

More Than Two Years of Economic Progress

**U.S. Department of Treasury
August 10, 1995**

MORE THAN TWO YEARS OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS

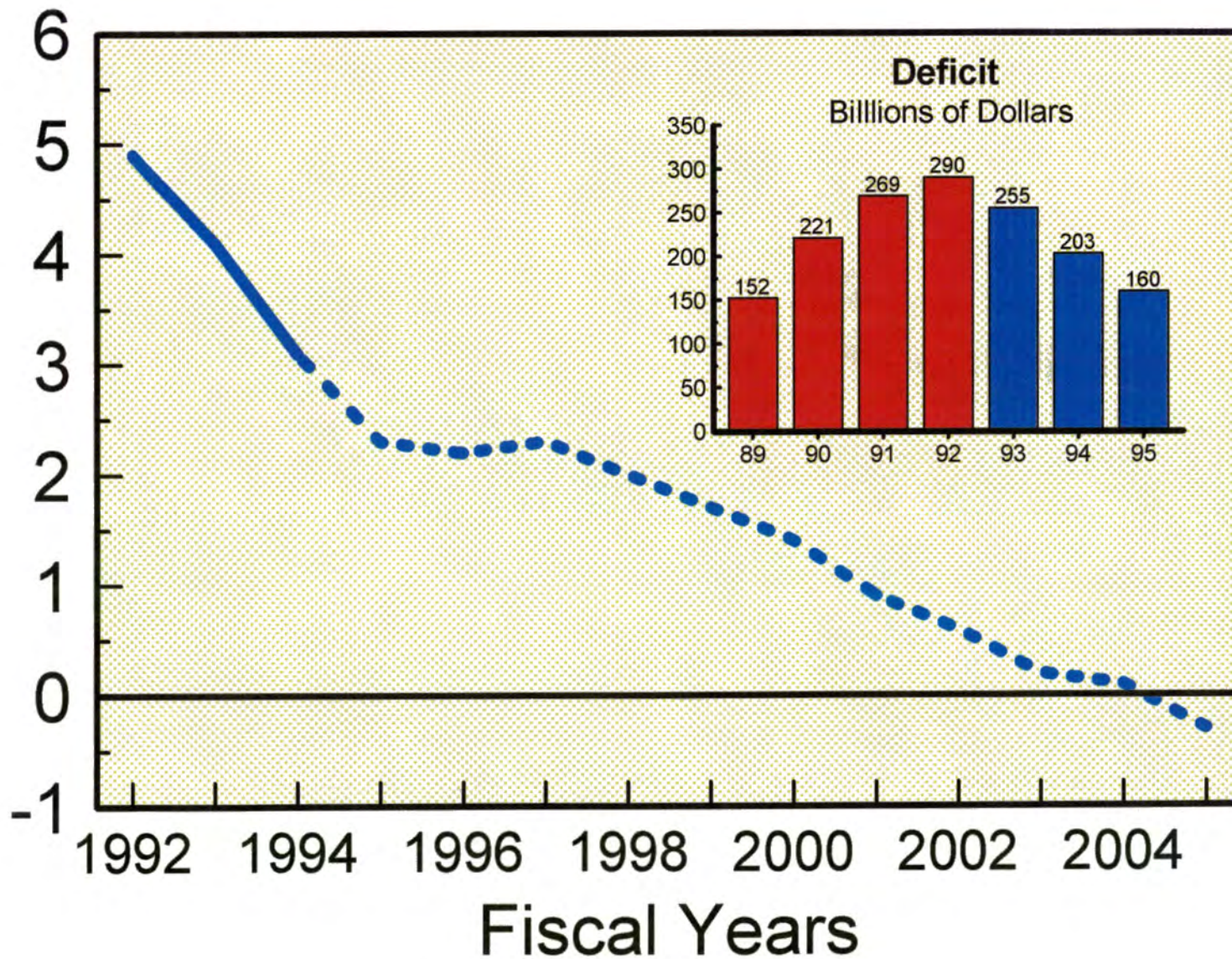
	Then	Now
The Deficit Has Been Cut Sharply as a Share of GDP FY-1992 Actual vs. FY-1995 Projected	4.9%	2.3%
Economic Growth Has Returned to a Healthy Pace Annual rate of real GDP growth: 1989-92 vs. 1993 to present	1.4%	3.2%
92 Percent of the 7.1 Million New Jobs Have Been in the Private Sector Total payroll job growth: January '89 to January '93 vs. since January '93	2.4 Million (four years)	7.1 Million (thirty months)
Eight Times More Private Sector Jobs per Month than in the Previous Four Years Average monthly increase: January '89 to January '93 vs. since January '93	27,000	218,000
Unemployment Has Fallen Civilian unemployment rate: January '93 (old survey basis) vs. July '95	7.1%	5.7%
Inflation Has Fallen to a Near 30-Year Low CPI growth at an annual rate: January '89 to January '93 vs. since January '93	4.2%	2.8%
Income Growth Is Three Times Faster Real per capita disposable personal income growth at an annual rate: January '89 to January '93 vs. since January '93	0.6%	1.9%
Consumer Confidence Has Rebounded University of Michigan index: 1992 vs. 1995 year-to-date	77.3	93.2
Mortgage Rates Are Still Low by Historical Standards Average conventional fixed mortgage: February '89 to January '93 vs. since January '93	9.5%	7.9%
Interest-Sensitive Sectors Are Revitalized:		
Housing Starts Average annual rate: February '89 to January '93 vs. since January '93	1.19 Million	1.36 Million
Sales of Cars and Light Trucks Average annual rate: February '89 to January '93 vs. since January '93	13.35 Million	14.50 Million
Industrial Production Is Growing Again Annual rate of growth: January '89 to January '93 vs. since January '93	0.9%	3.8%
Business Investment Has Surged Annual rate of growth in real equipment investment: 1989-1992 vs. 1993 to present	2.1%	18.4%
Business Incorporations Have Reached a New Peak 1992 vs. 1994-1995 to-date at an annual rate	670,000	745,000
Bank Lending Is Strengthening Annual rate of growth in commercial bank loans: January '89 to January '93 vs. since January '93	2.9%	7.5%

August 4, 1995

PRESIDENT'S TEN YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN

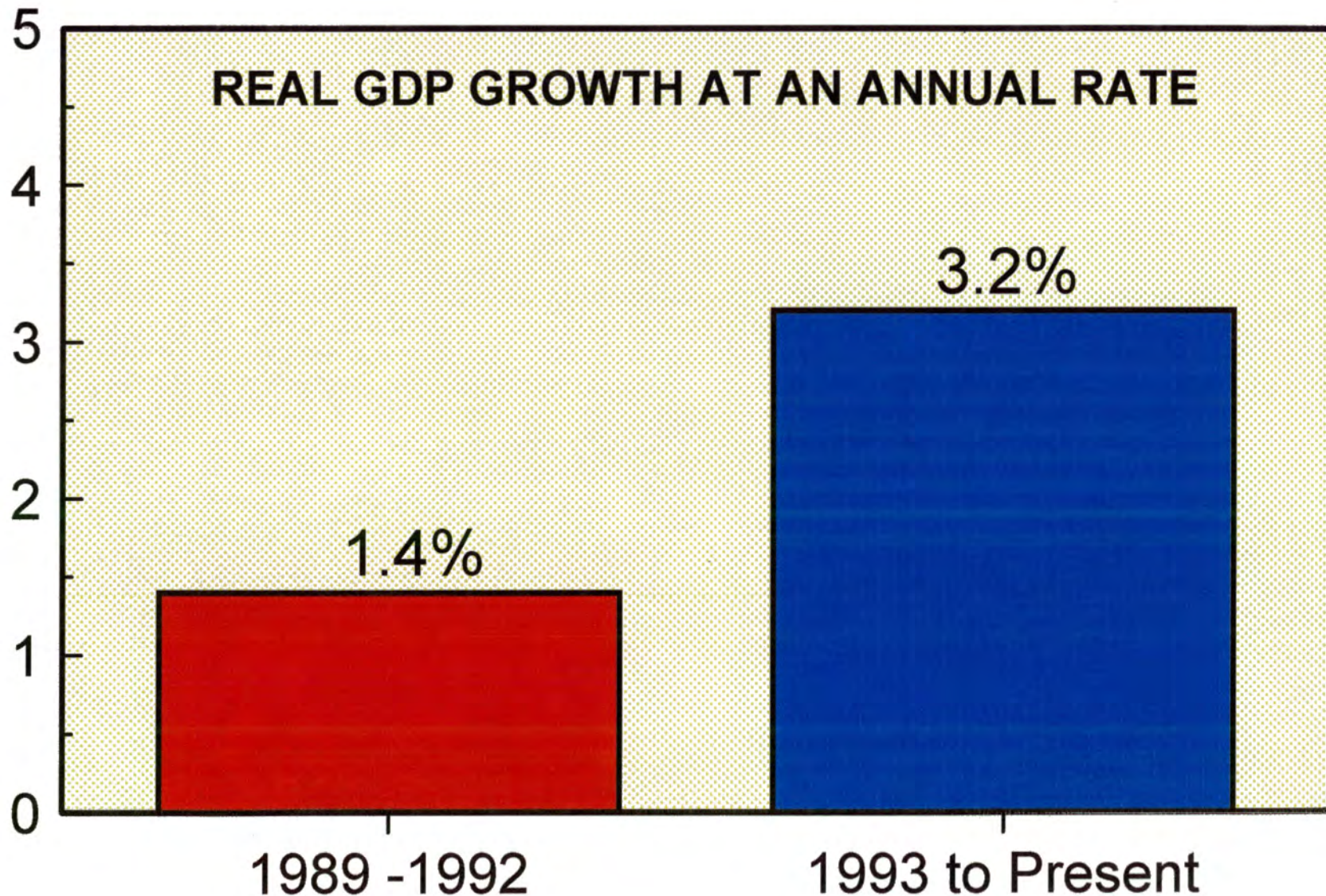
ELIMINATES THE DEFICIT

DEFICIT AS A SHARE OF GDP



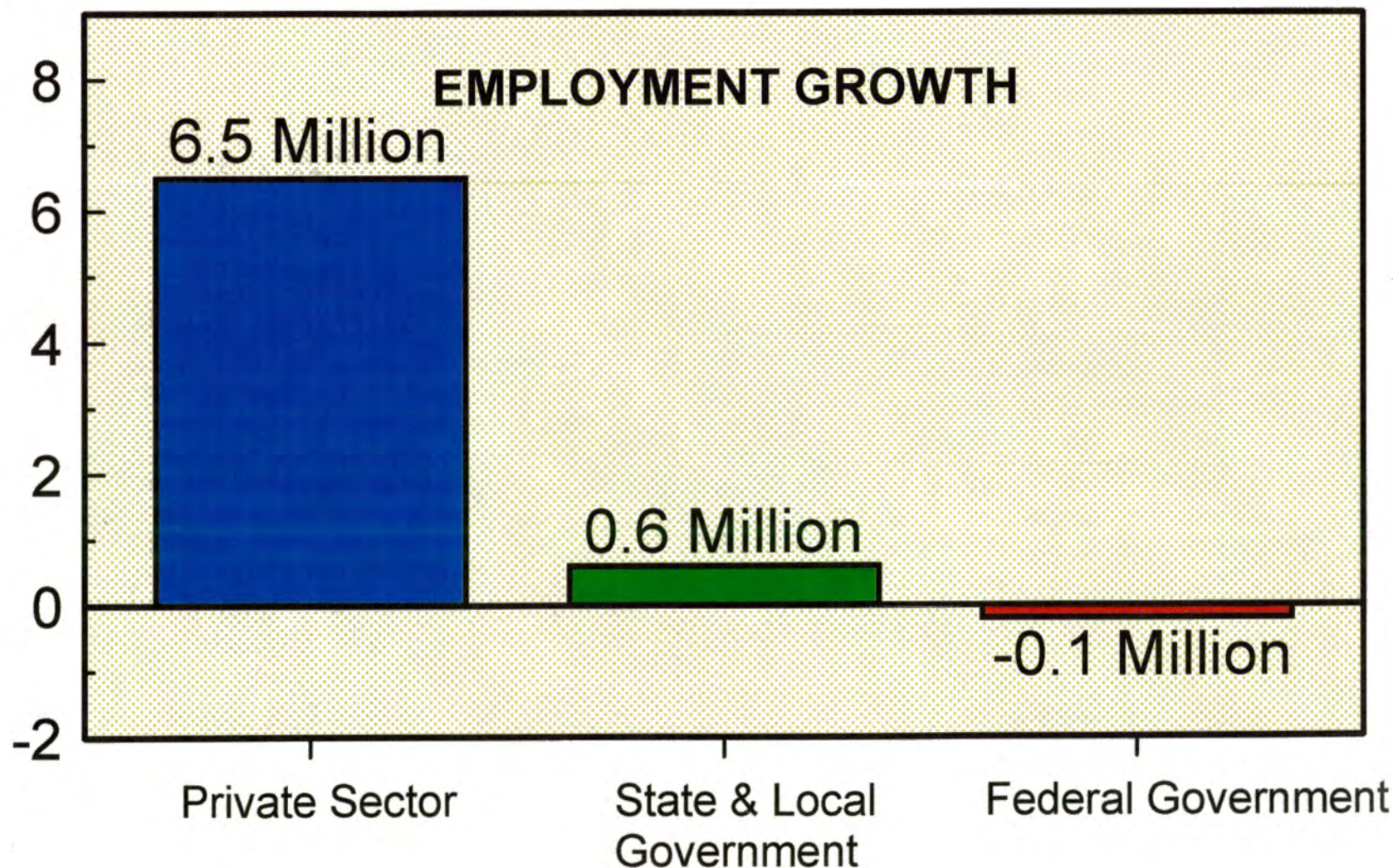
ECONOMIC GROWTH HAS RETURNED TO A HEALTHY PACE

Percent



92 PERCENT OF THE 7.1 MILLION NEW JOBS HAVE BEEN IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

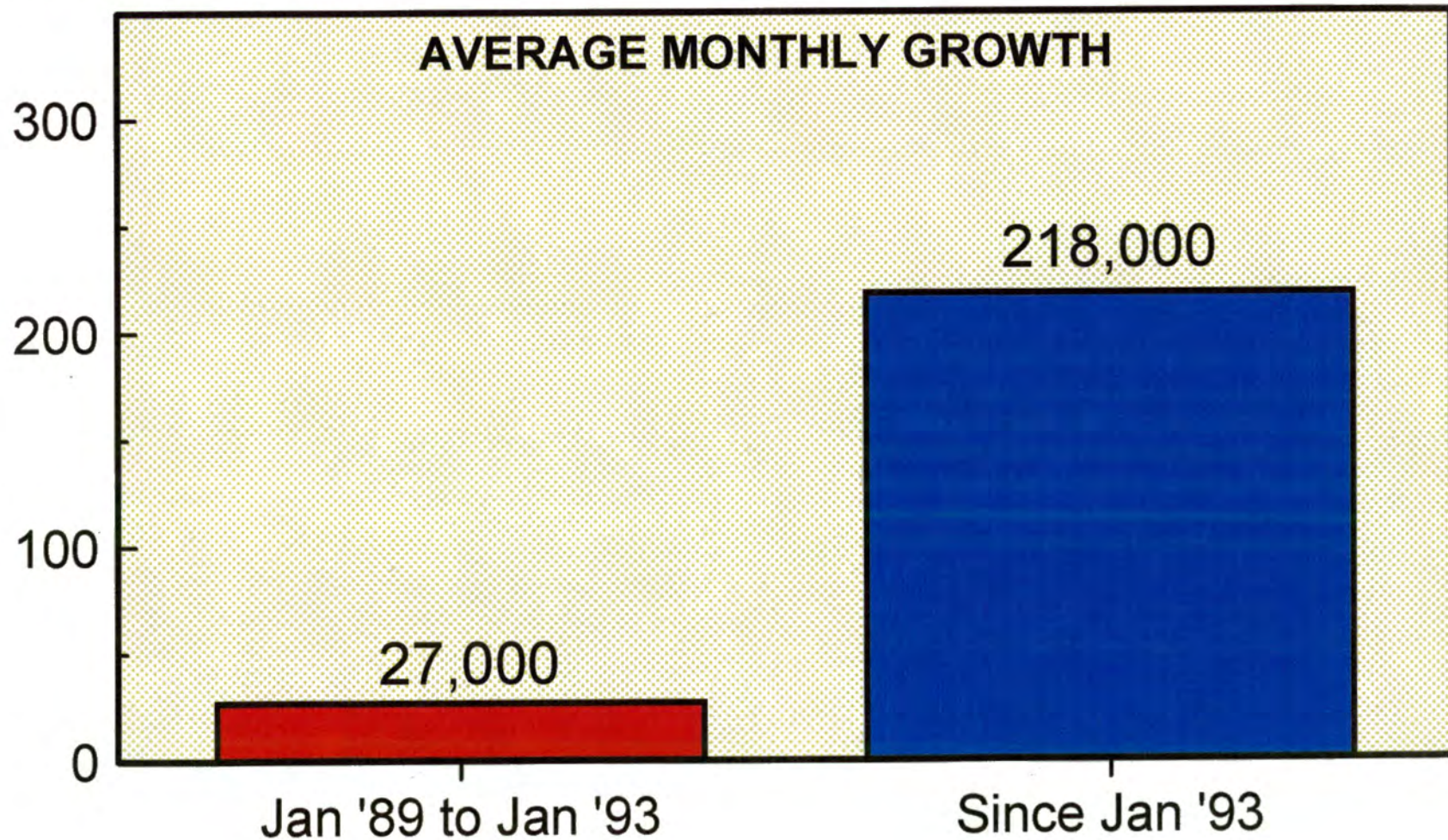
Millions



Note: Figures may not sum to total due to rounding.

