000 from last year.

"A lot of [liberal] organizations have gotten a lot more money because people want them to fight Reagan," said Joan T. Claybrook, the parent group's president.

UPSTAGED BY REAGANISM

While the liberal firms have been able to generate revenue by using the President and Watt as lightning rods, the conservative firms are finding that many of their functions, and therefore their power to raise money, is being usurped by the Administration.

"I understand their frustration," said Alan B. Morrison, director of Public Citizen Litigation Group. "Our support was down during the Carter Administration." Morrison added: "Why should anyone give to [the conservative organizations]? The Administration is doing everything for them."

The conservative groups are relative newcomers to the field of public interest law. The first, the California-based Pacific Legal Foundation, was established in 1973 by a group of lawyers previously employed by California

during Reagan's eight years as governor. Formed to counter the growing influence of the liberal groups in the courts, the conservative firms describe themselves as free-market advocates that litigate to halt overreaching government regulation that needlessly costs business and, ultimately, the consumer.

The conservative camp expanded in 1975 when the National Legal Center for the Public Interest was founded in Washington. The center was instrumental in forming six regional firms for which it provided seed money and technical support and acted as an information clearinghouse. Because it is a nonlitigating firm, the national group's role in regional activities has since diminished; principally, it convenes annual meetings and provides information on legislation affecting the judiciary.

Of the six independent affiliates, all modeled after the Pacific foundation, five are still associated with the umbrella group: Mountain States Legal Foundation in Denver; Southeastern Legal Foundation in Atlanta; Gulf and Great Plains Legal Foundation of America in Kansas City; Mid Atlantic Legal Foundation in Philadelphia; and Mid America Legal Foundation in Chicago. The sixth, Washington-based Capital Legal Foundation, severed its ties with the national group over ideological and fund-raising disputes.

Like their liberal counterparts, the conservative groups are nonprofit, tax-exempt organizations that accept no money for services. The bulk of their caseloads consists of lawsuits against regulatory agencies and liberal organizations, but they also tackle social issues -- abortion rights, school prayer, busing -- and all have ideological and monetary ties with the business community. Their boards of trustees contain an array of high-ranking corporate executives from such companies as the Adolph Coors Co., American Telephone & Telegraph Co., Dow Chemical Co., Monsanto Co., Exxon Corp. and Fluor Corp.

Most of the \$200,000 used to set up the National Legal Center came from Fluor and the Scaife Family Trust; during its first six years in operation, contributors have included Scaife, \$565,000; Adolph Coors Foundation, \$177,500; Monsanto Fund, \$42,500; Exxon, \$40,000; U.S. Steel Corp., \$27,500; Ford Motor Co., \$28,000; and Phillips Petroleum Co., \$24,000.

Financed by sources largely inaccessible to the liberal organizations, the conservative firms did not feel the financial pinch of the late 1970s. But recently, their narrow revenue bases have proved to be a liability.

Ernest B. Hueter, the National Legal Center's president, said that donations to his organization decreased "a maximum of 25 per cent" during fiscal 1982. Less money is available now than before because the recession has taken its toll on businesses and foundations, whose income is earned on corporate investments, he said. The situation is typical of many conservative firms, but some attribute their fiscal problems to political rather than economic causes.

When the Pacific foundation issued its annual report in March, it marked the 10th anniversary of the conservative public interest law movement; it also marked the end of the first year during which donations to the foundation, whose 1981 budget was \$2.8 million, decreased.

During fiscal 1982, donations dropped about 9 per cent, to \$2.55 million, while expenses rose 15 per cent, to \$2.65 million, leaving a \$100,000 deficit. Donations to the Southeastern foundation for the first quarter of fiscal 1983

are off 15 per cent, and Mid America experienced a 2 per cent decline during 1982. Other conservative firms, including the Mountain States, Mid Atlantic and Gulf and Great Plains foundations, while not experiencing decreases, said they have had a tougher time raising money recently.

Members of the conservative firms disagree on the cause of their financial problems. While nearly all said the Administration has adversely affected their ability to raise money, some blamed the sluggish economy for their problems.

Ronald A. Zumbrun, president of the Pacific foundation, speculated that donations to the organization are down because his constituency has become complacent in the belief that the Administration is adequately protecting their interests.

"Since Reagan's election, public apathy by those who feel they have done their job at the voting booth has caused a relaxation of financial support," he said.

Benjamin B. Blackburn, president of the Southeastern foundation, agreed. He said fund raising was easier under the Carter Administration because many Carter appointees, particularly those from liberal public interest law firms, threatened the interests of the conservative foundations' constituency. Consequently, they gave more money to offset the actions of the Carter administrators, among whom were assistant attorney general Drew Days III, a former attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund Inc., and White House domestic policy staff member Joseph N. Onek, who served as former director of the Center for Law and Social Policy.

Like President Carter, Reagan appointed prominent members of public interest law firms to key administrative positions. James R. Richards, inspector general at the Energy Department, for example, was formerly vice president of the National Legal Center. Presidential adviser Edwin Meese III was a founder of the Pacific foundation. Watt was the first president of the Mountain States foundation, and his successor in that post, Roger Marzulla, is special litigation counsel for the Justice Department's Land and Natural Resources Division. Rex Lee, formerly a member of the Mountain States foundation's litigation board, is solicitor general.

"My constituency doesn't feel the same threat from the regulatory agencies as they did three years ago," said Blackburn. "They're just not as unhappy as they were before."

Beverly Kinard, vice president for administration at the Mountain States foundation, conceded that it is harder to solicit donations under an Administration that is viewed as pro-business, but she also speculated that the economy has hurt businesses' ability to contribute. John M. Cannon, president of the Mid America foundation, and Myrna P. Field, president of the Mid Atlantic group, agreed.

Said Field: "Businesses just aren't doing well enough to contribute this year or have had to cut their contributions."

SEEKING A BROADER BASE

A few conservative law firms, concerned about their narrow revenue base, have

been cultivating broader-based support through direct-mail solicitation of individuals and are doing quite well financially despite the economic and political climate.

As early as 1978, Washington Legal Foundation conceived and operated pendently of the National Legal Center, plowed more than half its \$400,000 budget into fund-raising activities. By 1981, its budget had grown to \$1.5 million. The organization still spends about \$300,000 annually on direct mailing and other fund-raising activities, but in recent years it has changed some of its methods and softened its New Right image.

In 1980, the foundation aligned itself closely with the New Right. John T. (Terry) Dolan, chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, was the group's national chairman, and it spent much time and resources on the school prayer issue. Although the organization had an effective apparatus for direct mailing, it primarily used mailing lists compiled by conservative direct-mail specialist Richard A. Viguerie and billed itself in newsletters as "America's Christian/Conservative Voice in the Courts."

By 1982, the law firm had discontinued the Viguerie lists, subscribing to a number of different ones. Dolan is no longer associated with it, and its publications, expanded to include a series of monographs, bill the firm as "working to restore the balance" in the judicial system.

"That's history," said president Daniel J. Popeo of the organization's Christian-Conservative orientation. "We don't take that kind of case anymore; we've moved into a totally different realm."

Among the new priorities is a grassroots oriented court watch program that advocates victims' rights and enlists the public's help to monitor local courts and report judges, prosecutors or parole boards it feels are too lenient in sentencing criminals. The starter package, "Court Watch Manual: A Citizen's Guide to Judicial Accountability," contains sample letters requesting investigation of a particular court official by the appropriate state judicial review commission and a sample "victim impact statement" listing the physical, psychological and monetary damages to a violent-crime victim "to assist the court in its efforts to weigh all factors prior to imposing sentence."

The program has been very successful in attracting new members and supporters, Popeo said. He added: "Other firms are not as flexible as we are because their support is not as broad-based. Our support is solid and our future has never been brighter."

The foundation now claims 80,000 members and 120,000 supporters nationwide, and unlike other conservative firms, its budget has continued to rise by 7-10 per cent since 1980. In fact, the organization is doing so well that it has created an affiliate, the American Legal Foundation, to concentrate on media issues in the courts.

Another conservative firm to change direction is the Capital Legal Foundation. Once an affiliate of the National Legal Center, the Capital foundation is now moving toward what its president, Dan M. Burt, likes to call "the radical middle" of the political spectrum. Burt considers his firm a "libertarian public policy law firm" and has angered many of his colleagues at other conservative firms by criticizing their efficiency and what he

The National Journal, November 5, 1983

characterizes as their knee jerk reaction in case selection. Burt refuses to represent a client who can afford to obtain legal counsel elsewhere and denounces friend-of-the-court briefs, a practice common among other firms, as a waste of time. As a result, he says, he has been ostracized from the conservative public interest law movement.

"They don't talk to me," he said. "They used to invite me to their conferences, but not anymore."

Burt's firm takes on a wider range of cases than most conservative firms. While maintaining "strong support for a free, capitalist economy . . . and for much of the industry in this country," it champions the interests of smaller businesses, which it contends are hurt most by regulation. Burt attributes the increased support for his organization to this strategy.

"We're satisfying the need to have the voice of the little guy heard in the regulatory process," he said. "Industry has the ability to take care of itself."

The foundation's budget, while not as impressive as that of the Washington Legal Foundation, has risen from \$850,000 in 1981 to more than \$1 million in 1982, and Burt expects it to reach \$1.5 million by year's end as revenues from individuals increase. Contributions from the business community, while up in absolute terms, decreased as a percentage of total revenues from about a third to about a fifth. Still, the bulk of contributions is from three or four large conservative foundations.

In supporting smaller business concerns, the firm has found it necessary to step on the toes of some major contributors and, at times, the Administration. One such case involved the marketing order system for oranges, which indirectly sets the price of the fruit by limiting the number that may be sold each year. Burt contends that the system restricts market entry and competition by independent producers and inflates the price paid by consumers. Last December, the firm took on the large citrus cooperatives and prepared to file suit in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia on behalf of a small fruit-packing company to have the quantity controls declared unconstitutional.

Also in 1982, the foundation filed suit to halt the Administration's bailout of U.S. bank creditors after Poland effectively defaulted on its loans to them.

The Polish bank suit directly affected one foundation supporter, Chase Manhattan Bank N.A. and, Burt said, the bank politely told him that the lawsuit could affect its contribution. But while the case was on appeal -- after the district court denied the law firm's request for an injunction -- the bank doubled its donation.

According to Burt, "Some of the people at Chase said, 'Why should we fund something that's going to bite us?'" But Chase took the position that they like us and our work. They deserve some credit."

The firm lost the appeal and has since declined to pursue the case further, but Burt says the effort achieved one of its goals: to give congressional opponents of the bailout time to mobilize legislative opposition. They also failed.

The National Journal, November 5, 1983

The marketing order case is a different matter. Burt says that the orange growers' cooperatives, most notably Sunkist Growers Inc., have attempted to stop the impending suit by pressuring foundation contributors to withdraw their support. But Burt, hoping the rest of his supporters will follow Chase's example, said he will not yield; the firm filed suit on Oct. 19 in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

"If you make everybody happy all the time," he said, "it's because you're not doing anything."

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, Alan B. Morrison, head of a liberal public interest group: "Why should anyone give to (the conservative organizations)? The Administration is doing everything for them." Richard A. Bloom; Picture 2, Dan M. Burt, head of conservative public ininterest group: "We're satisfying the need to have the voice of the little guy heard in the regulatory process." Richard A. Bloom

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

21ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1992 Newsweek
Newsweek

March 2, 1992 , UNITED STATES EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL AFFAIRS; Campaign 92; Pg. 30

LENGTH: 839 words

HEADLINE: Buchanan's Shock Troops

BYLINE: HOWARD FINEMAN and BILL TURQUE with Buchanan

HIGHLIGHT:

A new generation of right-wing strategists

BODY:

They were at Pat Buchanan's side throughout his New Hampshire jihad against George Bush: hungry, hell-bent young conservatives pledged to help their new mentor cleanse the Republican Party of what he calls "the Exeter-Yale GOP club." These are no ordinary campaign brats. They're a new generation of right-wing strategists, nurtured by Reaganites who staged their own 1976 uprising against Gerald Ford. They view the Bush presidency as a betrayal of the Reagan revolution and regard Buchanan as an avenging angel. Growing up in the Reagan-Bush era gives them an unusual edge. Unlike their '70s role models, they actually remember when conservatives held power. And they're hungry to get it back for themselves. "We want our turn," says Frank Luntz, the 29-year-old Oxford Ph.D. who serves as Buchanan's polltaker.

The young Buchananites are heirs to a renegade conservative tradition -- one that both exalts politics as a battle for the soul and disdains its inside dealmaking. The founding fathers were the Buckley clan (polemicist Bill; brother Jim, a former U.S. senator, and brother-in-law L. Brent Bozell) and the New South Republicans led by Sen. Strom Thurmond and textile giant Roger Milliken. Organizations like Young Americans for Freedom, founded by Bill Buckley, and the College Young Republicans, a creation of the GOP, supplied shock troops for the alliance. It triggered the 1960s backlash against Great Society liberalism, bringing Northern ethnic Roman Catholics and Southern white Democrats into the GOP. The movement culminated in Ronald Reagan's 1980 election.

It also produced formative political experiences for much of Buchanan's inner circle. Political director Paul Erickson, 30 (presumably forgiven by Buchanan for attending Yale), is a former College Young Republicans national director. Luntz reveres James Buckley and remembers service in his unsuccessful 1980 Senate campaign as a personal high point. Bozell's son, L. Brent Bozell III, gives as Buchanan's national finance chairman. Those affinities make their brand of conservatism second nature. They also breed contempt for Reagan-era role models now comfortably ensconced in Bush administration posts or lucrative Washington consultancies (lobbyist and Bush adviser Charlie Black was a 28-year-old political director for Reagan in 1976).

Despite their relatively tender political years, the Buchananites come to

1992 with a long history of conservative bomb-throwing. The younger Bozell, who publishes a newsletter monitoring leftist bias in the media, put together the television spot questioning the ethical standing of Sens. Edward Kennedy, Joseph Biden and Alan Cranston, liberal Democrats screening Clarence Thomas's Supreme Court nomination. Buchanan press secretary Greg Mueller, 29, coordinated publicity for the ad. Mueller's media consulting clients have also included radio yakker Rush Limbaugh, the Freedom Alliance (Ollie North's political organization) and Americans for Bush, the group that produced the infamous Willie Horton television ad during the 1988 presidential campaign.

Rough stuff: Mueller, Bozell and Luntz all cut their teeth at the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), cofounded by the late Terry Dolan. It raised big money for "independent" ad campaigns that unseated a number of liberal incumbents in the early 1980s with vicious dattacks depicting them as amoral, tax-hiking com-symp. "They enjoy the rough stuff," says GOP consultant Craig Shirley. "If they have a guiding philosophy, it's that politics ain't beanbag."

Adult supervision in the campaign comes from another alienated Reaganite, Buchanan's sister Angela (Bay) Buchanan. While the younger staffers supply the muscle, the hard-driving former U.S. treasurer enjoys the last word on virtually all organizational questions. Her obsessive attention to detail extends from Buchanan's public appearances -- at a parking-lot rally last week, she interrupted his speech to get him to lift the bullhorn he was using a few inches higher -- to the final cut of television spots. "If Pat is Type A, then Bay is Type AAA," says Erickson. As a sibling, she can also offer no-bull counsel. She says she's encouraged him to back away from constant attacks on Bush and emphasize his capacity to govern. "I tell him, 'This isn't "Crossfire," guy'," she told NEWSWEEK.

Buchanan and his warriors are likely to stay in the race until the GOP convention in Houston -- just as their Reagan-era counterparts battled Ford to the bitter end. If they do, it will be resentment of Bush and contempt for insider politics that drives them. There will also be at least a truce with the White House before the fall election. But like the Reaganites, they're building for the future. Direct-mail fund raising could harvest a list of 250,000 donors by the end of the year, positioning them for a well-heeled 1996 campaign. By then, Buchanan's young cadre will be four years older, wiser and perhaps even tougher.

