

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Personal (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting
OA/Box Number: 8170

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC [Hillary Rodham Clinton]/DNC [Democratic National Committee] Lunch 10/18/94

2012-1004-S
ms550

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE JEWISH LEADERSHIP COUNCIL OF THE DNC
WASHINGTON, DC
OCTOBER 18, 1994

[Acknowledgements: David Wilhelm; Co-chairmen Peter May, Miles Lehrman and Ron Dozoretz [Duh-ZOR-etz]; vice-chairs Abe Pollin [POE-lin], Danny Abraham, Stan Chesley; Steven Spielberg, who will introduce you]

Your support comes at a crucial moment for the Democratic Party. Not just because we care about the composition of the House and the Senate when the next Congress convenes. Not just because we care about who occupies the State Houses in Texas, California, New York, Florida, Connecticut and elsewhere.

Not just because we want a government that empowers Americans to make better lives for themselves and their families.

And not just because we want to press forward with a legislative program that already has produced a \$255 billion reduction in the deficit, 4.2 million new jobs, the most sweeping anti-crime measure ever, and the most progressive social agenda for children and families in history -- including immunizations for children, an expansion of Head Start, higher educational standards, job training, more flexible college loan repayments and, most important, a continued commitment to work for health care reform.

Today, we are at a watershed moment in the political and social history of America. A moment of re-definition when our values, our institutions, our whole identity as a pluralistic, democratic society is at stake.

We need only look around us to see the breakdown of what used to be called "civil society" -- churches and synagogues, neighborhoods, civic organizations, even our families. And it's not just a breakdown of institutions, it's a breakdown of values and traditions and customs.

A vibrant democracy such as ours depends on the many different voices and opinions of the American people. It depends on dialogue, an exchange of ideas, an acceptance of our cultural differences.

But today those foundations of democracy are giving way to what Deborah Tannen, the linguistics professor at Georgetown, calls a "culture of critique." Instead of discussion, or dialogue, we have verbal warfare. If you don't like a person, you tear him or her down. If you don't like an idea, you tear it down. And, as long as you get attention, you're not accountable

for anything you say or do.

This trend is the basis for much of the distrust that Americans feel for their government, for their leaders, and most of all, for each other.

We see it on daytime television shows that celebrate the outrageous and the dysfunctional. We see it in teenagers who kill each other over an insult or a slight. We see it in a decline in overall civility. We see it in a rise in political extremism and xenophobia cropping up in every region of America.

This is not a new phenomenon. It has happened before during periods of transition when the country was adjusting to the realities of a new world order. Even after great victories in war, people feel insecure, anxious, unsettled, uncertain about the future because the world doesn't look or feel the same as it did before. Old enemies disappear and new ones spring up, or are created to take their place.

And during these periods, the voices of division and hatred rise up to exploit the anxieties of ordinary Americans.

The Ku Klux Klan was first formed up after the Civil War. It surged again after World War One, along with the Red Scare. That's when we had the Scopes trial. Father Coughlin. Anyone or anything that was different or not understood was regarded with suspicion and hostility after World War One.

And it happened again after World War Two. We had McCarthyism. Blacklists. Another increase in activity by the KKK.

Now, in the few years following the Cold War, we see the rebirth of a radical right that uses the politics of fear to play on the anxieties of well-meaning Americans in order to divide the country once again.

Today the hatemongers are not members of some fringe group. They walk among us. They are well-organized, well-funded, and often well-disguised.

And they are trying to fill what I call the "enemy void." If you can't scare people about the Soviets, or the Eastern Bloc countries, scare them about blacks, Jews, Catholics, women, Asians, Latinos, or any other group that doesn't fit the definition of, quote, "normal Americans."

In a climate of uncertainty and insecurity, the voices of division and hate have an audience. And it's not necessarily an audience of nasty, mean-spirited people. Often those who listen are good-hearted Americans who just want to be given simple solutions to their problems.

Our job is to remind them that extremism is not a solution - that there is no panacea for the challenges we face. We know that extremism is really a movement to drag the country backward instead of helping it march forward. A movement to pull us down, not lift us up. To divide us, not unite us.

Imagine what this country would be like if we reverted back to Reaganomics and a trickle-down economy that led to the biggest explosion of the deficit in our history.

Imagine what it would be like if we denied a woman's right to reproductive freedom. Imagine what it would be like if every judicial appointment was based on ideology. Imagine what it would be like if we let more guns proliferate on our streets. Imagine what it would be like if we denied more children immunizations, or meals, or a chance to learn a job skill.

Imagine what it would be like if the ethnic, religious, or racial group you belonged to was not considered "normal" by your representatives in government.

Something would be terribly wrong with this picture.

And what would be wrong reinforces why your support, your participation, your ideas and wisdom, are crucial to the Democratic Party and the nation at this particular moment in our history.

I'm a Christian. I'm a Christian who believes that a passionate, enduring religious faith is one of the foundations of human existence. And one of the foundations of our society. But I'm also a Christian who believes that bigotry and intolerance have no place in the spiritual life of this country.

That doesn't mean that, as individuals, we can't rely on our faith to guide us in our secular lives. One can be deeply religious without being fanatical or overzealous. One can be deeply religious without preaching hate. One can be deeply religious without proselytizing.

I may not be Jewish but I know enough about Judaism to know the importance of dialogue, discussion, and tolerance in Jewish culture. I know that Hillel, one of the greatest teachers and students of the Torah, believed learning should be open to anyone willing to work hard at their studies, regardless of social class or background.

Martin Buber's writings over the last century, and his compassionate and inclusive view of humanity, were based on Jewish traditions and ideals.

In their own distinct ways, Hillel two thousand years ago

and Buber in the 20th century propelled the idea that religion is not antithetical to tolerance -- and that faith is essential to the connectedness that people feel for one another.

It's appropriate to reflect back on these historical figures because it is from the Jewish religion and from the Hebrew language that we, who live in a modern democratic society, derive some of our most cherished ideals, traditions and, of course, some of our most basic laws.

Consider the word "tzedokah" [seh-DUCK-uh], the Hebrew word for charity and help for the needy. I recently learned that it comes from the root word "tzedek" [seh-DUCK], which means justice. So as the Hebrew language evolved, charity and justice were conceptually linked. There was no question that doing what was right and just meant doing good for others.

This tradition is worth considering now, as our country grapples with another period of uncertainty when tolerance and bigotry are on the rise. It's a reminder that we have to work that much harder to restore our ideals of community, of tolerance, of compassion and giving.

For 200 years, our nation has been a beacon of hope for people and nations yearning for democracy. It is precisely because our strength springs from our diversity that we have been an inspiration to countries and peoples trying to bridge their own cultural gaps.

Today, we see the role America is playing in bringing peace to the Middle East. Just yesterday, Israel and Jordan initialed a peace accord that was first outlined at the White House three months ago. When it is signed it will end 46 years of hostility between those two nations.

None of this would have been possible without the efforts of Prime Minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, and many friends in the peace movement in the United States and Israel who have worked tirelessly for a reconciliation among the people of the Middle East.

And none of this would have been possible if people like you weren't making sacrifices and taking risks to safeguard our time-honored values of tolerance, free expression, and pluralism. You are the reason we have withstood assaults on our system in the past. And with your help, we will survive the latest efforts to undermine our democratic way of life so that we can offer all Americans hope and opportunity -- and remain a beacon of freedom for our friends and neighbors around the world.

Thank you very much.

lm draft 10/17/94

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[joke about newt gingrich]

may be at the end. [peace with jordan, praise rabin and peres and our many friends in the peace movement in america and israel who have worked tirelessly for a reconciliation with the people in the middle east.

Your support comes at a crucial moment for the Democratic Party. Not just because we care about the composition of the House and the Senate when the next Congress convenes. Not just because we care about who occupies the State Houses in Texas, California, New York, Florida, Connecticut and elsewhere.

soft of moving ahead - strides education Not just because we want to press forward with a legislative agenda that already has produced a \$255 billion deficit reduction, 4.2 million new jobs, college loan reforms, an expansion of the earned income tax credit, the Family and Medical Leave law, and the most sweeping anti-crime measure ever.

and country still committed to the reform And not just because we care about government working to empower Americans to make better lives for themselves and their families.

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We see it manifested in daytime television shows that celebrate the outrageous and the dysfunctional. We see it in teenagers who kill each other over an insult or a slight. We see it in a decline in overall civility.

~~But most disturbingly,~~ we see it in a rise in political extremism and xenophobia cropping up in every region of America.

This is not a new phenomenon. It has happened before during periods of transition when the country was adjusting to the realities of a new world order.

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The Ku Klux Klan came to life after the Civil War, and then again after the First World War. Coinciding with the Klan's resurgence was the Red Scare. The Scopes trial. Father Coughlin. Anyone or anything that was unconventional was regarded with suspicion and hostility after World War One.

And it happened again after World War Two. We had McCarthyism. Blacklists. And another rise in activity by the KKK.

Now, in the few years following the Cold War, we see the rebirth of a radical right that seeks to exploit the fears and anxieties of the American people and to divide the country once again.

total politics offer

Today the ~~hate mongers~~ are ~~not members of some lunatic fringe~~. They are well-organized, well-funded, and often well-disguised.

walk among us

They wear suits and ties. They preach the gospel on television. They host radio call-in shows. They raise millions of dollars. They run for the Senate.

Then
David Duke, Pat Robertson, Oliver North, Randall Terry and others of their ilk are trying to fill what I call the "enemy void." If you can't scare people about the Soviets, or the Eastern Bloc countries, scare them about blacks, Jews, Catholics, women, homosexuals, Asians, Latinos, liberals, or any other group that doesn't fit Newt Gingrich's definition of "normal."

61

community, tolerance, ..

Americans."

Ralph Reed, the executive director of the Christian Coalition, recently said the following: "What Christians have got to do is to take back this country, one precinct at a time, one neighborhood at a time, and one state at a time I honestly believe that in my lifetime we will see a country once again governed by Christians . . . and Christian values."

Randall Terry, the founder of Operation Rescue, is even more vitriolic: "I want you to just let a wave of intolerance wash over you," he tells his followers. "I want you to let a wave of hatred wash over you. Yes, hate is good. Our goal is a Christian nation We don't want pluralism."

Donald Wildmon, who leads the American Family Association, blames "the Jewish controlled media" for a popular culture that has produced "rampant immorality."

It would be nice if we could dismiss these people as kooks and crackpots. But when abortion doctors are being murdered on their way to work, and the radical right is making inroads into the mainstream Republican Party, we can't ignore them.

And don't let superficial support for Israel mask a deeper anti-Semitism.

Pat Robertson, who often bills himself as a backer of Israel, simultaneously expounds his theories about Jewish bankers propping up Communists and seeking a new world order. Robertson's group [the Christian Coalition] has an annual budget of almost \$14 million [ck]. There were 300 Coalition delegates to the Republican convention two years ago.

Oliver North, whose only claim to fame is utter contempt for our Constitutional principles, is today, thanks to extraordinary support from the Coalition and the radical right, a serious contender for the U.S. Senate seat in Virginia -- the home of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

Something is wrong with this picture.

And what's wrong reinforces why your support, your participation, your ideas and wisdom, are so crucial to the Democratic Party and the nation at this particular moment in our history.

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*Morgan - 3 back a country
women's right*

That doesn't mean that, as individuals, we can't rely on our faith to guide us in our secular lives. One can be deeply religious without being fanatical or overzealous. One can be deeply religious without preaching hate. One can be deeply religious without proselytizing.

I may not be Jewish but I know enough about Judaism to know the importance of dialogue, discussion, and tolerance in Jewish culture. I know that Hillel, one of the greatest teachers and students of the Torah, believed learning should be open to anyone willing to work hard at their studies, regardless of social class or breeding.

I know that Spinoza, although excommunicated from the Jewish community in Amsterdam, spent the bulk of his life patiently trying to enlighten those who objected to his unconventional religious views.

In their own distinct ways Hillel and Spinoza propelled the idea that religion is not antithetical to tolerance -- and that faith is essential to the connectedness that people feel for one another.

It's appropriate to reflect back on these historical figures because it is from the Jewish religion and from the Hebrew language that we, who live in a modern democratic society, derive some of our most cherished ideals and traditions.

Consider the word "tzedokah" [seh-DUCK-uh], the Hebrew word for charity and help for the needy. I recently learned that it comes from the root "tzedek" [seh-DUCK], which means justice. So as the Hebrew language evolved, charity and justice were conceptually linked. There was no question that doing what was just and right meant doing good for others.

[end with peace in jordan; america as a beacon of hope; people coming together in the middle east and south africa, etc]

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around the world.

Thank you very much.

###

Judaism and Justice

The idea of tolerance and devotion to one's neighbor is essential to the Jewish religion. Embodied in the Hebrew language is the connection between law and faith on the issue of tolerance and love of neighbors. Hebrew is a language based on three letter roots which, by themselves, are meaningless. Almost every verb, adjective, adverb, and noun is derived from a root. The word *tzedek* means justice, which is the basis for law. A related word, one coming from the same root, is *tzedokah*, which means charity and help for the needy. The only Hebrew word that charity is linked to is justice. This means that when the language was formed there was no question that justice, what is right in the eyes of the law, is contingent upon doing good for others. This is another example of how faith is based on tolerance and love of others. It also demonstrates the fact that Jewish law can be secular in its interpretation.

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TO LISSA MUSCATINE

From: Ruby Shamir

Date: 10/17/94

Subj: Fact Checking

-Father Coughlin was born in Canada. His full name is Charles Edward Coughlin. He began his Detroit Diocese in 1926. He was a major broadcasting force in the 1930s. He was silenced by his church superiors in 1942 for being too inflammatory.