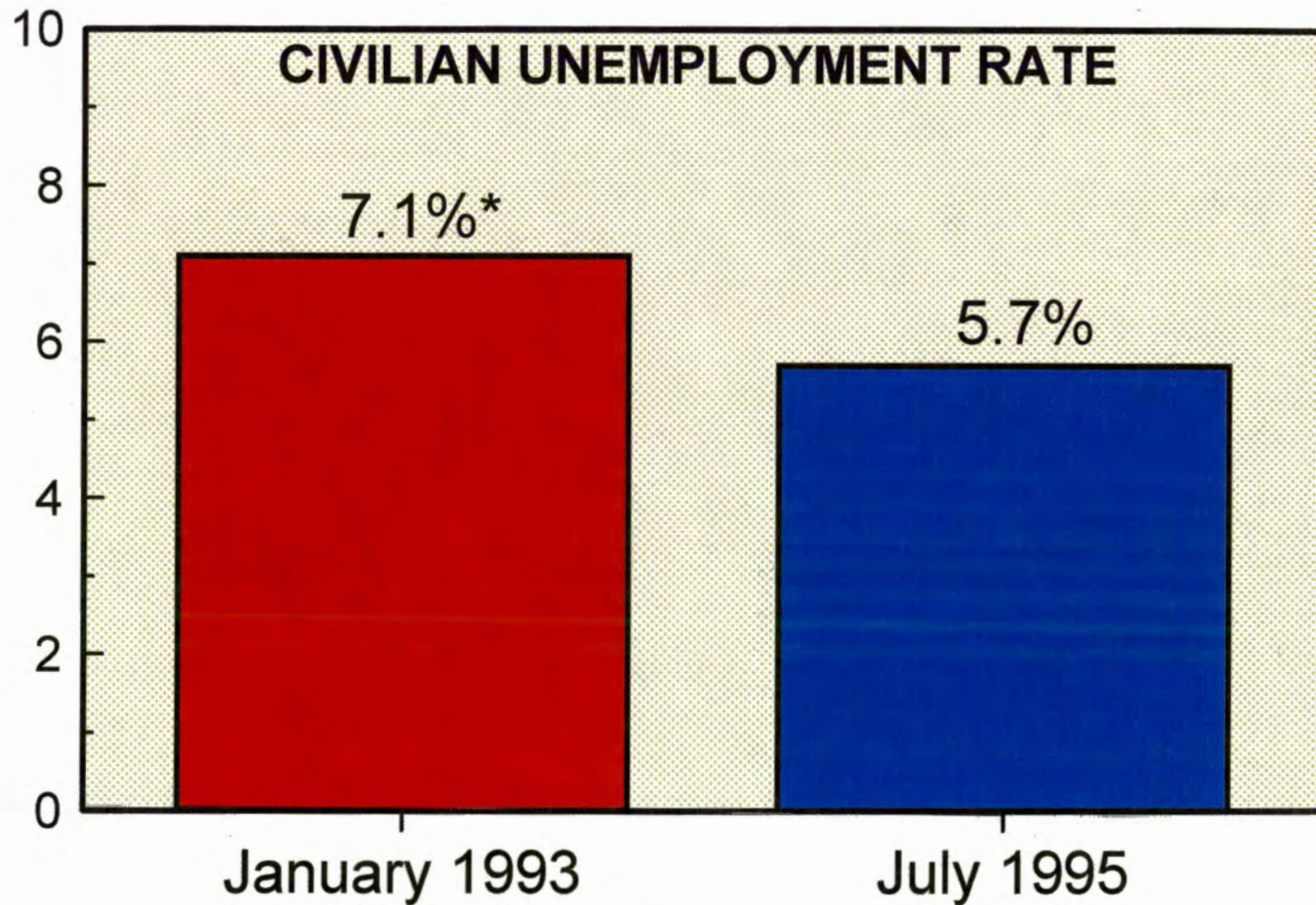
EIGHT TIMES MORE PRIVATE SECTOR JOBS PER MONTH THAN IN THE PREVIOUS FOUR YEARS

Thousands



UNEMPLOYMENT HAS FALLEN

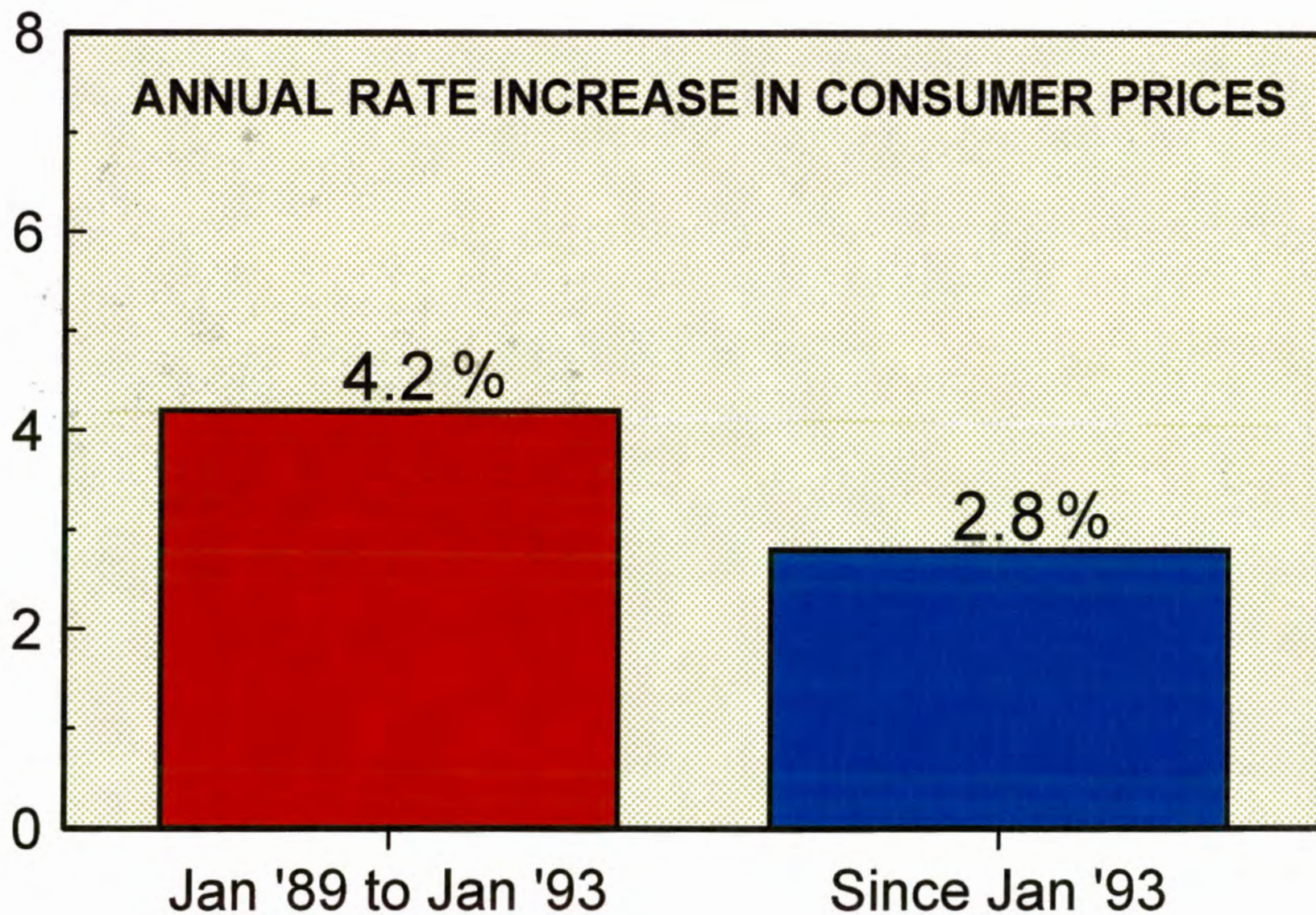
Percent



*Old survey basis. Could be somewhat higher under the new survey.

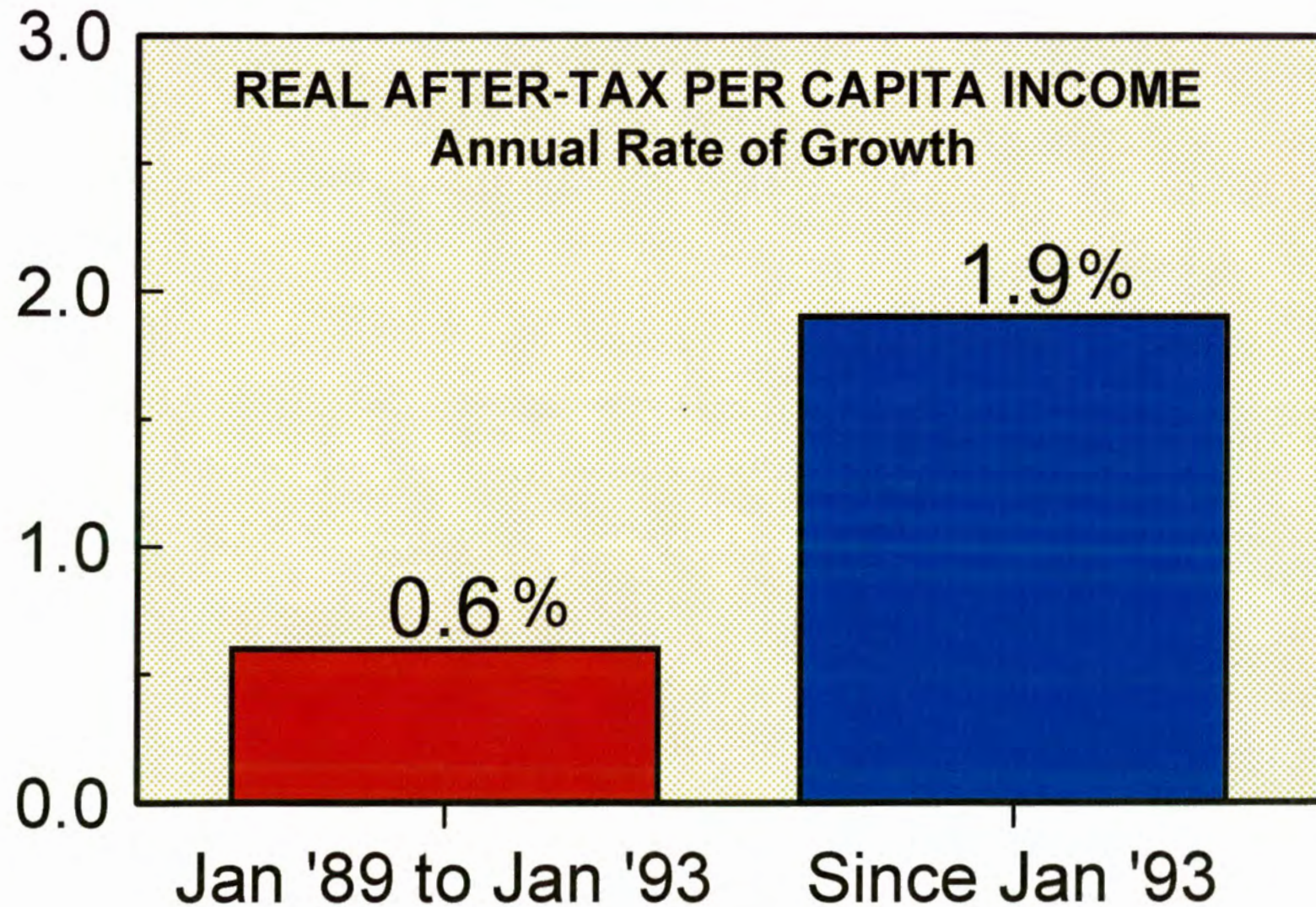
INFLATION HAS FALLEN TO A NEAR 30-YEAR LOW

Percent

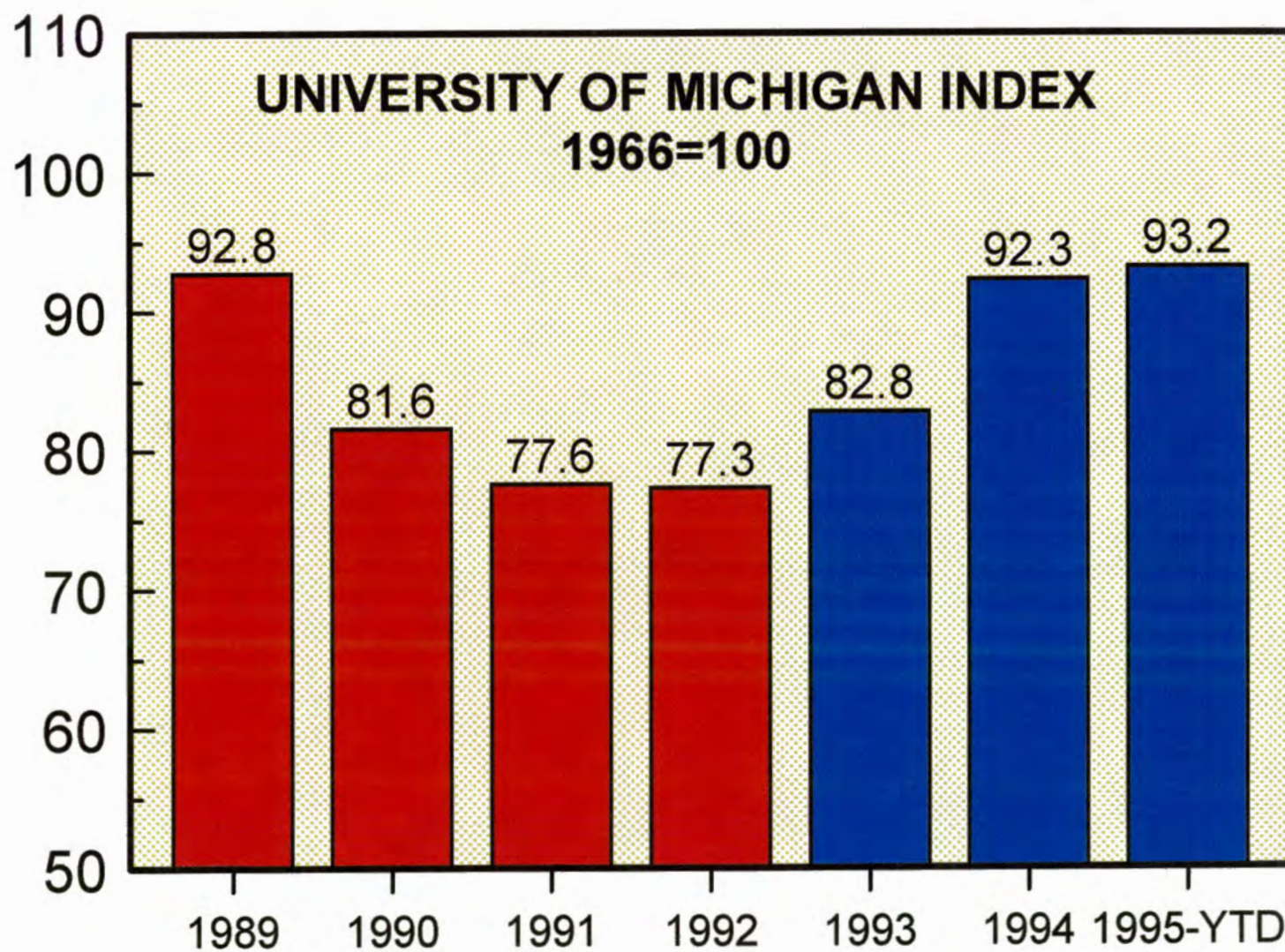


INCOME GROWTH IS THREE TIMES FASTER

Percent

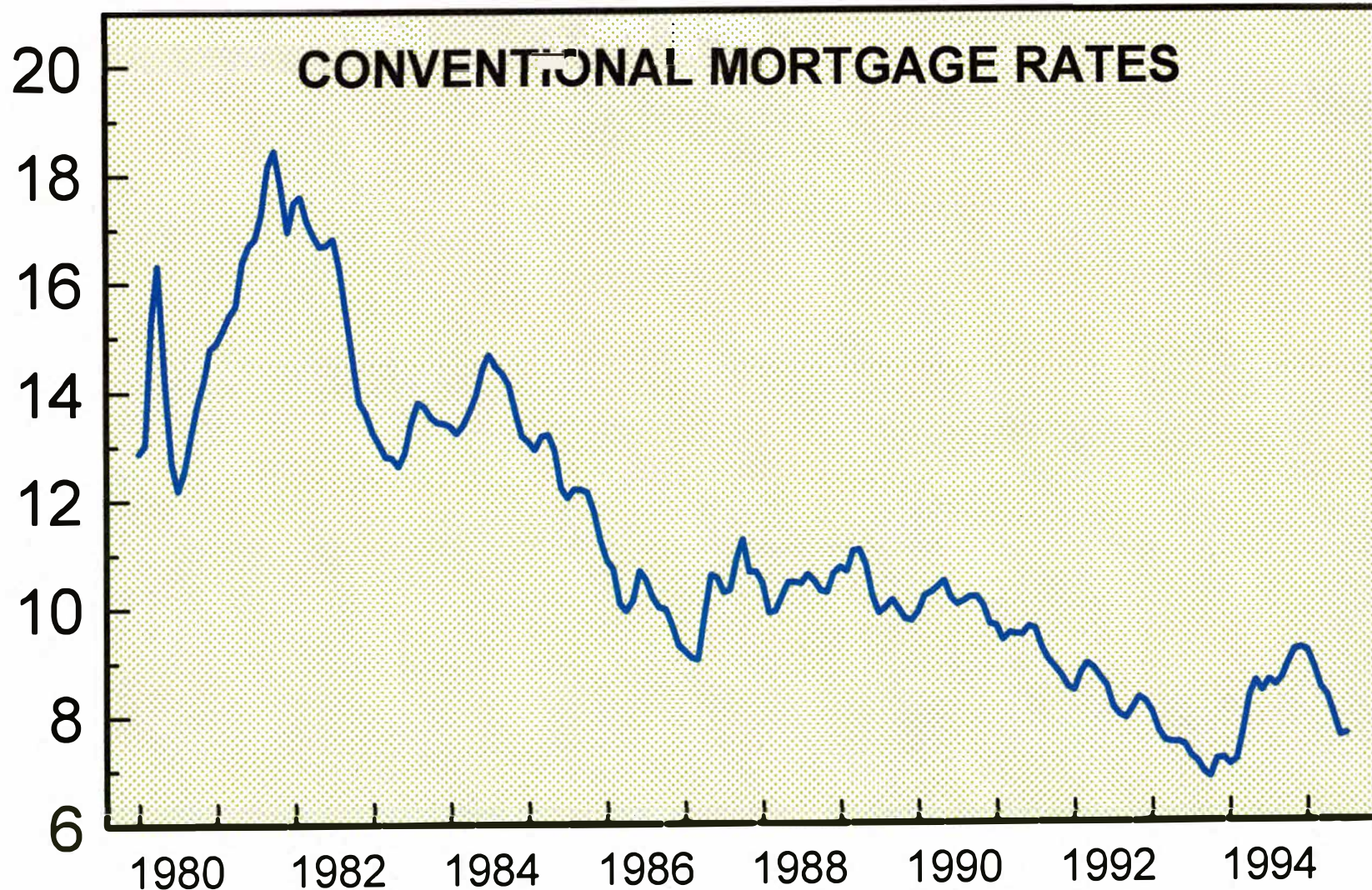


CONSUMER CONFIDENCE HAS REBOUNDED



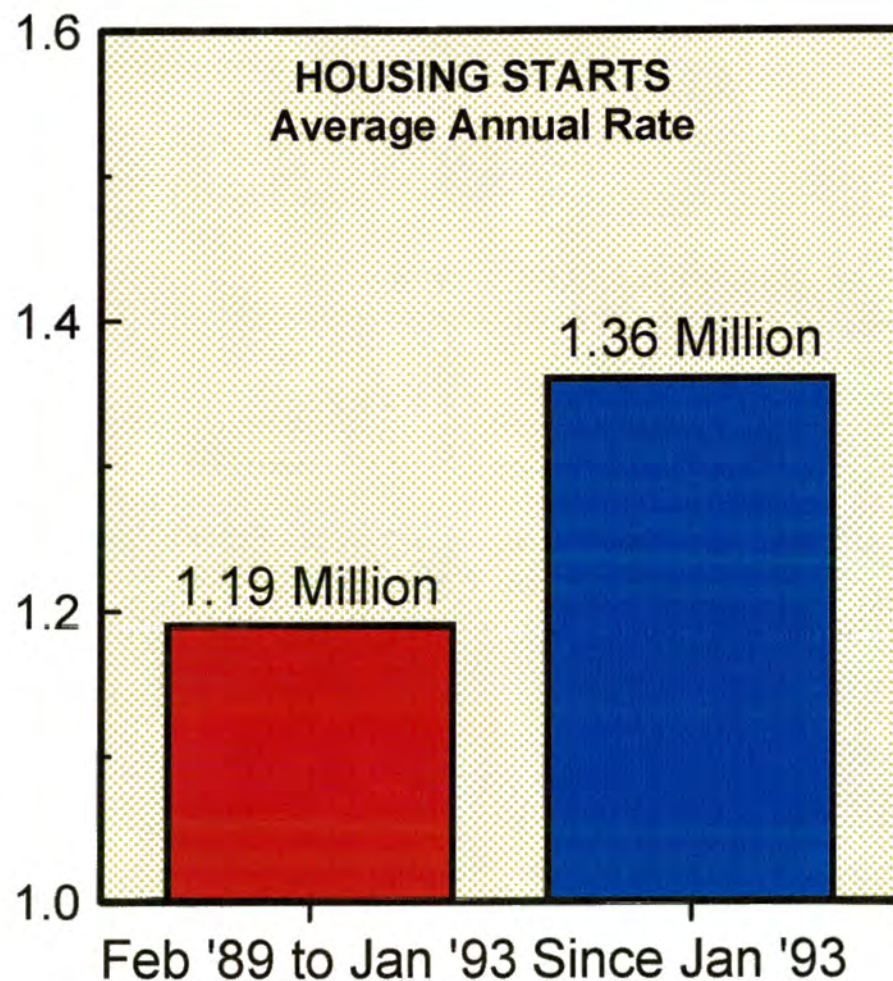
MORTGAGE RATES STILL LOW BY HISTORICAL STANDARDS