GRAPHIC: Picture, The candidate and his disciples: A quiet moment with political director Erickson, IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

26TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Hotline

September 4, 1991

SECTION: FOCUS

LENGTH: 1306 words

HEADLINE: PRO-THOMAS AD CAMPAIGN: WITH FRIENDS LIKE THESE ...

BODY:

Some see the TV ad first aired yesterday by Brent Bozell's Conservative Victory Cmte and Citizens United as more anti-liberals than pro-Thomas. After a brief description of Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas' background, the ad asks "who will judge the judge?" and then talks about Sen. Kennedy (Harvard cheating, Chappaquiddick and Palm Beach), Sen. Biden (plagiarism), and Sen. Cranston (Keating Five S&L scandal).

(NOTE: For full ad text see HOTLINE 9/3).

The ad is the product of consultant Greg Mueller of Creative Response Concepts and Fabrizio/McLaughlin (HOTLINE sources). Bozell told the press his groups will spend \$100K to air the ad in DC (yesterday on FOX's WTTG-TV and CNN). He added that it is "a shot across the bow" and if other Dem Sens. attack Thomas, the ad may be run in their states, too (multiple, 9/4). Citizens United's Floyd Brown told the BOSTON HERALD that he expects to expand the campaign to "'targeted' states" and cited MA, DE, AL, AZ, and PA. "Several Washington stations have refused to run it, he said" (9/4). WASH. TIMES says the groups have already spent \$40K on the campaign "which includes a condensed 30 second version of the original that features only Mr. Kennedy" (9/4). WASH. POST reports Bozell says that while he had "briefed many people" about the plans "I've never received a phone call from the White House raising any concerns with this" (9/4).

PRINT PIX: A split-screen freeze frame from the ad, depicting Thomas and the N.Y. POST front page pic/headline "TEDDY'S SEXY ROMP," was featured in today's USA TODAY, WASH. POST and WASH. TIMES, among others (9/4). The voice-over at the time of the frame shown (which also shows a Capitol Hill number to call): "Whose values should be on the Supreme Court? Clarence Thomas' or Ted Kennedy's? President Bush and Clarence Thomas need your help. Call today."

REAX: As the BOSTON HERALD reports (under front-page headline "Right-wing TV blitz slams Ted K in bid to boost Thomas") the ads "were immediately disavowed by the White House, Thomas, and the judge's leading Senate supporter" (9/4). WH SPOKESPERSON FITZWATER: "The White House disassociates itself from any advertising campaign related to the nomination of Judge Thomas that personally attacks members of the U.S. Senate. These personal attacks are reprehensible and have no place in the confirmation process. The Senate Judiciary Committee and other

15: Craig Shirley

POSITION IN DOLE CAMPAIGN

Advisor. Craig Shirley is an informal, unpaid advisor to the Dole campaign. Craig Shirley worked alongside Tony Fabrizio and Floyd Brown in creating the infamous "Willie Horton" commercials during the 1988 race. He worked with them again in 1992. [*Campaigns & Elections*, 9/92, *Advertising Age*, 3/16/92, Center for Public Integrity, "Under the Influence: The 1996 Presidential Candidates and their Campaign Advisers," February 1996, p. 42]

SHIRLEY'S LOBBYING ACTIVITIES FOR FOREIGN CLIENTS

Vice-President of Keene, Shirley, & Associates. Shirley served as a partner of Keene, Shirley, & Associates, which held a foreign agent registration. This firm also employed David Keene, a Dole advisor and chairman of American Conservative Union. List of foreign clients of the Shirley's firm included:

CLIENT

UNITA -- National Union for the
Total Independence of Angola

LOBBYING ACTIVITY

No activity listed

Royal Embassy of Kuwait

Research for speeches and addresses, daily news summary, and meetings on capitol hill. Help develop programs to improve economic, cultural, and political relations between Kuwait and the United States. *Fees -- \$180,000 for three months work.*

Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance

No activity listed

Michels Warren Public Relations

No activity listed

John Kendall & Associates

No activity listed

Austrian Barley Board

No activity listed

National Farmers' Federation of Australia

No activity listed

Nicaraguan American National Foundation

No activity listed

[Dept. of Justice, Legal Times, 6/10/91]

Also, more recently, since 1992, Shirley has worked at Shirley and Associates, a public relations and consulting firm with a foreign agent registration. Clients include:

CLIENT

Provisional Government of Haiti (1992)

LOBBYING ACTIVITY

Arranging for satellite time, creation of media data base, issuing several press releases and media advisories. *Fee - \$20,000 - retainer, \$10,000 expenses.* [Dept. of Justice]

OTHER SHIRLEY LOBBYING ACTIVITIES

Other clients of Shirley & Associates include:

CLIENT

American Conservative Union
Law Enforcement Alliance of America
Nat'l Rifle Ass'n of America
Nat'l Smokers Alliance
Toward Tradition
[1995 Washington Representatives]

LOBBYING ACTIVITY

No activity listed
No activity listed
No activity listed
No activity listed
No activity listed

Robert Dole

The Dole for President campaign spent the primary pre-season locking up virtually every major endorsement available to GOP presidential candidates. By February 1996, Bob Dole had collected endorsements from 21 of 31 GOP governors, not to mention countless national and local legislators. The GOP establishment in Washington and around the country embraced Dole and he has embraced it, so much so that one informal adviser quipped, "I'm the only person in town without a title." Another said, "Everyone is a senior adviser."

In addition to the senior advisers and the regular campaign staff, the Dole organization has issue groups. It is impossible to say exactly how many issue groups the campaign has or how large they are. The foreign policy group, for example, has more than 100 members. Campaign treasurer Robert Lighthizer coordinates these issue groups.

Common Sense

When Dole declared his candidacy in April 1995, he said, "My mandate as president would be to rein in the federal government in order to set free the spirit of the American people; to reconnect our government in Washington with the common-sense values of our citizens."⁴⁴ He started this process two months earlier in the Senate with the Comprehensive Regulatory Reform Act of 1995.

Dole's zeal for "common sense" regulatory reform has become as one of the themes of his campaign. Dole touted his legislation as an "effort to inject common sense into a federal process that is often too costly, too arcane, and too inflexible."⁴⁵ As *Congressional Quarterly* wrote, however, "For Dole, the regulatory bill is an answer to those who say he is out of step with the 'revolutionaries' who dominate the Republican Party in Congress."⁴⁶ Business and industry groups also applauded this relief from the tons of government regulations which, Dole said, cost Americans some \$500 billion in one year.⁴⁷ Opponents of the regulatory reform bill argued that it would cripple the safeguards that give the United States the purest water, the cleanest food, and the safest workplaces in the world.

As CQ wrote, however, "The regulatory measure [also] provides plenty of opportunity to enrich Dole's campaign coffers. For businesses and lobbyists seeking a regulatory rollback, the bill offers a means to lend Dole a helping hand, to gain access to the legislative process, and ultimately to get their wished turned into law."⁴⁸

Many of Dole's advisers either have a specific interest in regulatory reform of the variety he has proposed, or have had clients with that interest. Two in particular, campaign vice chairman David Koch of Koch Industries and national finance co-chair Patricia Harrison, stand out.

David Koch and his brother Charles are the owners of Koch Industries, an oil company in Wichita, Kansas. As first reported by the Center for Public Integrity, Koch Industries is one of Dole's longtime patrons, having contributed more than \$263,000 to Dole over the course of his career.⁴⁹ Koch Industries has also given \$25,000 to the Republican Party in 1995.⁵⁰ David Koch, a vice chairman of the campaign, co-hosted a \$150,000 fund-raiser for Dole's birthday, but "otherwise his involvement has been very limited."⁵¹

When Dole introduced his regulatory reform bill, Koch Industries was facing an estimated \$54 million civil lawsuit filed by the Environmental Protection Agency, the U.S. Coast Guard and the

Justice Department — one of the largest cases ever filed under the Clean Water Act.⁵² According to the government, Koch Industries had spilled in excess of 2.3 million gallons of oil in more than 300 incidents in six states since 1990.

One particular clause of the failed regulatory reform bill — titled Affirmative Defense — would have allowed any company being sued by the government to challenge the suit by finding another rule that is "incompatible, contradictory, or otherwise cannot be reconciled," and proving that the regulations have not been enforced uniformly.⁵³ In other words, if any company had received leniency in the past with respect to the regulation in question, another company could argue that it should be treated just as leniently. The clause caused a senior attorney at the Natural Resources Defense Council to wonder "who is trying to get their lawsuit fixed."⁵⁴

Koch's general counsel, Don Cordes, said that the guidelines already call for "even-handed administration" and "I can't imagine anybody ... thinking that this provision ... would have any impact. That's already the law." Phil Metzger, chief policy counsel at the EPA, said in *The Buying of the President*, "It is an invitation to go out and look for things that have nothing to do with a case. If a company really wants to stretch things out, they can, even if it's a straight forward case."⁵⁵ Koch senior vice president Richard Fink elaborated "There's nothing in regulatory reform that touches any aspect of the case as far as we know ... the other thing is we had nothing to do with that piece of legislation. We did not participate in drafting it, we didn't lobby the Dole people, we didn't meet with the Dole people on it at all."

The Dole-Koch connection runs deep. The Koch family was instrumental in founding Citizens for a Sound Economy (CSE), a conservative think tank that favors of regulatory reform, and has given in excess of \$7.9 million to the organization.⁵⁶ Fink, who founded the group with Koch help and is now an executive with Koch, said that "they are [now] a much smaller percentage of the funding -- the first year, they were probably 10 percent of it ... Every year, their percentage of funding has gone down" due to the fact that more money is coming from alternate sources. CSE is backed by a coalition of business groups — including Koch Industries — and spent nearly \$200,000 on advertising on behalf of regulatory reform.⁵⁷ Koch, who was the Libertarian Party's vice presidential candidate in 1980, served as chairman of CSE in 1992, and currently chairs its research operation.⁵⁸ Richard Fink still sits on the board of CSE.⁵⁹

C. Boyden Gray, the current CSE chairman, wrote the initial draft of the regulatory reform legislation at Dole's request.⁶⁰ In May, 1995, Dole's Better America Foundation gave \$50,000 to CSE, after listing regulatory reform as a priority for the year in its annual brochure. Dole himself penned a fund-raising letter on behalf of CSE, warning that without the help of "Americans like you ... the special interest groups and big government politicians will beat us down on other key reforms I believe you elected us to make."⁶¹

Patricia Harrison is a national finance co-chair and adviser for the campaign and someone with a keen interest in regulatory reform. She is a partner and co-owner of E. Bruce Harrison Company, a Washington environmental communications firm. According to its agency statement in O'Dwyer's *Public Relations Directory*, the company serves "business clients on environment, health, safety, energy, and other sensitive public policy issues ... Providing a combination of communication, policy, and counseling services since 1973, Harrison has become the nation's leading environmental communications firm. On the job, full-time, every day are counselors and specialists in environmental, legislative and regulatory issues, media relations, and community and employer relations."⁶² The firm is named for its founder, E. Bruce Harrison, Ms. Harrison's husband. Bruce Harrison first gained

Center for Public Integrity

"Under the Influence: the 1996 Presidential Candidates and their Campaign Advisers"

Craig Shirley is an informal, unpaid adviser, "without portfolio and without retainer.... That way," he told the Center for Public Integrity, "I can tell them what I think without losing money or being fired." He is currently president of Craig Shirley & Associates, where he is a lobbyist and a registered foreign agent. Shirley said that on the occasions that he does talk to the campaign, he gives "ideas about radio talk or dealing with conservatives."

Asked about the revolving-door phenomenon in Washington, and whether he had gone through it, Shirley said that he left government 16 years ago and that his total government service was about "a year and a half." He said that the question of ethically questionable activities reminds him of what a Supreme Court Justice once said about pornography. "It's the same thing. I can't write a law that defines ... a breach [of ethics], but I know it when I see it."

Shirley's clients include the American Conservative Union, the Law Enforcement Alliance of America, the National Rifle Association, the National Smokers Alliance, and Toward Tradition.

Shirley served as press secretary to Senator Gordon Humphrey's (R-NH) campaign in 1978, and then on his staff in Washington until 1980. In 1984, he founded Craig Shirley & Associates, a public relations consulting firm. One of his first clients was the political action committee of Vice President George Bush, the Fund for America's Future, through which he served as an adviser to Bush.

Anne Smith, a member of the foreign policy advisory team, is a government affairs analyst at the law firm of Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, which holds a foreign agent registration.

In December 1993, Smith left her position on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after seven years there. According to *Roll Call*, "she will now focus on foreign policy and international trade issues at Preston Gates."

Preston Gates's clients include Aklisu Shipping, Burlington Northern Railroad, Delta Air Lines, Dredging Contractors of America, the Hazardous Waste Action Coalition, the Massachusetts Port Authority, Microsoft, Royal Seafoods, and the Port of Seattle, Washington.

Vin Weber is a national co-chair and unpaid adviser who from 1981 to 1993 was a Republican congressman from Minnesota.

Weber was one of the original national co-chairs, telling the Center for Public Integrity that, "It started out as a letterhead committee." Weber prefers not to travel, so he has worked with the press and speechwriting sections of the campaign on message development and "cultural issues." He helped to write Dole's speech attacking Hollywood and its lack of values.

Weber is a close friend of House Speaker Newt Gingrich, and in 1993 "lobbied him" on behalf of the Israeli Export Development Corporation (IEDC), which was formed earlier that year to manage and develop Israel's first Free Export Processing Zone. Gingrich, then minority whip of the House, in turn acted on the behalf of the IEDC in front of the Israeli government. In 1994, the IEDC hired Gingrich's wife Marianne as vice president for business development.

Weber is currently a partner at Clark & Weinstock, where he is registered with Congress to lobby for the American Insurance Association, AT&T, West Publishing Co., United Waste Systems, and Browning Ferris Industries.

Weber is also vice-chairman and co-founder of the conservative think-tank Empower America and a senior fellow at the pro-business Progress and Freedom Foundation.

Fund-Raising Advisers

Philip Anschutz, a deputy finance chairman for the campaign, is president of the Anschutz Corporation, a Colorado oil and gas company.

Anschutz is on Dole's top career patron list, having donated, along with the Anschutz Corporation, at least \$165,380 through the first three quarters of 1993. The Anschutz Corporation has also given \$15,000 to the Republican Party through the first three quarters of 1993.

Donald Bren is a former Pete Wilson fund-raiser who heads up the Irvine Company in Newport Beach, California.

Jo-Anne Coe is finance director of the campaign. She used to be president and executive director of Dole's Campaign America, and was the first female secretary of the Senate.

Herbert Cofnas, a national finance co-chairman, is chairman of Boston Capital Partners.

Lodwrick Cook, a national finance co-chairman and chairman emeritus of ARCO.

From 1988 to 1992, Cook, ARCO, and other executives from ARCO gave more than \$862,000 to the Republican National Committee in soft-money contributions. His largesse is not partisan, however, as he, ARCO, and other of its executives also gave in excess of \$346,000 to the Democratic National Committee in 1991 and 1992.

Julie Finley is a national finance co-chairwoman. Finley is an unpaid, full-time fund-raiser for the campaign.

Finley is an advisory board member of the Republican Coalition for Choice and also a founding and board member of WISH List, an organization of pro-choice GOP women. She supports Dole even though he has taken a stance against abortion rights because, as she told the Center for Public Integrity, "I'm a Republican. I'm not a single-issue Republican." When asked whether she would be discussing the abortion issue with Dole, Finley replied, "I am not an adviser."

Howard Glittis, a national finance co-chairman, is the vice chairman of Revlon, Inc.

James Harris is not paid, and has no official title, but has done some fund-raising. He owns Harris Ranch in California.

Patricia Harrison. See *Common Sense*.

David Koch. See *Common Sense*.

Henry Kravis, a deputy finance chairman, is a principal in New York's Kohlberg, Kravis & Roberts, a holding company.