-Christian Coalition budget is \$20 million; one half of DNC budget and one third of RNC budget.

-Millions of dollars poured into North's campaign by religious right, according to Phoenix Gazette July, 14, 1994.

-I do not know if Spinoza's method of teaching was particularly patient. What struck me about him was that if he based his theory on his experience, he would probably have been a hateful, intolerant man. However, his theories reflect a rise above the world that shut him out, for he stresses the oneness that exists between all things, humans particularly.

MEMORANDUM FOR LISSA MUSCATINE

From: Ruby Shamir

Date: 10/17/94

Subj: David Duke

Synopsis of "The Nazi and the Republicans: An Insider View of the Response of the Louisiana Republican Party to David Duke," by Elizabeth A. Rickey

Elizabeth Rickey is a member of the Louisiana Republican State Central Committee. Doing research for a degree and for John Treen (running against Duke for the State Legislature) Rickey found that Duke's claim to be clean of Nazism, and racism was a blatant lie. Just after his election to the State Legislature for Metairie he attended a Populist Party (a.k.a. neo-Nazi Party) convention in Chicago glorifying the white power movement and thanking the audience (bigots) for their support. In addition through an investigation Rickey found that Duke was selling Nazi and NAAWP propaganda from his office.

A week after his election the National Republican party censured Duke, but even after the propaganda selling scandal the Louisiana State Republicans, headed by Billy Nungesser, were opposed to the idea. Rickey, having been threatened by Duke supporters worked hard at trying to convince the State Central Committee to approve of a motion to censure. After hours of reprimand by Nungesser she finally thought she had convinced him and Rev. Billy McCormack to the motion for they had shook on it. "The presence of McCormack was particularly significant, since he represented the powerful evangelical bloc of the GOP central committee, the so-called born-again." The next day the motion had be tabled by the secret handiwork of McCormack and Nungesser. Rickey was sickened by the conclusion that her party fully supported this confirmed racist named Duke.

Quotes that are the Crux of Duke's Danger

"It seemed incredible to me that I was listening to a man who had run as a Republican just two weeks ago and was now telling these bigots that his victory was a victory for them. It was like I was in on a dirty little secret." (Chicago Populist convention)

"It was difficult at times to maintain a psychological distance from him because he is a master of political courtship."

Full reconciliation of John Lee via
April 1994

3 mos. of WH career
and 46 years of hostility

John Lee, Le. Rep.

Gen. P. H. S. H.

End of war - enemy less obvious

- Need to create an enemy
- period of instability

Why didn't ppl stand up to McCarthy?

"The modern Paul Revere"

Extremist groups today more dangerous bc better disguised.

Code words

David Duke

Pat Robertson

Xian Coalition

} quotes.

Hillel - example we need to rebuild

tradition of dialogue & inquiry

How faith can guide us w/o leading to intolerance or zealotry

Spinoza

Devotion to one's neighbor & tolerance as part of Jewish faith

tzetzkah -

tzeder - justice

DRAFT/4:30 pm

**TALKING POINTS FOR
PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON**TO: Alan
StoneFR: Tara
(3 pgs.)
65709**EVENT:** Jewish Leadership Forum Conference Dinner**DATE:** October 18, 1994**TIME:** 7:20 President and First Lady Arrive
8:15 Program Begins**LOCATION:** Corcoran Gallery of Art
500 17th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006**TALKING
POINTS:**

[These talking points will need to be adjusted to reflect the current state of events overseas, including Israel, Iraq, and Haiti. Sara Ehrman contributed to the points below.]

I. Acknowledgements:

The co-chairs of the Conference are:

Peter and Leni May
Miles and Chris Lerman
Ron and Beth Dozoretz

Sara Ehrman

II. The situation in Israel and the Middle East

[NSC will have to contribute policy language; the President should express his deepest sympathy for the family of Nachshon Waxman and for the people of Israel as they struggle with the terrorist attacks of the last two weeks.]

III. Why this election matters so much

A. Every election is important, but this one is more important than most. To put the stakes of this election in the starkest possible light, consider what will happen in the U.S. Senate if the Republicans win a majority:

- o Majority Leader Bob Dole
- o Jesse Helms as head of Foreign Relations
- o Al D'Amato as head of Banking
- o Orrin Hatch as head of Judiciary
- o Strom Thurmond as head of Armed Services

These men are not the architects of change: they are the antithesis of change.

B. And don't forget the challenge of the radical right

- o The forces of the radical right have organized as never before to force their agenda on the American people.
- o At its best, our country is a beacon to others around the world because of our tolerance for people of all religions; the radical right's patent intolerance, their insistence on Biblical inerrancy, is a direct assault on this critical pillar of our country's inheritance.
- o The radical right is clearly fully engaged in the political arena. Yet when we question the policies they advocate, they whine about our "religious bigotry." Nothing could be further from the truth.
- o It is not religious bigotry to ask whether ending Social Security would have devastating impacts on our elderly; it is not religious bigotry to ask why the radical right should be allowed to censor what we can read in our public libraries.

IV. The importance of Jewish turnout

A. Support from Jewish voters was critical to our victory in 1992; we received 85% of your vote.

B. I believe that we have made a great start in validating the trust you placed in us.

C. We need every voter who came out for us in 1992 to be there for our candidates in 1994.

V. [Body of final month stump speech.]

MEMORANDUM TO LISSA MUSCATINE

From: Ruby Shamir

Date: 10/12/94

Subj: Intolerance and Faith

Intolerance

Periods of historical transition often occur after major wars. In these times of transition there is a growth in intolerance which involves a denouncement, or manifest thereof, of an American right, a constitutional right.

There are a number of reasons for a rise in extremism and intolerance after these momentous historical transitions. During war the country is charged with propaganda aimed at demonizing the enemy and mobilizing public support. At the ends of these conflicts there is a lot of residual hostility (as a result of propaganda) and no enemy to direct it towards. The creation of an enemy becomes a popular channel for this hate. Anything outside of tradition becomes the perfect target.

At this time there is also a great amount of instability. Using the post cold war world as an example the norm of hating 'reds' has become obsolete. Our former enemies are now our allies. In the transition people become unsure of where they stand. Currently, those who were the most hateful of 'commies' are scared that change will leave them out in the cold so they fight extra hard to maintain some semblance of status quo. If they can't hate the Russians, certainly there must be some other force eroding the 'American' way of life. There is also a fear that the newly embraced former enemies will turn on those who most aggressively supported the previous cause (Orwellian idea). Protecting one's turf becomes of supreme importance because of the subconscious threat that this force will be directed at you.

In this memorandum I will first describe the popularity of post WWII McCarthyism. Then I will briefly describe the growth of the Ku Klux Klan in three separate times in history, and finally I will describe today's religious right, with statistics and anecdotes. The second portion of this memorandum will be a Jewish/secular discussion of faith.

Post WWII McCarthyism

The beginning of Joseph R. McCarthy's senatorial career was lackluster. When he began his campaign against communists his popularity skyrocketed very quickly. Playing on widespread public fear McCarthy gained much support for his condemnation of artists, writers and fellow politicians. Aside from some liberals many senators were aware of his blatant violation of Senate rules and etiquette but did not speak up for a while for a number of reasons.

First, McCarthy had a lot of public support. In the early part of the campaign

he would ask for donations for the expensive investigators. Many middle Americans were impressed by McCarthy because he did not represent the typical Washington elite. He was perceived as "a local boy who was leading a fight against Communists, perverts," and smug easterners who ran the government. Letters began pouring into his office often containing checks, however the public never knew how much money he had accumulated.

The songwriter Edgar Leslie sent to McCarthy a ballad to the tune of Glory, Glory Hallelujah that was never published (thankfully):

This is the land of freedom and when Communists appear
They represent a menace we must recognize and fear,
So get behind the movement of the modern Paul Revere
His truth is marching on.

(chorus)

Fall in line with Joe McCarthy (3x)
His truth is marching on.

The battle must be fought until the victory's complete
And you can help to bring about the Communist defeat
By following the footsteps of the man who won't retreat
His truth...

Let no misguided patriots appease the Communists
With powder-puff diplomacy and not the iron fist;
You never score a knockout with a slap upon the wrist
His truth...

Additionally, while many southern democrats did not like or approve of McCarthy, they doubly disliked the intellectual liberals he targeted, and were fearful that McCarthy would lump them all into the same group. Finally, GOP moderates did not speak out against McCarthy because they desperately needed a popular cause to rally around.

The first moderate senator to voice disapproval at McCarthy's actions was Margaret Chase Smith of Maine. She gave a speech dubbed a 'declaration.' (see enclosure) This document was signed and supported by a number of moderates. But the moderates "strangely isolated from one another" had no real agenda or leader willing to strategize a solution to the McCarthy problem. Many of the same moderates who signed the declaration pledged their allegiance to McCarthy days later.

The Ku Klux Klan

There have been three consecutive movements of the terrorist KKK in American history; each separate but relating to each other in some way.

The first KKK was born in 1866 in Tennessee out of a social fraternity of Confederate veterans of the Civil War to oppose the Unionist government. It was an exclusively southern organization and it was dedicated to keeping newly freed black people down. Its leaders were generally property owners and professional elite, even though the movement was concentrated in rural areas. Because of terrorist acts it had committed the Klan was forced to disband by 1872.

The second Klan was born in 1915 at the end of WWI encouraging super patriotism.. This new KKK was not contained to the south and had gained large constituencies in Indiana, Oklahoma and Oregon as well as in the old south. In fact, the Klan had its greatest following in the 1920s in Maine. In the 1920s it had amassed political leverage and was concentrated mainly in urban areas. Its main supporters were lower middle class whites who feared the drift away from small towns, the increase in immigrants and Communists, the movement of blacks to the north, the increased prominence of Jews and Catholics in the business community, and the growth of labor movement demands. All of these major transformations of the time period bred insecurity in those who had never had to push themselves and compete against new members of a large job market. This KKK was disbanded by 1944.

The third KKK began only a few years later during the 1950s when the civil rights movement began to expand. Like the previous Klan it was not contained to the South. The small neo-Nazi church, Aryan Nations, has its headquarters in Idaho. The KKK used violence, threats and cross-burning to intimidate whites from supporting blacks and blacks from living and working peacefully in white neighborhoods. The brutality utilized by the organization during the civil rights movement actually helped hasten reform as people became enraged by the acts of violence they witnessed in person or on the news.

Today the KKK is a more subversive organization. The civil rights movement taught them that mere savagery was not going to wield them much power or public support. The mainstreaming of the Klan and the dissemination of propaganda are new tactics that have bolstered the Klan's popularity. David Duke exemplifies this new ideology. He articulates an acceptable image for extremist groups. Duke is experienced at stretching everyday anxieties in to the extreme realm, thereby justifying the use of scapegoating as it is an appealing solution to the these frustrations.

The Religious Right

According to many of its critics and the Anti-Defamation League the religious right is a dangerous and insidious political movement which masks itself in the cloak of piety, but whose real agenda is the promotion of bigotry, elitism and limitation of human rights.

The Anti-Defamation League published a 204 page report entitled "The Religious Right: The Assault on Tolerance and Pluralism in America." Pat Robertson, Chief Executive Officer of the Christian Broadcasting Network, was offended and wrote a public letter denying many ADL claims. Abraham H. Foxman, National

Director of ADL responded. Bellow are quotes from the actual report and Foxman's responses (in addition my own commentary).

The ADL pulled a number of notable quotes from religious right leaders some of which I will list here:

Jerry Falwell, founder and president of Moral Majority: "Modern U.S. Supreme Courts have raped the Constitution and raped the Christian faith and raped the churches by misinterpreting what the founders had in mind in the First Amendment of the constitution...(W)e must fight against those radical minorities who are trying to remove God from our textbooks, Christ from our nation. We must never allow our children to forget that this is a Christian nation. We must take back what is rightfully ours."

Randall Terry, founder of Operation Rescue said "I want you to just let a wave of intolerance wash over you. I want you to let a wave of hatred wash over you. Yes, hate is good...Our goal is a Christian nation. We have a biblical duty, we are called by God, to conquer this country. We don't want equal time. We don't want pluralism."

Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition: " What Christians have got to do is to take back this country, one precinct at a time, one neighborhood at a time and one state at a time... I honestly believe that in my lifetime we will see a country once again governed by Christians...and Christian values."

These ideas are antithetical and threatening to the pluralism of the American democracy. With fear I tell you that they are gaining support. The Christian Coalition, established by Pat Robertson is an extremely well organized political group in the nation and its annual budget is between \$12-14 million. Often the Coalition, along with other religious right groups, support 'stealth' candidates who run in local and state elections with disguised religious views. The Coalition is influential in the Republican party by utilizing grassroots ties (well connected through telemarketing and voter databanks) and "mastering caucus techniques and delegate selection. There were 300 Coalition delegates to the 1992 Republican presidential convention."

Pat Robertson is the driving force behind much of the religious right movement. As a symbol that he is not anti-Semitic he wears a pro-Israel record on his sleeve, however that is most likely because Israel was an anti-communist stronghold in the middle east throughout the cold war. He has often called the Jewish people spiritually void, and his references to a Christian nation, in which school prayer would be directed toward Jesus Christ, indicates his true intolerance towards Jews.