Percent

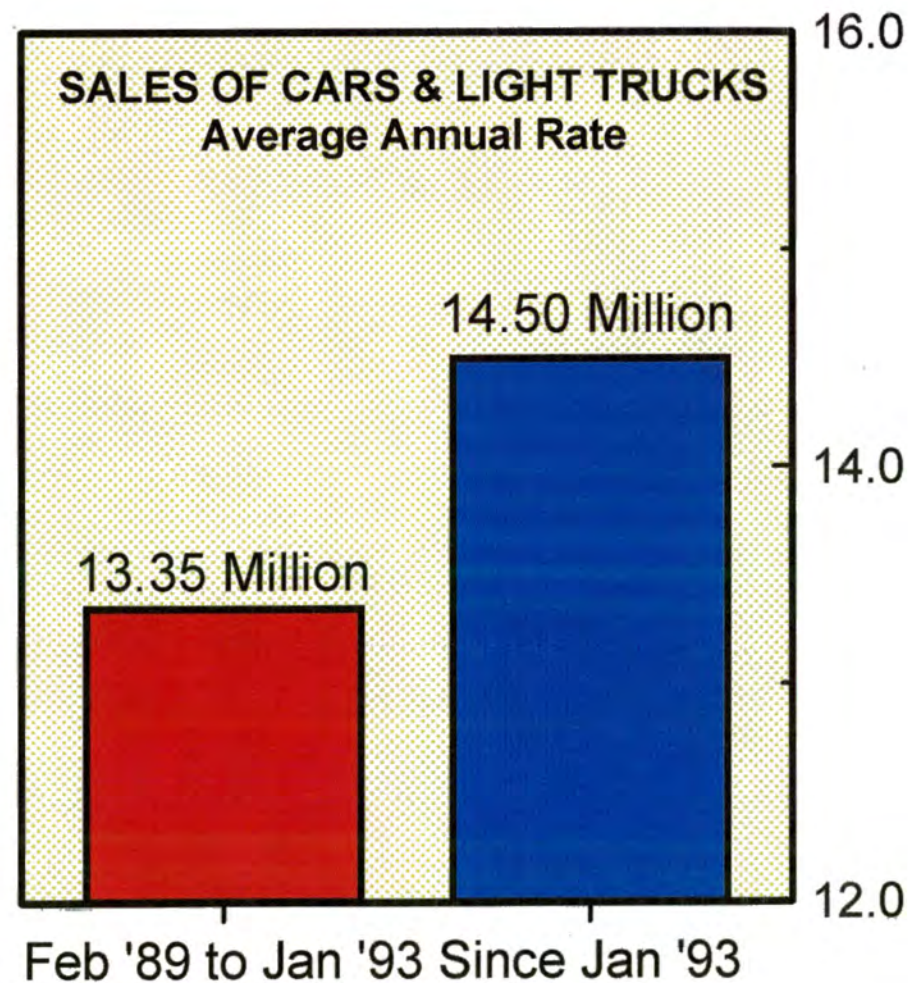


INTEREST-SENSITIVE SECTORS ARE REVITALIZED

Millions of Units

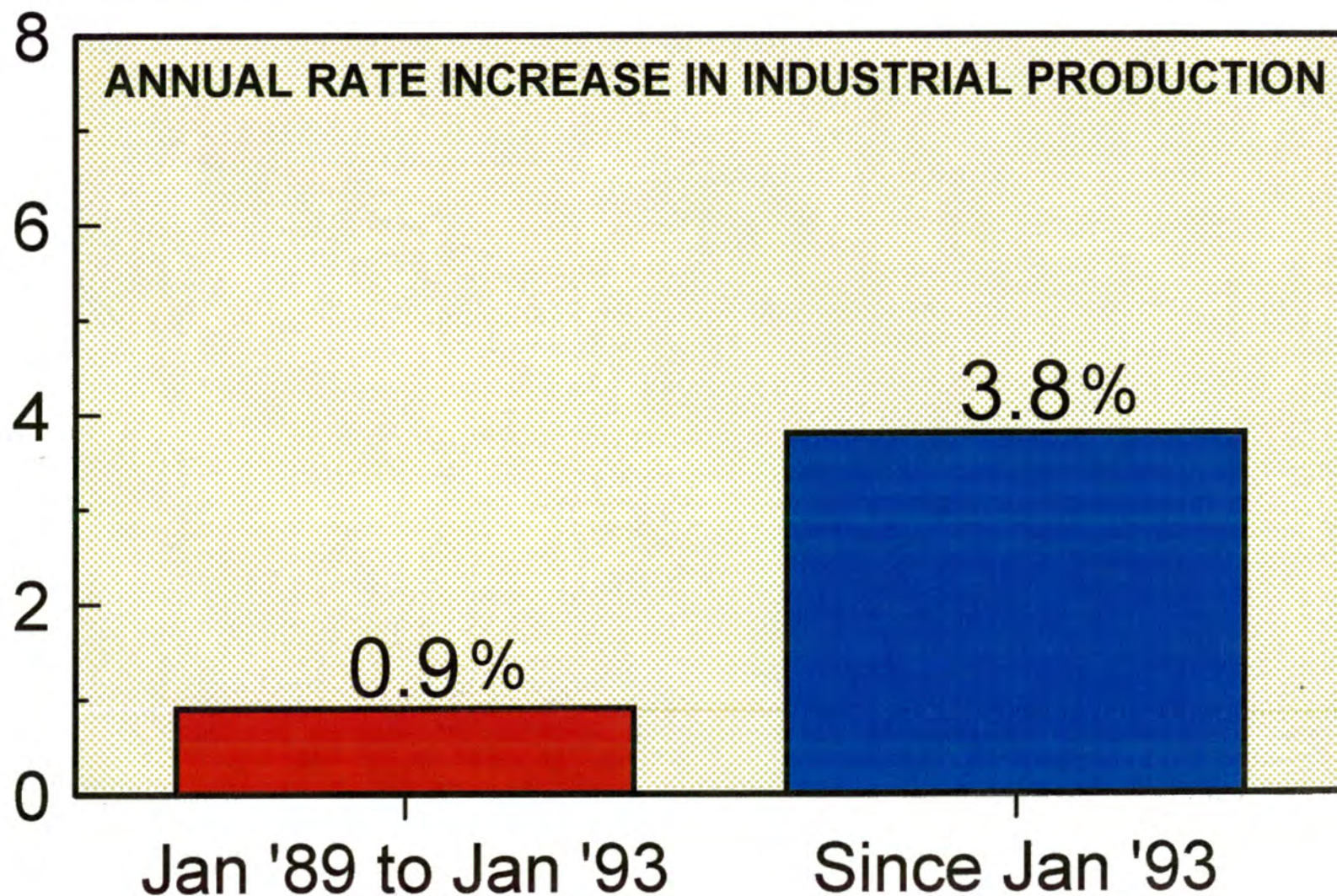


Millions of Units



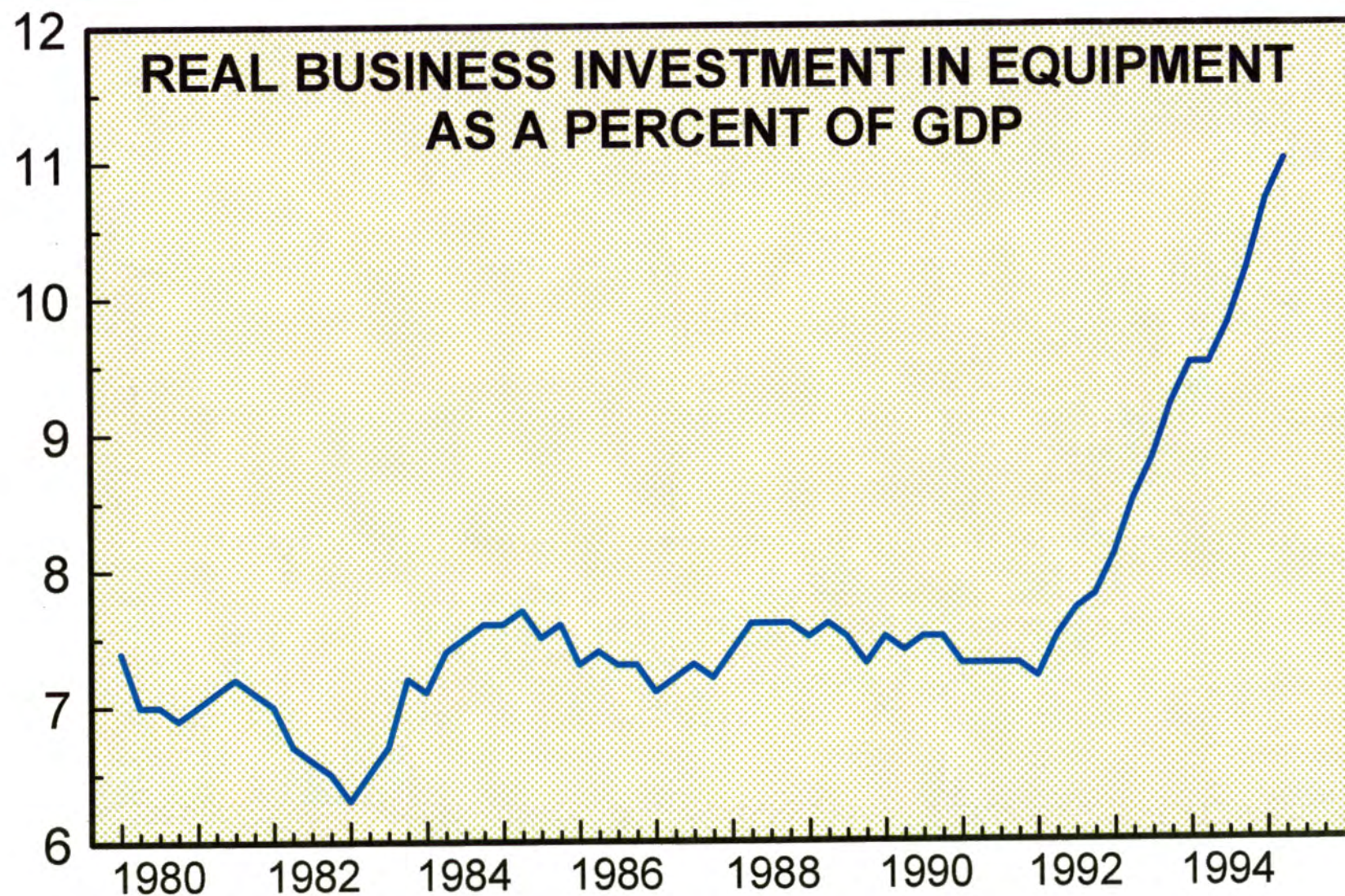
INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IS GROWING AGAIN

Percent



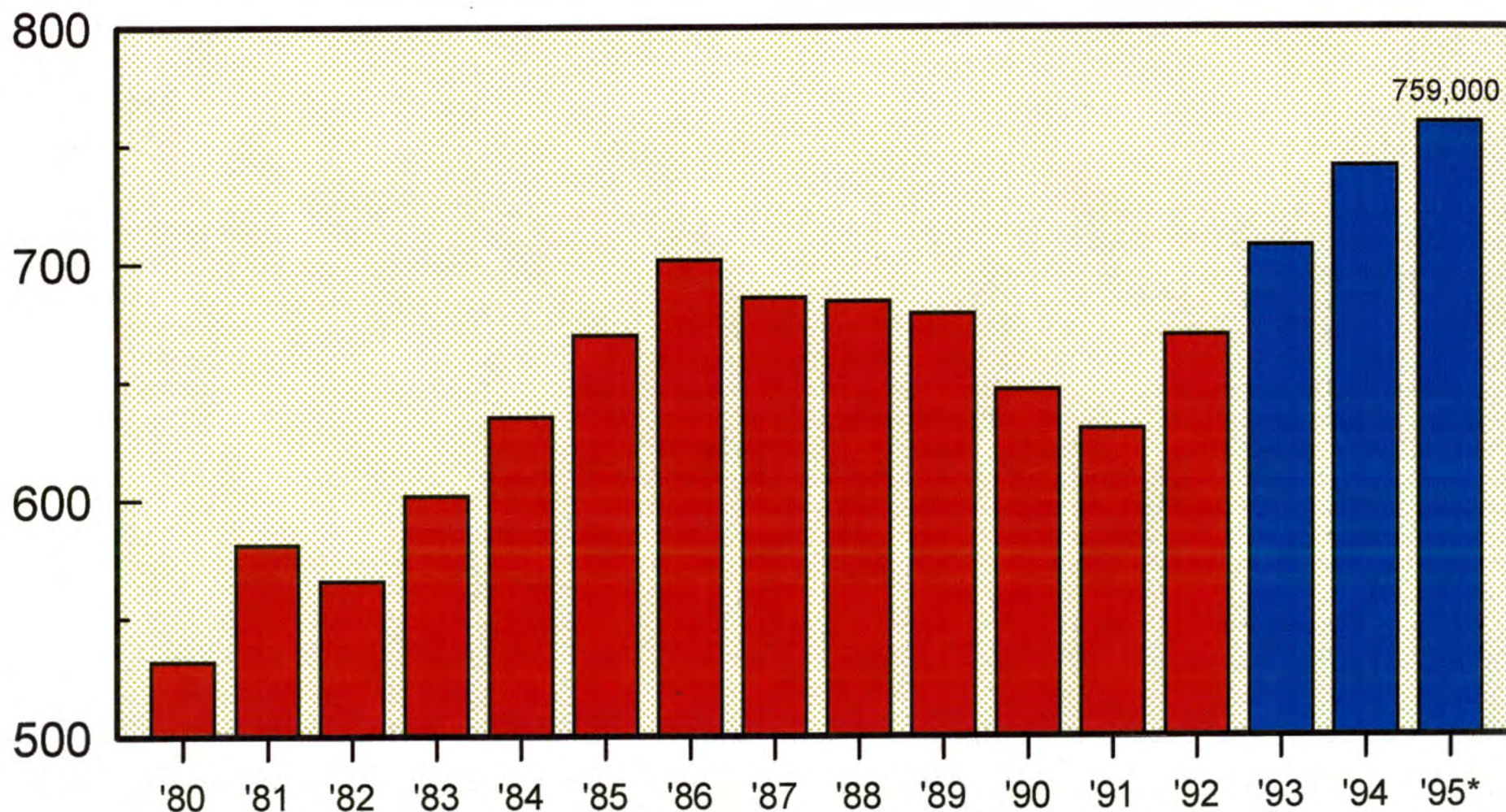
BUSINESS INVESTMENT HAS SURGED

Percent



NEW BUSINESS INCORPORATIONS HAVE REACHED A NEW PEAK

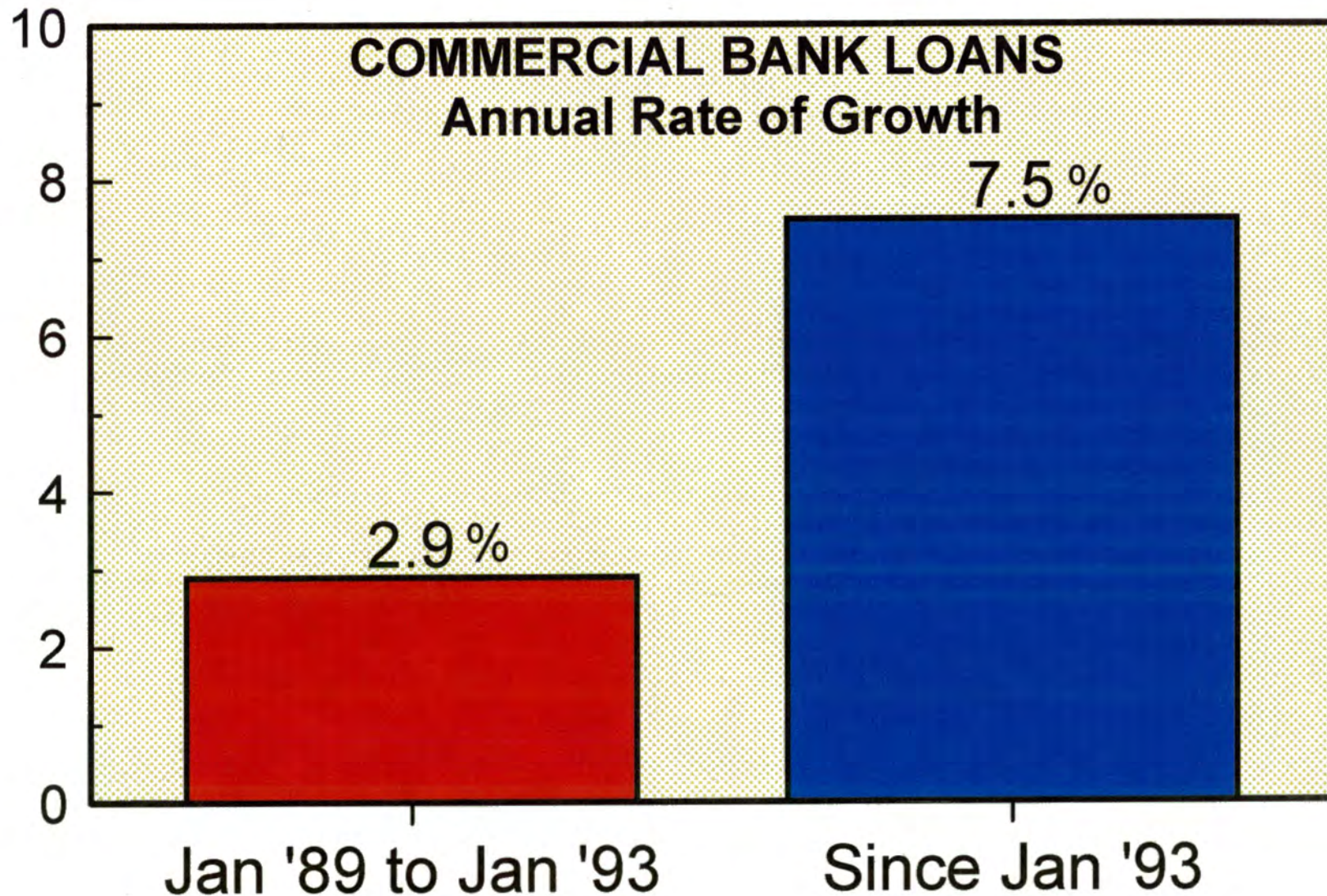
Thousands



*January, annualized

BANK LENDING IS STRENGTHENING

Percent



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CLINTON ADMINISTRATION

A Report for the United We Stand America Convention



*Dallas, Texas
August 1995*

4/28/95

Hchester

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

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Rhetoric: The GOP, The Radical Right-Wing, The Patriot Movement & The Militia Movement

Anti-ATF Rhetoric:

- **Phil Gramm:** On April 19, 1995 -- one hour before the Oklahoma City bombing -- Phil Gramm criticized the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms during a campaign appearance in Council Bluffs, IA. Gramm was asked about the ATF and whether he planned to do anything about it to protect the rights of gun owners. Gramm said, "I want to take away their enforcement authority... I think that when it comes down to actually arresting people in federal law enforcement, that that should be done by the FBI... There have been some very real concerns raised about the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, especially their enforcement authority." [Omaha World Herald, 4/20/95]
- **Newt Gingrich:** According to a March 7, 1995 column in the Arizona Republic, Gingrich met with NRA officials and promised that House Republicans would hold hearings on how federal gun laws are being used, as he put it, "to hassle the innocent while violent criminals go free." Gingrich promised that hearings would explore rogue operations by the ATF and the FBI and would investigate the Waco incident and the Weaver shoot-out in Idaho. "At last," said the NRA's Neal Knox, who attended the meeting with Gingrich, "I think we may have elected folks who will 'dance with the ones that brung 'em.'" [Arizona Republic, 3/7/95]

Gingrich appointed Rep. Steve Stockman (R-TX) to the House Republican task force on firearms legislation.