Drew Lewis, secretary of Transportation under Ronald Reagan, is chairman of Union Pacific.

CRAIG SHIRLEY

Shirley began with working with the National Conservative Political Action Committee as communications director. In 1988, Shirley then worked for "Americans for Bush" -- the independent expenditure campaign run by the National Security PAC -- where he was in charge of publicity. Shirley worked for the Presidential Victory Committee in 1992, continuing his involvement in Republican independent expenditure campaigns. In between working on "Americans for Bush" and Presidential Victory Committee, Shirley worked on another campaign, "America At Risk," that sought to rally support for President Bush's decision to send soldiers to the Persian Gulf. [Washington Post, 11/1/84; FEC MUR 3069, deposition of Elizabeth Feday; National Journal, 4/15/92; Washington Post, 11/30/90]

Former and Current Dole Aides Developed Willie Horton. While many consultants have taken credit for creating the Willie Horton ad after the fact, the consultants who actually worked for NSPAC on the ad were Larry McCarthy (produced the ad), Floyd Brown (advised on issues and strategy), Tony Fabrizio (planned media buy times), and Craig Shirley (advised on public relations and political strategy). Fabrizio is the pollster for Dole's 1996 presidential campaign, while Shirley is an unpaid informal advisor. Brown and McCarthy both worked on Dole's 1988 presidential bid. [FEC MUR File # 3069, NSPAC and Larry McCarthy Response]

Shane, Brown & Fabrizio Worked on Republican Challengers Committee In 1990, Fran Shane, Floyd Brown and Tony Fabrizio were among the six founders of the "Republican Challengers Committee," a group which ran attack ads against David Duke, who was then running for the U.S. Senate. The other founders were Craig Shirley, John Thompson and Citizens United staffer Kirby Wilbur. On July 30, 1990, The Washington Times referred to the founders of the "Republican Challengers Committee" as "the guys who did the Willie Horton commercials." [Washington Times, 7/30/90]

DOLE FAMILY TREE

Name	1988 Dole Campaign	1994 Whitewater Campaign
Floyd Brown	Midwest Director, Dole Presidential Campaign	Chairman, Citizens United Sent researchers to Little Rock; Briefs Congressional GOP on Whitewater; faxes daily "Whitewater Fax Sheet" to press; brags that he has "broken the Whitewater story wide open."
David Keene	Senior Advisor, 1988 Dole Presidential Campaign Campaign America Legal Counsel (1978)	Chairman, American Conservative Union Mailed ACU fundraising letter signed by Dole. Hosted Dole at ACU press conference 2/10/94. Hosted Floyd Brown/David Bosie at 1994 ACU conference.
Donald Devine	Senior Advisor, 1988 Dole Presidential Campaign Consulting Director, Campaign America (1985-86)	Director/Board Member, American Conservative Union Chairman, Citizens Against Rationing Health Hosted Floyd Brown/David Bosie at 1994 ACU conference.

* Craig Shirley	Left Bush Campaign because of attacks on Dole and Kemp.	Lobbyist, American Conservative Union
	Joined his Consulting firm with that of Dole senior campaign advisor David Keene to form Keene, Shirley & Associates.	Lobbyist, Fabrizio, McLaughlin & Associates
		* Press contact, ACU's Paula Jones press conference

Tony Fabrizio	Media buyer, 1988 Dole Presidential Campaign	Pollster/Advisor, Sen. Bob Dole
		Conducted GOP polls on values & trust. Said in January that GOP had to do something to stop "the Clinton trend" of success on health care, crime and welfare reform in order to be successful in 1994 elections.

Larry McCarthy	Communications Director, 1988 Dole Presidential Campaign
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1988: NATIONAL SECURITY PAC

In 1988, the National Security Political Action Committee (NSPAC) and its "Americans For Bush," project played an active role in helping George Bush defeat Michael Dukakis in the presidential election. NSPAC's "Americans for Bush" created the infamous Willie Horton ad, peddled anti-Dukakis videos at the 1988 Democratic convention, and raised millions of dollars for Bush. Clinton-critic Floyd Brown served as the issue and strategic advisor for NSPAC and claimed to be its political director. But NSPAC ran into legal problems, as the FEC found "reason to believe" its activities were coordinated with the Bush campaign and they agreed to pay a \$6,000 fine, admitting that it broke federal law, following an FEC complaint filed by the Bush campaign. Here is an overview of NSPAC's activities in 1988:

NSPAC CONSULTANTS CREATED THE WILLIE HORTON AD

- ◆ **NSPAC consultants produced Willie Horton.** In September 1988, NSPAC "Americans for Bush" produced an anti-Dukakis ad featuring Willie Horton, a black murderer who assaulted a couple while on a weekend furlough from a Massachusetts prison. The ad was widely credited with substantially aiding Bush's election effort. It has subsequently been severely criticized as one of the most racist ad in political history and as epitomizing all that is wrong with negative advertising. [St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 8/10/92]
- ◆ **\$500,000 spent on Willie Horton.** NSPAC's "Americans for Bush" only spent about \$500,000 on the ad and scheduled it to run 592 times on cable stations (which they claim would allow it reach 80 million people) in September and the beginning of October, 1988. However, the ad got wider airplay on newscasts, as Floyd Brown said, "We got about \$2 million of free airtime." [St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 8/10/92; Time, 7/20/92; FEC MUR File #3069, Fedday letter to Nathanson, 9/22/88]
- ◆ **The Willie Horton ad read:** "Bush supports the death penalty for first-degree murderers. Dukakis not only opposed the death penalty, he allowed first-degree murderers to have weekend passes from prison. Massachusetts is the only state in the nation which permitted weekend passes for first-degree murderers serving life sentences without parole. Eleven murderers on weekend passes have escaped. One later kidnaped and stabbed a Maryland man and raped his girlfriend. As president, George Bush will be as tough on criminals as they are on us." [Washington Post, 9/4/88]
- ◆ **Former and Current Dole Aides Developed Willie Horton.** While many consultants have taken credit for creating the Willie Horton ad after the fact, the consultants who actually worked for NSPAC on the ad were Larry McCarthy (produced the ad), Floyd Brown (advised on issues and strategy), Tony Fabrizio (planned media buy times), and
- ✦ **Craig Shirley** (advised on public relations and political strategy). Fabrizio is the pollster for Dole's 1996 presidential campaign, while Shirley is an unpaid informal advisor. Brown and McCarthy both worked on Dole's 1988 presidential bid. [FEC MUR File # 3069, NSPAC and Larry McCarthy Response]

- ◆ Lee Atwater wanted Horton ads running "24 hours a day." Floyd Brown remembers that Lee Atwater -- George Bush's campaign manager -- saying after the campaign: "The only thing wrong with the Willie Horton ad was that you didn't run it twenty-four hours a day." [Harper's, 7/92]

BROWN PEDDLED ANTI-DUKAKIS VIDEO AT 1988 DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

- ◆ Floyd Brown was in Atlanta for the 1988 Democratic National Convention representing NSPAC and distributing a harshly critical 20 minute video charging that Dukakis "seems to challenge American patriotism itself." The theme of the video was "experience vs. experiments." The ad stated, "In his home state of Massachusetts, birthplace of the American revolution, Dukakis vetoed a bill requiring school children to pledge allegiance to our flag." The video was produced by Republican consultant David Carmen. [AP, 7/20/88; Adweek, 7/25/88; FEC MUR 3069, deposition of Elizabeth Fedlay]

NSPAC PRODUCED PRO BUSH AD AND DISTRIBUTED BUSH MATERIALS

- ◆ In July 1988, "Americans for Bush" spent \$300,000 on a television ad highlighting Bush's military record. The ad also included a toll-free 800 number, through which viewers were able to receive "action kits," which included yard signs, bumper stickers, fact sheets and "how to" materials on registering voters and generating support for the Bush campaign. "Americans for Bush" distributed over 200,000 of these actions kits -- with 80,000 requests for the kits coming in response to the ad. [FEC MUR File #3069, Fedlay letter to Nathanson, 9/22/88]

NSPAC AND ITS "AMERICANS FOR BUSH" RAISED MILLIONS FOR BUSH IN 1988

- ◆ "Americans For Bush" spent at least \$3 million on behalf of Bush. NSPAC claimed, in September 1988, that its "Americans for Bush" project had raised \$3 million, all of which was channeled into their campaign on behalf of Bush. [FEC MUR File #3069, Fedlay letter to Nathanson, 9/22/88]

An analysis of 1988 PAC contributions showed that NSPAC was the largest PAC contributor to campaigns in 1988 -- which claims to have spent \$8.5 million on behalf of candidates in the 1988 election cycle.

- ◆ NSPAC hired America Fund. NSPAC hired Texas fundraiser America Fund, to help set up a 100 person "American for Bush" fundraiser in New Orleans during the Republican National Convention. [FEC MUR File #3069, Fedlay Deposition]

BUSH CAMPAIGN ACCUSES NSCPAC OF "VICTIMIZING THE ELDERLY"

- ◆ In June 1988, the George Bush presidential campaign filed an FEC complaint against NSPAC claiming their fund raising project "Americans for Bush" violated the FEC's solicitation and reporting practices. [FEC MUR File #2638]

- ◆ In a September 12, 1988 letter to NSPAC, Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater wrote: "The [Bush/Quayle '88] Committee has received numerous expressions of deep concerns and irritation from the public about NSPAC and its fundraising activities. Indeed, there is substantial evidence that NSPAC's tactics have in fact misled members of the public and particularly senior citizens into believing they are being solicited by the Vice President's official campaign committee." [FEC MUR File #3069, Atwater letter to Elizabeth Feday (chair of NSPAC), 9/12/88]
- ◆ In a May 4, 1988 letter, George Bush 1988 campaign general counsel Jan Baran informed NSPAC of its intention to file formal complaints with the FEC and IRS against NSPAC. Baran wrote: "the [George Bush for President] Committee cannot tolerate the manner by which NSPAC preys on the elderly, in many cases forcing them to go to their local post office in order to obtain a copy of one of your fundraising solicitations sent by certified mail. Victimized the elderly serves only to detract from the electoral process and does not advance the values which you espouse." Mr. Baran has also called Brown's NSPAC "bloodsuckers." [FEC MUR File #3069, Baran letter to Elizabeth Feday chair of NSPAC, 5/4/88; New York Times, 11/3/88; Washington Post, 6/25/88]

FEC FINDS COORDINATION BETWEEN BUSH CAMPAIGN AND NSPAC

- ◆ **Ohio Democrats file complaint.** On May 25, 1990, the Ohio Democrat Party filed a complaint against the '88 Bush campaign and NSPAC, alleging that the NSPAC coordinated their "Americans for Bush" independent expenditure campaign efforts with the Bush campaign in violation of federal law during the '88 presidential campaign.
- ◆ **FEC finds reason to believe coordination occurred.** After investigating the matter, the FEC found that there was reason to believe both the Bush campaign and NSPAC violated federal law. The FEC based their finding in part on the fact that the Larry McCarthy, who produced the NSPAC ads including Willie Horton, hired Jesse Raidford to help produce the ads at the same time Raidford was working for the Bush campaign and Bush media consultant Roger Ailes' company. The FEC also discovered a previously undisclosed phone conversation between Ailes and McCarthy, despite earlier claims that they had had a falling out.
- ◆ **No further action taken.** The FEC decided to take no further action in the matter, after a vote for a complete investigation was defeated. The FEC general counsel's report recommended that the case be closed because of "the difficulty of ascertaining more details regarding the overlapping employment relationship and the communications between vendors..." [FEC MUR File #3069, Complaint and General Counsel's Report, 11/13/91]

NSPAC STILL \$1.2 MILLION IN DEBT IN AUGUST 1992

- ◆ In August 1992, NSPAC claimed that it was \$1.2 million in debt and had ceased its activity for all intents and purposes in March 1991. [FEC MUR File # 3556, Feday letter to FEC, 8/5/92]

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

AFFIDAVIT

OF

CRAIG SHIRLEY

MUR 3089

Having been duly sworn, the affiant under penalty of perjury states as follows:

1. I am Craig Shirley, and I have personal knowledge of the matters set forth below,
2. In August of 1968 I was invited by Elizabeth Fedley, the Treasurer and Chairman of National Security PAC (NSPAC), and [REDACTED] provide advice to NSPAC relative to public relations and political strategy. I was informed by Mr. Brown and Ms. Fedley that NSPAC was planning to produce and air on cable T.V. several commercials promoting George Bush for President. These would be required to be "independent expenditures" as that term is defined in the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA).
3. I am well versed in the requirements of operating independent expenditures under the FECA based upon my past political experience with federal independent expenditure efforts. Ms. Fedley inquired if I had any contracts, coordination or consultation with the Bush campaign or any of its agents, and I responded in the negative to each inquiry. I further stated that I realized

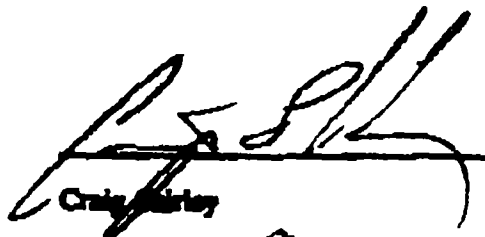
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that by assuming a consulting role with NSPAC, I would subsequently have no consultation, coordination or contact with the Bush campaign or any of its agents.

4. On Wednesday, August 24, 1988 I, along with Mr. Brown, Mr. McCarthy, Mr. Fabrizio and Ms. Fedley met to discuss potential themes for the anticipated NSPAC media program for September and October 1988.
5. Several themes, including crime, were discussed as potential subjects to dramatically distinguish the records and philosophy of George Bush and Michael Dukakis. During the discussion of crime issues, the subject of the Dukakis furlough program was raised. Recent articles had focussed on the subject and the crimes Willie Horton committed after having escaped custody while on furlough. It was discussed and recognized by the group as the type of issue to distinguish the positions of Bush and Dukakis. Mr. McCarthy agreed to include this as one theme in draft scripts which he would bring back to the group.
6. The concept for producing the "Horton" script was one which surfaced during this August meeting and there was no indications by any participants that the furlough theme or the use of the "Horton" example was in any fashion suggested by the Bush campaign or any of its agents.

7. At no time did I have any contact, coordination or consultation with the Bush campaign or any of its agents regarding the "Hornet" spot or any activity or strategy for NSPAC or the Bush campaign.

I swear that the matters contained herein are true and correct to the best of my knowledge.



Craig Shirley

Executed this 9 day of August 1990

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

THE FRIENDS OF PAULA JONES

A disgruntled network of far-right activists was waiting for a break—then they met the woman of their dreams.

BY SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

THERE is no reason, other than a wishful belief in neat endings, to suppose that it will ever be determined conclusively whether Paula Corbin Jones's claims about Bill Clinton's sexual advances are wholly true, partly true, or thoroughly false. Certainly she will get her day in court. But on that day, or a subsequent one, her case may well be dismissed on any number of grounds, beginning with extension of Presidential immunity to civil prosecution. Even if the United States District Court in Arkansas were to rule against Clinton on the immunity question, the appeals process might take years, and the next pre-trial step would be unlikely to occur until 1997, after the next election. And in a national survey of specialists which was carried out by *Legal Times*, a Wash-

ington law journal, extreme doubt about Jones's case was found to be universal. It seems to be a construct so fragile that it may crumble at the slightest movement of the legal process. For example, Stephen Tallent, a partner in Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, was quoted as saying, "This complaint is drafted not with legal skill, but with talents more appropriate to a John Belushi/*National Lampoon* movie. The courts can dispose of Jones v. Clinton without much difficulty. The question remains whether the media can deal with the case as realistically." Robert Fitzpatrick, of Fitzpatrick & Versteegen, said about Jones's claims, "Dismissible on their face. . . . Give me a break." And so on.