There are many more religious right organizations some of which I will list. The Free Congress (whose leader is Paul Weyrich) which is affiliated with Liberty Lobby (responsible for much of the nation's anti-Semitic propaganda) and the John Birch Society. Citizens for Excellence in Education favors bringing the Christian faith to public schools. The American Family Association (Donald Wildmon, leader) sees popular culture as dangerous because it is pro-gay, sexually permissive and anti-

Christian. Wildmon blames 'Jewish controlled' mass media for this rampant immorality. Focus on the Family (headed by James Dobson) "enjoys an annual budget of \$90 million and has increasingly blended into its pastoral mission public policy objectives that" oppose the separation between church and state. They are affiliated with Operation Rescue guru Randall Terry, Donald Wildmon, and anti-church/state propagandist David Barton. The American Center for Law and Justice, non-profit legal agency founded by Robertson is dedicated to religious right causes. Rev. Billy McCormack is the Louisiana director of the Christian Coalition who has said that the Jews in the ACLU are more of a threat than the KKK's David Duke.

The October 5 issue of the New York Times documented the development of one Idaho community known as Almost Heaven. This community is in the process of being formed under the leadership of retired Lieut. Col. James (Bo) Gritz (rhymes with 'sights'). As a Populist Party candidate Gritz once ran for the presidency and in 1988 briefly ran on the same ticket as David Duke, but withdrew when he 'discovered' Duke's true nature. He has been seen giving a Nazi salute to skinheads.

Gritz describes himself as a patriot who has become disgusted with the system, and the way the government tries to control people's lives. He often singles out Hillary Rodham Clinton as his big government target. He has repeatedly stated that "eight Jewish families control the Federal Reserve." He has urged those who want to live in Almost Heaven to castigate feminists and homosexuals and to arm themselves to protect their land.

Many people in surrounding towns are concerned that the new intolerant, bigoted, and armed community will alter the relaxed and open way of life known to many in this secluded state. Additionally, they are worried that Almost Heaven will become another Waco. Gritz recently wrote that "(t)he tyrants who ordered the assault on the Weavers (another extremist group in Idaho) and Waco should be tried and executed as traitors." (What is the point of the trial then??) Gritz has also said that his community of approximately 70 families "would obey all laws 'unless they go against the laws of God and common sense.'" As people who can see the line between religious life and secular life, or between church and state, we understand that the 'laws of God' are subjective and often arbitrary. A new resident of the nearby town of Kamiah said "I can show you in the Bible where it says we've got to get rid of all the blacks."

NOTE: So as not to pander or seem condescending this part has to be very delicate. We do not want to seem like we are doing what the religious right would do and create this monster enemy.

Why This is Such a Threat

The ADL states: "Religion has served democracy and remained vital here precisely because, separated from the state, it exerts a moral authority that challenges the power of the state. It is strengthened, not weakened, by the separation of church and state."

The constitutional right to freedom of religion stands on tenuous ground. If

freedom of religion is eroded by the fundamentalism and arrogance of one religion in particular, the right to practice religion, and more importantly the right to abstain, collapses. Losing the freedom of religion for the sake of one religion is dangerous at best and truly disastrous to our system of government.

The ADL is concerned with the politics of the religious right groups, but, as it is a Jewish group, stresses that it is not opposed to religious people's involvement in civic life.

Tolerance and Faith

Here I would like to invoke the words and teachings of Hillel. Hillel was a great teacher and student of the Torah around the time of Christ's birth. Hillel headed the Sanhedrin which was the supreme legal and religious (synonymous for the time period) court and from his teachings grew a school of thought termed Bet Hillel (literally House of Hillel). Hillel's interpretation of the scripture and the behavior of his followers were often in opposition to the stricter and more discriminating status quo known as Bet Shammai. Shammai exemplified the tendency of the day to reject pupils using wealth and breeding as preconditions. Hillel believed that the sacred study of the Torah was open to those willing to work hard and diligently. He promoted debate and constant questioning. Hillel believed that we must only stop learning when we die.

While Hillel was a deeply religious man he was not fanatical or overzealous. Many of his words are relevant to the religious as well as the secular as he preached acceptance and love of neighbors (even before the birth of Christ). A popular anecdote exemplifies both his love of learning and teaching, and his tolerance as well.

An impatient man one day went to Bet Shammai (Shammai's house) and said he wanted to learn the whole Torah while standing on one foot. This would mean that the Rebbe would have to teach the man very quickly. Annoyed and disgusted by the man's apparent lack of commitment Shammai threw him out. The man then went to Bet Hillel and made the same request. Hillel accepted him and said: *'ve ahavta le raiicha kamocha*, Do unto thy neighbor as you would have done to you. This is the essence of the Torah, the rest is explanation. Now go and learn!

There is a fine line between that which is law and that which is faith. In ancient Judaism (the time of Hillel and Shammai) the laws of the state were laws of the bible. In fact, the law aspect of western faith is derived from the Jewish bible.

Today, while many of our fundamental laws are drawn from the Old Testament, the most unique aspect of American law is its zealous separation between church and state.

There are, however, ways in which we use faith in our secular lives. Hillel is a prime example of how faith can guide us without being intolerant or hateful. Writings of other philosophers key us into the importance of faith. These philosophers happen to be of Jewish descent but they do not try to push fundamental and religious Judaism. They preach an accessible inner spirituality rather than an untouchable orthodoxy.

In his writings Martin Buber "used tradition and the example of Judaism to buttress his understanding of man as man, of human individuality, predicament, and quest for meaning...Transcending the boundaries set by language, nationality, race and specific religious commitment, he addressed himself not to some nebulous humanity, but to every person everywhere." Buber was a "thinker from faith...faith here does not refer to an established, conceptually circumscribed faith, but to faith which perceives individual man and humanity ever anew at a turning point of life or of history, ready for the act of encounter, and response." (Glatzer)

Buber Quotes

"...(R)eligious life means concreteness itself, the whole concreteness of life without reduction, grasped dialogically, included in the dialogue."

"Genuine religiosity is doing. It wants to sculpt the unconditioned out of the matter of this world. The countenance of God reposes, invisible, in an earthen block; it must be wrought, carved out of it. To be engaged in this work means to be religious--nothing else...(F)or God does not want to be believed in, to be debated and defended by us, but simply to be realized through us."

For another great passage see enclosure "Renewal of Relation."

Benedict (born Baruch, which means 'blessed' in hebrew) de Spinoza was a 17th century philosopher who was excommunicated from the Amsterdam Jewish community because it was believed that his writings questioned the existence of God. No one was to talk with him, correspond with him or read his words. He was to be a forgotten presence in the Jewish community. In the face of this intolerance Spinoza's conception of God and humans is remarkable, if not saintly. Spinoza felt that there is only one substance in existence, God, and that everything else is a mode of that substance with separate attributes. From this we see that Spinoza felt that there is a oneness in all things and that God exists in all beings as the only true and unchanging substance. God is "an eternal, necessary being, standing in contrast with the temporal, contingent beings we find in our daily life." (Spinoza's Life and Philosophy)

Spinoza also believed that this extension of modes was not limited to humans,

but that every other body is animate and contains God. However, "(a) mind's capacity for thought is strictly correlated with its body's capacity for interaction with its environment." So a rock does not feel pain. Following from the conclusion that we are all merely modes of one constant supreme God, loving God is the supreme good, wherein the love of God entails loving, respecting and behaving justly towards one's neighbor. "Spinoza...thinks that the highest good is the knowledge of God—understood as a knowledge of nature—and this is a good which can be shared by many without anyone's portion being thereby dismissed."

Spinoza's life work aimed at enlightening those that would not listen to him. Rather than adhering to the lessons taught to him from his own excommunication, Spinoza theories embrace all beings animate, or inanimate, as containing a divine spirit worthy of respect.

What we draw from the lessons of Hillel, Buber and Spinoza is that religion is not antithetical to tolerance and that in fact faith is essential to the oneness and connection that people feel towards one another. When the religious right attempts to stake a definitive claim on religion and hoard it, they nullify the concept of religious freedom for everyone. The hateful rhetoric of the religious right, defames and kills the notion of faith and love among people. When Randall Terry says that the Christians must conquer this nation in the name of God he is using God's name and the idea of faith in vain. Their conception of religion does not encourage debate and discussion, but instead destroys the possibility of understanding through another's perspective.

Judaism and Justice

The idea of tolerance and devotion to one's neighbor is essential to the Jewish faith. It is embodied in the Hebrew language. Hebrew is a language based on three letter roots which, by themselves, are meaningless. Almost every verb, adjective, adverb, and noun is based on a root. The word *tzedek* means justice, which is the basis for law. Justice and law are fundamental to Judaism as it is said that Jews brought law to the world whereas Christians brought love (10 Commandments). A related word, one coming from the same root, is *tzedakah*, which means charity and help for the needy. The only word that charity is linked to is justice. This means that when the language was formed there was no question that justice, what is right, is contingent upon doing good for others. This is another example of how faith is based on tolerance and love of others. It also demonstrates the fact that Jewish law can be secular in its interpretation.

**Remarks by
Vice President Al Gore
to
National Jewish Democratic Council
October 2, 1994**

**(ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS FROM ADVANCE)
(But note paragraph on p. 12)**

I'm honored to be here tonight, among so many people I know and admire -- to celebrate the work of this important organization, and to commemorate Hyman Bookbinder's lifetime of selfless and significant contributions.

I'd also like to thank all of you who wished me a speedy recovery from this injury. I'm not quite sure how it happened. It must have been the helicopter slam dunk.

As you know, it's been my practice to start off with a few "lame" jokes -- sort of as a crutch.

The doctors said I have to wear this new cast for about five months ... and the old full body cast for several more years.

You know, when they started the operation, the doctors couldn't believe what they found ... termites.

Since I was under general anesthesia for almost 90 minutes, I formally transferred the powers of my office to the Speaker of the House. When I regained consciousness, Speaker Foley was restored to full power.

But it hasn't been too bad. I haven't had to curtail any of my Vice Presidential duties. Although it takes me twice as long to walk Socks now.

Well, we've had some fun.

You've had a number of speakers. I don't intend to take up much time. But I'm here to talk to you about something very serious. And which -- on the surface -- has nothing to do with being Jewish.

The choice in this election.

It's a choice between two sides that couldn't be farther apart.

Between those who want to go forward -- and those who want to go back.

President Clinton came to Washington determined to move things forward.

To address America's problems.

We've made a great start ... by beginning to put our economic house in order ... by attacking street crime ... by making college loans available and affordable to the

middle class ... by downsizing the federal bureaucracy.

But it hasn't been easy. There've been some tough fights. Because every step of the way Republicans have tried to hold America back.

We had a crime bill. Republicans fought the crime bill.

We wanted to reform college loans to help the middle class. They fought college loans.

We wanted to cut the deficit. They tried to send us back to those days of soaring deficits.

Why?

They were up-front about it. Politics. Partisan politics.

They'd rather help themselves than help the country.

We saw that last week.

About 300 Republican members of Congress gathered on the Capitol steps to sign what they call a "Contract for America."

What an outrage!

The very idea of this group posing as fiscal saviors -- the same group who sat around and watched our national debt quadruple ... the same group who watched this country lose 30,000 jobs a week ... the same group who gave us the worst growth rate since World War II.

That's not a contract for America. It's a contraction America. And it's time to start fighting back!

But you're Democrats. You know all this. Those are some reasons why the choice you have made to work within the Democratic Party is so important.

But there are some other reasons, too, that make this election so important.

They have to do with the very reasons this group exists.

In spite of all that history has taught us, right wing, bigoted, divisive candidates are winning the support of far too many Americans.

I'm a Christian. In fact, I'm one who believes a passionate enduring religious faith is one of the foundations of human life.

But when the President of the Moral Majority says, "We must never allow our children to forget that this is a Christian nation. We must take back what is rightfully ours,"... that is not my kind of Christianity.

When Randall Terry, of Operation Rescue says, "I want you to just let a wave of intolerance wash over you. Yes, hate is good ...Our goal is a Christian nation," ... that is not my kind of Christianity.

When Pat Buchanan says, multiculturalism is an "across-the-board assault on our Anglo-American heritage," and concludes "Our culture is superior because our religion is Christianity," ... that is not my kind of Christianity.

When Ralph Reed, the executive director of the Christian Coalition says, "What Christians have got to do is to take back this country, one precinct at a time," ...not only is that not my kind of Christianity, it is an affront to the message of Jesus of Nazareth.

And yet those who hold these views are working hard in this election -- and hold too much power.

President Clinton and I have a different view.

The President took office determined to make America not just healthier and more competitive, but to protect the liberties and opportunities for all of our people.

His passion for civil rights, for a politics not of hate but of harmony, is why when we passed the Crime Bill last month we also included a comprehensive Hate Crimes Legislation package.

It is why The Elementary and Secondary Education Authorization Act just passed through Congress protects Americans against coerced prayer in the schools ... and why National Service included provisions to ensure that we maintain proper church-state safeguards.

It's why we opposed the Helms Amendment.

(NOTE:Senator Jesse Helms tried to attach an amendment to Goals 2000 and Elementary and Secondary Education Act which would have placed an unfair burden on school authorities seeking to avoid coerced prayer in the schools. Goals 2000 passed without a prayer amendment, and the ESEA passed today w/o prayer amendment.)

And the President's conviction that we must preserve the First Amendment protection of religious freedom was why he moved so quickly to support and sign the Religious Freedom Restoration Act almost a year ago.

I was there when the President signed that bill. We had 68 group there -- groups that don't agree on much. You know when you have the American Civil Liberties Union ... the National Islamic Prison Foundation ... B'nai Brith ... and the National Association of Evangelicals we're doing something right.

Finally, our respect for the honest differences held by Americans is why our administration is working to safeguard women's reproductive rights and ensure that they have access to safe and affordable health care -- and the right to choose.