Pro-Militia Rhetoric:

- **Former AZ Governor Evan Mecham And CO State Senator Charles Duke:**
Impeached Arizona Republican governor Evan Mecham serves on the leadership of the Constitutionists, a Kansas-based extremist group which has received support from Colorado State Senator Charles Duke. Duke spoke at the group's June conference in Indianapolis and promoted the formation of militias as an effective way for citizens to protect themselves from the government. At a Patriots meeting last July, Duke said: "We need some ability to get some firepower to protect the citizens. I would like to see a militia... (the type) that functions as a sheriff's posse and has sufficient training." [Anti-Defamation League report, "Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government"]
- **Republican congressman, two GOP senators, NRA write Attorney General for militias:**
On March 7, Republican senators Larry Craig (ID) and Lauch Faircloth (NC) wrote Attorney General Reno inquiring about reports that federal law enforcement personnel were training at Fort Bliss, TX. On March 22, Republican congressman Steve Stockman (TX) also wrote Reno about an "impending" raid by federal law enforcement against the militias. The NRA wrote to BATF on February 23 about rumors on the Internet about such an attack. [NRA World Wide Web site]

Dole And The "10th Amendment" Or "Patriot" Movement:

About The "Tenth Amendment Movement" Growing In The "Shadows" Of The GOP:

✓ "...The armed militias now getting so much attention, in fact are part of a larger political movement that has been rapidly organizing around this kind of hatred and fear of the federal government. The outer circle of this movement, with the most broad-based support, is the 'Patriot Movement,' also known as the '10th Amendment Movement,' which pushes states' rights and limits on the power of the federal government." [Wall Street Journal, 4/24/95]

✓ "...As the [Conference of the States] proposition comes before the state legislatures for approval, it is catching flak from another movement growing rapidly in the shadows of the farthest corners of the Republican right wing. It's the "Tenth Amendment Movement," an amalgam of small-town populists, gun enthusiasts, old Ross Perot supporters and private militias who share a deep distrust, almost a hatred, of the federal government....The result: Ten states now have rejected or deferred plans to attend the conference, and the issue is being hotly contested in at least 20 others.... [Wall Street Journal, 4/4/95]

✓ "...there also are darker elements to the Tenth Amendment Movement, particularly the private militias forming in some 20 states, ostensibly to protect citizens from outside forces. Some have people from former Ku Klux Klan and Nazi-like hate groups among them...." [Wall Street Journal, 4/4/95]

The Dole Campaign's Heavy Reliance On States' Rights, "10th Amendment" Rhetoric.

"...The old Bob Dole began his presidential campaigns in Russell. The new Bob Dole begins his speeches by pulling out a copy of the 10th Amendment -- the 'states'-rights-power-to-the-people' amendment...The new Bob Dole, like the new Republican Party, wants power to devolve to the Topeka of America and then to bypass government and go straight to the people. 'Reining in government, reining in government,' he says. 'It resonates with people out there...'" [Washington Times, 4/7/95]

During his official announcement speech on April 10th in Topeka, Kansas Dole said:
"...My mandate as president would be to rein in the federal government in order to set free the spirit of the American people....My guide in this would be the final piece of the Bill of Rights - the Tenth Amendment. It reads, 'The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states ... or to the people.' When those words were written by our Founding Fathers more than 200 years ago, they were an affirmation of a radical new theory of politics - a theory based on the need to limit the powers of the central government in order to unleash the unlimited potential of the people. The federal government should do only those things specifically called for in the Constitution. All others should remain with the states of the people. It is a philosophy of freedom conceived in liberty, tested by history, yet too often ignored in Washington. I intend to restore it." [Associated Press, 4/10/95]

Anti-Gun Control Rhetoric:

Bob Dole: In a letter to the NRA March 10, 1995, Dole said: "As long as I am Senate Majority Leader, I will continue to do everything within my power to prevent passage of anti-second amendment legislation in the Senate. Repealing the ill-conceived gun ban passed as part of President Clinton's crime bill last year is one of my legislative priorities....Gun control is a completely ineffective approach to the lack of safety and security in our communities."

Phil Gramm: When Gramm was asked in January 1995 about repealing the assault weapons ban, he said, "We have always believed that gun bans don't work... I think there will be an effort to put the focus on grabbing criminals by the throat instead of denying law-abiding citizens the right to own guns. Will we be successful? The president says we won't... Law-abiding citizens possessing guns in their own homes are not the problem." [NBC'S "Meet The Press," 1/29/95]

In 1990 and 1993, Phil Gramm opposed banning the manufacture, sale, and future possession of up to 19 semiautomatic assault weapons and "copycat" guns. The measure was adopted in 1993 by a vote of 56-43 (R 10-34, D 46-9). [1993 CQ Almanac, Vote #

While addressing a National Press Club luncheon in March 1995, Gramm said, "I do not support gun control. I believe gun control has not worked. And I submit to an impartial world the experience of the District of Columbia, where I'm standing. If gun control worked, this would be the safest spot on the planet. It is the murder capital of the world. Why? Because we have crime without punishment in the District of Columbia." [Federal News Service, 3/21/95]

When Gramm was asked if he owned an assault weapon, he said, "It depends on how you define assault weapons as to whether I own one. I own lots of shotguns. I own rifles. I'm a hunter, a sportsman. And I want everybody in America to be if they want to be. If they don't want to be, if they want to lose an important part of their life, that's okay." [Federal News Service, 3/21/95]

Anti-Government Rhetoric:

Phil Gramm: Gramm says, "I have a philosophy of free enterprise. I believe that government is the problem." [Washington Monthly, 3/94]

Gramm recently said to John Kerrey (D-MA) "...You spent \$5 trillion in 40 years fighting poverty with these make-work summer jobs. We've got more poor people today than we did when you started. When are you people in the Democratic Party going to admit 'Our program failed.'? Government didn't work." [CNN's "Crossfire" 4/9/95]

Gramm says, "If we don't change the policies of our government, if we don't change them dramatically, in 20 years we won't be living in the country we grew up in... I want less government and more freedom." [Kansas City Star, 2/20/95]

Newt Gingrich: Gingrich's GOPAC released a list of "contrasting words" for GOP candidates to use "to define our opponents". Included on the list were the words: "unionized bureaucracy" as well as "pathetic", "sick", "corrupt" and others. [GOPAC word list]

"There are two realities to the current system: one is the government is trying to cheat you. And the second is the government is lying to you about what it is doing." [Mother Jones, 10/89, as quoted in Newtisms: The Wit and Wisdom of Newt Gingrich]

Gingrich: "Government of, by and for the people has become Government of, by, and for Government." [Congressional Record, 5/21/80, as quoted in Newtisms: The Wit and Wisdom of Newt Gingrich]

Pete Wilson: In his announcement forming an exploratory committee, Pete Wilson adopted an anti-government, anti-Washington posture, saying "California will not submit its destiny to faceless federal bureaucrats, or even congressional barons. We declare to Washington that California is a proud and sovereign state, not a colony of the federal government." [AP, 3/23/95, 0:44a]

Lamar Alexander: Former Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander is basing his presidential campaign on the need to dismantle the federal government, a government that he charges "has grown into an arrogant empire that involves itself in every aspect of our lives." Alexander would "like to put some humility in the arrogant federal government in Washington, D.C." and believes the federal government "seems to think that the rest of the

country is too stupid to get up in the morning and decide what to do." [States News Service, 12/7/94; The Commercial Appeal, 3/7/95; Houston Chronicle, 3/5/95]

Newt Gingrich: Recently, Gingrich said that he would like to "kick the IRS out of your wallet and out of your records." [AP, 2/20/95]

Frank Luntz/Republican Conference Pollster: In a January 9 memo to the House Republican conference, Luntz argues for attacking bureaucrats: "Individual programs have friends. Bureaucracies and bureaucrats don't. Therefore, focus the general rhetorical attack on the Washington bureaucracy." [Luntz memo, 1/9/95]

Divisive Rhetoric:

Newt called President Clinton the "enemy of normal Americans." Describing his 1994 election strategy to a group of Washington lobbyists, Gingrich said that President Clinton should be portrayed as the "the enemy of normal Americans." [Washington Post, 10/14/94]

GOPAC advised candidates "speak like Newt," use words like "pathetic, sick, traitors." In 1990, Gingrich's GOPAC gave 6,000 Republican candidates its word lists to teach how to "speak like Newt." The list of words to define Democrats included: "pathetic," "sick," "traitors," "devour," "self-serving," "corrupt," "bizarre," "cheat," "steal" and "criminal rights." [GOPAC training memorandum]

Republican friend called Gingrich a "skillful practitioner of the politics of polarization." Former Republican Rep. -- and current senior fellow at the Progress & Freedom Foundation -- Vin Weber said "Newt is the most skillful practitioner of the politics of polarization I know." [Los Angeles Times Magazine, 8/25/91]

GINGRICH: EXPLOITING TRAGEDY

Gingrich tied murder of children by South Carolina mother to Democrats. On November 5, 1994, just before the election which made him Speaker, Gingrich said: *"I think the mother killing her two children in South Carolina vividly reminds every American how sick the society is getting and how much we have to have change. I think people want to change and the only way you get change is to vote Republican. That's the message for the last three days."* [AP, 11/5/94]

Gingrich used military tragedy resulting in 26 American deaths for political gain. On April 14, 1994, Gingrich called the air accident over Iraq -- which resulted in 26 deaths -- a "warning flag" that President Clinton might be overextending the military by cutting too much: *"What I don't want to have happen is I don't want this administration to go and scapegoat somebody. I don't want the administration or the liberal Democrats to try to find some field grade officer they can pin this on. I think that we are seeing the early symptoms of the decay of under financing and under funding the force."* [CNN, 4/14/94]

An April 19, 1994 Tom Teepen column in Gingrich's hometown Atlanta Journal-Constitution said *"Gingrich's performance in this matter would ordinarily be accounted a cheap shot, but not this time. It took 26 lives to set up. Nothing cheap about that."*

Gingrich tied Woody Allen's relationship with his adopted daughter to Democrats. In August of 1992, Gingrich charged that Democrats had adopted *"the Woody Allen plank"* -- a reference to the filmmaker who admitted to a romantic relationship with the adopted daughter of his ex-lover, Mia Farrow. [UPI, 8/22/92]

Newt called wife of presidential candidate a "drug addict." Gingrich called Kitty Dukakis a *"drug addict."* [Los Angeles Times Magazine, 8/25/91]

G.O.P. Is Tutored on Strategy for Budget Debate

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1 — Programs have friends, but bureaucrats do not, so focus your fire on the bureaucrats.

Hold on to the moral high ground. When Democrats attack your budget cuts as unfair, "we must match our opponents story-for-story — the personal and national immorality of passing along increasing debt to our children and future generations, versus their budget cutting horror stories."

That is some of the advice in a strategy memorandum by Frank Luntz, a top Republican pollster, that was addressed to the Republican Conference and circulated on Capitol Hill this month. A copy of it was made available to The New York Times by a Democratic strategist who insisted on anonymity.

Mr. Luntz refused to discuss the memorandum. John Czwartacki, spokesman for the House Republican Conference, said it was not officially distributed to members of the conference but was rather circulated "in the Bill Kristol mode," with Mr. Luntz "offering advice as he sees fit." Bill Kristol is the conservative theoretician whose memorandums had substantial influence on Republican strategy during last year's health debate.

The Luntz memorandum gives a glimpse of the coming struggle over the budget, trying to analyze how Republicans can counter the expected Democratic critique and win the war for public opinion. "In one sense, this memorandum is about taking back our language and turning the issue of 'fairness' against the Democrats," it says.

"For example, why don't we begin to ask: Is it fair for Medicare recipients to have even greater choice of doctors and facilities than the average taxpayers who are funding the system? Is it fair to give student loans for truck driving schools? Is it fair to penalize middle class families for saving for the future? Is it fair to leave battered children in abusive homes?"

The memorandum, which was dated Jan. 9 but was apparently circulated in various versions, says Americans like the idea of eliminating entire departments but want to be assured that "truly important" programs will survive. It urges lawmakers to "be confident in arguing that private charities would deliver services better to those in need." And it says that as the budget struggle goes on, and Americans realize that "deficit reduction involves sacrifice," they may be most amenable to broad spending cuts, where the pain seems to be "spread around," rather than aiming at specific pro-

grams.

As a result, it suggests that lawmakers not rule out across-the-board spending cuts.

A repeated theme is that Republicans must present their budget-balancing in a moral context. "The moral force for balancing the budget must be stronger than the pseudo moralists who will decry specific budget cuts," it says. "Our enemies are already gathering their stones. The New York Times has taken the lead, running two full pages of pictures of homeless people sifting through Dumpsters for food. NBC's Tim Russert is a close second, decrying the humanity of the Republican cuts even before knowing what they are."

Another theme is the importance of language. "Every budget statement by every Republican official should include the words, 'cutting the Washington bureaucracy,'" it says. It also says that "almost any word is better than orphanage," noting that there is strong support for taking abused children from teenage mothers on welfare and putting them in orphanages — but even stronger support when the words "foster homes" are used.

Mr. Luntz, when asked about the memorandum today, said, "It was an advisory memo from me to them, and that's all I want to say about it."

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House Republicans Get Talking Points

GOP Pollster's Memo Offers Advice on How to Win With Words

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

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The chief pollster for House Republicans has given them some advice on how to talk to America: Say you are cutting "bureaucrats," who have no friends, not "programs," which have lots. Repeat whenever you can that "it's time to put the government on a diet," and never say "orphanage."

The advice, based on polling and extensive sessions with focus groups, is contained in an 11-page memo to House Republicans from Frank Luntz, the pollster who tested the public to help construct the GOP "Contract With America."

Luntz's memo was distributed in mid-January, sources said. It is a study in high-tone rhetoric on how the future of the country rests with Republicans who control the House and Senate and low-tone advice on how to talk about GOP policy initiatives to make them more popular with voters.

On the diet rhetoric, Luntz says the phrase "putting the government on a diet" tends to "resonate extremely well" in the focus groups he conducted. "With the average American likely to have gained four pounds between Thanksgiving and New Year's Day, the diet analogy plays well" through February, he concludes.

Many of Luntz's ideas have echoed through the rhetoric of Republicans, including House Speaker Newt Gingrich (Ga.), since the GOP took over the House—although Gingrich has been using the diet line for years.

Luntz thought some of Gingrich's other lines needed work, though. After Gingrich set off a controversy when he suggested that some children whose mothers couldn't care for them could be better off in orphanages, Luntz advised: Good idea. Bad word. He tested on his focus groups the statement that welfare children who have been abused would be better off in an orphanage, and by a ratio of 3 to 1, respondents agreed. But when he substituted the phrase

"foster home" for orphanage, the ratio of approval went to 5 to 1.

Luntz's conclusion: Words matter. He suggests that the word "work" resonates across the country and any Republican plan that centers on forcing able-bodied welfare recipients to work is a winner. He also says Republicans should leave to the "social scientists" and moral philosophers the public debate over welfare reform outcomes and keep for themselves one theme. "Talk about denying cash benefits to people who have more kids while on welfare; that strikes a chord with the public," he concludes.

Additional advice includes utilizing the theme that private charities can better care for needy Americans than government programs. "Play up the role of charities at every hearing," Luntz recommends.

Luntz's arguments on how to frame the public debate over budget and other policies are not unique. President Clinton and others before him have used pollsters to test-market much of what they plan to say, with the president who is considered the most sincere communicator, Ronald Reagan, also being—after Clinton—the most extensive utilizer of pollsters-as-advisers.

Staff researcher Barbara J. Saffir contributed to this report.

WP 2-2-95

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THE LUNTZ RESEARCH COMPANIES

Luntz Research & Strategic Services ■ The Public Opinion Company ■ Luntz Corporate ■ Luntz Worldwide

Memorandum

To: The Republican Conference
From: Frank Luntz
Re: Communication Strategy for the Upcoming Budget Battle
Date: January 9, 1995

INTRODUCTION

"The most important reason to eliminate the federal deficit and balance the budget? For the future of American generations, for the children."

— Budget Survey Respondent

"The government is incredibly inefficient. It's like a bad charity that gives more to administration than to the people it's supposed to benefit."

— Focus Group Participant

"You give me a sign that you can spend money responsibly, and I'll give you every penny of my taxes without even flinching."

— Focus Group Participant

Debt. Welfare. Bureaucracy. Taxes. Spending. In your hands over the next six months is nothing less than the chance to transform America's perceptions of the GOP and Congress and, more importantly, to rebuild the nation's expectations for the 21st century. *Carpe Diem.*

Since the election, we've conducted two national surveys and two focus groups to discuss budget and spending issues with *real* Americans. If a single conclusion can be drawn, it is this: if we communicate our VISION AND POLICIES effectively, we will survive and prosper as a party and as a political movement. But if we forget the future and surrender our language to the Democrats (as we did in 1982 and 1986) our reign will be short indeed.

There are no clear cut solutions to the budget situation lurking in America's public opinion landscape. The public has very limited information, their priorities are often in conflict, and nearly all government programs continue to have *some* constituencies. That said, I'm more convinced than ever that your policies are America's policies. Why? Because the themes of shrinking government, cutting the deficit, rolling back regulation, reforming welfare, and lowering taxes all resonate with broad majorities. To the extent your ideas are understood, they are supported.

Unfortunately, this alone won't win the battle for you.

The challenge now is to explain your objectives -- clearly and convincingly -- to the broadest possible cross section of America; to galvanize massive public support for the changes you will be making over the days ahead. This means a *communication strategy* -- an effort to select the words, phrases, and examples that will actually paint a picture of the future you envision.

Your challenge is to create "The New America," the post-welfare state vision as powerful to Americans as the New Deal was 60 years ago. This is a lofty goal, of course. And it will take tremendous precision and repetition to achieve. But only then -- when you've described an *irresistible* future to the American public -- will the nation support you and your agenda unconditionally.

Important strides have been made over the last two months. America is beginning to buy into your vision of the future. This memorandum is aimed at helping you do more -- avoiding pitfalls and seizing opportunities during the budget fight ahead.

THE PERCEPTUAL ENVIRONMENT

Before moving into recommendations, it is important for you to understand the perceptual environment you face:

- 1) The crisis mentality that surrounded the deficit issue in late 1992 and early 1993 has somewhat dissipated.

It remains an important issue to most Americans, but the all-encompassing fear that a majority of voters expressed to pollsters two years ago exists among only one-in-five Americans today. Just 19% of Americans consider the budget deficit to be "a crisis," down considerably from 34% in October 1992 and 38% in February 1993.

Why the change? In part, simply because Americans have "survived" the torrent of red ink generated in recent years. As one focus group participant explained, "A

crisis means that a problem should have been solved yesterday. The deficit can be tackled today."

Yet, the public still wants a balanced budget, and 80% support a Balanced Budget Amendment. The public expects you to balance the books NOW, and they are tired of hearing about it. As another focus group participant concluded, *"I'd like to see a balanced budget amendment tomorrow, so that next week this mess won't be in our hair anymore."*

2. By an overwhelming 20 point margin, voters believe Republicans are more likely to balance the budget than the Democrats -- but you need to understand the whole picture.

You are already seen as "conservative" and "anti-government" -- two important strengths in the budget arena. The Democrats are tagged as "big government liberals," a fatal weakness. But a number of Americans (even those who voted GOP for the first time this year) believe Republicans are "mean" and "uncaring." As one woman not-so-delicately put it, *"The Republicans don't give a damn about the average person."* She was not alone. A male colleague added, *"The Republicans might care about our money, but they definitely don't care about us."* Thus, to an important segment of the population, you are more likely to achieve the right objective (a balanced budget) but for the wrong reasons.

3. Most people believe Congress has the facts to balance the budget.

Again and again, focus group participants complain that they don't have anywhere close to the information on the budget that you do. Survey respondents always *overestimate* their knowledge on nearly any subject, and only 22% believe they know either "a lot" or "a good amount" about the budget process. On the other hand, the public envisions Members of Congress with all the data at your fingertips. And they are therefore expecting you to have the answers. Keep this in mind before you hit the road.

4. Remember that many Americans perceive the key challenges ahead in moral terms rather than economic terms -- a reality the Democrats still don't fully understand.

In last week's poll, we asked, *"Thinking about all the problems facing this country today, which should Congress focus on first?"* A majority (56%) said "our nation's economic problems," but a significant 41% said "our nation's moral problems" -- and the focus on moral concerns was strongest among

middle class Americans. The lesson here: talk about the challenges of irresponsible debt, runaway spending, destructive welfare, and an anti-saving tax code in *moral* – as well as economic – terms. America believes Washington isn't just irresponsible, but that it is also fostering all the wrong values in our society.