The difficulties that Jones faces are

formidable. Her charge that she was punished at work for not delivering sexual favors has already been contradicted by evidence that she received merit raises after the alleged incident. If the case gets to the point of discovery—the legal process of questioning witnesses to determine whether the charges

are worthy of adjudication—the President, who has already suffered indelible political damage, will be further harmed, but discovery may tell an unpriety story about Jones, too. One of Jones's sisters has expressed eagerness to testify against her claim of emotional distress. The sister and her husband, Charlotte and Mark Brown, ascribe Jones's bringing the suit to sheer greed. What is discovered could also lead to the case's being tossed out. Yet

even if, in some distant year, it should actually come to trial, Jones's motives may never be fully clarified.

This mystery woman, however, has not pursued a trackless path to the front steps of the courthouse. She has left a trail of bent branches that winds through the reaches of the far right—territory occupied by abortion-clinic blockaders, television evangelists, professional media bashers, and profiteers in the martyr business. These are the newly acquired friends of Paula Jones. Their motives for attaching themselves to her are obvious. She is more than a cause—she is an opportunity. The stalwarts of traditional values have not hesitated to engage the prurience of the tabloid culture in their crusade.



Jones: More than a cause, she's an opportunity.

"You bet they have a new cause," said Roger Craver, who is the leading direct-mail fund-raiser for progressive groups, including Amnesty International USA, Common Cause, and Planned Parenthood, and who studies closely the appeals of his right-wing counterparts and speaks regularly with them. "When I talk to right-wing fund-raisers, they say Hillary Clinton is ten times as good as Ted Kennedy for them. There is something about her that is angry-making to that donor base. What is deep down behind that Paula Jones stuff is that, sure, they'd like to get Bill Clinton but—I think—they're lashing out at Hillary far more. The right was working Ted Kennedy a long time. Now these right types have a movable feast of subjects, from the Clintons to gay rights to abortion. Whatever issue helps them organize at the grass-roots level and raise money, they'll move to. The Paula Jones issue is simply a current issue they can use to tie together their talk-show network, their mail, and this undereducated-male anger, and turn it into cash. Fear and cash, fear and cash. . . . When it's over and Paula Jones loses, they'll blame the courts and slick lawyering, and they'll be back in on something else. They have hit on a good thing. They have the face of evil in Bill and Hillary Clinton. They will keep aiming at that until it no longer pays. The sad part is seeing these right-wingers as jokes. They're not silly. You can't follow their lawyer trail easily, you can't follow their money trail easily. This is water-moccasin-style politics. It's silent and deadly. You don't see it coming until it strikes."

HOW Jones inspired her defenders begins with the failure of a small-time attorney to cut a Hollywood deal. Paula Corbin is the daughter of a millworker who was also a part-time preacher in the Nazarene faith—a religion in which the denial of earthly pleasure is a sign of election. Her teen-age rebellion took the form of rowdiness. She held a string of five clerical jobs, none for long, and attended secretarial school, but failed to complete the course. Late in 1991, she married Steve Jones, who had once played the ghost of Elvis in an offbeat movie. *People* reported that, as a Northwest Airline ticket agent, he enjoyed showing off photographs he took of Paula in provocative, semi-clothed

poses. And he aggressively expressed a loathing of Bill Clinton, plastering "Bush-Quayle" stickers everywhere—and even wearing a button on his uniform until his supervisor told him to remove it. Yet nobody has recalled his ever mentioning an incident of sexual harassment involving his wife and Clinton.

The January issue of a right-wing monthly, the *American Spectator*, ran an article by David Brock, the author of "The Real Anita Hill," which was filled with tales told by Arkansas state troopers about the former governor's purported sexual exploits. In the piece, one of the troopers, Danny Ferguson, recounted a story about a woman named Paula who, after meeting Governor Clinton in a hotel room, offered to be "available" as his "regular girlfriend."

Paula Corbin Jones was by then living in Long Beach, California, where she and her husband had moved with the idea that he could break into the movies. Some of their neighbors describe the couple as quarrelsome and hostile, shouting obscene epithets at those who requested more civil behavior. When Jones was back home in January, a friend and former co-worker, Debra Ballentine, told her about the *Spectator* article. Jones said later that she was infuriated with Ferguson. Ballentine, according to Jones's sister and brother-in-law and others, brought Jones to a longtime close friend of hers, a lawyer named Daniel Traylor, who mainly handled real-estate-tax transactions from a one-man office.

Traylor tried to make an arrangement with the President through a local businessman, George L. Cook. In a deadpan affidavit given to the President's lawyer, Cook described their meeting in January:

Traylor contacted me through a mutual friend because he thought I could convey a message to the White House.

Traylor revealed that he represented Paula Jones who said she had a claim against President Clinton and, if she did not get money for it, she would embarrass him publicly.

After Traylor described his client's claims, I asked him why he would take a case like that. He said he knew his case was weak, but he needed the client and he needed the money. I told Traylor it was a preposterous claim and he should not expect to get any money out of it. Traylor said it would help if President Clinton would get Paula a job out in California.

I told Traylor that would be illegal.

According to Cook, the Joneses imagined that the "job out in California" would be provided by Clinton's friend Harry Thomason, who produces television sitcoms, including "Hearts Afire" and the now cancelled "Designing Women." Cook says that he instantly rejected Traylor's pitch.

Traylor, having failed to get Cook to put them in touch with the President, thereupon marched himself and his client into the publicity maw of the right. (He and Jones had already signed an agreement dividing any moneys from movie, television, and book deals.) The first place Traylor headed for was the office of Cliff Jackson, the Little Rock lawyer who has assigned himself the lifetime role of Clinton's nemesis. Jackson was on a Fulbright scholarship at Oxford when Clinton was a Rhodes Scholar there. Both had promising futures. Jackson, like Clinton, sought a political career, but after serving as a local Republican functionary, he lost his only election (he ran on an independent ticket), in 1976. In 1992, Clinton was running for President, and Jackson, having long since left a minor firm to hang out his own shingle, founded a political-action committee devoted to slashing the favorite son. The Alliance for Rebirth of an Independent American Spirit, as he called it, raised funds from anti-Clinton donors and also from big backers of George Bush. Jackson bought large ads in New Hampshire newspapers and on radio stations asking "Do you really want to gamble on Bill Clinton . . . and have to worry when the other shoe will drop?" Jackson surfaced again in the imbroglio about Clinton's draft problems, and spoke openly about having made an exclusive arrangement to provide anti-Clinton stories to the *Los Angeles Times*. And it was Jackson who had brought the disgruntled state troopers to writers from the *L.A. Times* and the *American Spectator*. "I arranged for them to speak with David Brock and Bill Rempel," Jackson told me in May, with evident pride.

Traylor went to Jackson on the mistaken assumption, according to Jackson, that he represented Ferguson and that some sort of deal might be struck with him. "Traylor told me Ferguson had slandered his client," Jackson says. But soon after talking to the reporters, Ferguson had pulled back from the other

troopers and refused to be represented by Jackson. "Wait a minute!" Jackson recalls telling Traylor. Rather than defend Ferguson, Jackson was now inclined to disbelieve him. He wanted to meet Paula Jones. "She told me her version of events in detail," he says. "Basically, I decided her story was internally consistent. I had trouble with Danny Ferguson's version." Jackson's change of heart upset Traylor's bid for redress. He was at a dead end.

Jackson, however, had an idea. In a few weeks, he would be going to Washington to attend the Conservative Political Action Conference, an annual trade show of the right, at which the latest ideological wares are on display. Jackson was scheduled to appear on a panel with David Brock, speaking on "The Media and Clinton," and to announce at a press conference, with his Arkansas-trooper clients at his side, the formation of the Troopergate Whistle-Blower Fund—"complete with its own 1-800 number"—to assist those who wish to come forward with new tales about Clinton. Jackson suggested that Traylor and Jones share the stage with him.

Craig Shirley, the publicist for the Jones press conference, who has worked for new-right clients and as a consultant to the Republican National Committee, told me, "Everyone's making the partisan charge, but big fuckin' deal. She

could be totally disproved. This and Whitewater in '96 aren't going to amount to a tinker's damn if the economy's good. But if it's bad everything's on the table. Everyone has partisan reasons. That's my point. This is a partisan town."

ON February 11th, in the ballroom of the Omni Shoreham Hotel, Jackson, the troopers, Traylor, and the Joneses appeared before a crowd of reporters. An affidavit signed by Jones four days earlier which alleged unspecified "unwelcomed sexual advances" was handed out. So were two other affidavits, by Debra Ballentine and Pamela Blackard (another former co-worker), which asserted that Jones had told them of the incident (whose details they did not recount) and that she had been distressed. Jackson, serving as the master of ceremonies, called for questions.

"What kind of advances?" a reporter asked. "Was there exposure of sexual parts?"

"I've instructed her not to get into that at this point," Traylor interjected.

The press conference ended with a reporter asking, "Did the Governor ask you to perform fellatio?"

"Excuse me?" said Jones.

"Fellatio?" shouted a reporter.

"Thank you," Jackson said. "I will be available outside the room in just a few

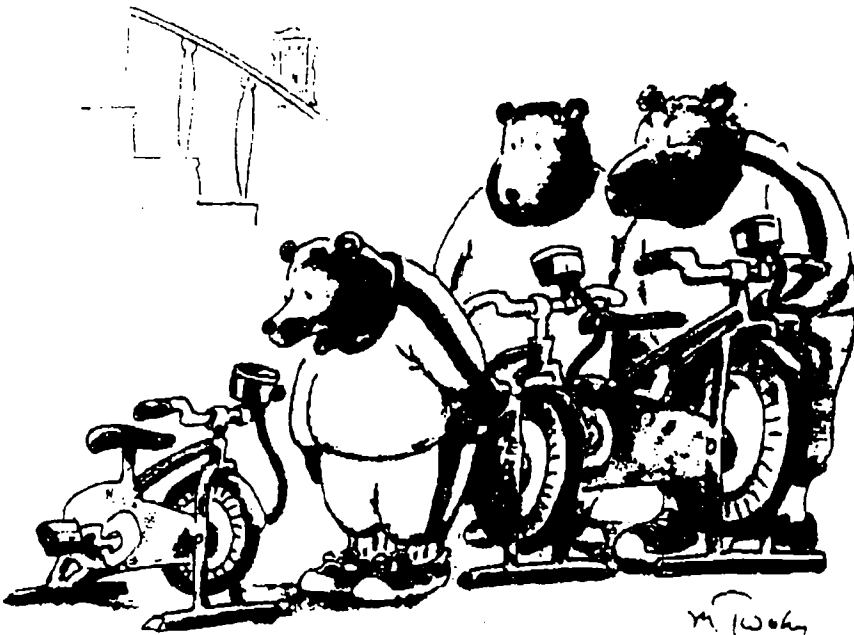
minutes if you have any questions."

Traylor ignored every bit of advice I gave him," Jackson complained to me later. "I advised him he shouldn't restrict questions. He restricted her from saying what went on in the room. He shut her down." It is Jackson's contention that Traylor was still trying to make a deal with Clinton. Indeed, just before the press conference Traylor had faxed a letter to the President saying, "There is the matter of potential tort liability that should be addressed at your first opportunity." He received no reply.

The lawyer and the Joneses retreated to a room in the hotel's Presidential Suite, which had been reserved by a group with a noncommittal name, the Legal Affairs Council; the group had also arranged the use of the ballroom for the press conference. The night before, the council had presented two of the troopers with plaques and a check for a thousand dollars to split between them. Under the headline "PAULA JONES FLEES THE PRESS-ANIMALS," its newsletter reported, "Room service was on us . . . for this brave group who had taken on the President of the United States. There, in a safe sanctuary, for the next twenty-four hours the Paula Jones group tried to figure out how to attract media coverage of their demand of the President of the United States."

The Legal Affairs Council is a non-profit right-wing legal watchdog organization that raises money, mainly for beleaguered conservatives. Richard Delgaudio, its president, acquired his skill as a fund-raiser for Americans for Reagan, a committee tied to the Congressional Club, which is the center of Jesse Helms's network and has raised tens of millions over the years. Delgaudio spun off his own enterprise in late 1986, using the Oliver North Defense Fund to establish a donor base. Since then, he has set up similar efforts on behalf of the Iran-contra defendants Elliott Abrams and Caspar Weinberger. The Jones case, he believes, is something special. "I think there's a potential for the impeachment of a President," Delgaudio told me recently.

Upon leaving Washington, the Joneses began a round of interviews in right-wing outlets. The first television appearance that Paula Jones made was on "The Other Side of the Story," a program on a conservative cable channel



"Hey—somebody's been putting additional mileage on my bike, too!"

called National Empowerment Television. The program's host is Reed Irvine, the president of a group called Accuracy in Media, and he has made a decades-long career of attacking the press for "liberal bias." His interview with Jones, broadcast on April 6th, consisted mostly of her charges and his commentary.

"Maybe I could get potentially a better job," Jones said, explaining why she met, she claims, with Clinton.

"Well, he certainly had something in mind for you, didn't he?" Irvine said.

In another exchange, Jones said of Clinton, "He was talking about my curves, how he thought that my hair looked really attractive going down, you know, going down the middle of my back, and stuff like that."

"Yeah," Irvine chuckled. "We've got your picture up here on the screen, Paula, so people can see you've got nice hair. We can't see your curves. But, ah, anyway..."

Jones made only one political point: that her story was not receiving the attention it deserves. "What they call it, this is news and it needs to be out. People need to know who's running their country."

I spoke with Irvine a few hours after I interviewed Jackson. "I hear you talked to Cliff Jackson," Irvine said. "You find this right-wing cabal trying to bring down this President?"

I asked Irvine whether he had maintained contact with Jones since his interview with her.

"I've talked to her a few times," he said. "I'm not going to tell you about every conversation. I don't remember." For his group, in any case, the Jones case has proved beneficial. "I've had a lot of response," he said.

Jones's next appearance was on Pat Robertson's "700 Club," on the Christian Broadcasting Network, three weeks later. Once again, she elaborated at length on the details of her story. "I felt dirty, I felt raped," she said, "whether he touched me or not." When she finished, Robertson spoke directly to his viewers: "I know if you feel like I do, you feel like the breath's been taken out of you." Afterward, a 1-800 number flashed on the screen, urging contributions to him.

ON May 6th, Jones's lawyers, surrounded by an irritable crowd of hundreds of reporters who had been

milling in front of the Little Rock courthouse for two days, filed her suit against Bill Clinton and Danny Ferguson. It was highly unusual in its specificity, adding spectacular new charges. In particular, the complaint mirrored the claim that had been made against Michael Jackson: "There were distinguishing characteristics in Clinton's genital area that were obvious to Jones." This fillip suggested the humiliating possibility of the President's undergoing a physical examination. The legal claims levelled against Clinton did not include sexual harassment—since the limit on filing such charges had expired three years earlier. Instead, he was accused of subjecting Jones to a quid pro quo of sexual favors to keep her job, a rejection of which caused her to be punished economically by her superiors; of conspiring with Ferguson to violate her constitutional rights; of intentionally inflicting emotional distress; and of defaming Jones's character by denying her version of events.

The delay in filing the suit had been caused by a family squabble. Jones's sister and brother-in-law tried to talk her out of going ahead. "She was just mad, very. She wanted me to be on her side," Mark Brown told me. Brown, a former machinist, is living on Social Security disability payments in Cabot, Arkansas. "I care about Paula. I know most of you folks, the only thing that's really important is who's going to get the biggest headline story, sell the most newspapers. I don't want to see her destroyed. Paula's got in way big. She can't come out."

After work on the day of the alleged incident, which she claims caused her severe distress, Paula went over to the Browns' house, as she often did, Brown recalled. "She was having a good old time, a great time. She was laughing and giggling, no big deal. She just talked about her job, things about the day. She didn't say nothing to me about the Governor, nothing at all. Then she went home. . . . Paula's suing over a stupid lie, and she knows it. Paula hasn't done this on her own—shit, no, by no means. Paula didn't think up this all by herself. Paula's had coaching. Debra Ballentine talked Paula into all this mess, I'm sure of that. Traylor is Debra's friend—not lawyer but friend."