We've not only seen the consequences of back alley abortions, but we know what happens in countries where individuals can't make decisions for themselves.

We made progress at the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in the hopes that all people can live healthier and have greater control of their personal lives.

There was some fierce debate at that Conference. But disagreement and debate are not always a bad thing.

Look at Bookie. I remember that book you wrote with Jim Abourezk, arguing out Middle East policy in such a principled, substantive way. "Through Different Eyes," it was called.

You know, Bookie, recently someone told me about a suburban temple locked in fierce debate about whether to sit or stand during one part of the Friday night service.

At one service, I'm told the two factions were so angry they actually began yelling at each other. The rabbi was so upset that afterwards he asked representatives of both groups to come to his office and discuss the matter.

During the meeting, the 'Sit down' group asked the rabbi if sitting down was the tradition. He said, "No, that's not the tradition."

The 'Stand ups' then said, "Then standing up must be the tradition."

Again the rabbi said, "No, that's not the tradition."

At that point the congregation began arguing again until someone burst out, "I can't stand it! Half of them sit, half of them stand. They all yell at each other... I can't hear myself think!"

The rabbi smiled.

"That," he said, "is the tradition."

**We Democrats disagree among ourselves. Often.
Because even friends see the same events "through
different eyes.**

**But on the most important, core issues, we are united.
We cannot let American politics be dictated by the
radical right. And when I see what the NJDC has done in
less than four years, I am convinced we can succeed.**

**(NOTE: NJDC ASKED US TO INCLUDE THE
FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH BY WAY OF
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.)**

**When I see Jack Spitzer from Seattle, Esther Landa
from Utah, Marcia Smolens from San Francisco, David
Steiner from New Jersey, Arthur Schecter from Houston,
Esther Leah Ritz from Milwaukee, your last chair, Morton
Mandel from Cleveland, Saul Stern, Sheldon Cohen, Geri
Palast, Steve Gutow and Monte Friedkin, your dynamic
Chair from Boca Raton -- I see strength. I see
commitment.**

And one other person.

Our honoree.

I've known him for a long time.

He once wrote this: "Born into a world that soon exposed me to depression, war, and the Holocaust, I fast acquired an almost compulsive interest in public affairs. The Hebrew sage, Hillel, has provided the guideline for my life's work: 'If I am not for myself, who will be for me? But if I am only for myself, what am I?'"

Hyman Bookbinder has done so much for others -- whether his tireless efforts for people in the labor movement ... or in Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty ... or with the United Jewish Appeal ... or his tenacious work on behalf of the Holocaust Museum ... or the hundreds of other accomplishments in his long, virtuous life.

To walk through the Holocaust Museum he did so much to create ... teaches us the dangers of complacency, and of silence.

Unless each of us takes a stand and confronts antisemitism, hatred, and divisiveness wherever they rear their wretched heads, we will all suffer. Because we know what happens when bigotry of any sort goes unchecked -- it spreads. It can destroy a culture, a community, a people. And throughout human history the Jewish people have seen that happen.

It happened in Spain. It happened in Russia. It happened in Germany.

It will not happen in America.

We will preserve America as a beacon for those who believe in tolerance and in respect for people's differences.

We'll succeed because of your work.

We'll succeed because of the work of people like Hyman Bookbinder.

We'll succeed because we will work together.

And so, I applaud your leadership. I applaud your message. Your voices are being heard. You will make a difference on Election Day. Together, we will make a difference in the Democratic party -- and for America.

Weather

Today: Mostly cloudy, breezy.
High 66. Low 54. Wind 8-16 mph.
Saturday: Partly sunny,
breezy, cool. High 63. Low 49.
Wind north 10-20 mph.
Yesterday: Temp. range: 47-66.
AQI: 35. Details on Page B2.

The Washington Post

117TH YEAR • • • • No. 313

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1994

Gingrich Foresees Corruption Probe By a GOP House

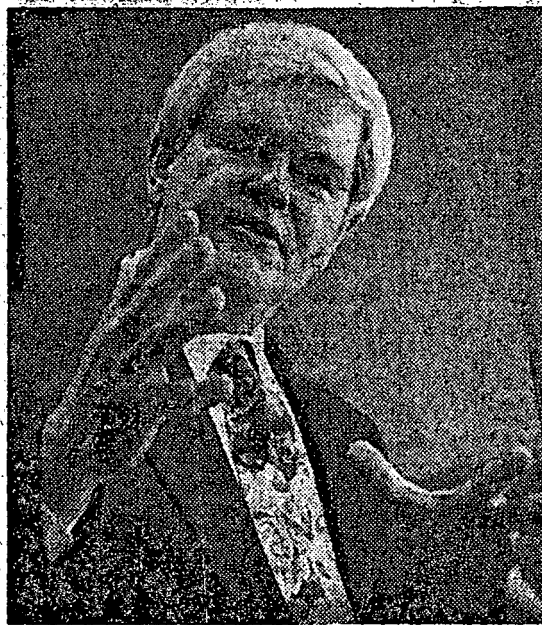
*Party Could Wield Subpoenas
Against 'Enemy' Administration*

By Ann Devroy and Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writers

Describing for a group of lobbyists the Republican strategy for the midterm elections, Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) said last week that Clinton Democrats should be portrayed as "the enemy of normal Americans." He went on to say that if the GOP wins control of the House, the party will use "subpoena power" and create a select committee on corruption to investigate the Clinton administration.

Gingrich's speech to two dozen executives of government relations firms at the Capitol Hill Club provided a detailed framework of how he thinks Republicans can capture the House for the first time in 40 years and what the party will do if it succeeds.

One participant wrote a four-page memo covering the highlights of the meeting with Gingrich and National Republican Congressional Committee Chair-



BY RAY LUSTIG—THE WASHINGTON POST
House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich says tactics he proposes are similar to those of the Democrats.

man Bill Paxon (N.Y.), which was obtained by The Washington Post.

Gingrich, in an interview, confirmed the accuracy of much of the memo's contents but said some quotations attributed to him were taken out of context. He said the actions he proposed are not significantly different from those Democrats have inflicted on the Republican minority and Republican administrations.

See GINGRICH, A12, Col. 4

Up to Retreat

By Thomas W. Lipp
and Bradley Graham
Washington Post Staff Writers

The U.S. government late yesterday that as 10,000 of the troops Iraq v back from the Kuwait bo had stopped their retreat appeared to be digging in at tions much closer to Ku Washington has said it wou It was not clear why t had stopped, but the unexp velopment generated fresh among U.S. officials about tentions and prompted the to consider accelerating the of U.S. forces to the Persia

Rising Tide Doesn't Lift Clinton

Despite Recovery, Voters Deny President Credit on Pocketbook Issues

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

Blair Erhard, a 29-year-old graduate student in Los Angeles, is excited about the economic boom, but he views it as part of a "natural cycle" that has little to do with President Clinton's policies. "The forces that govern the economic mecha-

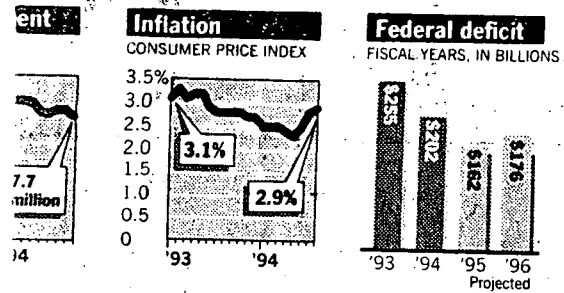
ic, cheered the president's anti-deficit package last year, but now he grouses that the taxes and spending cuts did nothing to reduce the deficit. Told that the deficit declined sharply this year, Coughenour said, "Well, that's what I heard, but I ain't seen any figures on it yet."

And in Moberly, Mo., Cathy Hays, 45, a teachers aide, com-

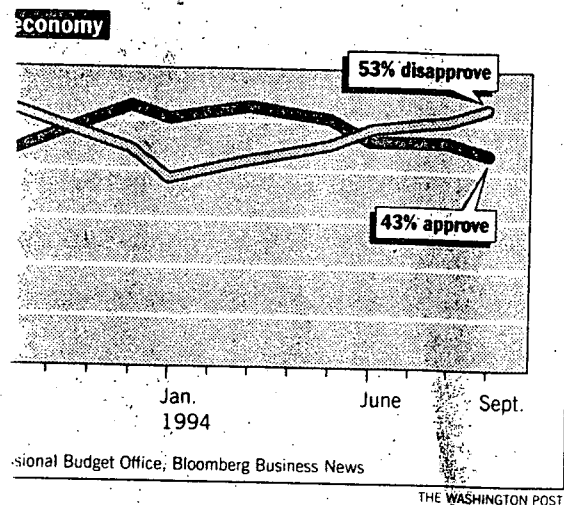
ilies, but Hays is not convinced. "Somebody is taking it," she said.

The economy hasn't looked this good in three years. Since Clinton took office, more than 4.5 million new jobs have been created, the unemployment rate has dipped below 6 percent for the first time since 1990, inflation has been held to a paltry 3 percent and the long-trav-

he number of jobless people, a steady inflation
cit...



ical boon for President Clinton. Disapproval of his
since January.



and the to break his word on taxes," said Bill McInturff, a GOP pollster. "George Bush at least waited two years."

"We've done a better job of bashing taxes than Clinton has of bashing the rich," added Mike Murphy, another Republican campaign consultant. "Since we've been able to define his presidency, it's no surprise he's getting clobbered in the midterm election."

A Democratic Party activist concedes that Republicans have been so effective in "ink-staining" the president's program as a broad-based tax increase that there was not enough time or resources to correct the impression. "No matter where you go and ask the man on the street, they say, 'My taxes went up,' when in fact most people's taxes stayed the same or went down," this Democrat said.

Even while many nervous Democrats are distancing themselves from the unpopular president, some voters who described the president's handling of the economy a disaster three months ago say they've changed their minds and approve of his performance. Sandy Turner of Rock Island, Tenn., said her outlook brightened after she landed a job two weeks ago after a long, frustrating search. "Now he's about my favorite person," she said.

Others said that they feel better about Clinton's performance all around because of the tough stand he has taken against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. "He needs to be more like that—more forward and aggressive," said David O. Berlanga, a self-employed building remodeler from Flint, Mich.

Staff writer Kevin Merida, polling analyst Sharon Warden, and special correspondents Kathryn Wexler in Los Angeles, Megan Garvey in Chicago and Anne Day in Miami contributed to this report.

Gingrich Preaches More Probes If GOP Takes Control of House

GINGRICH, From A1

"Washington just can't imagine a world in which Republicans would have subpoena power," Gingrich said in the interview. "Instead of being blocked by Democrats... imagine the last two years if we could have used subpoena power to get to the bottom of Whitewater, Mike Espy's relation with Tysons Food..."

Asked to describe the "normal" Americans for whom President Clinton is the enemy, Gingrich instead mentioned such appointees as Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders and Ira Magaziner, the architect of Clinton's health care plan. He said Elders's advocacy of abortion rights and the availability of birth control information and condoms in schools puts her at odds with Americans of different religious beliefs. As for Magaziner, "Normal Americans do not want government to take over every aspect of their health care," he said.

Gingrich added that he should have used the word "threat" to normal Americans rather than enemy.

Gingrich is quoted in the memo as scoffing at the idea, offered by some White House aides, that GOP control of Congress could be good for Clinton because it would give him a Trumanesque opportunity to run in 1996 against a do-nothing Republican Congress.

Such a suggestion, Gingrich is quoted as saying, "can be answered with one word: subpoena." He then envisioned a Congress with 20 task forces or subcommittees at work investigating corruption in the White House and throughout the administration.

He said yesterday the number 20 was "not a serious number" because there has been no work done on how many ethics violations should be investigated. But he said there have been dozens of investigations of Republican administration officials launched by Democrats over the decades of their control.

Gingrich also told the group that if Republicans took over the House "there would be the opportunity to restructure and restaff" the Office of Technology Assessment, the Congressional Budget Office and other administrative posts. He compared it to the political appointments a new president can make in the executive branch, about 1,600.

Republicans need to capture 40 seats to control the House, and the memo said if they fall slightly short, the party will try to make up the difference with Democratic conversions.

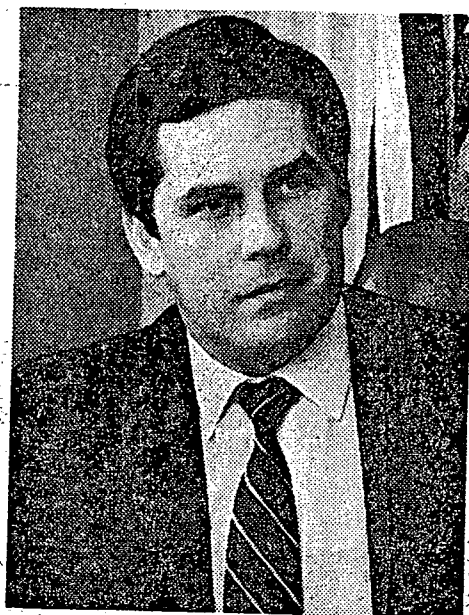
Rep. Jack M. Fields Jr. (R-Tex.), who would be in line to chair the House subcommittee on telecommunications and finance, said yesterday he and some GOP colleagues already have talked to some Democratic members about the possibility of changing parties. "I think we will have a majority on Nov. 8 or Nov. 30," Fields said.

Gingrich is quoted in the memo as saying other Republicans estimate that as many as 12 House Democrats might switch, but he believes four is the most likely number—and then only if the GOP picks up the 36 other seats.