STRATEGY

*"If we all ran our personal finances like the government,
we'd all be bankrupt."*

-- Focus Group Participant

The following are some of the more important lessons learned from the two focus group discussions and the budget-related polling. First, in terms of general strategy:

- 1) The moral force for balancing the budget must be stronger than the pseudo-moralists who will decry the specific budget cuts. Our enemies are already gathering their stones. The *New York Times* has taken the lead, running two full pages of pictures of homeless people sifting through dumpsters for food. NBC's Tim Russert is a close second, decrying the inhumanity of the Republican cuts even before knowing what they are.

This is nothing new: Reagan faced a similar outcry in 1981-82. This time, we need to fight back, and we need to frame the debate in terms of a "moral commitment to our children and their children." We must match our opponents story-for-story – the personal and national immorality of passing along increasing debt to our children and future generations versus their budget cutting horror stories. Otherwise, we could win the budget battle but lose the rhetorical war.

- 2) Individual programs have friends. Bureaucracies and bureaucrats don't. Therefore, focus the general rhetorical attack on the "Washington bureaucracy." The focus group participants repeatedly complained about the billions that are mismanaged and wasted by the federal government for needless layers of administration and personnel. "There's just too many folks running the show," said one. "Why can't we fire the bureaucrats?" asked several others. Indeed, on last week's national survey we asked Americans what percentage of the federal bureaucrats should be fired. The answer: 30%.

The greatest anger is directed at bureaucrats and waste rather than the specific programs themselves. Every budget statement by every Republican official should include the words "cutting the Washington bureaucracy."

- 3) Focus on cutting entire departments rather than cutting specific programs. Al Gore went against public opinion when he said, "We were convinced that the reinvention and reform option was preferable [to eliminating agencies]." Americans want elimination rather than reinvention, reduction rather than reform.

For example, both focus groups (even though they included six individuals employed in education) accepted the elimination of the Department of Education, but student loans were a completely different matter. *"It's just a question of whether you want money going to programs, or money going to people,"* said one teacher. The NEA, NEH and CPB will be even less difficult, as long as museums aren't forced to close. The communications lesson: be ready with assurances that any "truly important" program will be maintained even while entire departments are being eliminated.

- 4) Don't publicly rule out an across-the-board cut. Right now, the public believes overwhelmingly that the budget can be balanced just by cutting out the waste, fraud and abuse -- and they expect you to find and eliminate it. But that will change as the debate moves forward and as Americans come to realize that deficit reduction involves sacrifice.

After several months of debate, broad spending cuts may sound more fair because the pain is spread around and is less tangible than when a single program is targeted. After an hour of trying in vain to agree on budget cuts, an exasperated Baltimore woman exclaimed, *"We'll be here all day! There's just no other way -- a 10% cut is the easiest, most equitable solution."* The broader your package of cuts, and the more shared the sacrifice, the easier it will be to sell.

- 5) Nothing tells America more about your priorities than the sequence of your actions. The media is watching closely to see what comes first. That's why "banking" the budget savings before cutting the taxes is so important. It's aligned with the national mood, which would choose "ensuring no debt for their children" (72%) over "getting a tax cut this year" (24%). Similarly, it would be a serious communications mistake to implement a capital gains tax cut ("for the rich") now while only phasing the "middle class tax cuts" over multiple years. Regardless of the economics, this will look like you're putting the "wrong people" first.

COMMUNICATION

The objective of the two national polls and focus groups was to learn how to communicate Republican budget and tax policies to the American people. In one sense, this memorandum is about taking back our language and turning the issue of "fairness" against the Democrats. For example, why don't we begin to ask:

- Is it "fair" for Medicare recipients to have even greater choice of doctors and facilities than the average taxpayers who are funding the system?
- Is it "fair" to give student loans for truck driving schools?
- Is it "fair" to penalize middle class families for saving for the future?
- Is it "fair" to leave battered children in abusive homes?

That is why we are currently in search of the right words and phrases that will help explain what you want to do and why. These are our findings to date:

- 1) No single event will convince America you are real "budget cutters." It is going to take a steady drumbeat of progress. High-profile successes such as curbing staff, selling buildings, and eliminating Departments are critical, but it will take a hundred "victories" over an extended period of time to cement the voters' trust. A key challenge 1995: every time you save money for the taxpayers, let them know. And then tell them again. And again. And again. Without continuous repetition, Americans won't hear you.
- 2) Stop with this "devolution" rhetoric. It's "Sending Washington Home." Nobody in America knows what "devolution" means (except for those who think it has religious connotations). "Sending Washington home" is absolutely the best way to explain the transfer of power from the federal to state and local governments. In the words of one focus group participant, *"We've got to turn a lot back to the states and let them run the show."*
- 3) Political communication works only when it is played in context. Put the budget debate in terms of "The American Dream" and "our children's future." When asked to comment on the relationship between a balanced budget and the future of America's children, both groups unanimously agreed that they would feel extremely optimistic about their children's future if the budget deficit were erased. The public does not want to pay higher taxes or see their services cut, but the vast majority are prepared to make sacrifices "so that their children

can achieve the American Dream." If we talk about *pain*, we lose. If our words invoke a *better future*, we win.

4) Pursuing "Responsive Chord" Communications. We need to ask America to answer some pretty basic questions every single day:

- Do you get your money's worth from Washington?
- Does Washington spend your tax dollars wisely or foolishly?
- If you have to balance your check book every month, shouldn't the government have to balance its books every year?
- Who delivers charitable services more efficiently, the Salvation Army or the Federal Government?
- Who builds higher quality and less expensive housing for the poor, Habitat for Humanity or HUD?
- Who cares more about your children's future, a bureaucrat at the Department of Education or you?
- Do you think America is an over-regulated or an under-regulated society?
- Do you think the same welfare programs work in the South Bronx and in South Dakota?

5) "It's time to put the government on a diet." This phrase resonates extremely well. With the average American likely to have gained four pounds between Thanksgiving and New Years Day, the diet analogy plays well this month and next. As our focus group respondents offered:

"A fast comes to my mind. So many people are managing other people that they can't manage the thing they want to manage."

"The fed could afford to be anorexic for a little while."

"Cut the waste. Cut the fat. I don't know what or where, but it's there."

6) Eliminate entire departments, but soften opposition with assurances that "truly important" programs will survive. Of the nine departments and agencies we asked Americans about eliminating, only one encountered stiff opposition: Education. But even here, an assurance that the government would continue "to fund student loans and special education" reduced the number of Americans "strongly opposed" to cutting the Department by 10%.

The upcoming public hearings will play a major role in how Americans view Republican efforts to balance the budget. The fact that we are prepared to go to the people and make them part of this process is a critical first step in building faith and confidence in our leadership. We cannot allow these public forums to fail, whether in Washington or in America's heartland.

- 1) Even when you are listening to the people, have your own plan. Americans want to have input into the budget process, but they expect Members of Congress to come up with the actual solutions. You can't go on the road in January and February and solely take input. It won't be credible. Worse, you may end up looking like typical politicians dodging tough choices. Indeed, we're already seeing this line of attack from the Democrats in connection with the balanced budget amendment.

You should first commit to a preliminary -- even vague -- outline for budget cuts, and only then go out and listen to the people. Such preparedness will prevent you from being labeled, as one man bluntly stated, "gutless and spineless."

- 2) Either put the budget in context or be prepared for continuous whining. The only way to quiet the complainers is by putting the budget challenge in perspective from the start. Then talk about the \$4.5 trillion debt, and explain what it will mean for our future if we fail. Otherwise, someone in the audience will defend just about every program. "When it's billions of dollars, it's them," said one woman, "When it's thousands or hundreds, it's me."

- 3) Educate America and you empower yourselves. The more knowledgeable the public, the easier your job will be. Again, Americans know almost nothing about the budget, and what they think they know is often wrong.

Therefore, your road show audience needs information at their fingertips. A 20-page document complete with data, explanations, pie and bar charts, and budget options will improve the quality of participation and the usefulness of the hearings.

- 4) Be confident in arguing that private charities would deliver services better to those in need. A significant majority of Americans believe the Salvation Army and Habitat for Humanity can deliver more efficient and better quality services to

needy Americans than Washington ever could. "At least I'd know that the money'd get there," said several respondents. Play up the role for charities at every hearing.

- 5) Practice before you hit the road. How are you going to insure that you are, in the words of one focus group participant, "listening to America, not just the squeaky wheels?" If I were a Democratic strategist, I'd go out of my way to disrupt the hearings by organizing (secretly) poor, homeless and AIDS advocates to stand up and decri Republican ruthlessness and cruelty. If this happens, or if the hearings receive negative publicity, you may not get another chance.

WELFARE REFORM

While our focus groups and polling did not focus at length on welfare reform, we do have enough data to draw several conclusions:

- 1) Words matter — and almost any word is better than "orphanage." America clearly subscribes to Newt Gingrich's position on welfare reform. We asked, "In general, is it better for children of a teenage mother on welfare -- who have been victims of abuse -- to remain with the mother, or is it better for those children to be sent to an orphanage?" By nearly 3 to 1, respondents chose orphanages. This may seem like a successful way to communicate our position. However, with a better choice of words, the true magnitude of support for moving children to a new home is revealed. When substituting "foster home" for "orphanage" in this question, the approval ratio increases to an overwhelming 5 to 1.

In baseball terms, using "foster homes" rather than orphanages is a home run. We have the right policies. Let's choose the right words. We shouldn't be satisfied with perceptual "doubles" when we should be hitting the ball out of the park.

- 2) Nothing resonates like "work." That is by far the Number One reason why Americans demand changes in the welfare system. "Requiring able-bodied recipients to work" is at the core of American hostility toward welfare as we now know it. Everything else is secondary.
- 3) America would rather "send welfare home" than reform it in Washington. The public distrusts Washington to solve almost any problem, let alone a challenge as difficult as welfare. By a 65% to 26% margin, they want welfare sent back to the states to be reformed on a more local level. This is not surprising: the

vast majority of Americans believe their values are different from those who represent them in Washington.

- 4) Americans recognize common sense when they see it. Let the social scientists compare regressions and try to figure out whether cutting off welfare will stop young girls from having babies. And let the moral philosophers debate whether unwed mothers should not be allowed to receive welfare benefits. Despite their dissatisfaction with current welfare, Americans aren't yet ready to make either of these changes. For now, talk about denying cash benefits to people who have more kids while on welfare — that strikes a chord with the public.

A FINAL THOUGHT

"The one thing that Americans do is pull together in times of crisis. That's what we will do for our kids — what our parents did for us. We will sacrifice for our kids and grandchildren. That's what this country is all about."

— Focus Group Participant

The public has little patience or sympathy for the situation you are now in. They know the federal budget is a complex problem, but they don't care. They expect YOU to make the tough choices, regardless of the political consequences. They want a "fair" solution, and they want it NOW.

There are two schools of thought to the budget process: specific cuts and across-the-board reductions. Don't forget that when you "zero out" a program, you destroy much of the organized special interest group pressure that inevitably results in increased spending. However, if the policy makes sense, a combination of the two approaches should be considered. After completing the line-item targeting process, put whatever remains on a 3% diet (In a pleading voice, ask: *"Can't we save just three cents out of every dollar Washington spends?"*) After two hours of discussion, it is easier to sell a focus group on \$100 billion in across-the-board cuts than eliminating a specific \$2 billion program.

As you enter this process, remember that America's opinion of the Republican Party has never been more favorable. Despite the national media's attempts to inflame controversy and shift the debate to book deals and orphanages, nearly half of Americans say their opinion of the "Republicans in Congress" has improved since the election; only 25% say it has worsened. These figures are almost exactly reversed for the Democrats. As you read this, the Republicans are the party of "change," "leadership" and "the future."

This unprecedented strength, however, doesn't mean there is no room for improvement. A plurality of Americans still think neither party *"Is listening to them"* (40%), and that neither party *"Will clean up the mess in Washington"* (41%). A majority also believes that neither party *"Keeps their promises"* (58%). And still less than half of America have heard or read anything about *The Contract*.

You are America's best hope for the future. Actually, you are the only hope. Don't let us down.

GOPAC

LANGUAGE:

A KEY MECHANISM OF CONTROL

As you know, one of the key points in the **GOPAC** tapes is that "language matters." In the video "We are a Majority," Language is listed as a key mechanism of control used by a majority party, along with Agenda, Rules, Attitude and Learning. As the tapes have been used in training sessions across the country and mailed to candidates we have heard a plaintive plea: "I wish I could speak like Newt."

That takes years of practice. But, we believe that you could have a significant impact on your campaign and the way you communicate if we help a little. That is why we have created this list of words and phrases.

This list is prepared so that you might have a directory of words to use in writing literature and mail, in preparing speeches, and in producing electronic media. The words and phrases are powerful. Read them. Memorize as many as possible. And remember that like any tool, these words will not help if they are not used.

While the list could be the size of the latest "College Edition" dictionary, we have attempted to keep it small enough to be readily useful yet large enough to be broadly functional. The list is divided into two sections: Optimistic Positive Governing words and phrases to help describe your vision for the future of your community (your message) and Contrasting words to help you clearly define the policies and record of your opponent and the Democratic party.

Please let us know if you have any other suggestions or additions. We would also like to know how you use the list. Call us at **GOPAC** or write with your suggestions and comments. We may include them in the next tape mailing so that others can benefit from your knowledge and experience.

Contrasting Words

Often we search hard for words to define our opponents. Sometimes we are hesitant to use contrast. Remember that creating a difference helps you. These are powerful words that can create a clear and easily understood contrast. Apply these to the opponent, their record, proposals and their party

decay	endanger	stagnation
failure (fail)	coercion	welfare
collapse (ing)	hypocrisy	corrupt
deeper	radical	selfish
crisis	threaten	insensitive
urgent (cy)	devour	status quo
destructive	waste	mandate (s)
destroy	corruption	taxes
sick	incompetent	spend (ing)
pathetic	permissive	shame
lie	attitude	disgrace
liberal	destructive	punish (poor...)
they / them	impose	bizarre
unionized	self-serving	cynicism
bureaucracy	greed	cheat
"compassion" is	ideological	steal
not enough	insecure	abuse of power
betray	anti - (issue)	machine
consequences	flag, family,	bosses
limit (s)	child, jobs	obsolete
shallow	pessimistic	criminal rights
traitors	excuses	red tape
sensationalists	intolerant	patronage

Optimistic Positive Governing Words

Use the list below to help define your campaign and your vision of public service. These words can help give extra power to your message. In addition, these words help develop the positive side of the contrast you should create with your opponent, giving your community something to vote *for!*

share	liberty	peace
change	commitment	rights
opportunity	principle (d)	pioneer
legacy	unique	proud / pride
challenge	duty	building
control	precious	preserve
truth	premise	pro- (issue) <u>—</u>
moral	care (ing)	flag, children,
courage	tough	environment,
reform	listen	reform
prosperity	learn	workfare
crusade	help	eliminate good-
movement	lead	time in prison
children	vision	strength
family	success	choice / choose
debate	empower (ment)	fair
compete	citizen	protect
active (ly)	activist	confident
we / us / our	mobilize	incentive
candid (ly)	conflict	hard work
humane	light	initiative
pristine	dream	common sense
provide	freedom	passionate

USE THIS LIST

IN WRITING

- Speeches
- Direct mail
- Brochures
- Flyers
- Newspaper ads
- Electronic advertising
- News releases
- Door to door campaigning

... Anywhere you need to talk about your campaign, your vision for a better community, and the new ideas and approaches you represent!

SECTION: NATIONAL DESK

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CONTACT: Myrna Shinbaum of the Anti-Defamation League, 212-490-2525 ext. 7747

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"Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government"

An ADL Fact Finding Report

ARMED & DANGEROUS:

MILITIAS TAKE AIM AT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Introduction

Bands of armed right-wing militants, most calling themselves "militias," are cropping up across America. They have no centralized structure, but there are linkages among some of them, consisting largely of the sharing of propaganda material and speakers. A survey conducted by the Anti-Defamation League has found evidence of their activity in no fewer than 13 states.

The aims of these militias, often bellicosely stated, involve laying the groundwork for massive resistance to the federal government and its law enforcement agencies as well as opposition to gun control laws. In the view of many such extremists, numbering in the thousands, America's government is the enemy, now widening its authoritarian control and planning warfare against the citizenry.

To the militia ideologies, gun control legislation -- the Brady Law,(1) restrictions on assault weapons,(2) etc. -- are major stratagems in a secret government conspiracy to disarm and control the American people and abolish their Constitutional "right to bear arms." (3) They are also obsessed with the role of government in two recent events -- the Branch Davidian confrontation in Waco(4) and the Randy Weaver siege in Idaho(5) -- which they interpret as signs of impending tyranny. The answer, say these extremists, is ultimately, necessarily, paramilitary resistance. An armed and aroused citizenry must be mobilized and ready for a call to war.

For most, if not all, of the militias, the fear of government confiscation of their weapons is a paramount concern. Samuel Sherwood, head of the "U.S. Militia Association" in Idaho, states:

"When they come around to collect weapons, we'll have the legal and lawful structure to say 'no' to that." Randy Trochmann of the "Militia of Montana" gets tougher: "If and when the federal government decides to confiscate weapons people will band together to stop them. They are not going to give up their guns." And the "enemy" easily becomes nightmarish: Robert Pummer, a leader of the "Florida State Militia," says that his group is "capable of defending ourselves against chemical and biological agents."

Although thwarting gun control is the chief aim of the militias, they seek to turn the clock back on federal involvement in a host of other issues as well, e.g., education, abortion, the environment.

Case in point: Norman Olson, a regional militia commander in northern Michigan, has envisioned violence erupting if present government policies continue. Olson, a Baptist minister who owns a gun shop, declared: "We're talking about a situation where armed conflict may be inevitable if the country doesn't turn around." (Emphasis added.) Most often the central issue of the militants has been the legality of guns themselves. Clearly, their deeper suspicions and terrors should be of concern: Is their militant cause merely the alleged gun-toting "right" of citizens? -- or is it the "turning around" of the U.S. itself from what the militants see as the "treasonous" direction of the federal government's present policies? The question which no one can answer just yet is what, exactly, the "militias" intend to do with their guns.

Might they still, as many observers hope, limit themselves to the time-honored means provided by the Constitution -- freedom of expression, the ballot, the courts, the right of petition -- or do they intend to resort to lawlessness?

A recent episode in Virginia offers some partial but troubling evidence. Members of a militia group calling itself the Blue Ridge Hunt Club were arrested for possession of illegal weapons. The leader of the group, James Roy Mullins, and three others who were taken into custody, were found to be stockpiling weapons in their homes and storage facilities. Found on a computer disk in Mullins' home was a draft of the group's newsletter stating that it planned a series of terrorist actions in furtherance of its aims. According to an ATF official, the group intended to further arm itself by raiding the National Guard Armory in Pulaski, Va.

A further and vexing problem uncovered by investigation of the growing militias is the presence in some of them -- even in leadership roles -- of persons with histories of racial and religious bigotry and of political extremism. In the Northwest, for example, we find militia leaders with backgrounds in the Aryan Nations movement, and elsewhere other erstwhile neo-Nazis and Ku Kluxers.

The militias are of concern and doubtless will remain so in the coming months; they are driven by a combustible issue in American life which remains unresolved -- that of gun control, an issue of urgency and passion in a society beset by violent crime. Coming head to head: a cry for weapons restrictions and a perceived Constitutional right. Most of those siding with the latter are law-abiding citizens who feel that guns are desirable for personal defense or for sport. Many of them feel that the National Rifle Association (NRA) adequately represents their concerns; others who see the NRA as too moderate have sought out more extreme advocates such as the American Pistol and Rifle Association (APRA). Of late, however, still others are resorting to the mustering of a far more desperate and dangerous "resistance" -- the militia movement that is the focus of this report.

Here follows a state-by-state synopsis of militia activity.