He added, "It's a lie, because of one woman wanting to be real wealthy, to be



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"Waiter! My glass is half empty."

in the movies and be on TV, and movies, and books, and movies. This is a hell of a price to pay, a premeditated lie—by more than one person, too."

"I don't believe Debra Ballentine," Charlotte Brown told me about Jones's corroborating witness. On May 5th, Brown told reporters that a week before travelling to Washington to stage her press conference Jones said to her, "Whichever way it went, it smelled money." And, although Brown believes that Clinton made a pass at her sister, she also said, on May 20th on "The Sally Jesse Raphaël Show," "It's possible that there might have been a little flirting going on. But that was all." She added, "I know my sister, and if anything had happened that day, if she had been sexually harassed, she would have done something about it then."

By the time of the filing of the suit, Traylor had been pushed aside as Jones's main lawyer in favor of Gilbert Davis, who was assisted by Joseph Cammarata, both of Fairfax, Virginia. Formerly minor Republican federal appointees, they were "hired upon the recommendation of Nelson Lund, who was a legal counsel in the Bush White House," according to the

conservative columnist Robert Novak.

I asked Cammarata how he and Davis had managed to land Jones as a client. "We're not going to discuss that," he said. "This is an ordinary client, an ordinary case." I asked him whether Jones was paying her lawyers herself, or whether others were involved. "I'm not going to comment on whether she has a lot of money. I'm not going to comment," he said. I asked if there was a deal with television, book, and movie rights. "I'm not going to comment on any fee arrangement," he replied.

On May 12th, in a town house on Capitol Hill, the Reverend Patrick Mahoney announced the formation of a legal-defense fund for Paula Jones. He explained that he was in constant touch with the Joneses, and added, "I view myself as a facilitator here. I'm concerned about this case." On the very day that Mahoney held his press conference, the Senate outlawed his previous cause: the blockading of abortion clinics was made a federal crime. Mahoney is a leader of Operation Rescue, the militant anti-abortion group of the religious right. He has been named as a defendant in twenty-four separate legal suits

for blockading clinics. The courts have levied more than two million dollars in fines and legal fees against Operation Rescue—and two hundred and four thousand dollars against Mahoney personally—all of which have gone unpaid. The group and its leaders have hidden their assets. A pamphlet issued under the rubric of the Joshua Project, an Operation Rescue spinoff, declares, "Simply put—if America is to survive she must be rebuilt on the foundation of the laws and principles found in the Word of God." Bill Clinton, Mahoney declared at a rally in April, heads "the most un-Christian Administration in the history of the United States."

In the Jones case Mahoney has found a vehicle that allows him to lambaste the feminist groups that have successfully hounded him through the courts. In the Joneses themselves he has found a couple to minister to. "A lot of soul-searching is going on at both ends," he told me. "I was nervous getting involved." But he has developed a bond with the Joneses. "I built a good relationship with Steve. I talk with Paula. She's naïve. I see how they're doing. They're angered and hurt. We bounce things off each other. I love it. It's a David and Goliath."

The day after Mahoney made his announcement, Delgaudio sent out a news release with the headline "CONSERVATIVE LEGAL GROUP IS FIRST TO DONATE FUNDS FOR LEGAL EXPENSES OF PAULA CORBIN JONES." Delgaudio later told me, "I spent an hour and a half on the phone with Gil Davis. We know people in common. We're not just putting out the press release. We're lending direct assistance. We handed over four thousand dollars." About Mahoney's effort he remarked, "If there's somebody who wants to write out a fifteen-dollar contribution, I'd prefer they write the check out to my organization."

Jerry Falwell, the erstwhile leader of the Moral Majority, who is still the host of the "Old Time Gospel Hour," leaped into the fray with a long infomercial promoting videotapes showing the evil of the Clintons, one of which features Steve Jones. "The reason the liberal national news media wants to discredit Paula Corbin Jones is because they feel that Bill Clinton's socialist agenda is so important that they are willing to ignore, hypocritically ignore, the

President's alleged repeated sexual harassment and misconduct," Falwell says on the infomercial. As he says the words "socialist agenda" an image of two men kissing flashes briefly on the screen.

On the infomercial, Steve Jones, punching the air and kicking sand at a beach, speaks into the camera: "Every time I look at Clinton I see him with his pants down in front of my wife and it just—oh, God, it infuriates me. It really infuriates me . . . that we've got this perverted doughboy in the White House."

"Wow!" Falwell exclaims.

A 1-800 number appears on the screen. "I hold in my hands these two exposés, VHS videotapes, which I told you last week would not be available after that program," Falwell says solemnly. "However, a grass-roots explosion has occurred in America. . . . We were about to walk away from this thing, thinking that no one in America cared but us. But, thank God, you and I are now making a difference, and multitudes are telling me, 'Jerry, don't quit now.'"

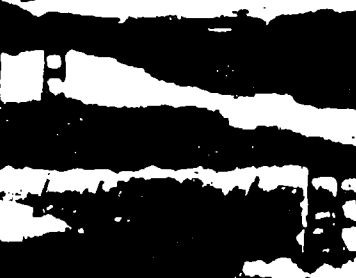
THE Joneses have become icons to Falwell and Mahoney, Delgaudio and Jackson and Irvine—and to others on the right. Yet the couple are not universally worshipped by conservatives. Indeed, there is a good deal of publicly unexpressed disquiet about them, and there are also outright warnings to Republicans from a number of conservative columnists—notably William Safire, Paul Gigot, and Cal Thomas—to avoid the issue. For some, the entire matter is simply too distasteful to get involved with, and one need not be a liberal to suspect that Jones's credibility may be uncertain. Among some leaders of the conservative movement, there is also worry that an ephemeral tabloid story is overwhelming the emergence of an actual political position. "I personally feel it's a dreadful mistake for conservatives to get sucked into a preoccupation with this sort of thing," I was told by Paul Weyrich, the president of the Free Congress Foundation and a founder of the Heritage Foundation. "People have been faxing things around about various allegations. I think it's unhealthy. It distracts from serious issues that need the attention of this movement. Instead, a lot of them are clinging to the next chapter of the soap opera. There's no positive end to this, except wallowing around in muck.

No matter what you think you know, you don't know until the facts are disclosed. You can't make conclusions as if he were tried and convicted. We ought to assume the man is innocent until proved guilty, and not hang on every word of what's coming up next."

Only a trial can finally determine innocence or guilt. But the problem with this straightforward notion is that it is improbable that a trial will occur. Paula Jones has set in motion a whirlwind of innuendo. Virtually overnight, she has lived a dream of being transformed from an uplifted face in the crowd to one who holds it transfixed. Whatever happens with her suit, she will still be a legend—a squalid legend but a legend nonetheless. Is she too "naïve," as Patrick Mahoney suggests, to know she must be a victim?

The case of Paula Jones is—for now, at least—the reductio ad absurdum of the proposition that the personal is the political. This incident is focussed on Bill Clinton, but future incidents, with their own peculiar twists and turns, will inevitably come to the fore about other politicians. Rumors are already extant about a number of prospective Republican candidates for the Presidency in 1996. Does fairness compel airing accusations against all candidates? Upholding conservative values, after all, immediately subjects Republicans to a potential charge of hypocrisy. It is perhaps harder for Republicans to admit past error and survive, given the nature of their primary electorate. Once a drop of blood enters the water, the frenzy is nearly impossible to contain. The respectable press can almost always be drawn to follow the tabloid media, rationalizing its regret later with the thought that it is unavoidably reporting the facts of a situation or filling in neglected biographical gaps.

This inevitable scene is not partisan. Ultimately, it is destructive of all partisanship—partisanship in the sense of vigorous public combat about competing visions of society. Where the personal is the political, in this sense, there is no real politics. The underlying assumption of "the character issue" is that the true self is a hidden self—that the public self is merely a deceptive mask. Psychological reductionism becomes an iron law diminishing all politicians to the one-dimensional. In the tabloid haze, public life evaporates. ♦



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Ex-Agent Retreats on Clinton Charge

Aldrich Calls Clandestine Hotel Visits a 'Possibility'

A1

By Howard Kurtz and Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writers

Gary W. Aldrich, the former FBI agent whose book about the White House has sparked a furor, yesterday backed away from his charge that President Clinton made secret late-night visits to a Washington hotel, saying only that the visits were no more than a "possibility."

As the White House continued to denounce Aldrich as a liar, David Brock, a conservative reporter for the American Spectator, said that he was unwittingly the source for the allegation—and that he was merely repeating a "rumor" to Aldrich. "This was not from anyone in a position to know," Brock said in an interview. "It was just in the air, the stuff we all hear. . . .

I was just astounded this would be attributed to me."

Appearing on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley," Aldrich, who had been assigned to the White House, strongly defended his book "Unlimited Access." "Ninety-eight percent of the book is my personal observations and interviews of people . . . at the White House," he said. Under questioning, however, he was unable to substantiate several key allegations.

Aldrich, while not confirming or denying Brock's role, called Brock's comments "very bizarre." He said he had talked to "many sources" about Clinton's supposed clandestine visits to the Marriott Hotel without Secret Service protection. "I was unable to knock down that possibility," he said.

See ALDRICH, A6, Col. 1

ALDRICH, From A1

But Aldrich backtracked further in an interview for today's edition of Newsweek, which first reported Brock's role. "These are only allegations that need to be further investigated," he said.

White House senior adviser George Stephanopoulos said on the ABC program that "someone should have to pass a bare threshold of credibility before they're put on the air to millions of viewers." He said the Brinkley panel did "a more than adequate job of destroying his credibility."

Stephanopoulos has put pressure on the television networks not to give Aldrich a forum, and the campaign seemed to be bearing fruit yesterday. Both CNN's "Larry King Live" and NBC's "Dateline" canceled plans to interview Aldrich, although executives at both shows said they had not talked to the White House.

Neal Shapiro, executive producer of "Dateline," said he decided after watching Aldrich yesterday that "it was all second- and third-party hearsay, not anything he could document. I felt that's not someone who deserves network air time."

Wendy Walker Whitworth, senior executive producer of "Larry King Live," said she "found nothing in the book to substantiate" what she considers "rumors. . . . I don't clear my bookings with anyone."

But Craig Shirley, Aldrich's spokesman, blamed the administration, saying, "They have used the pressure of the White House to get Aldrich off 'Larry King' and 'Dateline.'"

By day's end, Brock, who is writing his own book about the Clintons, had dealt a major blow to Aldrich's credibility. He is not named in the book, but Aldrich writes that his source of information is "a highly educated, well-trained, experienced investigator who is conducting his own investigation into the Clintons."

Brock said yesterday he had lunch with Aldrich several times last year. He said he casually mentioned that "a friend of mine knew somebody on the Hill who knows somebody who supposedly worked in the Marriott downtown and had told him that Clinton appeared at the hotel fairly regularly and took a room."

Brock said he passed on a separate piece of "gossip" that White House aide Bruce R. Lindsey sometimes took the president out of the White House at night. Aldrich's book says the president's driver on the purported Marriott visits "is believed to be Bruce Lindsey," with Clinton hiding under a blanket in the back seat.

"He didn't even get the gossip right," Brock said.

As Brock recalls it, Aldrich called him in February and asked if he had a "proprietary interest" in the Marriott tale, and Brock said he did not. Brock called Aldrich Friday, after seeing the charge repeated in the Washington Times, and said Aldrich asked him: "Don't you have a friend in the Marriott Hotel?" I said, "No, it was four times removed." He said, "Why couldn't you be the source? Because you're a journalist?"

In his book, Aldrich also writes of a conversation with Craig Livingstone, the former White House director of personnel security, after the 1993 suicide of deputy counsel Vincent Foster. He said Livingstone told him Foster was worried that rumors might surface that he was having an affair with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

On "This Week," however, Aldrich said that Livingstone "didn't tell me that Foster told him this," but simply passed it on "as if it was common knowledge."

"So you don't know that story is true," ABC's Sam Donaldson said.

"No, of course not," Aldrich said.

Aldrich also offered no proof for his charge that former representative Tony Coelho (D-Calif.), whose security file the author reviewed, has used Quaaludes, which Coelho strongly denies. Aldrich said the passages on Coelho were based on "public source information, straight out of the mainstream media."

In an interview with The Washington Post, Aldrich said the quoted conversations in the book were reconstructed from his "best recollection" and that "I believe them to be very accurate. . . . Some of those conversations were so astounding to me that it was almost impossible to forget these things. I'm fully prepared to go forth and testify under oath to anything that's in the book."

Stephanopoulos tried to drag Robert J. Dole's presidential campaign into the controversy, calling the book "part of a smear campaign being conducted by Republican Party operatives" and demanding that Dole "cut all ties to all those connected to this campaign of character assassination."

He noted that Aldrich was accompanied to the Brinkley show by an "adviser to the Dole campaign, a paid agent of the tobacco lobby, a paid agent of the gun lobby, a representative of . . . a group that is closely tied" to House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.).

Stephanopoulos identified only Craig Shirley, a conservative Alexandria publicist who is representing Aldrich. Shirley said he briefly arranged some radio interviews for the Dole campaign during the primaries, and that he no longer works for the National Smokers Alliance, a smokers' rights group. He said he still represents the National Rifle Association, but as a public relations man, not as a lobbyist.

The Gingrich link was a reference to Matthew Glavin, president of the conservative Southeastern Legal Foundation, which is helping Aldrich in legal battles that may arise from the book. Glavin called the charges "bald-faced lies," saying his group's only link to Gingrich is that he was the guest speaker at its Atlanta fund-raiser last year.

Nelson Warfield, Dole's spokesman, dismissed Stephanopoulos's comments about Shirley, who he said "has no formal role" in the campaign. "If Bill Clinton's top aides are confused about who is on the Dole payroll, they must be reading the wrong FBI files," he said. "In fact, this is a laughable reach for a distraction about Mr. Shirley. . . . The fact is Bob Dole knows nothing about this book."

One lingering mystery that Stephanopoulos addressed is the question of who hired Livingstone, the man who improperly obtained hundreds of FBI files on prominent Republicans and others. He said Foster had hired Livingstone on a temporary basis and that the appointment was made permanent by associate counsel William H. Kennedy III.

In his book, Aldrich said that Kennedy told him he was hiring Livingstone because "Hillary [Clinton] wants him." In a statement the White House released yesterday, Kennedy denied the conversation took place.

Staff writers George Lardner Jr. and Jim McGee contributed to this report.

THE WASHINGTON POST

MONDAY, JULY 1, 1996

Health Officials Stalking Source Of Intestinal Illness Outbreak

By John Schwartz
Washington Post Staff Writer

A1

Public health officials are racing to find the source of a recent outbreak of an illness that has caused diarrhea and other gastrointestinal symptoms in hundreds of people in perhaps a dozen states, the District and Canada.

The outbreak is the result of infections by *Cyclospora cayetanensis*. The single-celled microorganism invades the small intestine and causes diarrhea, nausea, bloating, gas, vomiting and weight loss, as well as fatigue and muscle aches. The illness waxes and wanes over several weeks, and is treatable with antibiotics.

It is a relatively new source of infection that was first identified in 1977. There have been no reports of deaths in the current outbreak—the fourth in the United States since 1990. Officials think the disease may be caused by eating contaminated fruit.

Martin Levy, chief of the District's Bureau of Epidemiology and Disease Control, said there have been 11 confirmed and 13 suspected cases of disease caused by *Cyclospora* in Washington. Nearly all of the confirmed cases in the District came from one catered lunch, Levy said.

Maryland health officials have confirmed two cases of infection, one of which apparently was contracted out of the state, said Diane M. Dwyer, the state epidemiologist. Virginia officials have confirmed one case and consider another.

See MICROBE, A5, Col. 1

MICROBE, From A1

other to have possibly been caused by *Cyclospora*, said state epidemiologist Grayson Miller.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in Atlanta reported Friday that "fresh fruit—raspberries and mixtures of berries and other fruits . . . may be associated with *Cyclospora* infection."