At the meeting, Gingrich offered three "resource messages"—pitches for contributions to companies, lobbyists and individual donors.

Donors should be told, he is quoted as saying, that the election is a chance for them to "get even for the Clinton tax increase."

Lobbyists should be told, Gingrich was reported to say, that Democrats tried to impose "Stalinist" and "punitive" measures on them with proposed lobbying reform and campaign finance legislation. Democratic



Rep. Jack M. Fields Jr. (R-Tex.) says GOP
"will have a majority on Nov. 8 or Nov. 30."

lobbyists "should feel particularly bitter that their friends in leadership and the Congress were so enthusiastic to do this to them."

Corporations should be told, he said, that Republicans already have saved them from new costs imposed by the government "and look to the future corporate savings if a Bliley were to replace Waxman..." That was a reference to Rep. Thomas J. Bliley Jr. (R-Va.), the ranking GOP member on the House Energy and Commerce subcommittee on health and the environment chaired by Rep. Henry A. Waxman (D-Calif.).

Rep. Paxon told the group, according to the memo, that individual Republican House members have transferred about \$3 million from their own campaign committees to the National Republican Congressional Committee and other GOP candidates' races and that incumbent members have raised more than \$4 million for the campaign committee during this two-year election cycle.

More than \$100,000 was raised for the NRCC at a lunch here Wednesday featuring Gingrich and Fields, according to NRCC finance director Grace Wieggers. The companies represented have business before Fields's subcommittee and were invited by him.

GOP leaders have been raising funds aggressively from corporate political action committees recently. Fields said in an interview yesterday that he invited people he knew. "There's no question the average telecommunications company would like to see a change in Congress. They are also pragmatic and play both sides of the aisle. If change is what they want, the Republican Party believes more in less regulation, an open marketplace..." A Republican majority in the House translates into major differences in the way government operates."

Companies listed as attending the luncheon included Bell South, Comsat, DSC, a Texas-based maker of telecommunications switching equipment, GTE, Nynex and Pan-American Satellite, a private firm that has launched two communications satellites.

Henrietta Wright, a lawyer for Pan-American, said she recommended that the company donate \$10,000 to the NRCC because, whether the Republicans win the House or not, "it's likely they will have more numbers. So we will be working with them if we really want to get something passed."

Sat Oct 15 1994

P. A9

THE WASHINGTON POST

POLITICS

Gingrich Is Selling Out, White House Chief of Staff Says

The White House, in the voice of Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta, criticized House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) yesterday for "selling out to the special interests" in back-room deals aimed at trading future influence for immediate campaign dollars.

Panetta accused Republicans of hypocrisy for pledging on the Capitol steps last month to take back government from special interests, then delivering a very different message in private sessions with lobbyists and corporate chiefs. "It's pretty clear that while they may have pledged reforms on the front of the Capitol, in the back room they were basically committing to special interests in this town," Panetta told the Associated Press.

Last week, Gingrich told a group of about 20 corporate officials, lobbyists and GOP activists that they should promote giving to Republican candidates to "get even with the Clinton tax increase" and because the party would save them money through favorable legislation if it takes over Congress.

Gingrich spokesman Tony Blankley said yesterday that business has been generous to Democrats "despite the fact that the Democratic Party doesn't represent the interests of the workers and shareholders of the businesses of America. It makes sense for them now to return to the way they used to contribute: to the Republican Party, which shares the views" of business.

But Panetta said the comments went beyond normal fund-raising: "They . . . want to move us back to a time when politics was essentially on the auction block in this country and basically selling out to special interests. That's essentially what came out of that meeting—that they're going to essentially be on the auction block to the highest bidder."

'The War of the Wives'

The sharpest words in the New York governor's race this week came not from the candidates but their wives.

What the New York Post dubbed "The War of the Wives" began when Matilda Cuomo, spouse of Mario M., the three-term Democratic incumbent, talked to the Daily News and let go with a scary prediction of the Empire State without her husband: If Republican George E. Pataki is elected, Matilda Cuomo said, "I think we could have race riots."

"That's a smear, character assassination and a lie," fired back Elizabeth Pataki, spouse of George. In a "Dear Mrs. Cuomo" letter distributed by her husband's campaign, she added, "It's desperate, it's wrong and it should be beneath you."

Both Cuomos attempted to apologize. "I'm sure she didn't mean it literally," Mario Cuomo said. Pataki, who is locked in a tight race with Mario Cuomo, refused to accept the apology. "Her words were printed in black and white, and all the rhetoric in the world can't change that," said the GOP candidate's campaign. This is not the first time Matilda Cuomo has offered her apocalyptic views. In a July interview with the New York Times she said that without her husband at the helm in Albany, "We'd have rebellions worse than L.A. [Los Angeles]. We would have people killing each other."

On another front, Gov. Cuomo was the subject of a suit filed yesterday by the New York Republican Committee seeking an injunction to stop him from using state employees and resources in his reelection bid. State Republicans have complained for months about Cuomo's use of state aircraft for personal and campaign-related trips.

In the past, Cuomo aides have said the campaign will reimburse the state for any non-government business flights, as is common practice in New York.

—Bill McAllister

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HURRY IN FOR MEGA SAVINGS! FINAL DAY!



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MEGA

its own peridious behavior toward the United States while fabricating stories of Iraqi atrocities.

Thus Bush was able to give the public a picture of "good guys" (the Kuwaiti) viciously wronged by "bad

See SADDAM, C2, Col. 1

Retired Lt. General William Odom is director of national security studies at the Hudson Institute in Washington.

MARY McGRORY

Clinton's CIA Chance

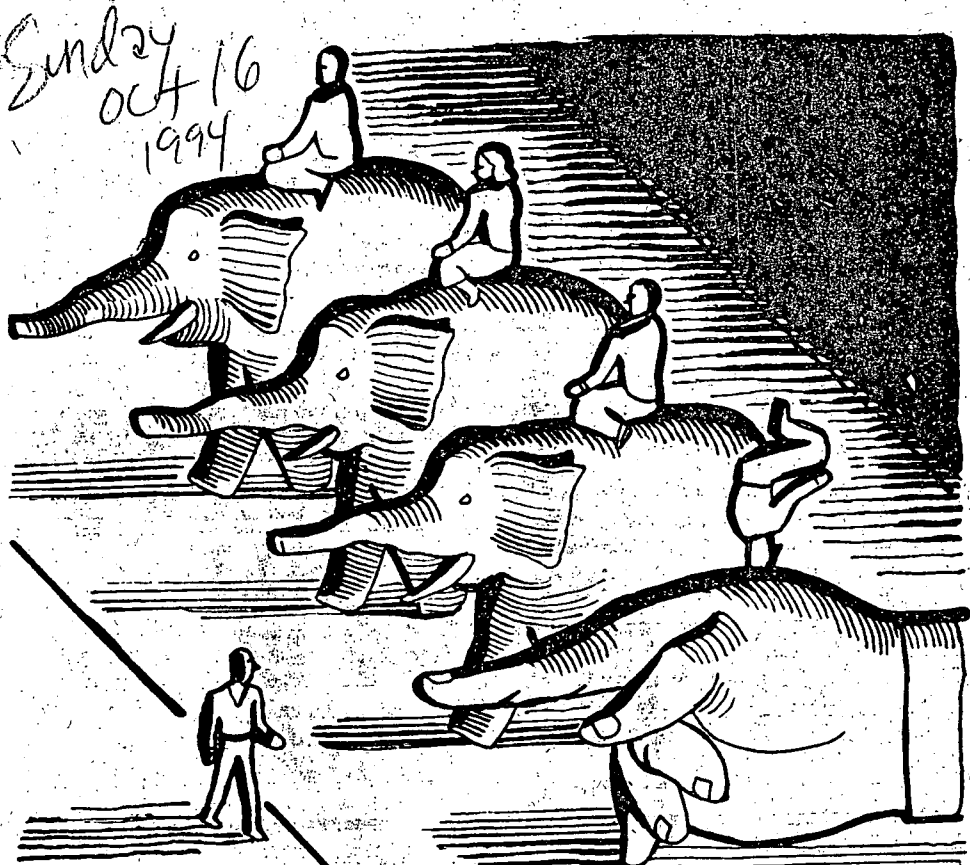
WHEN GEORGE Bush's post-Desert Storm popularity ran off the charts—it was 90 percent at one time—people said he should use his popularity to rally the country around some acute domestic need. He didn't, and the rest is history. Bill Clinton expects no such boost from his two-fingers-crossed successes in Haiti and Kuwait, but say someone finally noticed and he got leadership traction. Where should he lead?

The CIA cries out for his attentions. The Aldrich Ames scandal ripped off the seven veils of the haunted house in McLean. What has been exposed is an agency that can't spy a spy in its midst and doesn't think that the incompetents who failed should be punished in any way. In fact, two of them flew to Bonn to give an award to one of the principal miscreants in the Ames affair.

We have also found out that the CIA, whose predilection for efficient right-wing killers was absolutely demonstrated in El Salvador and the infamous contra war, was at it again in Haiti. They were funding the head of the FRAPH paramilitary organization who organized the rumble on the dock that sent the USS Harlan County scuttling out of Port-au-Prince harbor. It was one of the many instances the CIA has given citizens the opportunity to see their

See McGRORY, C2, Col. 1

Mary McGrory is a Washington Post columnist.



BY DAVID SUTER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Calling All Crackpots

A New Conservative Credo: No Enemies on the Right

By Michael Lind

FROM AROUND 1960 to 1990, the leaders of American conservatism sought to purge the right of its ancient bigotries: antisemitism, racism and nativism. Their success was instrumental in convincing swing voters that conservatives could be entrusted with national power. Since the end of the Reagan administration, however, American conservatives have been quietly rehabilitating views confined for a generation to the fringe.

Consider the conspiracy theories of Pat

Michael Lind is a senior editor of Harper's magazine.

Robertson, the white man's answer to Louis Farrakhan. In his 1991 book "The New World Order," Robertson argues that a secret cabal of international bankers, Freemasons and occultists has been responsible for the French and Russian Revolutions and the creation of the Federal Reserve. While Robertson is careful to stress his support for the state of Israel, he sees Jewish bankers behind all sorts of conspiracies: "It is reported that in Frankfurt, Jews for the first time were admitted to the order of Freemasons. If indeed members of the Rothschild family or their close associates were polluted by the occultism of Weishaupt's Illuminated Freemasonry, we may have discovered the link

See FRINGE, C5, Col. 1

Calling All Crackpots

FRINGE, From C1

between the occult and the world of high finance."

One of the most familiar antisemitic libels is the claim that certain wealthy Jews, carrying out a long-range plan, have been behind both "monopoly capitalism" and "godless communism." In his 1991 book, Robertson repeatedly claims that Jewish bankers on Wall Street, seeking to create a mystical "new world order," backed the Bolsheviks: "What the average man and woman find so difficult to understand, however, is how a Wall Street banker such as Jacob Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb and Company could personally transport \$20 million in gold to help salvage the near-bankrupt, fledgling communist government of the new Soviet Russia." Compare this with the following, from "Pawns in the Game," a Canadian neo-Nazi tract of the 1950s: "[Hitler and his associates] produced masses of documented evidence . . . to prove Communism was organized, financed, and directed by powerful, wealthy, and influential Jews . . . to further their secret ambitions to bring about the Messianic Age." According to the leader of the Christian Coalition, international high finance stood behind not only Lenin but John Wilkes Booth. Says Robertson, "it is my belief that John Wilkes Booth, the man who assassinated Lincoln, was in the employ of the European bankers."

In the 1950s the late conservative thinker Russell Kirk had the courage to make fun of the John Birch society's theory that President Eisenhower was a closet Red. "Eisenhower isn't a communist," Kirk said, "He's a golfer." By contrast, not one of today's timid conservative intellectuals has dared to mock Robertson, the powerful leader of the Christian Coalition. William F. Buckley, Jr., who drove Birch leader Robert Welch from the ranks of the respectable right, has repeatedly defended Robertson, even though the latter's claim that a "tightly knit cabal" of Satan-worshipping occultists is secretly running the United States through the Council on Foreign Relations makes Bircher conspiracy theories look tame. Other mainstream conservatives such as William Bennett and Midge Decter are doing their best to change the subject from Robertson's bizarre views by accusing critics of the religious right (many of them Jews) of anti-Christian or anti-religious bias. (In the same way, defenders of Farrakhan accuse his critics of racism.)

In addition to defending conspiracy theorists like Robertson, the right is showing a new receptivity to pseudo-

scientific theories of racial inequality. Recently the flagship journal of the conservative movement, *National Review*, ran a rave review of Philippe Rushton's "Race, Evolution, and Behavior." The enthusiastic reviewer summarizes Rushton's theory thus: "Orientals are more intelligent, have larger brains for their body size, have smaller genitalia, have less sex drive, are less fecund, work harder, and are more readily socialized than Caucasians; and Caucasians on average bear the same relationship to blacks . . ." The book is already a word-of-mouth hit on the conservative circuit.

Philippe Rushton is an obscure professor of psychology in Western Ontario who received more than \$250,000 between 1986 and 1990 from the Pioneer Fund, a foundation established in 1937 by American supporters of eugenics who sought to encourage "race betterment" in America through the reproduction of descendants of "white persons who settled in the original thirteen colonies prior to the adoption of the Constitution and/or from related stocks." The American eugenics theorist Frederick Osborn, one of the founders of the Pioneer Fund, called the Nazi eugenics program the "most important experiment which has ever been tried."