Arizona

Efforts have recently begun in Arizona to create a militia movement. David Espy, who portrays himself a latter-day American Revolutionary captain, has attempted to organize militia meetings over the last several weeks. An advertisement he placed in the Sept. 11 and 25, 1994 issues of the Prescott Courier announced a meeting in Paulden, Ariz. of the "Association of the Sons of Liberty and the Volunteer Militia." The purpose of the meeting was to discuss plans for action against the federal government which, he asserts, "continue(s) to pass legislation that weaken our unalienable, private property and Bill of Rights (sic)." The formation of a militia is an integral part of Espy's plan:

So, everyone out there, who thinks that taking pride in owning firearms, is being fanatical or nuts, should remember where you are living and how we all got here to begin with. It wasn't by just sitting back and letting the government run our lives and usurping our fundamental rights as free people. So forgive me, if I see a clear and present danger with what is happening in our country today, and that I feel a genuine and rational need to form a volunteer militia force, if for no other reason than to (let) Washington know that there is still a large group of us out here that have inherited revolutionary DNA and are willing to fight for it until our dying breath.

Another aspect of his plan is a demand for "the legal cessation (sic) of Arizona from these federal United States."

Also active in Arizona is Gary D. Hunt, a man obsessed with the Waco Branch Davidian incident. Hunt himself was present during the siege in Waco and wrote about the event at the time, comparing the Branch Davidians to the original revolutionary Minutemen: "I understand why (the Minutemen) were willing to stand and face portions of the greatest military force in the world. And I understand why David Koresh and the other brave defenders of Mount Carmel stand fearlessly defending their home and mine."

More recently, Hunt has distributed a flier dated July 2, 1994, and labeled "Sons of Liberty No. 3." The flier describes the effectiveness of militias in the Revolutionary War and suggests that

militias are again needed now. At the bottom of the flier, written in by hand, Hunt announced: "March on Phx FBI 8-25-94 5-6 p.m. to release the Branch Davidians. Bring legal signs + guns. Tell a friend." The FBI and Phoenix Police paid close attention, but the planned march never materialized.

Colorado

Militias in Colorado have benefitted from the support of a number of right-wing groups. Most active in the movement are so-called Patriot groups that proliferate throughout the state. Others showing support for militias in Colorado are the Constitutionists, the Guardians of American Liberties (GOAL), and state representative Charles Duke.

Militias, calling themselves Patriots, are being formed across the state and are currently operating in Lakewood, Longmont, Boulder, Greeley and Fort Collins. The Fort Collins group is led by Duncan Philp.

The Patriots' propaganda promotes the view that the federal government has betrayed the people and the Constitution through laws regarding home-schooling, abortion, taxation, freedom of speech and religion, and, most importantly, gun control. While calling on citizens to take political action (e.g., write their congressmen, attend meetings, etc.), they also urge that people prepare to resist the government by forming militias and stockpiling weapons, groceries and other necessities for survival.

The Patriots publish a newsletter and sell tapes and videos through "The Patriot Library." Among the titles for sale are "The New World Order, Communist groups supported by Hillary Clinton," as well as tapes describing black helicopters said to be scrutinizing the actions of citizens in the western states. A June 22, 1994 "Patriot Factsheet" encouraged members to read, by computer access, The Spotlight, the organ of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby.

Guardians of American Liberties, a multi-state organization centered in Boulder, is attempting to take a leadership role in the militia movement. It describes itself as a "national grassroots network of American Citizens formed to insure our government is free of corruption, that it is actively aligned with the will of the people and to safeguard the Constitution of the United States of America from all forms of corruption." GOAL has some 40 to 50 members in Colorado as well as claimed chapters in Texas, Arizona, California and Nevada. It has established a militia committee, although it is not clear what degree of success it has achieved in organizing militias in Colorado or elsewhere. GOAL literature lists these additional committees: a "Federal Reserve & IRS Committee," a "Political Prisoner Committee," and a "Sovereignty & Freedom Committee," beneath which is printed the slogan, "Kick the Feds out of the Counties."

GOAL's leader, Stewart Webb, has appeared frequently on right-wing radio shows to discuss his various conspiracy theories regarding, among other issues, the S&L and BCCI scandals. Webb has a history of anti-Semitism. From the mid-1980s and into the 90s, he made a series of threatening anti-Semitic phone calls and continued to do so even after receiving a cease and desist order.

The Constitutionists, a Kansas-based extremist group whose leadership includes Evan Mecham, the impeached former governor of Arizona, has received support in its promotion of militias from Colorado State Rep. Charles Duke. Duke spoke at the group's June conference in Indianapolis and promoted the formation of militias as an effective way for citizens to protect themselves from the government. At a Patriots meeting last July, Duke said: "We need some ability to get some firepower to protect the citizens. I would like to see a militia...(the type) that functions as a sheriff's posse and has sufficient training."

Radio station KHNC in Johnstown has offered its facilities to the Patriots and other groups active in the militia movement. KHNC broadcasts continuous Patriot programs and talk on "conservative issues." Among regulars on the station are Bo Gritz (see Idaho section of this report) and Dr. Norm Resnick, an outspoken opponent of gun control. In addition to using the radio to air their views, Colorado militias also disseminate information on computer bulletin boards that reach readers across the country. The Colorado Free Militia and Boulder Patriots, for example, are promoted on the New Age Electronic Information Service, a Colorado bulletin board.

Florida

Several groups using the name "militia" have appeared in Florida. (6) Among them are groups whose handbooks and leaflets variously engage in anti-Semitic innuendo, serve up alarmist warnings of a government conspiracy to abolish individual rights (especially gun ownership rights), and specify the amount of ammunition and other material each militia member is expected to carry.

One such outfit is the Florida State Militia, whose prime mover is Robert Pummer of Stuart, in Martin County. Pummer, a Kansas native who was a drug dealer in Michigan in the early 1970s and served time for second-degree murder, has been agitating on some of the same issues exploited by militia-style groups around the country: gun control, the Branch Davidian conflagration in Waco, the Randy Weaver siege at Ruby Ridge in Idaho, allegations of Russian and other foreign troops operating on U.S. soil, and other conspiracy-minded themes. He claims members in every Florida county.

The Florida State Militia's handbook, published by Pummer, declares: "(W)e have had enough -- enough drugs and crime, enough violence and bloodshed, enough Waco- and Ruby Ridge-style government attacks on Christian Americans." The handbook explains how to organize militia regiments. It prescribes the recommended survival gear and weaponry: "BUY AMMO NOW! YOU WILL NOT BE ABLE TO BUY IT LATER!" While expressing worry over the possibility of infiltration, the handbook offers the following reassurance: "(Y)ou still have your inner circle, and this the FBI, ATF, or any other federal scumbags cannot penetrate, if you keep up your guard."

Publications contained in a "Patriot List" in the Florida State Militia's handbook include several anti-Semitic periodicals: The Spotlight, organ of the Washington, D.C.-based Liberty Lobby, the wealthiest and most active anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the country; The Truth-At Last, an obsessively anti-black and anti-Jewish hate sheet produced by longtime extremist Ed Fields of Marietta, Ga.; Criminal Politics, a conspiracy-oriented anti-Semitic, "anti-Zionist" and anti-establishment monthly; and The National Educator, whose pages have honored the leaders of the far-right terrorist gang called The Order and the neo-Nazi paramilitary group, Aryan Nations. The handbook says a short-wave radio is an essential piece of communications equipment. It particularly endorses the Liberty Lobby-controlled program "Radio Free America" as one source that transmits "what the mainstream media will not tell you."

Pummer's militia sponsored an Information Fair and Campout in St. Lucie County on the weekend of Sept. 17, 1994. The event attracted approximately 100 attendees, including some parents who came with their children. Most attendees carried firearms, including some semi-automatic weapons. Many wore knives. A workshop on radio communications was conducted by a man who identified himself as a retired police chief and Air Force officer.

All attendees were encouraged to attend the U.S. Constitution Restoration Rally in Lakeland, Fla., on Oct. 1 (see below).

A Key Largo-based group calls itself alternately the United States Militia and the 1st Regiment Florida State Militia. Making a specious claim to legitimacy from such documents as the U.S. Constitution, the Federalist Papers, the Florida Constitution and Florida statutes, this group has been attempting to recruit members at "patriotic" and anti-gun control gatherings in Florida. Mimicking the style of the Declaration of Independence, its literature speaks of a "Train of Abuses" perpetrated on state and local governments and the citizenry by the federal government. "Just as our Founding Fathers of this country shook off their shackles of bondage," the group declares, "so must we."

The militia's regulations state that "County units will be organized in each county of the state." Militia members are told to expect to spend one weekend a month engaging in unit activities including rallies, shooting events and fund raisers. A list of suitable equipment is provided, which includes 1,000 rounds of ammunition per weapon and six 30-round magazines for each militia member. While the group's regulations state that "The unit may not be used against the police or governmental authority within the state of Florida," an exception may be made when such an

"entity" commits "crimes of violation of their oath of office" and of "sections or articles of the Constitution of the United States of America and of this state."

The United States Militia's material was distributed at a U.S. Constitution Restoration Rally in Lakeland, Fla., on Oct. 1, 1994. Attended by 1,000 to 1,500 people, the event was sponsored by Operation Freedom, an outfit created by Charles and Ruth Ann Spross of Maitland, Fla. The Sprosses describe their effort as a "for profit partnership," and, indeed, they offer for sale scores of video and book titles, such as "The Planned Destruction of America" and Linda Thompson's "Waco, The Big Lie." Featured on the schedule at the Oct. 1 gathering was a speech by M.J. "Red" Beckman, of Montana, who has been influential in the militia movement in his home state.

Distributed along with the speakers program at the rally was a sheet bearing the heading: "Paul Revere Rides Again." It proclaimed: "A strong and growing Underground Patriotic Movement with state-wide militia groups exists against The Sinister Ones that is unreported by the monopolistic and controlled establishment media." (sic) Identifying such enemies as the House of Rothschild, international bankers, the Federal Reserve System and the Trilateral Commission, the flier asked: "What is the range of British and Israeli influence in the upper tiers?" It urged readers to "Stockpile food, water, guns and ammo. Never surrender your weapons....Subscribe to the weekly populist newspaper The Spotlight....Form or attend meetings with other spirited patriots....Consider yourself warned!"

Also distributed in large numbers at the rally was a flier urging that "All Gun Owners Should Fire A WARNING SHOT As A Signal To The New Congress" on Nov. 11, at 11 p.m. "Congress has failed to safeguard the Bill of Rights," it reads, "especially the 2nd Amendment." It further declares:

A warship will fire a warning shot across the bow, a rattlesnake will sound off; these warnings are never ignored. It is time to warn politicians that if they do not respect the Bill of Rights they should at least fear the wrath of the People. Congress is forcing the country into a civil war.

A group in Tampa that claims alignment with a national "patriot movement" has ordered four judges and several Hillsborough County officials, including the tax collector, to give themselves up for arrest to the group's so-called Constitutional Court. Founder of the group, Emilio Ippolito, and his daughter, Susan Mokdad, reportedly said they have an unarmed militia composed of volunteers to execute the Constitutional Court's orders. Subsequently, Ed Brown, an activist with an armed militia group in New Hampshire, contacted Florida law enforcement authorities, prosecutors' offices and the Florida Bar Association to express support for Ippolito's "court."

Idaho

As in other parts of the country, the recent rise of militias in Idaho can be linked to four events: the Randy Weaver siege, the Waco disaster, the passage of the Brady Law and the federal anti-crime law. Idaho militias identify particularly closely with the Weaver incident because it took place inside the state and because some key militia figures in the region were allied with Weaver and indeed participated in the events surrounding the siege.

Samuel Sherwood, an Idaho militia leader, has recruited hundreds of Idahoans into his United States Militia Association. At a July meeting in Blackfoot, Idaho, Sherwood reportedly told potential recruits that President Clinton's crime bill authorized the government to hire 100,000 former Royal Hong Kong police to come to America to enforce gun control laws. As of August 1994, Sherwood's association has organized militias in at least a dozen of Idaho's 44 counties.

Sherwood's recruitment campaign has met with opposition from law enforcement officials. The Tri-County Sheriff's Association, representing 16 eastern Idaho counties, has passed a resolution against the formation of militias. Greg Moffat, Madison County Sheriff and the leader of the association, has asserted that they would "give absolutely no support to the idea of a militia."

Bo Gritz

Although his current project is not strictly speaking the formation of militias, Bo Gritz's activity closely parallels the militia movement. Gritz, the 1992 Populist Party candidate for president, is a former Green Beret, well-known for conducting SPIKE (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events) training throughout the region, preparing participants in weapons and survival techniques.

Gritz is currently creating an armed community on a 200-acre piece of land in Central Idaho known as "Almost Heaven." He purchased the land and is now selling it in lots. A second community called "Shenandoah" is also planned nearby. Gritz plans to live at Almost Heaven with 30 other families in a self-sufficient community which he has said will obey all laws "unless they go against the laws of God and common sense." Through rigorous military training, Gritz plans to prepare his followers to prevent the government from making any attempts to intrude: "I want a community where if the FBI looks at us, they'll end up saying it's more trouble than it's worth."

Gritz derives much of his support from his opposition to the federal government's actions in the Weaver and Waco cases. He himself was present at the Weaver standoff and assisted Weaver in surrendering to the authorities. Gritz recently wrote in his newsletter, "The tyrants who ordered the assault on the Weavers and Waco should be tried and executed as traitors." But Gritz's extremist views go beyond opposition to certain government policies. For example, in his book, *Called To Serve*, he peddles the anti-Semitic myth that Jewish families control the Federal Reserve System.

Indiana

Indianapolis is the home base of Linda Thompson, an influential figure in the militia movement nationally. Thompson is a lawyer and chairman of the American Justice Federation, which describes itself as "a group dedicated to stopping the New World Order and getting the truth out to the American public." Thompson claims to have contact with militias in all 50 states. She appears frequently at militia gatherings and gun shows, to lecture and sell her videos "Waco, The Big Lie," and "Waco II -- The Big Lie Continues." The latter, she claims, "proves conclusively the government murdered 100 men, women and children at Mt. Carmel in April 1993." She also sells other propaganda material such as "The Traitor Files," which purport to link "Bill and Hillary Clinton to a Marxist-Terrorist network."

On July 13, 1994, Thompson was arrested in Indianapolis for using her vehicle to block a bus carrying supporters of President Clinton's health care plan. She was charged with obstructing traffic. At the time of her arrest police officers seized from her person a .45-caliber pistol and a .22-caliber Derringer pistol. They also found in her vehicle an assault rifle with 295 rounds of ammunition. Her case is pending.

Thompson's most ambitious undertaking to date was a planned militia march on Washington, D.C., on Sept. 19, 1994, where an ultimatum was to be delivered to the government. The ultimatum commanded members of Congress to initiate legislation that would, among other things, repeal the 14th, 16th and 17th Amendments to the Constitution, and the Brady Law and NAFTA. Designating herself "Acting Adjutant General," of the "Unorganized Militia of the United States," Thompson ordered all participants to come "armed and in uniform." She announced that, besides delivering the ultimatum, "The militia will arrest congressmen who have failed to uphold their oaths of office, who will then be tried for treason by citizens' courts."

Realizing after several months that support for her march was lacking, Thompson called it off, yet her standing in the militia movement apparently remains undiminished.

The John Birch Society, troubled about Thompson's influence on its members and staff, found it necessary to warn them against her.

On May 12, 1994, the society issued an official "admonition to all members and a directive to all employees" to "stay clear of her schemes." They said: "Linda Thompson's call for the arrest in September of members of Congress and the President of the United States by an armed militia is not just insane, it is contrary to all understanding of the nature and identity of the enemy." It appears that even by the standards of the John Birch Society, Thompson is too radical.

Meanwhile, Thompson continues to appear at rallies and conferences around the country, and on radio, promoting the militia cause and calling down thunder upon the American government and its law enforcement agencies.

A rally to form a militia in Indianapolis took place in September 1994, at a union hall in the south central part of the city. In attendance were some 200 persons, filling the hall to capacity, while an overflow crowd was turned away.

A smaller militia is believed to be functioning in Switzerland County, in eastern Indiana. The county, long plagued by extremist activity, has been the home base of the Northwest Territory Knights of the KKK, a Klan splinter group.

Michigan

The militia movement has gained a following in Michigan. The most visible such group in the state has sprung up in northern Michigan. Spokesmen there make the (probably exaggerated) claim that militias have 10,000 members and that brigades are operating or are currently forming in 66 of the state's 83 counties. Meetings reportedly draw 50 to 100 attendees.

The issues animating Michigan's militias are the same as those fueling the movement nationally. Chief among them is a belief that gun control legislation is but a prelude to a complete ban on firearms ownership in this country. An essential additional ingredient, though, is their conviction that the government intends to wage war on citizens who refuse to give up their weapons. They cite as evidence for this view the tragic assault on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, and the 1992 raid on the cabin of Randy Weaver in Idaho, in which Weaver's wife and son and a federal marshal were killed. They also contend that this same federal government is acquiescing in the surrender of U.S. sovereignty to the United Nations and other international bodies. One militia, accordingly, aims to "stand against tyranny, globalism, moral relativism, humanism and the New World Order threatening to undermine these United States of America."

Norman E. Olson, 47, a Baptist minister and gun-shop owner in Alanson, is the commander of the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, Northern Michigan Regional Militia. After a few months of discussion and recruitment, the group was established in April 1994. It conducts training exercises twice a month. At a recent session, weapons reportedly included Chinese SKS semi-automatic assault rifles, shotguns and deer rifles.

When residents complained about militia members clad in camouflage uniforms and painted faces gathering with their rifles at a village park and a public campground in Peliston, the village council banned firearms from those and other village sites. Militia commander Olson threatened to sue the village for allegedly violating his rights. He also announced that his group would no longer convene in the park or the campground, saying: "The people of Peliston have got to want the light of liberty."

Olson strenuously denies that the Northern Michigan Regional Militia is racist or anti-Semitic. He claims some Jewish ancestry, and professes admiration for Israel. But his militia's rhetoric on occasion has been extreme and alarmist. In reference to the aborted march on Washington promoted by Indianapolis militia leader Linda Thompson, Olson has written: "Many thousands are prepared to go to Washington in uniform, carry their guns, prepared to present the ultimatum to the President and to Congress. This may be the beginning of a Concord-like confrontation." A militia pamphlet distributed at a May meeting in Petoskey attended by some 55 people reportedly asked: "What force exists to prevent a state or federally orchestrated massacre like the one in Waco from occurring in Michigan?" Ray Southwell, a real estate agent who is the group's information officer, has said: "I'd guess that within the next two years, you will see the Constitution suspended." His further prediction: "Christian fundamentalists will be the first to go under fascism this time. Just like the Jews were the first last time."

Southwell speaks as though he regards confrontation with law enforcement as inevitable. His militia is preparing for the day "when martial law is declared." "We are taking a stand," he says, "and are prepared to lose everything."

Other militia activists in Michigan have had their own encounter with the law. Police in

Fowlerville (Livingston County) arrested three militia members on Sept. 8, 1994. Loaded rifles and handguns, as well as gas masks, night-vision binoculars and two-way radios, were found in their car. At the men's scheduled Sept. 14 hearing, at least two dozen uniformed supporters staged a protest in front of the courthouse and stomped on a United Nations flag. The suspects failed to appear and are considered fugitives. They were described by their supporters as security aides to Mark Koernke (a.k.a. "Mark from Michigan"), a former Army intelligence officer whose "America in Peril" video and speeches have helped to recruit members to militias around the country.

All the confrontational talk has caught the attention of law enforcement authorities. "Some of their material is disquieting because it defines the U.S. government as the enemy," said a Michigan State Police commander. "It is disquieting if people think redress is in armed conflict with the U.S. government." The head of the Detroit office of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms expressed the hope "that the militia groups would use the power of the vote rather than the threat of armed violent confrontation to accomplish their goals."

Missouri

Militias are active in Missouri but do not appear to be as well-organized as in other states. They operate in at least five southern Missouri counties: Crawford, Green, Barton, Dade and Cedar, and number collectively approximately 130 members. The militias hold irregular meetings to view training videos, discuss paramilitary techniques and exchange literature reflecting right-wing views.

Missouri's militias are attempting to organize themselves for political action by, among other things, running candidates for local office. In keeping with their political aspirations, they have attempted to avoid any public identification with more extreme groups, although some members also belong to the John Birch Society and the Populist Party.