Health officials have backed off from preliminary reports that linked the outbreak to foreign strawberries. "At this point we think it's fruit. But what fruit, we're not sure," said CDC spokesman Kent Taylor. "We're trying to work the science now to make it more definitive."

The CDC recommends that all fruit be washed with plain water before it is eaten.

Because the outbreak does not appear to be especially widespread, a nationwide recall of strawberries or other fruits is "exceedingly unlikely," said Mary Pendergast, deputy commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration. "There is no evidence to support such a broad regulatory action."

"If by chance we identify that the fruit of any sort from any particular grower in the country is contaminated,

then we would institute procedures at that farm," Pendergast said.

The FDA is one of the agencies responsible for safety of produce and the lead agency for investigating cases of contamination once the CDC identifies them. The FDA has worked with state and local health officials and a nationwide network of laboratories. Those labs include the newly established food-borne diseases surveillance network of five laboratories maintained by the FDA, CDC and the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Atlanta and sites in California, Connecticut, Minnesota and Oregon.

The laboratories are testing produce and leftovers from suspect meals to find the tiny spherical microbe. They are using polymerase chain reaction, the same process used to conduct DNA "fingerprinting" and other scientific inquiries. PCR generates millions of copies of bits of genetic material, which can then be screened and identified.

Tracking a parasite like *Cyclospora* is tricky. It takes longer to get sick after eating *Cyclospora* than it does after ingesting many other food-borne pathogens. Although some patients in published studies have reported falling ill within two days, the usual incubation period is about a week. If a victim

of the parasite waits a few days before seeing a doctor, and diagnostic tests are performed, it can be two weeks or more between the initial contact with *Cyclospora* and the diagnosis.

Patients may have a hard time remembering everything they ate in that time period, and restaurants and suppliers have similar difficulties tracking individual shipments of fruit after the fact. Finding the food, or food from the same time and growing areas, involves a great deal of "shoe-leather epidemiology," said the CDC's Taylor.

Pendergast of the FDA said that agency is devoting a large number of resources to the *Cyclospora* outbreak because the disease hospitalizes some victims, and because time is so short: The fruit harvest in some regions may be just one week.

Preparing the fruit samples for testing takes about seven hours, and the PCR process can take another seven hours to perform, Pendergast said. If investigators do not identify the source of the outbreak now, Pendergast said, the nation's public health apparatus will have to wait until next year's harvest.

Cyclospora is a newly recognized cause of illness, first diagnosed in humans in 1977, and only made its way into the medical literature in 1979. It

has been increasingly recognized as a travel hazard for tourists visiting Mexico, Haiti, Nepal and other nations. As laboratory tools for identifying the protozoan have improved, more cases have been reported. The first outbreak in the United States is believed to have occurred in 1990, at a Chicago hospital, where contaminated tap water caused 21 cases; two other U.S. outbreaks were reported before the current episodes.

"This is a pretty new organism, and so our knowledge and understanding of it is quite limited," said Stephen M. Ostroff, associate director of the CDC's National Center for Infectious Diseases.

One of the positive aspects of the *Cyclospora* outbreak is that, unlike *Cryptosporidium*, which sickened 400,000 people and killed 100 in Milwaukee three years ago, the illness is not easily passed from person to person.

Staff writer Martin Weil contributed to this report.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

To read a primer on *Cyclospora* from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, visit The Post's site on the World Wide Web at <http://www.washingtonpost.com>

THE WASHINGTON POST

MONDAY, JULY 1, 1996

FINAL

BLACK CHURCH BURNINGS WHY THEY DID IT

COVER STORY

Young, poor, uneducated describe most arsonists

By Debbie Howlett
USA TODAY

COLUMBIA, Tenn. — They got blasted that weekend, the three of them. Six cases of beer and a fist full of Valium will do that.

The more they drank, the madder they got.

Robert Lee Johnson said he was being cheated in the back-room card game at the Sweet Peety, a black-owned juke joint. Michael Jett complained his daughter had run off to Knoxville with a black man — a pimp, he called him. Mark Jett agreed: Blacks needed to be put in their place.

With their rage at full boil on Super Bowl Sunday night in 1995, the trio decided to soak an eight-foot pine cross in kerosene and burn it in front of the Sweet Peety. One thing led to another. By the time the sun rose, two rural black

churches were charred from the Molotov cocktails the men had crafted from empty Budweiser beer bottles.

"It's a hard thing to explain," said Johnson, 33, sobered up and contrite before the federal judge about to sentence him to 37 months in prison. "I know I was in the wrong. I know that making crosses and bombs, that's a terrible thing to do. I dream bad dreams about that."

Johnson and the Jetts, who are cousins, were the first men convicted under federal civil rights law for one of the 66 suspicious fires at Southern black churches in the past 18 months.

On Friday, USA TODAY reported that there was no evidence of a national or regional conspiracy behind the arsons. Many fires are

Please see COVER STORY next page ▶

Continued from 1A

hate crimes, but many are not. Churches burn for a variety of reasons, including teen-age vandalism, derangement and insurance fraud. In one-third of the cases where arrests have been made, the suspect has been black.

Today, USA TODAY looks at the six cases of church fires in the 1990s in which charges of racially motivated arson have been brought or are being considered.

The six cases involve 14 men — all white — and the burning of 11 churches dating back to 1991. Twelve of those men have been convicted under the 1968 federal civil rights law. The other two are in jail awaiting trial on state arson-charges while federal prosecutors prepare civil rights charges against them.

The men have no known connections to each other. They are all white, but there is no conspiracy here. Only background, prejudice and circumstance links them. The men's stories bear striking similarities — tales of hard lives and simmering resentments, of rage and flames in the night. And in some cases, contrition and shame.

Arson defendants young, white and poor

USA TODAY visited the hometowns of the convicted and accused arsonists, examined court records in every case, and interviewed family members, police, prosecutors and defense lawyers. From this, a clear pattern emerges. The arson defendants were:

▶ **Less educated.** Only four of the 14 had graduated from high school.

▶ **Poor.** Half were unemployed. The others held low-paying jobs such as working in a fish market or doing unskilled construction work.

▶ **Young.** Ten of the 14 were 17 to 23 at the time of the church burning. Half of the 14 lived at home.

▶ **Rural residents.** Most lived in very rural areas, generally close to the churches they targeted.

▶ **Not career criminals.** None had previous felony convictions, although a few had misdemeanor arrests or run-ins with authorities as juveniles. Three cases had links to racist groups; three did not.

▶ **Drunk.** Most were drinking alcohol heavily on the night the churches burned. Several had been taking drugs, mostly marijuana.

"They'd been drinking, but that's no excuse," says the Rev. Alvin Anderson, pastor of the Friendship Baptist Church, one of the two churches burned by Johnson and the Jetts. "Sometimes drinking just makes us brave enough to do what we've already got in our hearts to do."

It's not easy to understand what is in each of these men's hearts. All 14 refused to be interviewed.

Twelve are still in custody. Some of them, as well as prison officials, expressed concern about possible retaliation from black inmates if their crimes became known.

"My utmost concern now is to let this all die down in order to survive in this place," Mark Jett told USA TODAY in a short, hand-written letter from federal prison in Beckley, W.Va. "I would like to 'set the record straight' but to do it now is like signing my last will and testament. Maybe you can understand?"

USA TODAY informed the U.S. Bureau of Prisons that this story would appear today. The bureau said it would take precautions to ensure the safety of the inmates.

The two men who have completed their sentences have found jobs and married—since being released 13 months ago. Kenneth Coats and Perry Moore were convicted of burning three black churches near Watson, Ark., in 1991: Oak Grove Baptist, St. James Baptist and Love Rest Baptist.

"I just want to put it all behind me," said Coats, a tall man who has opened a fish market in Dumas, Ark. He declined to say more.

Still it was possible to glean insight from the men's own words in trial records and interviews with those who knew them best.

High school hate: The white supremacists

John Jason Bakenhus was a cast-off in Clarksville, Tenn.

He didn't fit in at Clarksville High School. So he and a friend, Charles Neblett, formed a supremacist group, Aryan Faction, and recruited middle school and high school students as members.

"Most of the kids that were in the group were just, you know, all a bunch of, I guess, loners. . . . I guess I was the head kid," Bakenhus said in court. "Everybody was alone and didn't have anyone to, you know, have a fun time with."

At first, Aryan Faction members spray painted graffiti on buildings. Then they escalated to assaults on black neighbors' homes, firing bird-shot from a shotgun at one home and lobbing Molotov cocktails made from Jim Beam whiskey bottles at another family whose children were schoolmates of Neblett's.

On Aug. 18, 1994, they set fire to Benevolent Lodge #210, a meeting hall in nearby Adams often used for Baptist services by blacks. They spray painted "AF strikes again" and "Niggers leave or die" on the walls before dousing the place with kerosene. After torching it, they ran away, whooping and hollering.

Three days later, Bakenhus was arrested. His car reeked of kerosene, police said.

Neblett, then 18, was a lanky pitcher who was supposed to start college on a baseball scholarship the day after his arrest. He drove a truck that the men used in two attacks.

Bakenhus, then 21, had no real plans for the coming year. He was unemployed and living at home, driving a 1968 Chevy Impala. A \$700 TV was his most prized possession.

He'd been beaten repeatedly by his six-foot-five, 300-pound father, John Francis Bakenhus, who testified that "I can throw a tantrum that scares the hell out of people."

The elder Bakenhus taught his son that using racial slurs was no big deal. He testified that calling someone a "nigger" was the same as calling him a "fathead."

The younger Bakenhus said he feared his father and retreated into drug abuse. He smoked marijuana at age 12 and tried every other drug he could put his hands on by age 16. He said he took LSD once at age 16 and chased a friend with an ax, believing the boy was "possessed by demons." Bakenhus eventually dropped out of high school and worked sporadically at odd jobs.

Forming Aryan Faction was the biggest accomplishment in his young life. He kept the group's roster, regulations and oath in a briefcase next to his bomb-making manuals.

In court, he apologized. "I can't express the guilt that I feel and I know it's hard to believe. I really did feel guilt. I really do feel like slime."

Bakenhus and Neblett were sentenced to 33 months in federal prison and ordered to pay restitution of \$97,246.

Ku Klux Klan: At work in some arsons

Ernest Pierce claims to be an Imperial Wizard in the Ku Klux Klan. The 53-year-old farmer was convicted of ordering 21-year-old Brian Tackett to torch the Barren River Baptist Church in Bowling Green, Ky., on Dec. 6, 1991. Pierce reportedly was upset by anti-Klan comments by the pastor, Larry Craig.

Tackett stole a car in Tennessee, picked up four cans of camping fuel from his mother, Linda Tackett, picked up his girlfriend, Kim Patton, and a friend, Jerry Gann, and headed out to burn the church around 5:30 a.m. Patton and Gann testified for the prosecution and charges against them weren't pursued.

Defense lawyers and prosecutors

declined to talk about the case because Pierce and Tackett are appealing their convictions.

Pierce was sentenced to 51 months in federal prison for conspiracy. Tackett was given 115 months for conspiracy, arson and auto theft.

The Klan appears to be a player in two South Carolina fires as well. There, Tim Welch and Gary Cox attended Ku Klux Klan meetings together, and prosecutors say they also burned two black churches in June.

The men are now in jail awaiting trial on state arson charges. Federal prosecutors are preparing federal civil rights charges against them.

Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal of Greeleyville was burglarized, set ablaze and destroyed at 5 a.m. on June 20, 1995. Two nights later, the same happened to Macedonia Baptist Church in Bloomville.

Welch was wearing a Marlboro cap and carrying a Klan membership card in his wallet when Clarendon County sheriff's deputies arrested him for burning two black churches.

In a double-wide trailer where Cox lived, the deputies found guns and a hooded white robe.

"Those boys felt they had the blessing of the Klan," Welch's mother, Wanda Mitchum, told *The State* newspaper in Columbia, S.C. "They take these young country boys who don't really know a lot and have never been out in the world, and they corrupt them."

Welch was a lifelong resident of the area and an unemployed 23-year-old at the time of the fire. He lived with his mother.

Cox, then 22, had come to South Carolina from Virginia seeking construction work after Hurricane Hugo in 1989. He lived in a trailer with a Klan buddy, Arthur Haley, and worked only rarely as a day laborer.

Cox and Welch are also charged with beating and stabbing a mentally handicapped black man they found waiting for a bus near a Wal-Mart. The victim survived the attack.

South Carolina has moved the suspects to four jails because they've been beaten by other inmates.

Martin Luther King: A time for arsons

To celebrate the 25th anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., three teen-agers torched two churches 20 miles apart near McComb, Miss.

Late on Sunday, April 4, 1993, after a day of drinking beer and smoking pot, Charles McGeehee, Jerome Bellelo and Roy McGovern piled into

McGovern's car, picked up a 15-year-old girl and went to burglarize the Springhill Freewill Missionary Baptist Church, two miles down a dirt road near McGeehee's home.

When they found nothing worth stealing in the church, they piled plastic floral arrangements and hymnals in a pew and started a fire. The church burned to the ground.

They then drove toward McGovern's house. But on the way, they stopped at Rocky Point Missionary Baptist Church and set it ablaze. They drove away shouting "Burn, nigger, burn!"

They spent the night at McGovern's house, watching the church burn less than a mile away.

"These young boys are not racist," says Guy Rogers, lawyer for McGovern. "They got a little drunk and a little crazy. I know the types who do this sort of thing with malice in their hearts and these boys are not that type. ... It was a lark."

While McGeehee graduated from high school, worked in construction and lived in a comfortable home, Bellelo and McGovern came from less fortunate circumstances.

McGovern, then an 18-year-old dropout, worked for a tree trimming service. At the time of his arrest, he was on probation for aggravated assault of an acquaintance in a dispute over a stolen car stereo.

Bellelo, then 17 and a freshman in high school, is one of nine children and lived in Franklinton, La. He had been staying with his grandmother, Norma Bellelo, in Summit, where he had been in one minor scrape with the law for breaking into a newspaper vending machine. His grandmother turned him in to police.

After the sentencing hearing, his father, Duris Bellelo, approached the Rev. Maultee Brown Sr. of Springhill Freewill and shook hands. He told him that he would like to help pay to rebuild the church, but that he had no money. Then he introduced Jerome to the pastor, who accepted his apology.

Although Bellelo didn't speak in open court, McGeehee and McGovern turned to face church members. "I'd like to tell the members of both churches that I am sorry for what happened," McGeehee said.

Said McGovern, "I'd like to apologize to the members of both churches. I'm sorry this happened."

McGeehee and Bellelo were sentenced to 37 months. McGovern got 46 months because of an earlier conviction as a juvenile. The three were ordered to pay \$138,000 in restitution, perform 384 hours of community service each over the next 14

years and on their release, submit 10-page research reports on the history of the civil rights movement.

After Arkansas fires: Trying to rebuild lives

Kenneth Coats and Perry Moore are fishmongers in the Mississippi River flood plain. It's honest but unpleasant work, wearing rubber aprons smeared with entrails while gutting and filleting catfish to sell wholesale in small shops.

But both men have found a measure of peace after serving their time for destroying three black churches in Watson, Ark. on May 17, 1992.

Some speculated that the arsons were a response to the riots three weeks earlier in South Central Los Angeles following the acquittal of the police officers who beat Rodney King. But both men have denied that.

The churches were insured, and all three have been rebuilt. Now the men want to rebuild their lives.

Moore, then 23, is a burly red-haired man who lives with his family in a trailer next to the fish market where he works. He has a second job at an auto garage in nearby Dumas.

On a humid evening last week, he glowered at a visitor and said virtually nothing. He, and his mother and father sat in lawn chairs.

Coats, then 23, lives in a rough-looking, double-wide trailer with a new satellite dish in the yard. On a recent visit, Moore's older brother, working at a fish market set up behind the trailer, chased a reporter off the property.