Unlike the little-known Rushton, Charles Murray is a celebrated and respected mainstream conservative expert on social policy. Now Murray, who argued against welfare in his 1984 book "Losing Ground," has co-authored a book with the late Richard Herrnstein, a Harvard psychiatrist who argued for decades that IQ scores prove that blacks, on average, are inherently mentally inferior. In the much-hyped "The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life," Herrnstein and Murray write that "The most efficient way to raise the IQ of a society is for smarter women to have higher birth rates than duller women." Welfare should be abolished, they argue because it "subsidizes birth among poor women, who are disproportionately at the low end of the intelligence distribution."

With Murray and Herrnstein, conservative concern about the "dilution" of American culture by Third World immigrants is joined by a new rationale: concern about preservation of the American gene pool from contamination. In "The Bell Curve" Murray and Herrnstein go so far as to argue that "an immigrant population with low cognitive ability" is having what they call a "dysgenic" effect on America's gene pool: "Latino and black immigrants are, at least in the short run, putting some downward pressure on the distribution of intelligence." Mur-

ray and Herrnstein conclude: "Since the main ethnic groups differ in average IQ, a shift in America's ethnic makeup by itself would lower the average American IQ . . . [T]he shifting ethnic makeup by itself would lower the average American IQ by 0.8 per generation."

A century ago, alarmed Anglo-American nativists were expressing similar concerns about the influx of "feeble-minded" immigrants with strange names like Murray and Herrnstein. Then as now, pseudo-science disguised social prejudice: 83 percent of the Jewish immigrants given IQ tests at Ellis Island in 1913 by the eugenic theorist H. H. Goddard were classified as "feeble-minded." Murray tries to downplay Goddard's work by saying that "did not try to draw any conclusions about the general distribution of intelligence in immigrant groups." But, as Harvard biologist Stephen Jay Gould has pointed out, Goddard described his sample as "the great mass of 'average' immigrants."

Murray and Herrnstein rely heavily in "The Bell Curve" on the writings of proponents of innate black inferiority like William Shockley, Arthur Jensen and Philippe Rushton, each of whom has received hundreds of thousands of dollars from the Pioneer Fund. Two full pages of "The Bell Curve," in fact, are devoted to a defense of Rushton, arguing that the Canadian researcher "has strengthened the case for consistently ordered race differences" in intelligence, sexual drive and levels of parental affection. The *Wall Street Journal* devoted its entire Op-Ed page to excerpts from "The Bell Curve."

The message all of this is sending to conservatives is clear. If you want to blame the disasters of modern world history on the secret machinations of international Jewish high finance, or argue that black Americans are genetically programmed to be lazy and oversexed and to neglect their children, or speculate that "low-IQ" Mexican immigrants are having "dysgenic" effects on the American gene pool, then you will no longer be unwelcome in the conservative movement. The conservatives may even claim that you are a martyr to liberal prejudice.

The stakes in this "no enemies on the right" game are high. If Republicans make gains in Congress in the coming mid-term elections, and win the White House back in 1996, the GOP strategy of welcoming the formerly excluded far right will appear to be vindicated. The moderate conservative majority in the GOP will learn that their party has not been harmed, and may even be helped, by welcoming antisemitic conspiracy theorists, pseudo-scientific racists and nativists back into the fold. For the short-sighted opportunism of the conservatives, all of America may eventually pay a heavy price.

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July 14, 1994

SECTION: NATIONAL DESK

LENGTH: 3467 words

HEADLINE: ADL Response to Pat Robertson's Letter

CONTACT: Bonnie Mitelman of the Anti-Defamation League,
212-490-2525, ext. 270

DATELINE: NEW YORK, July 13

BODY:

Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), today issued the attached response to a letter from Pat Robertson, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the Christian Broadcasting Network Inc.

Foxman's letter includes responses to a list of inaccuracies Robertson claimed the ADL report, "The Religious Right: The Assault on Tolerance & Pluralism in America," contains. The Anti-Defamation League, founded in 1913, is the world's leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through programs and services that counteract hatred, prejudice and bigotry.

July 13, 1994

Mr. Pat Robertson

Chief Executive Officer

The Christian Broadcasting Network, Inc.

700 CBN Center

Virginia Beach, Virginia 23463-0001

Dear Pat:

I can only say I regret that you consider ADL's new report to be a breach of trust. Obviously, we have some basic differences of opinion. But let me address three points in your letter where I believe you may misapprehend my opinion and the ADL report.

First, you surely know how highly I value your record of support for Israel and

Israeli and American Jewish causes. Our report notes the highlights of your support -- including many that you elucidate in your letter -- and is in no way meant to taint that record.

You argue that the ADL report engages in "false charges of anti-Semitism." You say: "This accusation should be made with grave caution and not recklessly as was the case in your false report."

Given the seriousness and potency of the charge, ADL has always been extremely wary of labeling a figure or group anti-Semitic; our criteria for anti-Semitism are quite stringent. In the religious right report, we NEVER -- let alone "recklessly" -- call you or the Christian Coalition anti-Semitic. Nor do we describe any other mainstream religious right figure in this way. We do note -- and document -- examples of explicitly bigoted statements, as well as the fact that some religious right leaders traffic with conspiracists and bigots. Yet this is hardly the main focus of our report.

You also state that ADL engages in "blatant defamation" against "a class of individuals" who are friends to Jews -- presumably politically active conservative Christians. This is simply untrue, and confuses legitimate criticism with defamation.

For instance, we believe you have made statements about the separation of church and state -- i.e., that it is "a lie of the left" -- that strike at the foundation of religious authority and democratic pluralism in this country. Religion has served democracy and remained vital here precisely because, separated from the state, it exerts a moral authority that challenges the power of the state. It is strengthened, not weakened, by the separation of church and state.

As for the political involvement of conservative Christians, the ADL report states: "Like anyone else, evangelical Christians have the right to organize, to run for office, to lobby, to boycott, to demonstrate, to attempt to implement their views. More than

say: "This accusation should be made with grave caution and not recklessly as was the case in your false report."

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We call the Coalition's commitment to local conservative politics "a remarkable democratic exercise" and "an exceptional exercise of political commitment." We note that throughout the country's history, American Protestantism has been at the center of great social movements, from abolition to civil rights.

And we state that "critics err when they imply that the religious right poses a concern because of its religiosity rather than its platform. The problems raised by the movement are secular."

Pat, where is the "blatant defamation" you speak of?

I have attached our response to your statement listing "inaccuracies" in our report. As you can see, we did not find any merit in the errors you allege. All of our charges are documented. And again, our concern focuses on political positions and statements held by the Coalition and other religious right groups on certain issues -- NOT with the role of religious people in the civic process.

Your accusations of slander, vituperation, defamation, and false charges of anti-Semitism are off-the-mark. I sincerely believe that the new report is an accurate,

temperate, and serious work. We are all at the table on this issue, Pat, and I am pledged to maintain civility and good faith.

Sincerely,
/s/ Abraham H. Foxman
National Director

Anti-Defamation League Response to the Christian Coalition

The Christian Coalition recently released a statement titled "Factual Inaccuracies Contained in the Report of the Anti-Defamation League." The statement describes alleged errors in ADL's new publication, "The Religious Right: The Assault on Tolerance & Pluralism in America." What follows are ADL's responses to the Coalition's specific charges.

(1) The Coalition characterizes ADL's report as "an obvious effort to discredit the role of people of faith in the civic process." RESPONSE: The ADL report actually states: "Like anyone else, evangelical Christians have the right to organize, to run for office, to lobby, to boycott, to demonstrate, to attempt to implement their views. More than that, a healthy democracy encourages and depends on their doing so...."

The report states: "...critics err when they imply that the religious right poses a concern because of its religiosity rather than its platform. The problems raised by the movement are secular."

The report states that the Coalition's "commitment to local conservative politics represent(s) a remarkable democratic exercise." The report calls the religious right's grassroots organizing "an exceptional exercise of political commitment."

The report clearly reflects ADL's concern with the particular political positions taken by the religious right on certain issues -- NOT with the role of religious people in the civic process.

2) The Coalition states, "It is most unfortunate that an apparently partisan ploy from within the ADL would cause such a distinguished and respected organization to lash out at a pro-family organization under the guise of anti-Semitism or threat to the separation of church and state." RESPONSE: ADL does not call the Christian Coalition or any other religious right organization anti-Semitic.

The ADL report does focus on the aversion to church/state separation expressed repeatedly at Christian Coalition conferences, in the Coalition's materials, and by Coalition founder and president Pat Robertson (and by the other leading religious right groups). Our concern with these sentiments -- and with the intolerance that has been bound up with them -- is not a "guise": it's the heart of the report.

3) The Coalition states, "In one section called 'The San Diego Model' the ADL raises the tired charge of stealth campaign tactics." The Coalition argues that executive

director Ralph Reed has stated repeatedly that the group encourages candidates "to speak candidly about their views." It notes that Reed made anti-stealth remarks in the September 13, 1993, edition of TIME and quotes him in this regard from the April 13, 1994 edition of the Washington Times.

RESPONSE: As the ADL report notes, Reed told the Los Angeles Times of March 22, 1992:

"Stealth was a big factor in San Diego's success. But that's just good strategy. It's like guerilla warfare. If you reveal your location, all it does is allow your opponent to improve his artillery bearings.

"It's better to move quietly, with stealth, under cover of night. You've got two choices: You can wear cammies (camouflage uniforms) and shimmy along on your belly, or you can put on a red coat and stand up for everyone to see. It comes down to whether you want to be the British army in the Revolutionary War or the Viet Cong. History tells us which tactic was more effective."

Reed again, from the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star of November 9, 1991: "I want to be invisible. I do guerilla warfare. I paint my face and travel at night. You don't know it's over until you're in a body bag. You don't know until election night."

The 1992 Pennsylvania Christian Coalition's "County Action Plan" warns: "YOU SHOULD NEVER MENTION THE NAME CHRISTIAN COALITION IN REPUBLICAN CIRCLES" (emphasis in original).

In the very TIME article cited, but not quoted, by the Coalition, Reed implies the use of stealth: "This stealth thing is bad for the movement. It isn't the future. It's the past, if anything."

In this regard, the ADL report notes: "Recently, the Coalition has publicly renounced 'stealth' tactics...."

(4) The Coalition states, "The ADL report also accuses the Christian Coalition of engaging in unfair or unethical campaign practices such as 'resume doctoring' and 'distribution of materials, sometimes using the names of fictitious groups.'" However, no documentation was provided to substantiate that claim. It is absolutely and totally false."

RESPONSE: The ADL report does not make this accusation. It states that candidates on San Diego County's 1990 California Pro-Life Council slate -- which included activists associated with several religious right groups, including the Coalition -- engaged in these "hardball tactics." The Los Angeles Times of March 22, 1992, documents examples of resume-doctoring and misleading mailings during the campaign.

(5) The Coalition says, "The ADL report mis-characterizes Christian Coalition's position on the separation of church and state. The report inaccurately quotes Pat

Robertson as saying the separation of church and state is a 'Soviet concept.' No reference was provided for this quotation."

RESPONSE: In his August 18, 1982, testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, which he later published as a booklet titled "Why I Favor a Prayer Amendment," Robertson stated (as he has repeatedly since): "We often hear of the constitutionally mandated 'separation of church and state.' Of course, as you know, that phrase appears nowhere in the Constitution or Bill of Rights."

Robertson points out that the phrase originated in a letter written by Thomas Jefferson in 1802. He states:

"We do however find this phrase in the constitution of another nation, however: 'The state shall be separate from the church, and the church from the school.' These words are not in the Constitution of the United States, but in that of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics -- an atheistic nation sworn to the destruction of the United States of America."

6) The Coalition quotes Robertson's apparent endorsement of the separation of church and state during an April 19, 1991, appearance on "Larry King Live," and in a March 1988 Associated Press report.

RESPONSE: Robertson may have made occasional endorsements of church/state separation, but the rhetoric of his political career has been marked by vigorous opposition to this principle.

A few examples, from the ADL report:

-- "The Constitution of the United States, for instance, is a marvelous document for self-government by Christian people. But the minute you turn the document into the hands of non-Christian people and atheistic people they can use it to destroy the very foundation of our society. And that's what's been happening" (The Washington Post, March 23, 1981).

-- "Christian and Jewish people are the only ones qualified" to govern America ("The 700 Club," January 1985). According to The New Republic, co-host Ben Kinchlow responded: "Obviously you're not saying that there are no other people qualified to be in government if they aren't Christians and Jews." Robertson reiterated: "Yeah, I'm saying that. I just said it." -- "They have kept us in submission because they have talked about separation of church and state. There is no such thing in the Constitution. It's a lie of the left, and we're not going to take it anymore" (The State, Columbia, South Carolina, November 14, 1993).

7) The Coalition states, "The report unfairly attacks Christian Coalition board member Dr. Billy McCormack by saying that McCormack refused to repudiate David Duke during his campaign for governor in 1991. The truth is McCormack actively worked to oppose Duke and helped recruit Duke's opponent, former Congressman Clyde Hollaway (sic). Dr. McCormack was instrumental in organizing Pat Robertson campaign appearances in Louisiana to oppose Duke."

RESPONSE: There is no evidence that the Rev. Billy McCormack ever repudiated Duke's views despite the fact that Pat Robertson told the Los

Angeles Times (Nov. 17, 1990) that he would ask McCormack to investigate Duke's record.

The Coalition fails to note that as a member of Louisiana's Republican Central Committee, McCormack helped to table a 1989 motion to censure then-state legislator Duke, even though it had been revealed that the longtime Klan leader was selling Nazi and racist materials from his legislative office. Moreover, in November 1990 McCormack indicated to a Los Angeles Times reporter that "the Jewish element in the ACLU" was "just as prejudiced and just as mean" as Duke, and that Duke was "saying some things that are very true, and that's the reason he's getting as many good marks as he's getting...."