Montana

Militias have been forming in Montana since February 1994. While the rhetoric of these groups focuses on gun control and other familiar militia causes, examination reveals that some of the leading figures in the Montana militia movement have also participated in the activities of racist and anti-Semitic groups.

Meetings have been held across the state, drawing as many as 800 at a March 10 meeting in Kalispell. Two other meetings there also drew over 150 participants. Similar gatherings held in Hamilton, Eureka, Big Timber and Great Falls drew over 200 participants each. Smaller numbers attended meetings in Sanders County, Billings and Troy. While the crowds at initial meetings have been large, they have tended to fall off somewhat at subsequent gatherings.

Montana militias often dwell on the state's history as an independent outpost of freedom. A recent militia newsletter quoted, with approval, Gary Marbut, president of the Montana Shooting Sports Association (an anti-gun control group) in a call for rejection of all federal control over the state:

Montanans are fed up with the federal government dictating to Montana and the people of Montana and we are through with Congress's increasing encroachment on the Bill of Rights. We have a thirst for freedom in Montana, and we simply will not subsist under the boot heel of federal tyranny. There may be some debate about what the Second Amendment means to the U.S. Supreme Court or the people of Peoria, but there is no question about what the Second Amendment means to the people of Montana. "The great purpose" as Patrick Henry said, "is that every man be armed."

Militia of Montana

The Militia of Montana (M.O.M.) is among the most visible and the most extreme of such groups in the country. M.O.M. is run in Noxon, Mont., by the Trochmann brothers, John and David and David's son Randy, all of whom have long been involved in the white supremacist movement. The

Trochmanns have been members of the Aryan Nations, the Idaho-based neo-Nazi organization that promotes anti-Semitism, white supremacy and the establishment of a white racist state. John Trochmann was a featured speaker at the Aryan Nations Congress in 1990. He has also been an active supporter of Randy Weaver, the white supremacist who was involved in a shoot-out with federal authorities. Some members of M.O.M. circulate neo-Nazi publications among themselves. One such book, *Seed of the Woman*, is a "novel" detailing the wild exploits of several young neo-Nazis in a contemporary America peopled by gross stereotypes. Its favorable depiction of Nazi-inspired slaughter and its promotion of Nazi doctrine make it a prescription for violence against Jews, blacks, homosexuals and others.

M.O.M.'s eight-page pamphlet, "The Militia," discusses the history of militias and their origin in the United States, arguing that the Second Amendment was intended to allow the citizens to form "unorganized" militias in order to protect themselves from a potentially tyrannical government. It outlines the militia's role as follows:

To balance the military power of the nation with the might of the militia will put at odds any scheme by government officials to use the force of the government against the people. Therefore, when the codes and statutes are unjust for the majority of the people, the people will rightly revolt and the government will have to acquiesce without a shot being fired, because the militia stands vigilant in carrying out the will of the people in defense of rights, liberty and freedom.

The purpose of government is in the protection of the rights of the people, when it does not accomplish this, the militia is the crusader who steps forward, and upon it rests the mantle of the rights of the people. (sic)

Displaying the group's attitude towards taking up arms, John Trochmann recently said: "We don't want bloodshed. We want to use the ballot box and the jury box. We don't want to go to the cartridge box. But we will if we have to."

M.O.M.'s newsletter, *Taking Aim*, details the ways that the government is currently failing to protect the rights of the people. It cites gun control and the crime bill as evidence of this, but also suggests a variety of conspiracy theories about plans by world leaders to implement a world government. M.O.M. plays to paranoid fears by making wild claims about the supposed activity of foreign military troops in Montana and across the country. One report on the activity of out-of-state troops brought in to fight forest fires concludes: "One more note: Mysterious deaths have been taking place since these troops appeared. Coincidence? We do not know." While the newsletter does not echo the racist ideology of the Trochmanns, it makes a homophobic slur in alluding to rumors regarding Attorney General Janet Reno's sexual orientation.

M.O.M. advertises and distributes books, tapes and videos that provide further "information" on their conspiracy theories. Typical of the selection is a video advertised as "The Countdown to History (Biochip -- Mark of the Beast) UN Police Force, One World Govt., Chip implants, All by the year 2000 -- Totally Documented." Also offered are tapes and videos on organizing militias and on survival and combat techniques.

Red Beckman

M.J. "Red" Beckman, an influential figure in the militia movement, has a record as an anti-Semite and an anti-tax activist. He recently lost a long struggle with the IRS when he was finally evicted from his land long after it had been sold to pay for taxes due the government. Beckman, like many militia proponents, is a conspiracy theorist. He has said that the Federal Reserve Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the so-called New World Order are conspiring to dominate the world. In his 1984 book, *The Church Deceived*, Beckman proclaimed that the Holocaust was a judgment upon the Jews for worshipping Satan. More recently, he appeared on KULR-TV, a Montana television station, and repeated his view that Jews are worshippers of Satan.

New Hampshire

New Hampshire law provides for an "unorganized militia" made up of all citizens over the age of 18 who are not in the national guard or state guard. Militia enthusiasts in New Hampshire have pointed to the state's legislation (as well as the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution) to explain and justify their seemingly oxymoronic organization of "unorganized militias." There is nothing to suggest, however, that they actually intend to serve according to the spirit of the laws by which they justify their own existence. Such laws call for the governor of the state to direct members of the "unorganized militia" to serve in the National Guard during times of crisis.

New Hampshire is the home of the Constitution Defense Militia, a well-organized group with at least 15 members. It is not known if the group engages in paramilitary training or the stockpiling of weapons.

The group has held meetings at the home of Edward L. Brown of Plainsfield. Brown is outspoken in his support of the concept of militias and devotes much of his time and energy to the causes embraced by them: opposition to gun control, the United Nations and the federal government. He recently lobbied against a bill that would ban guns in school zones, for example.

While much of Brown's activity appeals to mainstream opponents of gun control and big government, his enthusiasm for conspiracy theories and his reliance on extremist propaganda places him on the far reaches of the political spectrum. Brown is a devoted reader of *The Spotlight*, the organ of Liberty Lobby, the best-funded and most active anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the United States. In a recent telephone call to ADL, Brown acknowledged that he gets his information on domestic and international affairs from *The Spotlight*. He recently wrote letters to his congressman and senators in Washington regarding the alleged build-up of hostile foreign troops inside the United States. Other members of his militia reportedly also embrace conspiracy fantasies involving the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

At a recent meeting of the group, members expressed their admiration for two extremist figures: Bo Gritz and Linda Thompson (see the sections of this report on Idaho and Indiana). The group has been in contact with Gritz regarding the organization of militias.

New Mexico

As in neighboring Arizona, the organization of militias in New Mexico is in the nascent stages. Thus far, the most visible manifestation of pro-militia sentiment in New Mexico has been found in *The Free American*, a monthly newspaper published privately by Clayton R. Douglas and his wife, Jan Douglas. The September 1994 issue contained an advertisement declaring: "It's Time To Take Matters Into Our Own Hands. It's Time To Protect Our Constitution! Join The New Mexico Unorganized Militia." The accompanying phone number for more information was the number of the newspaper itself.

The militia movement appears to be taking hold in Catron County, an area that in recent years has experienced much anti-federal government sentiment among some residents. Among the groups attempting to organize a local militia are "Concerned Citizens" and the "Patriots of Catron County."

Finally, literature from Linda Thompson's (see Indiana section) "Unorganized Militias of the United States," has been distributed through gun shops in Albuquerque.

North Carolina

North Carolina's militia movement has been fueled by an alarmist vision of a U.S. government bent on the destruction of American liberties.

A Monroe-based group called Citizens for the Reinstatement of Constitutional Government has coalesced around Albert Esposito. He denies that he is preaching revolution, but his rhetoric includes clear overtones of preparation for battle with the imagined enemy. He urges the group to amass caches of the "Four B's": Bibles, bullets, beans and bandages. Many members own

semiautomatic weapons, including AR-15s and AK-47s.

The group's program is a mixture of anti-government, religious and conspiratorial ideas. It aims to "make the Holy Bible and the United States Constitution the law of the land," and it vows to "resist the coming New World Order (one world government)." To accomplish its goals, it promises to "Remove treasonous politicians and corrupt judges from positions of authority, and return authority to the people." (Precisely how these malefactors are to be removed from office is not stated.)

Citizens for the Reinstatement of Constitutional Government meets twice a month, alternating between Monroe, in Union County, and Matthews, in neighboring Mecklenburg County. At one meeting, Esposito, a 43-year-old contractor, reportedly repeated G. Gordon Liddy's alleged statement about the new crime law's assault weapons ban: "He said, 'If they pass it, don't obey it. And if they come after you, meet force with force.'"

The group has distributed application forms for the "National Free and Sovereign Civilian Militia, North Carolina state Division." The forms ask applicants whether they are proficient in the operation of handguns and rifles, "reloading ammo," and a variety of survivalist skills.

Esposito has espoused his views on guns at Union County commissioners' meetings. He also railed against federal encroachment in announcing his support for a nonbinding resolution passed by the commission in support of school prayer. Holding a copy of the Constitution in the air, he declared: "We control the county. Not Washington."

Consistent with such anti-federal government views, Esposito says he has refused to file federal income tax returns for three years running because he regards the tax as unconstitutional. The group he leads split off from a tax-protest group in Charlotte called the Carolina Patriots, three of whose leaders were convicted in October 1994 of conspiracy to help people avoid their tax obligations. Esposito's group has attempted to distance itself from the Carolina Patriots.

In addition to their views on guns and taxes, members of the Monroe group have expressed ideas and conspiracy theories that are characteristic of some other militias around the country. These include charges that the Federal Reserve system has enriched a tiny elite (the group's literature advocates the abolition of the Federal Reserve), and that some government employees have been implanted with computer chips in order to monitor the citizenry. Another claim made at one of the group's meetings, that the government cannot require private citizens to obtain a driver's license, echoes the stand of an earlier extremist group, the Posse Comitatus.

A separate North Carolina militia group has been formed in Greenville, in the eastern part of the state. Led by Scott Brown, the unit is part of the Idaho-based United States Militia Association. Brown reportedly has said his group worries that government representatives "don't really understand what the Constitution means and stands for, and they're voting away our unalienable rights." It is not known whether the Greenville unit is engaging in any more incendiary rhetoric or activity. But this fear -- which is apparently spreading and growing -- that the government is a threat to the rights of the people, is a central theme that militia groups are feverishly trying to exploit.

A computer bulletin board in Alamance County, called "The Spirit of '76," has served as an area recruiting point for the militia led by Linda Thompson, the Indianapolis woman who is a leading figure in the militia movement nationwide. Another bulletin board system that made Thompson's computerized materials available has referred individuals interested in joining the militia to The Spirit of '76. For its part, The Spirit of '76 has declared itself off limits to police and other government authorities by posting a warning that states: "This BBS (bulletin board system) is a PRIVATE system. Only private citizens who are NOT involved in government or law enforcement activities are authorized to use it."

Ohio

Several militia-like groups have arisen in scattered communities in the State of Ohio. One such militia has been meeting and conducting paramilitary training exercises in Pike County in rural south central Ohio. There is overlapping participation, and a weapons-sales connection, among the Pike

County militia, the neo-Nazi SS Action Group and the Ku Klux Klan.

Other militia groups have arisen in Franklin County and Warren County. A militia-type group called "Patriots" meets in Cincinnati and conducts paramilitary exercises in rural Clermont County.

Virginia

On July 27, 1994, James Roy Mullins, a founding member of a militia-like group called The Blue Ridge Hunt Club, was arrested and charged with the possession and sale of a short-barreled rifle and unregistered silencers and with facilitating the unlawful purchase of a firearm. Ultimately, three other members were also charged with firearm offenses. Federal officials said that Mullins had formed the club to arm its members in preparation for war with the government. The cases are pending.

The group, formed earlier in 1994, has had as many as 15 members. They are said to have met three times before Mullins' arrest. While members of the group say that their purpose is to lobby against gun control laws, federal law enforcement officials tell a much different story. An ATF official who investigated the case said that "Mullins is organizing a group of confederates, to be armed and trained in paramilitary fashion, in preparation for armed conflict with government authorities should firearms legislation become too restrictive." Evidence of such preparation is substantial. In searches of members' homes and storage facilities, federal agents found a stockpile of weapons. In Mullins' home, agents found 13 guns, several of which had homemade silencers. They also found explosives, hand grenades, fuses and blasting caps in a separate warehouse.

Even pretrial incarceration has not stopped Mullins from threatening violence. While in jail, he wrote a letter to a friend saying that he wanted to borrow a machine gun in order to "take care of unfinished business" with certain prosecution witnesses.

The strongest indications of the group's goals was the draft of a portion of its newsletter found on a computer disk obtained by federal agents. On the disk, Mullins had written:

Hit and run tactics will be our method of fighting....We will destroy targets such as telephone relay centers, bridges, fuel storage tanks, communications towers, radio stations, airports, etc...human targets will be engaged...when it is beneficial to the cause to eliminate particular individuals who oppose us (troops, police, political figures, snitches, etc.).

An ATF official also said that Mullins was planning to arm the group by burglarizing the National Guard Armory in Pulaski, Virginia.

Conclusion

Given the revolutionary posturing of so many of the militias, and the role in them of hatemongers of long standing, the better part of wisdom dictates that close attention be paid to them. There is a role here for the press and for citizen organizations that monitor extremism. The Anti-Defamation League is pledged to do its part.

The chief responsibility for keeping on top of the militia threat, however, plainly rests with the law enforcement branch of government.

That this responsibility must be implemented with all due respect for the legal rights to which everyone is entitled should go without saying. Law enforcement agencies need the requisite resources to monitor these groups and to take appropriate measures, when necessary, to protect the public.

One such tool is paramilitary training legislation already on the books of many states. Those laws (many patterned after a model bill first formulated by ADL, which is appended to this report) should be applied, where appropriate. In states where such laws have yet to be adopted, ADL urges that they be given prompt consideration.

The right to hold and promote one's views on the issues which are agitating the militias -- such

as gun control, the environment, and abortion -- is inviolate under the Constitution. There is no right, however, to use force or violence either to impose one's views on others or to resist laws properly enacted. That is the crux of the problem presented by the rise of the militias.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Brady Law requires a five-day waiting period in the sale of all handguns, during which time a background check will be performed on the purchaser through a national computerized network.
2. The 1994 federal crime bill recently signed by President Clinton bans the sale and possession of 19 different types of assault weapons and limits gun clips to a maximum of 10 bullets.
3. The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states: "A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."
4. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms (ATF) originally attempted to enter the Branch Davidian compound in order to seize illegal weapons and arrest those responsible. The residents of the compound resisted the raid through arms, killing four ATF agents. The residents then remained in the compound for several weeks until a second assault at which time the compound burst into flame killing more than 80 group members.
5. Randy Weaver, a white supremacist, failed to appear in Federal Court on a weapons charge in 1992. He hid out with his wife, his children, and an associate, Kevin Harris, in a cabin in a remote area of northern Idaho. The U.S. Marshals Service, learning of Weaver's whereabouts, surrounded the cabin. In the 11-day siege which followed, a Deputy Marshal William Degan, and Weaver's son and wife were slain. Finally, Weaver and Harris surrendered. At their subsequent trial in July 1993, Harris was acquitted of all charges and Weaver was acquitted of all but two lesser charges, for which he served 15 months in jail. The incident has since been made into a cause celebre by right-wing extremists.
6. Not included in this report are those militias that exist merely as resolutions by some county commissions to demonstrate their symbolic opposition to gun control.

APPENDIX

ADL MODEL PARAMILITARY TRAINING STATUTE

A. (1) Whoever teaches or demonstrates to any other person the use, application, or making of any firearm, explosive or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons, knowing or having reason to know or intending that same will be unlawfully employed for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder; or

(2) Whoever assembles with one or more persons for the purpose of training with, practicing with, or being instructed in the use of any firearm, explosive or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons, intending to employ unlawfully the same for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder --

Shall be fined not more than ___ or imprisoned not more than ___ years, or both.

B. Nothing contained in this section shall make unlawful any act of any law enforcement officer which is performed in the lawful performance of his official duties.

C. As used in this section:

(1) The term "civil disorder" means any public disturbance involving acts of violence by assemblages of three or more persons, which causes an immediate danger of or results in damage

or injury to the property or person of any other individual.

(2) The term "firearm" means any weapon which is designed to or may readily be converted to expel any projectile by the action of an explosive; or the frame or receiver of any such weapon.

(3) The term "explosive or incendiary device" means (a) dynamite and all other forms of high explosives, (b) any explosive bomb, grenade, missile, or similar device and (c) any incendiary bomb or grenade, fire bomb, or similar device, including any device which (i) consists of or includes a breakable container including a flammable liquid or compound, and a wick composed of any material which, when ignited, is capable of igniting such flammable liquid or compound, and (ii) can be carried or thrown by one individual acting alone.

(4) The term "law enforcement officer" means any officer or employee of the United States, any state, any political subdivision of a state, or the District of Columbia, and such term shall specifically include, but shall not be limited to, members of the National Guard, as defined in section 101(9) of title 10, United States Code, members of the organized militia of any state or territory of the United States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or the District of Columbia, not included within the definition of National Guard as defined by such section 101(9), and members of the Armed Forces of the United States.

Candidates Seek Ammunition to Sink a Powell Presidency Bid By John M. Broder Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON Anticipating the entry of retired Gen. Colin L. Powell into the Republican presidential race, leading GOP candidates quietly have begun compiling research on Powell's public record and private life in hopes of discovering ammunition to use to deny him the nomination.

The most aggressive anti-Powell preparations are being conducted by the campaigns of Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., and conservative commentator Pat Buchanan, according to campaign aides.

Dole sees Powell, with his four-star charisma and current broad popularity, as the most acute threat to his front-runner status, while Buchanan opposes Powell as a moderate who will reverse the conservative economic and social policies of the new Republican Congress.

While both camps insist that they will battle Powell on grounds of ideology and policy, neither will hesitate to exploit questions about Powell's finances and personal life if derogatory material can be found.

Already Powell's potential rivals are sharpening their knives.

"Think about what 30-second spots can do to someone. A man who stands as beacon of racial harmony could be sucked into controversy over racial set-asides," said one Dole aide, specifically mentioning an investment Powell made more than a decade ago in a Buffalo, N.Y., television station. The transaction, which involved an affirmative action program, could allow rivals to draw him into a politically difficult debate over set-asides.

(Begin optional trim)

None of the Republican contenders has yet launched a major anti-Powell "opposition research" effort, according to spokesmen for the campaigns. Nor has the White House or the Clinton-Gore re-election team begun combing through Powell's history in search of dirt.

Powell's supporters say the general can easily withstand such scrutiny and that scurrilous attacks will only backfire on the mudslingers.

(End optional trim)

Powell's principal spokesman, retired Army Col. F. William Smullen, said that Powell dealt in his autobiography with many of the potential issues that might be raised against him. He also said that Powell's five-week national book tour exposed him to hundreds of questions from reporters.

The challenge for Powell's rivals would be to find areas of weakness in his record or his seemingly impeccable personal history.

Two possible areas of controversy involve Powell's conduct in the Iran-contra affair and his service in the U.S. Army division responsible for the My Lai massacre in Vietnam.

Powell, then an Army major, served in 1968 as a senior operations officer for the Americal Division, a unit that was responsible for killing more than 100 civilians in the village of My Lai earlier that year. Powell arrived after the massacre, but heard allegations of torture and murder of civilians through a letter passed up the chain of command by a young Army specialist.

Powell dismissed the charges as unsupported and dropped the matter, which erupted into a huge national scandal more than a year later.

In 1985, as military assistant to former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, Powell became aware of the secret plan to trade arms for hostages with Iran. He and

Weinberger both objected to the deal, but went along with orders when then-President Reagan overruled them.

Powell became enmeshed in the scandal years later when independent counsel Lawrence Walsh found inconsistencies in his testimony before congressional investigators. In a 1987 deposition, Powell said that Weinberger did not keep a "diary" or detailed notes of his daily activities.

But five years later, in a sworn affidavit, Powell recalled that Weinberger did indeed keep contemporaneous, daily notes which Powell characterized as "a personal diary which reflected a record of his life."