Married less than a month, Coats is starting his own fish market and restaurant in prosperous Dumas.

In his tidy place, just opened Wednesday, Coats, his wife and his mother sat in plastic patio chairs, smoking Winstons and railing about inaccurate media accounts regarding the new wave of arsons.

Despite his wife and mother's best efforts to cajole him into talking, Coats declined, saying he just doesn't want any more trouble.

Both men were released from prison in May 1995 after serving 32½ months of a 37 month sentence.

The Super Bowl fires: 'A purpose and a plan'

The burning rage on Super Bowl Sunday 1995 began with a burning cross and the firebombing of the Sweetie Peety tavern in Columbia, Tenn. Then Robert Johnson and Michael Jett jumped into Mark Jett's pickup and did the same to Friendship Missionary Baptist Church in the next county.

They drove back to Johnson's house, switched to Johnson's 1977 Pontiac Bonneville and returned to the church to watch the fire. Members of the congregation who were fighting the fire saw the drunken white men and chased them away.

The trio then drove to Canaan African Methodist Episcopal Church and threw a Molotov cocktail through a window. The bomb broke a plastic water pipe that doused the fire. Neither church was destroyed, although fire did \$20,000 worth of damage to Friendship Missionary.

Patricia Jett, wife of Mark Jett, says the crimes were not part of any organized effort despite public per-

ceptions. "They are not the racists everyone makes them out to be," she says. "They are not bad people. They were just drunk. That's all it was. These boys just made a terrible mistake and they are paying the price."

A self-employed painter, Johnson claimed income of \$11,000 in 1994 after being fired from his job as a Kroger's grocery clerk.

"I hope God forgets what we've done," Johnson said before he was sentenced in February.

Despite their expressions of remorse, U.S. District Judge Thomas Higgins said "these men set out to ride the roads at night. They had a purpose and a plan."

"It's no accident that two African-American congregations were singled out," Higgins said.

All three men were sentenced to 37 months in prison and ordered to pay restitution of \$20,087.

While tough sentences salve some of the public outrage over church burnings, those who have been harmed the most appear to be the quickest to forgive.

In McComb, the small congregation of Rocky Point Missionary Baptist Church elected not to rebuild and gave \$12,000 in donations to help Springhill rebuild instead.

The Springhill Freewill Baptist Church stands at the end of a two-mile dirt road, its tall white steeple pristine in the fading evening sun.

Deacon Carl Young says the new church is better than the old one, largely because of the generosity of spirit of both whites and blacks in Amite County who joined forces to help rebuild.

The three three young men who burned the old church will be welcomed back when their time is up a few months from now.

"I'd be glad for them to come back to the community," Young says. "I don't feel hatred toward them. They're serving their time. They told us they were sorry. That's all they can do."

Contributing Gary Fields and Deborah Sharp

Ex-agent's book sparks political furor

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

A sensational new book by a former FBI agent who once worked at the White House prompted a nasty presidential campaign spat Sunday.

Gary Aldrich's book, *Unlimited Access*, has triggered a flurry of news stories about his claims that President Clinton made secret nocturnal visits to a Washington hotel and members of the White House staff used drugs.

The White House immediately discredited the book and Aldrich. Senior Clinton adviser George Stephanopoulos said none of Aldrich's assertions is true.

Stephanopoulos appeared on ABC's *This Week with David Brinkley* after failing to persuade the network to cancel Aldrich's appearance on the show.

Stephanopoulos blamed Republican operatives working for Bob Dole for orchestrating the book's "smear campaign" against Clinton.

Dole "should denounce the book and he should cut all ties to all those con-

nected with this campaign of character assassination," Stephanopoulos said.

Clinton's campaign said conservative Craig Shirley, hired to promote the book, is a Dole adviser.

Dole spokesman Nelson Warfield said Shirley did "some volunteer work" during the GOP primaries but is not on the campaign staff.

"Dole knows nothing about this book," Warfield said. Aldrich, also on ABC, said he'll "swear under oath to anything" in the book. He retired in 1995 after 30 years in the FBI.

He spent the last five years at the White House doing background checks. Under questioning, Aldrich said he had not taped any interviews and he would not provide any names of sources. He also relied on some second-hand sources for information he repeated as fact.

The political furor obscured the book's effect on the ongoing FBI files flap.



ABC News via AP

Aldrich: Used second-hand sources

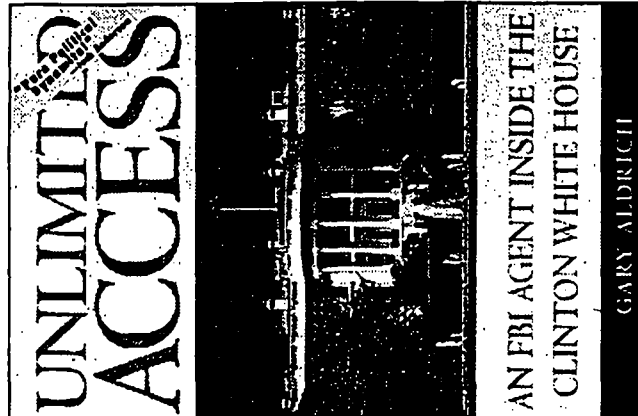
Aldrich describes lax security procedures among Clinton aides. He says Hillary Rodham Clinton hired Craig Livingstone, the former White House personnel security chief who is under fire in Congress for acquiring hundreds of FBI files on GOP appointees.

Aldrich wrote of "an atmosphere of chaos ... and disregard for security."

Livingstone told two congressional panels last week that he knew nothing about how his aide, Anthony Marceca, got the confidential files.

Marceca, a civilian Army employee, refused to testify at a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing Friday. He invoked his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination.

Rep. William Clinger, R-Pa., said on CBS's *Face the Nation* that his committee will continue to investigate the administration's "culture of secrecy."



"Unlimited Access": Causing firestorm

WASHINGTON Catholics launch assault on Clinton abortion veto

Roman Catholic leaders distributed 27 million postcards at churches nationwide on Sunday, mobilizing parishioners to bombard Congress with one message: Override President Clinton's veto and outlaw certain late-term abortions.

In Miami, the archbishop took out ads in Sunday papers and on cable TV saying that 5 million postcards to legislators should make a difference. Some Protestant churches joined the campaign, urging senators and representatives to override the president's veto of a ban on what defenders call "dilation and extraction" and opponents call "partial-birth abortions." In Denver, activists held an all-night prayer vigil Friday and Saturday. In Portland, Ore., 250 bishops called for legislators to reverse the presidential veto.

Clinton's April 10 veto of a measure to make the practice illegal drew sharp criticism from leaders of Catholics and Southern Baptists. Clinton said the ban should allow an exception for a serious health risk to the woman. Catholic cardinals told him in an April letter it would allow any reason connected to a woman's well-being. They called the late-term abortion a "heinous act to kill a tiny infant just seconds from taking his or her first breath outside the womb."

Abortion-rights advocates say the procedure is rare. "They're going to try to keep the issue of the right to choose confined to issues like late-term abortions rather than on the central question: Who should make the decisions at any stage of pregnancy?" Kate Michelman, director of the National Abortion Rights Action League, has said.

COOLEY RUNNING: Rep. Wes Cooley, R-Ore., vowed that he won't drop his re-election bid, despite the pleadings of party leaders. He rallied against "the sleazy media," saying that the press supports a one-world government. News reports have said that, contrary to his claim that he served in the Korean War, Cooley did not.

Oregon officials are investigating whether to charge him with lying in the official state Voter's Pamphlet. The U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs is looking into whether his wife illegally got VA benefits from a previous marriage while she and Cooley lived together. Supporters emphasize his work in Congress. "We elected you and you're voting correctly for agriculture," Jim Stonebrink of the Oregon Wheat League told Cooley at a Republican gathering. But Korean War veteran Bill Holt said, "Every day you don't increases the chance of losing the seat to the Democrats."



Cooley: Calls media reports 'sleazy'

DOLES ON TOUR: Bob and Elizabeth Dole are hitting the talk-show circuit and bookstores to push their updated joint autobiography, *Unlimited Partners*. They were to appear this morning on NBC's *Today* show and *Live with Regis & Kathie Lee*, then do a Manhattan book-signing. The GOP presidential candidate spent two hours last Thursday autographing adhesive labels. Because of his war injuries, Dole is unable to sign his name quickly.

WILDLIFE CHIEF DIES: Mollie Beattie, who defended the Endangered Species Act as director of the Fish and Wildlife Service for the past three years, died Thursday of brain cancer. She was 49.

The court's verbal bomb-thrower

Dissenter Scalia is in his element

By Tony Mauro
USA TODAY

Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia once said that writing dissents was "an unparalleled pleasure ... the only thing that makes life tolerable" on the nation's highest court.

By that measure, Scalia, 60, is having the time of his life in his 10th court term, which ends today. His dissents on issues ranging from gay rights to political patronage have proliferated this term, crackling with sarcasm and vitriol and sparing no one, not even conservative allies and personal friends on the court.

Once viewed as a potentially potent conservative consensus-builder, Scalia (pronounced sca-LEE-ya) now revels in lobbing verbal grenades from the sidelines, often alone or joined by Clarence Thomas or Chief Justice William Rehnquist.

At a recent private reunion with his current and former law clerks, speakers read Scalia's zingers aloud for more than a half hour — and Scalia howled with laughter along with everyone else.

"He seems happier with his job than ever," says Washington lawyer Paul Cappuccino, a former clerk. "Don't mistake what he writes for anger. He writes what he believes."

And what Scalia believes, it appears, is that his colleagues on the court are tinkering with society and its traditions in ways that judges, part of a "law-trained elite," have no business doing.



By Eduardo Flores, Arlington Catholic Herald

Father and son: Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia and his wife, Maureen, receive communion from their newly ordained son, Paul.

"The court must be living in another world," Scalia wrote in a dissent that celebrated political patronage last Friday. "Day by day, case by case, it is busy designing a Constitution for a country I do not recognize."

In the country that Scalia wants to hang onto, all-male public military schools are OK, political patronage is a time-honored tradition and government is entitled to disfavor homosexuals.

In the gay rights ruling, Scalia accused the majority of "terminal silliness" when it struck down a Colorado measure that barred communities from enacting laws to protect the rights of homosexuals. The majority opinion was written by occasional ally Justice Anthony Kennedy, who gave Scalia an icy stare when Scalia read the dissent aloud.

Last week, when the court

ruled that the Virginia Military Institute could not remain all-male and keep its state funding, Scalia excoriated the majority opinion as "false," "misleading," "irresponsible" and "implausible."

The targets of his acid pen in the VMI case: Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, author of the court's majority opinion, and Rehnquist, who wrote a concurrence. Ginsburg has been one of Scalia's closest friends for more than a decade, and Rehnquist is Scalia's longtime poker partner.

By all accounts, the friendships survive the verbal abuse, partly because of Scalia's Old World manners and his ready sense of humor. "His opinions take no prisoners," says University of California law professor Jesse Choper. "But he is a very charming man."

The court's first Italian-

Controversial issues on court's fall agenda

A new crop of hot issues faces the high court when it returns from its summer recess Oct. 7.

Affirmative action. The right to die and gays in the military all could reach the court's doorstep this fall, and it will be up to the justices to decide if the court will consider them.

The court has docketed more than 40 cases for the fall term. Among them:

► **Paula Jones.** The court will consider a constitutional question raised by the sexual harassment suit by Paula Jones against President Clinton: Can a president put off until after he leaves office a civil lawsuit that concerns alleged acts before he became president? The hearing will hap-

pen after Election Day.

► **Official English.** The justices will consider whether an Arizona law that requires official state business to be conducted in English violates the free speech rights of government employees.

► **Brady Law.** The federal law restricting the purchase of handguns will be examined to decide if it improperly commands state and local officials to perform a federal function.

► **Abortion protests.** The justices will decide whether court-ordered buffer zones protecting clinic workers and patients from anti-abortion protesters violates the First Amendment.

By Tony Mauro

American justice, Scalia is the father of nine. He was deeply moved by his son Paul's ordination as a priest in May. Thomas attributes his recent return to Catholicism partly to sharing the ordination experience with Scalia.

Scalia embraces life with as much gusto as his work. Soon after the court recesses, Scalia will go to Europe to teach. He'll also spend time at his recently built summer home in the Outer Banks of North Carolina.

Last year, in spite of a painful squash injury to his knee that required surgery, Scalia left town at least 15 times to teach or lecture. Destinations have included France, Japan,

Russia, England and Armenia.

At most of his stops, Scalia avoids the limelight. More than once he has refused to walk on stage until waiting TV cameras leave. He declined all interview requests on his 10th anniversary. As bold as his language is from the bench, Scalia believes judges should recede from public view in society's hot-button debates.

"My colleagues and I don't know what John Q. Public thinks," Scalia said in a speech in April. When it comes to issues such as abortion or the right to die, he says, "Why would you leave that to nine lawyers, for heaven's sake? It's better to let the people decide."

White House tries attacking messenger

News outlets face wrath over reports

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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REPORTS

From page A1

EGLIN AIR FORCE BASE, Fla. — White House Press Secretary Michael McCurry, trying to steer reporters from new allegations of misdeeds at the Clinton White House, is mounting an aggressive campaign to discredit the media outlets carrying the stories.

His main target appears to be The Washington Times, which first gave prominence to stories about the Clinton administration's handling of FBI background files of Reagan and Bush aides.

He has unkind words as well for the New York Post, and yesterday

George Stephanopoulos, a senior presidential adviser, lectured David Brinkley and ABC News for interviewing Gary Aldrich, the former FBI agent whose new book, "Unlimited Access," has whipped up a firestorm of controversy.

The Times, as well as the Wall Street Journal, published comprehensive summaries of the book Friday, and other newspapers, including The Washington Post and the New York Times, followed Saturday.

Mr. Aldrich asserts in his book that first lady Hillary Rodham

see REPORTS, page A8

Clinton was behind the hiring of D. Craig Livingstone, who resigned as White House security chief after he was called before two congressional committees to explain the FBI files fiasco.

His book also asserts, using unnamed sources, that President Clinton occasionally eluded his Secret Service detail to keep romantic middle-of-the-night trysts at the JW Marriott hotel. The Secret Service and representatives of the hotel said they have no knowledge of such trysts.

The White House is especially angry with ABC News and "This Week With David Brinkley." The Aldrich appearance was vexing, Mr. McCurry said, because it appeared to legitimize the allegations.

"Not to mention The Washington Times, which used to be a real newspaper," Mr. McCurry said to reporters aboard Air Force One en route from Lyon, France, site of the annual Group of Seven summit, to Paris, where the first family had dinner with French President Jacques Chirac.

The president came here to Florida early yesterday to lead a memorial service for the airmen killed in Tuesday's bombing at an air base in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

The Washington Times has been the target of White House ire the past several weeks after the publication of several important reports, quickly followed up by other newspapers and the television networks. Those reports included these disclosures:

- Pledges by Mr. Clinton to assist Russian President Boris Yeltsin's bid for re-election if Mr. Yeltsin would clear Russian obstacles to the importation of U.S. poultry products, including chicken processed by Tyson Foods Inc. of Springdale, Ark., which gave Mr. Clinton early support. The conversation occurred at March's international summit to combat terrorism in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt.

- The presence of an extensive database within the White House to keep track of upwards of 200,000 Americans, including members of Congress, reporters and commentators, and Clinton supporters.

- Documents indicating that the misuse of the FBI files on Reagan and Bush aides was part of an effort to justify security clearances for Clinton aides with questionable backgrounds.

- Testimony from FBI agent M. Dennis Sculimbrenne that three senior White House officials pressured him to release information from the secret FBI files of all seven travel office employees before they were fired in 1993.

Mr. Sculimbrenne was Mr. Aldrich's partner in the two-man FBI posting at the White House and has testified privately to congressional investigators on the FBI files matter.

Mr. McCurry has criticized The Times three times in the past week for its coverage of the Aldrich book and the FBI files scandal. "Look, The Washington Times has a determined point of view on this subject," Mr. McCurry said Tuesday to questions about the database.