Robertson did campaign for Clyde Holloway, the state GOP-endorsed candidate, in the gubernatorial primary. However, only one of the Louisiana press accounts of Robertson's campaign tour reports that he referred to Duke, and not even by name in that sole instance: "This is a great state and when I see the three front-runners in the race for the governorship (Edwin Edwards, Duke, Buddy Roemer), I think this state deserves something better. Don't you?" (The Morning Advocate, Baton Rouge, September 26, 1991)

Most press accounts indicate that Robertson's tour was characterized by criticism of Republican incumbent Gov. Buddy Roemer.

8) The Coalition says, "Robertson also denounced the Duke campaign on his nationally televised news and talk show 'The 700 Club.'" RESPONSE: The Coalition has not yet been able to locate tapes of such a broadcast. ADL has found no evidence of such a denunciation.

9) The Coalition says, "The ADL report inaccurately states that the Christian Coalition publication, 'the Christian American', ran an editorial in which anti-Semitic remarks were printed to purposely defame Jews. The quote, taken out of text (sic), was featured in the body of pro-Israel story denouncing anti-Semitism."

RESPONSE: ADL says nothing about "purposely defam(ing) Jews." The remark did appear in an editorial, not a "story." ADL notes the context.

The entire text in the ADL report relating to this item reads:

Christian American, the Coalition's tabloid (which Robertson publishes and which enjoys a circulation of 270,000), noted in a July/August 1991 editorial that "The New Testament reveals that Jews 'both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men' (I Thess. 2:15). History records the terrible sufferings the Jewish people have experienced as a result.' (As is typical of evangelical anti-Judaism, this invocation of deicide and its just desserts occurred in an editorial asserting the

Coalition's support of Israel and opposition to anti-Semitism.)

10) Most of the remainder of the Coalition's response to ADL's report details Pat Robertson's support of Israel and the American Jewish community. The statement also notes the Coalition's outreach to "conservative and Orthodox rabbis."

RESPONSE: The ADL report notes that Robertson has been "vociferous in its support of Israel"; that he has advocated moving the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem; that he has termed Israel's claim to Jerusalem "paramount" and "inviolable"; that he has supported conservative Israeli policies and politicians, even hosting them on "The 700 Club"; that he has donated large sums in support of Russian Jewish emigres, and that he has demonstrated on behalf of Jonathan Pollard.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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get of church
+ state! HEADLINE: Religious Right Campaign Assaults Religious Freedom in America; New
ADL Book Details Strategy, Tactics, Personalities

CONTACT: Myrna Shinbaum, 212-490-2525 ext. 145, or Mary Vasiliades, 212-490-2525
ext. 131, both of the Anti-Defamation League

DATELINE: NEW YORK, June 9

BODY:
The religious right's crusade to combine its version of Christianity with state power is
an exclusionist movement that poses a challenge to American democracy and
religious freedom, according to a book released today by the Anti-Defamation League
(ADL) at the League's 81st annual meeting of its National Commission.

"The Religious Right: The Assault on Tolerance & Pluralism in America," asserts
that the defining feature of the religious right movement is hostility to the
Constitution's separation of church and state. The movement consists mainly of
evangelical and fundamentalist Protestants along with a small number of Catholics
and a few Jews. Their rhetoric at times reflects hostility to Jews and Jewish concerns,
targets gays, lesbians and feminists with derision and scorn, and is generally
antagonistic to those who champion a society based upon cultural pluralism,
diversity and dissent.

According to the ADL book, the religious right's crusade has gained momentum in
the 1990s through grassroots campaigns to return organized prayer to public schools,
for government subsidized religious education, to Christianize public school
curricula, roll back civil rights protections, oppose all abortions and ensure that
"pro-family Christians" gain control of the Republican Party.

"The religious right brings to the debate over moral and social issues a rhetoric of
fear, suspicion and even hatred that strains the democratic process," said Abraham H.
Foxman, ADL national director. "They seem unable to understand that in America
tolerance and pluralism are traditional values that bolster religion."

Foxman stressed that all Americans have the right to organize, to run for office, to
lobby, to boycott, to demonstrate, to attempt to implement their views.

"We understand and share their concern about the decline of moral values and the

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importance of religion in our daily lives. However, the movement goes wrong when it asks the state to mandate values and impose their religious beliefs. We feel religion is strengthened, not weakened, by the separation of church and state. To quote De Tocqueville, '...when it comes to state religions, I have always thought that, though they may perhaps sometimes momentarily serve the interests of political power, they are always sooner or later fatal for the church.'

The ADL book notes that a commitment to politics has revitalized and

shaped the religious right. The year ahead appears to be a period of heightened activity, with religious right leaders exhilarated by their recent gains and the promise of more. Growing numbers of religious right voters have earned places in the Republican Party structure especially at the grassroots level and are positioned to influence the upcoming elections.

At the same time, the book warns that the very success of this movement may lead to the weakening of both religion and democracy. It points out that the breakdown of the wall between church and state threatens the viability of religion and other First Amendment freedoms. It states, "The genius of the Constitution is that it strikes equally for liberty and belief. The religious right's attack degrades both." Divided into four sections, the first part of the 204-page publication focuses on the movement in the 1990s. The second section documents the religious right's attack on church/state separation while the last two portions concentrate on the genesis of the movement and provide background information about other organizations and leaders.

Major organizations, leaders and strategies of the religious right include:

- The Christian Coalition, established by Pat Robertson, is the most influential religious right organization of the 1990s and is among the best organized political groups in the nation. Its annual budget reportedly is between \$12-14 million. In the 1990s, the Coalition along with Citizens for Excellence in Education were instrumental in electing religious right candidates running in school boards from Vista, Calif., to Xenia, Ohio, to New York City. Many of the winners were stealth candidates who disguised their religious views and affiliations, a tactic religious right candidates across the country are encouraged to use.

The Coalition has grown steadily in the 1990s. It utilizes telemarketing techniques and detailed voter databanks to fill its ranks. Extremely influential in the Republican Party, it achieved much of its clout through precinct politics and mastering techniques of caucuses and delegate selection. There were 300 Coalition delegates to the 1992 Republican presidential convention.

Although the Coalition has welcomed Jews, an editorial in "Christian American," the coalition's tabloid noted: "The New Testament reveals that Jews 'both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men' (I Thess. 2:5). History records the terrible

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sufferings the Jewish people have experienced as a result."

— The Free Congress Foundation's leader, Paul Weyrich, has been a principal theoretician and strategist for the secular new right and religious right for two decades. Weyrich pioneered strategies that have become the hallmark of the movement in recent years — local activism, extensive political training, forging broader coalitions and utilizing new technologies. He has said, "We are talking about Christianizing America. We are talking about simply spreading the Gospel in a political context." His organization has affiliated with fringe groups and individuals such as a past leader of Liberty Lobby, the nation's leading anti-Semitic propaganda organization; the John Birch Society; and reconstructionist Rousas John Rushdoony, the racist theocrat who would reinstitute slavery.

— Citizens for Excellence in Education and the group's prime mover, Robert L. Simonds, have become a major force in turning public schools away from religiously neutral education to one that favors the Christian

faith. In his book, "How to Elect Christians to Public Office," Simonds stated that "Government and true Christianity are inseparable!...Morality is based on the Christian Bible and must be proclaimed by our elected Christian representatives."

— The American Family Association and its leader Donald Wildmon attack what he perceives as a violent, sexually permissive, pro-gay and anti-Christian atmosphere in popular culture. Wildmon believes that the mass media is pursuing an organized conspiracy against Christianity and what he considers Christian values and blames Jewish control of mass media for this. The issue of anti-Semitism has generated more controversy for Wildmon than any other concern.

— Focus on the Family, headed by James Dobson, enjoys an annual budget of \$90 million and has increasingly blended into its pastoral mission public policy objectives that engage hostility toward the separation of church and state, secular public education and gays and lesbians. To support these and other political concerns, the group has "broken bread" with some of the most extreme and conspiracy-haunted figures on the religious right including Jew-baiting Donald Wildmon, Operation Rescue's hate-spouting Randall Terry and professional anti-church/state propagandist David Barton.

— Pat Robertson, best known as longtime religious broadcaster with international ventures valued at more than \$1 billion, is the acknowledged prime-mover of the religious right crusade. The founder of the Christian Broadcasting Network, his "700 Club," a talk and news show, is the most-watched evangelical program in television history. The Family Channel, over which he has controlling interest, is the nation's tenth largest cable network, reaching 58 million homes on 10,000 cable systems. A candidate for the Republican Party's nomination for president in 1988, he garnered 1.9 million primary votes.

Although Robertson is on record as a loyal supporter of Israel, his comments about Jews have been perplexing. He has called Jews "spiritually deaf" and "spiritually

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blind" and charged that Jews were working to de-Christianize America, suggesting that "sooner or later there would be a Christian backlash of major proportions." During the controversy over the movie, "The Last Temptation of Christ," Robertson refused an ADL request that he denounce the anti-Semitism of some Christian demonstrators, arguing instead that ADL protest the making of the movie to the Jewish chairman of MCA, a company whose affiliate produced the film. He later noted that MCA was established by a "Jewish doctor" and that the "controlling principals of MCA are Jewish."

Robertson's repeated references to America as a "Christian nation" and to American governance as a "Christian order" insults not only Jews but all who value religious freedom, the book states.

Robertson calls homosexuality "a sickness" and warns that many of the men around Hitler were homosexuals and Satanists, predicting that the same thing could happen here. His judgements on the women's movement are equally as harsh, saying the "feminist agenda...encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft and become lesbians."

In his 1991 book, "The New World Order," Robertson spews forth a bizarre brew of prophecy beliefs, rehashed conspiracy theories, xenophobia, racism and anti-Jewish innuendo. He asserts that Satan is working through an alliance among communists, occultists and "the establishment" -- leaders of government and finance -- to create a collectivist, godless dictatorship. Among the arch-demons in Robertson's scenario are "European

bankers," typically a euphemism for a Jewish conspiracy to control world finance.

-- The American Center for Law and Justice, a non-profit legal agency founded by Robertson is "dedicated to the promotion of pro- liberty, pro-life and pro-family causes."

-- The Rev. Billy McCormack, the Christian Coalition's Louisiana director and former member of the state's Republican Party Central Committee, refused to repudiate former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke during his campaign for governor and the U.S. Senate, saying Duke was not as much a threat as the Jews in the ACLU. McCormack was instrumental in saving Duke from censure after it was discovered Duke was selling Nazi and racist literature from his office while a member of the Louisiana State Assembly.

Among other religious leaders discussed in the ADL book are: David Barton, founder of an anti-church/state separation Texas ministry who twice has been a main speaker at meetings of racist and anti-Semitic groups; Randall Terry and Operation Rescue; Jerry Falwell, Phyllis Schlafly, Beverly LaHaye, leader of Concerned Women for America, and Jay Sekulow, leading conservative legal advocate for religious rights.

Notable Quotes

Following is a selection of quotes from the publication:

BUBER

Renewal of Relation

All great civilization has been in a certain measure a civilization of the dialogue. The life substance of them all was not, as one customarily thinks, the presence of significant individuals, but their genuine intercourse with one another. Individuation was only the presupposition for the unfolding of dialogical life. What one calls the creative spirit of men has never been anything other than the address, the cogitative or artistic address, of those called to speak to those really able and prepared to hear.

There interposed in all times, of course, severe checks and disturbances; there was closedness and unapproachableness, dissembling and seduction. But where the human wonder bloomed time and again, these checks and disturbances were always overcome through the elemental power of men's mutual confirmation. The one turned to the other as to a unique personal being, undamaged by all error and trouble, and received the other's turning to him. The one traced the other in his being, in that in him which survived all illusions, and even if they fought each other, they confirmed each other as what they were. Man wishes to be confirmed by man as he who he is, and there is genuine confirmation only in mutuality.

Despite the progressive decline of dialogue and the corresponding growth of universal mistrust which characterize our time, the need of men to be confirmed still continues. But for the most part it no longer finds any natural satisfaction. As a result, man sets out on one of two false ways: he seeks to be confirmed either by himself or by a collective to which he belongs. Both undertakings must fail. The self-confirmation of him whom no fellow man confirms cannot stand. With ever more convulsive exertions, he must en-

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deavor to restore it, and finally he knows himself as inevitably abandoned. Confirmation through the collective, on the other hand, is pure fiction. It belongs to the nature of the collective, to be sure, that it accepts and employs each of its members as this particular individual, constituted and endowed in this particular way. But it cannot recognize anyone in his own being, and therefore independently of his usefulness for the collective. Modern man, insofar as he has surrendered direct and personal mutuality with his fellows, can only exchange an illusory confirmation for the one that is lost. There is no salvation save through the renewal of the dialogical relation, and this means, above all, through the overcoming of existential mistrust.

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The New York Times

July 7, 1994, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 19; Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 734 words

HEADLINE: Journal;
Specter's Righteous Stand

BYLINE: By FRANK RICH; William Safire is on vacation.

BODY:

When Arlen Specter, the moderate Republican Senator from Pennsylvania, spoke out against the radical religious right at his party's Iowa convention last month, he was booed. His words were far from incendiary. He was merely defending "the basic American principle of separation of church and state." The speech was heartfelt, telling of his penniless immigrant father's escape from Russia to America in 1911. The Senator seemed to be speaking not just as a politician but as a Jew.

Is it coincidence that Mr. Specter, the only Jewish Republican Senator, is one of the very few G.O.P. leaders who have dared criticize the Christian right? Hardly. If you are an American Jew, you have every reason to worry about a political movement whose most powerful leader, Pat Robertson of the Christian Coalition, calls the constitutional separation of church and state "a lie of the left" and vows to dismantle it. I, for one, still remember how it felt to be a Jew involuntarily praying to Jesus in a public elementary school before the Supreme Court outlawed school prayer in 1962.

The extremists of the Christian right want to turn back the clock on school prayer, as they do on abortion and other issues. Their Republican defenders argue that those who challenge their views are leftists and Christian-bashers. But Senator Specter is no pinko bigot. And there's nothing far-out about the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the research organization whose book-length study "The Religious Right" has become a political football in the weeks since its publication.

As Iowa Republicans booed Senator Specter, so the far right, starting with The Wall Street Journal's editorial page and Patrick Buchanan, have worked overtime to discredit the ADL and its report. What do they fear? Not the book's passages about the religious right's familiar hostility to pro-life women and homosexuals but the relatively secondary sections that deal with the religious right and Jews. The radical right knows that Jews can be formidable political adversaries and so wants to distract them from the ADL report by trivializing it as an anti-Christian broadside obsessed

with anti-Semitism.

But the study is not anti-Christian. At the outset, its author points out that most evangelicals and fundamentalists "are not affiliated with religious right groups" and often share the same moral concerns as Jews. The ADL knows that extremist political organizations that exploit the word Christian in their name are no more representative of most Christians than, say, the Jewish Defense League is representative of most Jews.

Nor is the ADL report preoccupied with anti-Semitism. Though it cites a few ugly incidents, it more strenuously notes that leaders of the religious right like Pat Robertson are staunchly pro-Israel.

But Mr. Robertson is pro-Israel for a theological reason that does the Jews little good: his prophecy of a Second Coming turns on a gathering of Jews in their biblical homeland. And his movement's relentless drive for a theocracy, if not anti-Semitic, does Jews no favors, either. The Christian America he envisions will enforce its narrow views on everyone through the schools and the courts.

For the religious right, Jews are not devils, merely abstractions. It's symbolic of the syndrome that the one passage dealing with the Holocaust in the best-selling "Book of Virtues" by the Christian right's political ally William Bennett is written not by a Jew but by the born-again Watergate felon Chuck Colson. Or that Pat Robertson routinely says that "what Nazi Germany did to the Jews, so liberal America is now doing to evangelical Christians" — hyperbole that denies the six million dead.

Critics of the ADL report attack its footnotes rather than its main thesis, hoping that Jews won't read the actual document, which presents the Christian right as a more subtle threat than the rabid, headline-grabbing anti-Semitism of Louis Farrakhan. But Jews have been through too much in their history not to look at the fine print. They can see that the only Jews who are supporting the religious right are those whose conservative Republican causes and candidates come first.

Senator Specter is not putting his party first. His brave speech, barely reported but still resonating, may mark the beginning of the end of the religious right's honeymoon with mainstream American Jews.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: July 7, 1994

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Idaho Community Built On Hatred and Fear

Government as Enemy in 'Almost Heaven'

By TIMOTHY EGAN

Special to The New York Times

KAMIAH, Idaho — Ever since Lewis and Clark sloshed their way through this valley 190 years ago, some people have viewed the Pacific Northwest as a refuge for the kind of behavior that might get a person run out of town in other parts of the country.

Communities based on free love or a pending apocalypse or on conversing with ancient spirits have long sprouted among the hidden reaches of the American far corner.

But now comes retired Lieut. Col. James (Bo) Gritz, a Vietnam-era Green Beret and onetime Populist Party candidate for President, with what is likely to be the first community ever built around fear and hatred of the Federal Government.

Mr. Gritz (rhymes with SIGHTS) and his associates say they have already sold most of the lots in a planned development on a high plateau here in the middle of Idaho, arguably the most remote state in mainland America. They call it Almost Heaven, but to many people who live in the Clearwater Valley, the new development is less than celestial.

Mr. Gritz, who discovered Idaho during the Presidential campaign, says he is a patriot who has become disgusted with the "cesspool" of public schools, the "grip of international bankers" on the nation's currency, and "an encroaching, ravenous, predator Government," which wants to disarm the citizenry and force everyone to carry a health care card.

At times, he can sound like Rush Limbaugh in a particularly sour mood as when Mr. Gritz singles out Hillary Rodham Clinton as the font of all Big Government plans to control people's lives. But Mr. Gritz goes well beyond passionate conservative thought when he urges people to arm themselves for conflict, castigates "homos and feminists," and repeatedly states that "eight Jewish families" control the Federal Re-

serve.

"We are not a bunch of skinheads and not a bunch of neo-Nazis," he said in a telephone interview. "We are trying to live by the laws of the land according to the Constitution."

Ever since his Presidential campaign, when he received 10,000 votes in Idaho, Mr. Gritz has been training hundreds of people, for a fee, on how to live off the land and defend themselves. In an advertisement for his paramilitary programs, he says, "You will learn what weapon and ammunition type is best in times of grave peril; how to carry, draw, hold and efficiently engage multiple targets."

It is that kind of language that has many people here worried that their hamlet, now being discovered by retirees and California exiles, will become the next Waco. And in fact the lethal standoff last year in Texas between Federal agents and followers of David Koresh, as well as an Idaho mountaintop siege by a white separatist, Randy Weaver, two years ago, are the main rallying cries for Mr. Gritz and his followers.

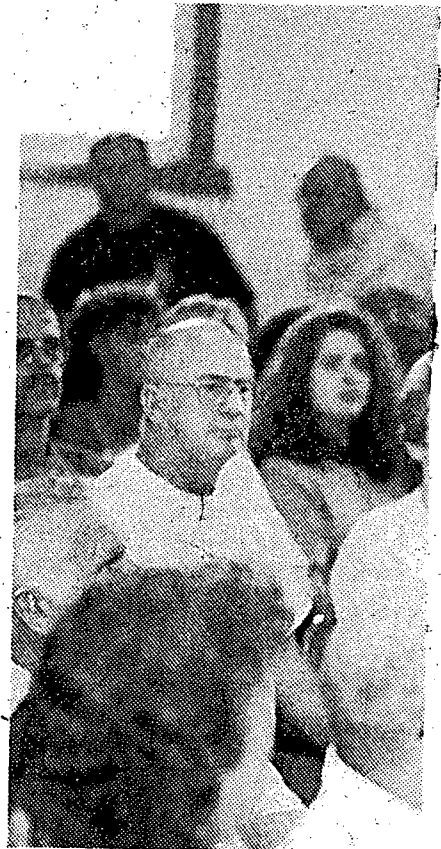
"The tyrants who ordered the assault on the Weavers and Waco should be tried and executed as traitors," Mr. Gritz wrote in a recent issue of his newsletter.

There are early signs that followers of Mr. Gritz will bring some extremist attitudes to the valley, said Mitch Landmark, an insurance agent and school board member in Kamiah, population 1,300, the nearest town to Almost Heaven.

"I went out there the other day to underwrite some insurance, and this person tried to convince me that Abraham Lincoln hated Jews," he said.

"This area is based on the idea that you don't put up fences, you don't lock your doors, and people are tolerant," Mr. Landmark said. "We'd like to not be afraid that if you go down the wrong road some guy is going to stick a gun in your face."

A Kamiah real estate agent, Cliff Engledow, said a woman, new to



James (Bo) Gritz, a former Populist Party candidate, where homeowners will be required to

Following 'laws of God and common sense.'

town, "sat here the other day and said, 'I can show you in the Bible where it says we've got to get rid of all the blacks.'"

While such attitudes are not unknown in Idaho, which is the longtime headquarters of a small neo-Nazi church called the Aryan Nations, the state has worked hard to overcome a racist image. It is on the verge of electing the nation's first American Indian governor, Larry Echohawk, and it was the first state to elect a Jew as governor, Moses Alexander in 1914.

"We don't want to get this label," Mr. Engledow said. "But it's already happening. A guy just canceled a \$250,000 deal to buy here after he heard about this."



Mike Venso/Lewiston Morning Tribune

arty candidate for President, is building a community in central Idaho to protect one another. He met with residents of nearby Kamiah in May.

Mr. Gritz says he has been falsely labeled a bigot. Though in 1988 he was briefly on the same Presidential ticket as David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader, Mr. Gritz said he withdrew when he found out Mr. Duke's true nature. But Mr. Gritz was seen giving what seemed to be a Nazi salute to a group of skinheads camped outside the place in northern Idaho where Federal agents surrounded the cabin of Mr. Weaver two years ago. Mr. Gritz said it was a "special salute" in tribute to the skinheads' support of Mr. Weaver and not a Hitler motion.

He said his community of followers, which probably has about 70 families, would obey all laws "unless they go against the laws of God and common sense." He said a council would be set up to govern the community, a place in which all residents must sign a pledge to defend one another and abide by strict principles of the Constitution.

He said, "I won't be a Jim Jones forcing people to drink Kool-Aid," a



Associated Press

reference to the mass suicide of cult members in Guyana ordered by Mr. Jones. "We don't want any trouble, and hopefully, we won't get any."

Almost Heaven and a neighboring community run by Mr. Gritz's associates, Shenandoah, will cover about 600 acres on a plateau where hay bales are stacked like fresh cinnamon rolls on edge. A tight-knit Quaker community is nearby. It is "an absolute paradise, land that time forgot," Mr. Engledow said.

Idaho County, where bulldozers are clearing land for Almost Heaven, is one of the nation's biggest counties, 5.4 million acres, with one of the sparsest populations, less than 15,000 people. Although Sheriff Gene Meinen said "a lot of people in the county don't care much for law enforcement," crimes are few. The county averages about one murder a year.

But statements by Mr. Gritz and his followers make some people here worried that the county will now become polarized and full of suspicion.

"There's always been a certain hillbilly perception that the way to go here is don't pay your taxes, cut down a tree to heat and post a deer to eat," said Carolyn Frei, a former schoolteacher who has started a human rights group to monitor Almost Heaven. "We relish that. But Bo Gritz is not just some simple hillbilly character. He has an ulterior motive."

A longtime associate of Mr. Gritz, Gerald (Jack) McLamb, a former Arizona police officer, said Mrs. Frei was part of "a homosexual group that has it in for us."

The Nez Perce Indians have lived in this valley for thousands of years, and their reservation overlaps private land being used for Almost Heaven. Mary Tall Bull, a Nez Perce, met with Mr. Gritz recently and voiced a number of concerns.

"He assured us that he has come here in peace and friendship and he shook my hand," she said. It was, to some Indians, a throwback to the days when whites would come into Indian territory, shake hands with the locals, and then steal most of the land. Ms. Tall Bull said the Indians of this valley will not be easily swayed.

"Our main concern are the white supremacists who follow him," Ms. Tall Bull said. "I asked him if he would be responsible for these people and their actions. He said he would. We'll see."

Vegas, and she considered suicide as a means of ending her misery.

Testifying for a second day in her Federal court lawsuit against the Hilton Hotels Corporation, Ms. Coughlin, 32, said she had been treated with contempt by fellow aviators who resented her prominent role in the case, and she said her superiors had made no secret of their desire to ease her out of the military. She resigned her commission as a lieutenant on May 31.

"Most of the people in the Navy, whether I worked for them or not, were afraid to talk to me; I was shunned," Ms. Coughlin testified. Asked to describe how it had felt to be ostracized, Ms. Coughlin replied, "Disgusted, humiliated and tormented."

Ms. Coughlin was an admiral's aide when she filed claims that she was sexually harassed at the Tailhook Association's convention of naval aviators at the Las Vegas Hilton in September 1991. More than 80 women subsequently made similar assertions, with a handful following Ms. Coughlin's lead and filing civil lawsuits. The women said they had been groped and fondled as they were forced down a "gantlet" of drunken revelers.

Ms. Coughlin, a helicopter pilot, said at the time that she resigned that "covert attacks" had made it impossible for her to continue in the Navy. She now says she is now unemployable because her skills as a pilot and maintenance officer are not in demand by private business.

Asked today why she resigned, she said her acute anxiety and deteriorating state of her health had been "eating me up."

"You're not supposed to think about killing yourself over your job," she said, adding that since leaving the Navy she still thinks about ending her life.

At the time of the convention, Ms. Coughlin testified, she weighed about 125 pounds, was 5 feet 4 inches tall, outgoing and in superb physical condition. She said she now weighs about 10 pounds less, and she appeared frail and somber in court. She said she was "embarrassed" to let her family see what has become of her since the Tailhook convention.

Ms. Coughlin also described a June 1992 meeting with President Bush, who called her to the White House to express sympathy and assure her there would be a full investigation.

During the meeting, Ms. Coughlin said, Mr. Bush reminded her that he too had a 31-year old daughter. And then, she said, "he started to cry and said he was really upset at what happened and said he had asked for the resignation of the Secretary of the Navy."

Ms. Coughlin's suit accuses the Hilton corporation and its subsidiaries of failing to provide proper security even though the hotel had been the site for 19 previous Tailhook conventions.

For much of this morning's testimony, Ms. Coughlin answered ques-

als will be sold in November at an only about 1,000 during the winter.

Quote Sources

Jerry Falwell: from the Religious News Service, March 29, 1993; from a sermon broadcast on his show, "Old Time Gospel Hour."

Randall Terry: from the Fort Wayne Indiana News Sentinel, August 16, 1993; from a speech at the First Assembly of God Church during a book promotion tour in Fort Wayne Indiana.

Ralph Reed: from L.A. Times, May 15, 1990; from an interview for the article.

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