Mr. McCurry has not specifically described recent reports in The Times as incorrect but said they were "hyped."

Referring to the database story, for example, Mr. McCurry said: "The story in The Washington Times reflects their viewpoint and the way they have covered some of these matters."

Last week, Mr. McCurry rebuked The Times for Friday's report on Mr. Aldrich's book, "Unlimited Access: An FBI Agent Inside the Clinton White House." The story "is not worth taking time to read," he said. "I just don't have any comment on it because it's ridiculous."

In recent weeks, Mr. McCurry has also criticized the Wall Street Journal for its coverage of "Travelgate" and the FBI files scandal. He offered mild criticism of the new book by Bob Woodward, an assistant managing editor of The Washington Post. Mr. Woodward's book, "The Choice," citing unnamed sources, describes Mrs. Clinton's efforts, through a spiritual intermediary, to have conversations with Eleanor Roosevelt and Mohandas Gandhi, who are dead.

A press aide said Mr. McCurry, despite his repeated references to The Times, is not singling out newspapers or television networks for criticism.

Wesley Pruden, editor in chief of The Times, last night said: "I sympathize with Mike and others at the White House, who appear to be a little shellshocked. Mike took me to task, when we met at a recent occasion, for our having described the president as 'a draft dodger,' and suggested that this could cost us access at the White House. I hope that doesn't happen."

"All presidents have trouble with newspapers. JFK canceled his subscription to the old New York Herald-Tribune because he didn't like its reporting. But whatever they may do at the White House, we'll continue the aggressive coverage that is making The Washington Times the must-read paper in Washington. Our only agenda is the news, and we're determined that our readers will get the news first."

Mr. McCurry scoffed at the idea that any news organization would take Mr. Aldrich's book seriously. "He's at a loss for words because he can't believe anyone is taking it seriously," Mr. McCurry said after Mr. Clinton was asked about the book during a press conference Saturday in Lyon.

"The idea that the president of the United States at a major news conference would be asked a question about such a book is laughable, and that's why the president was at a loss for words," the spokesman said.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, JULY 1, 1996

Aldrich says Hillary hired Livingstone

Author insists he has no link to right

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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ALDRICH

From page A1

Author Gary Aldrich says both D. Craig Livingstone and former White House Associate Counsel William H. Kennedy III told him Hillary Rodham Clinton hired Mr. Livingstone to run the White House personnel security office.

"Bill Kennedy told me, Craig Livingstone told me, and Craig told my partner, [FBI Special Agent] Dennis Sculimbrene, that he was picked by Hillary Clinton," the former FBI agent said in an interview yesterday with The Washington Times.

Mr. Aldrich added that "after the death of Vince Foster, Craig told me that only Hillary could fix the broken security problems" at the White House.

Mr. Aldrich said Mr. Livingstone, a former bouncer he called "clearly unqualified" for the security post, "traveled on Air Force One with the first family" and was "selected by the first lady and the president to handle arrangements for Vince Foster's funeral."

Mr. Aldrich is the author of a new book, "Unlimited Access: An FBI Agent Inside the Clinton White House," based on five years during the Bush and Clinton administrations. He was one of two FBI agents assigned to the White

House to make background security checks on its personnel.

His assertion that Mrs. Clinton hired Mr. Livingstone, one of two

see ALDRICH, page A8

men at the center of an investigation into the White House accumulation of FBI files on Republicans, is one of the book's claims.

The Aldrich book has been denied and denounced by the White House, which contends the author is being used as a "tool" of "right-wing extremists" out to destroy the Clinton presidency.

On ABC's "This Week," George Stephanopoulos, senior White House adviser, yesterday charged the presence of conservative publicist Craig Shirley, who he described as an adviser to the Dole campaign, with Mr. Aldrich indicated that GOP political operatives are using the former agent to mount a "smear campaign."

"This is a character test for Senator Dole. He should denounce the book, and he should cut all ties to all those connected with this campaign of character assassination," Mr. Stephanopoulos said.

Mr. Dole later responded that Mr. Shirley was not a member of the senator's presidential campaign although he had done some volunteer work during the primary season.

"Asking Bob Dole to disavow the Aldrich book buys the Clinton campaign's false premise that Bob Dole is somehow involved with the book in the first place," the presumptive GOP candidate said.

"The fact is that Bob Dole knows nothing about this book. It might not stop Bill Clinton, but Bob Dole likes to limit his comments to things he knows something about."

Mr. Dole added: "My view is that the media, they're doing their job. They're going to find out for themselves whether the story is accurate."

Mr. Aldrich told The Washington Times he "admires Bob Dole" but has never met him. "I have no connection whatsoever with any political campaign," he said.

The author added that Mr. Shirley was working for the book's publisher: "We realized there would be a backlash. I said we needed a media consultant who understood politics."

Mr. Stephanopoulos yesterday acknowledged that the White House tried unsuccessfully to convince ABC to cancel Mr. Aldrich's appearance on "This Week."

Matthew Glavin, president of the Southeastern Legal Foundation Inc., who was present during parts of The Washington Times' interview, said Mr. Aldrich had been scheduled to appear on CNN's "Larry King Live" and "Dateline NBC" this week but those appearances were canceled.

Mr. Glavin said he believes the cancellations were the result of White House pressure. "This is a major setback for the First Amendment," he said.

But Wendy Whitworth, senior executive producer of "Larry King Live," said cancellation was her decision, and the White House played no role.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, JULY 1, 1996

"Everyone in town has heard the rumors [in the book], but they are unsubstantiated. And I find nothing in the book that substantiates them any further," she said.

Mr. Glavin said his group will be providing legal help for Mr. Aldrich should he be sued by the FBI for publishing the book without the FBI's approval.

Said Mr. Aldrich: "I had spent a lot of money defending my First Amendment rights, so I sought help from a legal foundation."

Mr. Aldrich declined to say how much he's been paid by Regnery Publishers for his book, explaining that his contract prevents him from disclosing that information. "It's modest," he said.

He stressed he is not being paid by any outside groups for having written the book.

Mr. Aldrich seemed unruffled by all the White House denials: "I consider myself a whistle-blower. When people blow the whistle on the Clintons, they can discredit you and destroy your opportunities," he said.

"Every time someone at the White House opens their mouth, I'll sell more books."

He said 98 percent of his book was based on "one-on-one personal observations" and the other 2 percent on things he was told.

Mr. Aldrich says some people are calling it "divine intervention" that his book is being released at the height of the files scandal, something he says he knew nothing about during his tenure.

Sen. Bob Kerrey, Nebraska Democrat and chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, has joined a growing list of prominent Democrats with doubts about the White House's explanation on the files.

"No, I'm not absolutely satisfied," Mr. Kerrey said on NBC's "Meet the Press."

He said it would be "big trouble for the administration" if it's determined someone higher up at the White House than those in the security office authorized the review of the files.

"I have no evidence that that's the case. I'm not absolutely certain it's not," he said.

Ex-FBI Agent: First Lady Wanted Livingstone on Staff

'It's a Done Deal,' Counsel Allegedly Said

By George Lardner Jr.
and Pierre Thomas
Washington Post Staff Writers

A former FBI agent assigned to the White House says he was told that Craig Livingstone was named head of personnel security despite a questionable background because "Hillary wants him."

Writing in a new book, "Unlimited Access—An FBI Agent Inside the Clinton White House," the agent, Gary Aldrich, said then-associate White House counsel William H. Kennedy III told him in early 1993 that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton wanted Livingstone in the job.

Kennedy, Aldrich wrote, asked him what the FBI thought of Livingstone as a replacement for a longtime veteran and "in particular what the FBI would think if there were character issues in his background."

"I responded gingerly, saying it was a post that should be filled with someone squeaky clean, before Kennedy cut me off: 'I guess I see your

point, but it doesn't matter. It's a done deal. Hillary wants him.'"

The embattled Livingstone announced his resignation Wednesday at a House hearing after a drumfire of criticism over his office's improper collection of sensitive FBI background reports on hundreds of Republicans from past administrations. One of the biggest mysteries left at the hearing was the question of who had hired Livingstone, a longtime political advance man with no background in security issues.

Aldrich was assigned to the White House to conduct background investigations for five years until he retired in June 1995. Angry in tone and laced with undocumented allegations, his book was published by a conservative house, Regnery Publishing Co. It was immediately denounced by the White House.

"On its face, this is trash for right-wing cash," said White House spokesman Mark Fabiani. Regnery, he said, has published books by former Los

See FILES, A7, Col. 1

FILES, From A6

Angeles police officer Stacey C. Koon and the National Rifle Association's executive vice president, Wayne LaPierre Jr. Fabiani said publication of the Aldrich book "is a political act with zero credibility."

Earlier this month, Aldrich wrote a short article for the Wall Street Journal's editorial page. It alleged that permanent White House employees suspected of disloyalty were in for "special" attention, Hillary Clinton style—such as new background investigations before they were due. An FBI agent he worked with, M. Dennis Sculmbrene, has alleged that White House political operatives pumped him for information contained in confidential FBI background files in an effort to root out career employees and replace them with Clinton supporters.

Those charges have led to an internal FBI investigation. The probe is focused on Aldrich's contentions that he told his supervisor, James Bourke, that the security system at the White House had been relaxed so those loyal to the Clintons could evade background checks. If Bourke was aware of such matters, the FBI inspectors will try to determine what, if anything, he did about them, sources

said. The inquiry is also directed at Sculmbrene's allegation that his FBI supervisors retaliated against him for testifying as a defense witness in the trial of fired White House travel chief Billy R. Dale. Dale was acquitted of embezzlement charges.

Sculmbrene has said he now reports to the FBI offices in Tysons Corner, where he has "no work, no assignments." In an August 1995 memo, David Bowie, another FBI agent who worked on the Dale case, told FBI higher-ups that Sculmbrene has "very bitter political feelings against the White House" and accused him of "irrational" behavior.

In his book, Aldrich said the new Clinton White House used temporary passes for many months to get around the need to provide the Secret Service with FBI background reports for permanent passes.

The White House counsel's office tightened security procedures in early 1994 after a review concluded that more than 100 employees were allowed to work for months without routine background investigations. White House officials acknowledged then that some White House staffers were found to have troublesome personal problems when the long-delayed investigations were finally completed.

Aldrich recounted meetings with Kennedy and with late White House deputy counsel Vincent Foster on the security problems, and said he told Foster the FBI had found character questions among staff members "at the highest levels" of the White House.

At one point, Aldrich wrote, he and Livingstone discussed the serious security problems, including staff members who should have been fired because of their backgrounds and the lack of cooperation from other White House staff members in even submitting to FBI interviews. Livingstone, wrote Aldrich, said Kennedy understood the problems but refused to deal with them.

The two men decided to go to higher-ups about the security problem, according to Aldrich. He wrote that he assumed they would discuss it with then-White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum. "Craig looked at me like I didn't have a brain. 'Nussbaum? It's not Nussbaum we gotta talk to. We'll be talking to Hillary.'"

Livingstone never mentioned the meeting with Hillary Clinton again, and it never came off, Aldrich wrote.

Staff writers Susan Schmidt and Jim McGee and researcher Nathan Abse contributed to this report.

In Defense Of Paring Military

Pentagon Must Share In Cuts, Say Executives

By Peter McKay
Washington Post Staff Writer

Forget guns and butter. Ben Cohen was talking guns and ice cream yesterday.

The Ben and Jerry's ice cream co-founder used a special flavor he dubbed "Totally Nuts" as a tasty prop at a news conference yesterday to protest legislation that would give the military billions more than the White House asked for in the next fiscal year. The session, held at the Willard Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue NW, was organized by a newly formed coalition of 39 business leaders who oppose the defense spending bill.

Cohen, tieless in worn shoes and a blue shirt unbuttoned at the collar, stood in marked contrast to the three other speakers, executives in starched shirts and crisp suits. He stole the show.

"Who will have the first bowl?" he shouted triumphantly, holding his company's ice cream high after journalists peppered the businessmen with questions.

Phillips-Van Heusen president and chief executive Bruce J. Klatsky obliged.

The group of executives calls itself Business Leaders for New Priorities and contends that defense spending is unnecessarily high in the post-Cold War era. The group also maintains that military funding comes at the expense of social programs and that it should bear more of the brunt of budget cuts at a time of overall reduction in government spending.

While Congress and the administration have been arguing over whether to increase defense spending this year, there's been little argument between Republicans and Democrats over shielding defense from the effort to balance the budget by 2002. Even in a presidential election year, neither major presidential candidate appears inclined to make a case for shaving defense dollars to boost social spending. And the public, so far, has indicated little interest in pressing for a spending shift.

Yesterday's event marked a rare instance of public protest.

BLNP's 39-person roster includes executives from Chase Manhattan Bank, Hasbro Inc. and Au Bon Pain Co. The organization's first public statement came in a full-page advertisement in Sunday's New York Times written as an open letter to President Clinton and Robert J. Dole.

The House passed a bill June 14 that would give the Pentagon \$244.7 billion, more than \$10 billion in spending above the White House's request. A similar bill has already passed the Senate Appropriations Committee and may come before the full Senate after the July 4th recess.

The executives acknowledged that the timing of their message wasn't ideal, coming just days after the bombing of a U.S. military installation in Saudi Arabia. Still, they tried to turn the event in their favor.

"I'd be offended if my son were a policeman in Saudi Arabia," Ted Williams, a World War II veteran and chief executive of Bell Industries, said after the news conference.

Cohen said of the bombing, "Emotionally, that goes against what we're trying to do. But reasonably and rationally, what happened in Saudi Arabia could not have been prevented by hundreds of billions of dollars in additional military spending."

Ben and Jerry's ice cream is known for its colorful and sometimes politically named flavors, such as Rain Forest Crunch, so labeled to raise awareness of forest depletion.

The Totally Nuts ice cream, which will not be sold to the public, was made from butter pecan ice cream, walnuts, pistachios and chocolate-covered peanuts.

time service to cover threats to deployed U.S. troops, the activities of rogue nations and terrorist groups, and countries with nuclear capabilities.

■ Reverse "the long decline of the State Department's foreign service capabilities." Congress and the administration should rekindle the foreign service's reporting and analysis functions.

■ Encourage analysts to "become real experts" and to have greater interaction with authorities outside government and the intelligence community.

■ Encourage greater sharing of analysis with foreign intelligence services. Noting the emphasis on secrecy during the Cold War, the study said, "Times have changed and so should practices."

The task force was chaired by former ambassador to the Philippines and Tunisia Stephen W. Bosworth.

Report Says CIA Weighted Toward Military Intelligence Community Gives Civilian Policy-Makers 'Lip Service'

tention to the most important structural feature of America's intelligence community now that the Cold War is over: the increasing dominance of military needs."

It went on to say that "while much lip service is paid to meeting the needs of civilian policy-makers who focus on international political, economic and social questions, few steps have been taken to address their needs better."

The study made these recommendations:

- Change the mind-set favoring collection over analysis and at least double the budget for analysis.
- Narrow the scope of the clandestine

The House and Senate intelligence committees have drafted legislation to implement their separate recommendations for changing the way the CIA and related agencies do business. Other recommendations have come from the Council on Foreign Relations and a presidential commission.

The latest report said the other studies fell short.

"Informed opinion overwhelmingly holds that many of the important questions about the intelligence agencies have yet to be addressed," wrote Richard Leone, president of the Twentieth Century Fund.

The main part of the report said the other studies "have not paid enough at-

By Donald M. Rothberg
Associated Press

The needs of the military are dominating U.S. intelligence activities and, as a result, the civilian parts of government have largely lost faith in the analyses they receive from the CIA, a private study said yesterday.

"Policy-makers too often consider intelligence analysis to be unreliable, unhelpful or irrelevant," said the report by a task force sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund research foundation.

Titled "In From the Cold," it is the latest in a series of studies calling for reorganization of the intelligence community.