Walsh concluded from the inconsistency that Powell's 1987 testimony was "at least misleading" but chose not to seek an indictment because he could not prove that Powell had intentionally lied.

In his autobiography, Powell criticized Walsh for continuing the Iran-contra investigation "ad infinitum" and ridiculed the "out-of-control" independent counsel for pressing what he sees as a picayune discrepancy in his testimony.

Powell's relationships with longtime Washington insiders Richard L. Armitage and Kenneth M. Duberstein are also certain to become issues if he enters the race.

Armitage has been the target of conspiracy theorists, who charge that he has been involved in drug smuggling and Vietnam POW/MIA coverups. Duberstein, who served as chief of staff in the final year of the Reagan administration and is now a partner in a Washington lobbying firm with Democrat Michael Berman, is considered by some to be insufficiently committed to Republican doctrine.

Finally, while the ending of the Gulf War will be long debated, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein was clearly left with enough military power to threaten his neighbors, as the short-notice deployment of U.S. troops to the region in response to Iraqi military maneuvers in 1994 demonstrated.

(Optional add end)

The task of running against Powell is made difficult for his Republican rivals because his most visible assignments military aide to Weinberger, national security adviser in the Reagan White House, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under former President Bush have been in Republican administrations.

Powell Investment in TV Station Could Stir Political Debate By Sara Fritz Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON As potential rivals begin to size up Colin Powell's possible vulnerabilities as a presidential candidate, an item topping their lists is the then-general's investment a decade ago in a Buffalo, N.Y., television station.

Powell's possible adversaries do not suggest any impropriety on his part. And an examination of the deal does not indicate that Powell's profits roughly 7 percent per year over a decade were out of the ordinary, although he has declined to release the sort of detailed information that would allow a full picture of his finances.

Nonetheless, the investment, and the help Powell received from a wealthy benefactor, does have aspects that contrast with the up-from-the-bootstraps themes of Powell's autobiography.

And because the transaction involved an affirmative action program one that was somewhat controversial even when Powell began his investment and which has become more controversial in recent years the deal could allow rivals to draw him into a politically difficult debate over set-asides.

Powell says he supports affirmative action programs

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

such as the one that benefited him because they help disadvantaged blacks achieve the American dream and increase minority access to fields such as broadcasting.

Even at the time, however, the minority preference program in broadcasting had many critics who questioned whether the generally wealthy and well-known people able to take advantage of it were the type of persons for whom affirmative action was appropriate. And earlier this year, Congress voted to repeal the program. By that time, the tax subsidies were costing the Treasury an estimated \$500 million per year.

The deal to buy station WBKW in Buffalo from Cap Cities began in 1986 with Powell's cousin, J. Bruce Llewellyn, owner of the Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Co. who is believed to be one of the richest black men in America.

The deal was structured to take advantage of a government program that provided large tax subsidies to companies that sold broadcast stations to minorities, and the group of investors assembled by Llewellyn included many of the nation's most prominent black celebrities. Among them were basketball stars Julius Erving and Michael Jordan, relatives of pop superstar Michael Jackson, comedian Bill Cosby's wife, former U.N. Ambassador Donald McHenry, O.J. Simpson, Edward Lewis, publisher of Essence magazine, and Powell, who, at the time, was already a general but little known to the general public.

One unanswered question is precisely how much money Powell put into the purchase. In response to questions submitted by the Los Angeles Times, Powell declined to say how much he invested in WBKW. Llewellyn also declined to discuss the deal's specifics.

Burton R. Rubin, another WBKW investor and Llewellyn's lawyer, said he recalls Powell put in \$100,000, which gave him a 1 percent share of the company that bought the station in January 1986. By the time Llewellyn and his partners sold their last interest in the station in 1995, Powell would have received about \$250,000 in return for his initial investment, according to W. Don Cornwell, who helped arrange the original financing and who now owns the station. Rubin insists Powell's return was somewhat less closer to \$200,000.

(Optional add end)

Llewellyn's group, known as Queen City Broadcasting, invested \$10 million of its own money in the \$65 million deal. The purchase was financed primarily by a \$45 million sale of junk bonds, and a note of \$10 million held by Cap Cities. Meanwhile, Cap Cities got a \$30 million tax break for selling to a minority-owned group.

Powell and his fellow investors did not profit as much as they might have hoped from the investment. By the late 1980s, as the economy moved into recession, television advertising began a sharp decline. Before long, it was clear that profits would not cover interest on the loans with which the station was purchased.

In 1990, Llewellyn arranged for Prudential Insurance Co., which had bankrolled him in his early career, to buy a 45 percent ownership share of the station. Cornwell purchased the remaining shares of the company in 1993 and 1995, and Powell had no further interest in it.

Corporate Group Opposes Telecommunications Bill By Jube Shiver Jr. Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON A group representing 500 corporate telephone users opposed to the sweeping telecommunications reform bill now pending in Congress unveiled a study Wednesday asserting that Americans will pay \$100 more a year than they should for each telephone line if the bill passes.

The release of the study by the Washington-based International Communications Association came as consumer groups gathered in San Francisco and the nation's capital to support President Clinton's recent objections to the controversial telecommunications measure.

"Under this legislation, California consumers will pay more than they should for basic telephone and cable service," Nettie Hoge, executive director of Toward Utility Rate Normalization, said at a San Francisco news conference attended by officials of the American Association of Retired Persons and four other consumers groups.

"Our purpose is to urge President Clinton to veto The Communications Act of 1995 unless it is significantly improved in conference committee where it sits right now."

However, supporters of the measure, including powerful House Speaker Newt Gingrich, the cable industry and the seven Baby Bell telephone companies, contend the legislation will create thousands of new jobs by breaking up the local phone monopoly and letting cable operators, local telephone companies and long distance carriers compete in one another's markets.

"I have absolutely no idea where their numbers are coming from," NYNEX spokeswoman Jamie Depew, said of the telephone study. "They seem to be saying that competition is going to increase prices. But if you look at electronics and personal computer industry competition has decreased prices not increased prices."

Nevertheless, the study is expected to turn up the heat on an already simmering debate over reform of the nation's 60-year-old telecommunications laws.

The debate, once overshadowed by Medicare and budget issues and confined to Capitol Hill insiders, grew more public last week when Clinton sent Congressional leaders a letter expressing his opposition and urging Congress to change the bill to "protect consumers from unjustified rate increases for cable and telephone services...."

(Optional add end)

The 28-page telephone rate study released by ICA which represents the University of Nebraska and dozens of computer, automobile and agribusiness concerns compared current telephone rate regulation with proposed rules and forecast that the new legislation will deliver little savings because it will take years for actual local phone competition to develop and force prices down.

"If the proposed legislation passes in its current form," said the study by Hatfield Associates Inc., "consumers will not see the benefits even though their dollars are being used to pay for the network modernization that is making large productivity gains possible for local

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/17

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 APR 19 48:59

17 April 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
FROM: Harold Ickes (W)
SUBJECT: 17 March 1995 letter from Vicki Carter to
Don Fowler

I think you will find the attached 17 March 1995 letter to Don Fowler from Vicki Carter, a self-described "31 year-old, well educated black woman who lives in an affluent Republican district" interesting.

Left off copy

Pres
note

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING



MARKETING DIRECTION • MEDIA PRODUCTION

March 17, 1995

Mr. Don Fowler
Democratic National Committee
430 S. Capitol Street
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Mr. Fowler:

I am a moderate Democrat and a member of the California chapter of the Democratic Leadership Council (Los Angeles) as well as the DNC. I am very pleased that yourself and Senator Dodd have taken the party reins at this very challenging time. I have been very active in party activities and have given generously of my time, spirit and wallet (to the extent that I am able to do so).

Following our party's near political Armageddon last November and the change in party leadership, I felt compelled to write about what I think are some critical elements for reviewing our past mistakes and oversights, and for rebuilding and restructuring for the battle of 1996.

We Democrats ('new' and 'old') can philosophize from now until the cows come home about the how and why of the 1994 electoral debacle. And as a beyond the beltway activist/observer, I must admit, I could see the train wreck coming long before the election, as evidenced by the following:

- ✓ There was a complete lack of theme and focus from the national party level (and of course Newt had his contract). The DNC's performance was dismal -- no national leadership and complete chaos at the local/grassroots level(s). Mr. Wilhelm is probably a perfectly good and decent man, but he was inarticulate and lacked the stature to effectively manage and motivate our party's very fractious coalition. Grossly overpaid consultants, over-reliance and focus on special interest groups and drowning in that disastrous healthcare debate (the public fighting among Democrats was equally as destructive as the jabs we took from the Republicans and 'Harry and Louise') drained the party of much of its spirit and (pre-election) very healthy financial resources, giving us the appearance of being void of fresh and innovative ideas. ✓
- ✓ And while President Clinton had some fault to bear, a larger source of our problems were at the hands of the Congressional Democratic Leadership. They behaved like a spoiled political class, completely out of touch with voters, and missed a critical opportunity for reform that Newt is currently capitalizing on. As a result, a minority of the voting population (the energized GOP and the few Democrats who did bother to vote) expressed its disgust and disdain with the Congressional Democratic squabbling (with the White House, amongst themselves and with the GOP), their perceived lack of leadership and inept legislative capacity. As a Majority party with the White House, we appeared incapable of agreeing on many of the high profile issues, and those issues we did agree on, we couldn't effectively convince the voting public that we had indeed made progress. Watching the Democratic congress legislate was like watching a daily bout of group bulimia. We were undisciplined, while the GOP was poetry in motion with their calculated assault/obstruction. They were confident in the notion that there was no price to pay for obstruction because the Democrats imploded so effectively among ourselves.

By contrast, Haley Barbour ran the RNC like a well-oiled machine, with a carefully crafted message, strategy and media support (with significantly less financial resources than we had). We completely misread the political landscape by dismissing and ignoring Newt and his minions in late 1993 when his schemes and strategy were becoming very clear.

✓ Needless to say Democrats must shed their dysfunctional behavior to unite and develop a theme for ourselves as a cohesive and steadfast champion of the "great middle" of American Voters. The DLC's response to the Contract on America was an excellent start, but we must rid ourselves of the image of a party of special interests and present ourselves as, "the party of the American Majority" (including the 64% of white male voters that helped elect the GOP majority*) that stands for the following:

// * (I am not a bigot, but a realistic, 31 year old, well educated black woman who lives in an affluent Republican district, and can read the writing on the wall!)

1. Equal opportunity, not guaranteed incomes.
2. Taxes paid on basis of what the country has done for you, not on basis of what the government can get away with doing to you.
3. The right to bear arms in defense of our families and property.
4. Freedom from government interference in our private lives and personal decisions.
5. Individual responsibility.
6. Tolerance of diversity.
7. Rewarding honest hard work.
8. Freedom to worship as we believe, not as others would force us to.
9. Families as the foundation of our society - not just a bumper sticker slogan.
10. Access to public airwaves for all of us, not just Rush and his clones and dittoheads
11. Separation of church and state, to preserve the freedom to worship as we believe.
12. A strong United States: militarily, economically and morally.
13. Prevent crime and punish criminals.
14. Bringing poor Americans into the mainstream. Not creating an underclass.
15. A foreign policy that promotes peace, democracy, decency and not just our economic interests.

✓ The Republicans have shown us what happens to a house divided. It will not stand!!! We must exert the same disciplined tenacity that the GOP exhibited so effectively in their last 2 years as a minority. The results of the 1994 races have made this far more difficult because many of the moderates and conservatives in our party were defeated, thus leaving an even more fractious coalition than before. Nevertheless we must remain united. The public squabbling and bashing of the President must cease and desist! (Did you ever hear the congressional Republicans bash Ronald Reagan ... Newt would never tolerate Tauzin's public, 'treasonous' threats of party defection ...)

If we can grow up and let go of some of the pain of last November, we have an oddly unique and brief window of opportunity to take advantage of the fact that the GOP Presidential wannabes (most notably Dole and Gramm) will soon begin turning on each other like rabid dogs, dividing their party on the ideological (moderate vs. far right) lines. For instance, the politics of the Foster confirmation have strangely enough turned to the advantage of White House (after their admitted bungling of the background check). There will be additional opportunities within the workings of the Senate as those factions loyal to Gramm begin to show their 'true' colors, thus making Dole's life increasingly difficult as he attempts to juggle the responsibilities of leading the contentious Senate and fend off the blatant and more stealth-like Gramm inflicted daggers that will inevitably come his way...

Vickie Carter to Chairman Fowler

✓ Now that much of the old baggage (Rostenkowski, Jack Brooks, Foley etc.) is gone, the party is now 'liberated' from many of the old nuances that kept us from promoting much of the 'reform agenda' that Gingrich has seized. We should therefore focus on developing a strategy to not only win back our 15 house seats (to effectively Boot Newt), but to also develop a strategy to rebuild and renew our base, by organizing, training and educating individuals who hold Democratic Party principles to become Democratic Party grassroots activists and supporters. There should also be an organized, concerted effort (as William Kristol advised his GOP colleagues) to subjugate actions and policies on coherent, steadfast principles, as well as the '96 elections.

✓ We must also begin a disciplined counter-attack to the visceral, hateful, savage banter that the far-right radio talk show culture levels against our party on a daily/hourly non-stop basis. The GOP has cleaned our clocks on the use of this 'alternative' medium to communicate with their grass roots -- and now, an even more mean and extreme element of this culture ("hate-radio") has emerged in the aftermath of the November elections.

✓ While we don't need to jump aboard the 'hate train', we can articulate our views by educating and encouraging party members (as they've done in Texas) to challenge and aggressively respond to the distortions, lies and malicious, hate-mongering by Limbaugh and his wannabe imitators.

✓ Finally, we need to play offense rather than defense on the major policy issues. For example the Proposition 187 crowd here in California are initiating a similar policy for the future of Affirmative Action. Why not instead of being "on the ropes" on these issues offer a DLC/DNC response, much the same way that the DLC responded to the 'Contract'. It should be positioned as compassionate and thoughtful. On immigration, the policy should focus more on border control. On affirmative action, focus more on self-reliance, hard work and equal opportunity, rather than using the provocative, divisive wedge language (i.e. affirmative action 'rollback', 'save the males', etc...) that Republicans are beginning to bandy about in their cue up to the 96 contest. (For instance, in addition to reviewing the Affirmative Action programs which the President is currently doing, he should appoint Barbara Jordan to head a task force to make recommendations. This would provide the cover the President would need against the more left-leaning segment of the party, particularly Jesse Jackson.)

I realize this a lot of information. none of it new or innovative. But it is a beginning of what many activists and Democratic Party supporters beyond the beltway are yearning to hear from our leaders in Washington.

Thank you very much for your leadership and vision. Thank you very much for listening.

Sincerely,

Vickie M. Carter

Vickie Carter

To A. Lewis
M. Penn

Washburn
B. C. W.

B. C.



RHETA GRIMSLEY JOHNSON

2/2 NC

Gingrich Earth plea not very convincing

This is the city too busy to hate or build a sewage treatment plant. And House Speaker Newt Gingrich is the latest concerned citizen to decry our perpetual polluting of the Chattahoochee River.

While I agree with what Newt said, I don't agree with his right to say it. His mewling voice lacks authority on the subject, to lapac into gross understatement.

Newt and his Contract cohorts have daybooks that read like this: "9 a.m. — Gut the Environmental Protection Agency. 10 a.m. — Destroy Office of Technology Assessment. 11 a.m. — Pose with wide-eyed schoolchildren in front of Capitol. Noon — Lunch with Big Business. 1 p.m. — Try to eliminate the National Biological Service. Rest of afternoon free for campaigning.

Newt and his congressional dogies dismiss most environmental concerns as "media scars," liberal plots hatched by extremist tree-huggers to spend tax money and hamper hard-working entrepreneurs. They depend on their mouthpiece Rush Limbaugh to spread the word.

"Who are you going to believe?" Rush might say to his millions of listeners. "Me or your lying eyes? That log truck you thought you just saw loaded with sticks from a National Forest is only a figment of some liberal's imagination."

The Nobel Prize in chemistry last year went to three scientists who discovered the link between chlorofluorocarbons and holes in the ozone. But never mind what some silly Swedish academy believes.

Republicans think they know far more than scientists with their egg-heads up some microscope. The science behind a CFC ban is debatable, they declare while introducing legislation to end compliance with the Montreal Protocol, which attempts a worldwide reduction in the use of CFCs.

The list of proposed Republican budget cuts designed to turn back the clock on America's environmental safeguards is too long and bloody to list. It ranges from relaxing standards on polluting hazardous material sites to eliminating the agency that works at restoring mine sites.

But there's a budget-boosting bill proposed, too. At the cost of a billion dollars, the government would refund pre-1987 industrial polluters half their cleanup costs.

There is one serious problem for Republicans, a speed bump on the way to this demolition derby. The polls show that Americans disagree on many issues, but the environment is one area where most citizens share a common concern.

Nobody yearns to see this country trashed. All of us, Democrats and Republicans alike, take seriously our purple mountains' majesty.

So politicians like Newt must find a "safe" environmental horse to ride when the snail darter jokes wear thin and the polls look bad. A tired nag like Atlanta's dirty Chattahoochee is the perfect mount. Only Newt is backward in the saddle making his yippee cowboy noises.

I can't help but think of Ronald Reagan standing with Coretta King and other civil rights leaders the day the King national holiday finally was made official. The group was standing arm-linked and eyes misty singing that hymn of hope, "We Shall Overcome."

Ronald Reagan didn't seem to know the words.

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MARIA SAPORTA

City working hard to clean up its act on Chattahoochee

Suddenly, U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich and the state Senate are jumping all over the city of Atlanta for dumping too much phosphorus into the Chattahoochee River.

While the city deserves a lot of blame for taking so long to take the problem seriously, its record is not as bad as some people think. And the heavy fines now being proposed against the city would be counterproductive.

In fact, Atlanta has greatly reduced its phosphorus releases.

Back in April 1983, 7,500 pounds of phosphorus was being released each day. Since then, the city has instituted several improvements and now averages 1,120 pounds a day, according to Phil Nungesser, manager of the city's waste-water services.

The state has said the city must reduce releases to 1,100 pounds a day. If the city fails to meet that level (and also reduce the concentration of phosphorus in the water), then it is subject to fines and a moratorium on virtually all new construction.

"We are extremely close to meeting the pounds-per-day limit," said Douglas R. Hooker, the city's public works commissioner. "We are hoping the state will show some flexibility in seeing our good-faith efforts... to make temporary improvements and to meet the 1,100 pounds per day limit."

But state senators were showing little flexibility earlier this week when they voted 42-13 to impose a more stringent fine of \$100,000 a day against the city if it didn't meet the standards.

Several business and city officials questioned the wisdom of such heavy fines and a sewer hookup moratorium.

"There's absolutely no question that the city did not move as fast as it should to solve this," said Susan Neugent of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

"The real question now is whether additional fines will make a difference in the city's ability to comply. The fact is that additional fines would have to come from the same source of revenues that we need to treat the phosphorus."

H. Allen Franklin, president of Georgia Power Co. and vice chairman of environmental affairs for the Atlanta chamber, also thinks the more severe punishment would be ill-timed.

"The city now has an alternative which works technically and works politically," Franklin said. "They have let the contracts. They are doing interim improvements. I don't think there's anything more the city can do at this moment."

That was the city's problem since 1989. For years, officials did almost nothing. Then, one solution — building a sewer tunnel between the R.M. Clayton plant and the Utoy Creek plant — was rejected because of neighborhood opposition.

Now the city is planning to expand and improve the R.M. Clayton plant to comply with the state's standards.

Because that plan is now moving forward, there seems no reason for bigger fines. Indeed, Franklin said, they could only slow down the city's ability to pay for improvements. There also could be huge rate increases for businesses that are big water users.

"It seems to me that the last thing you want to do is punish businesses that are in Atlanta," he said.

Mayor Bill Campbell said Atlanta generates much of the tax revenue that's collected in the state. "The only thing a moratorium will accomplish will be to kill the goose that's laying the golden egg," Campbell said.

The communities downstream from Atlanta have legitimate complaints, Franklin said. "But the constructive approach is not to dredge up the problems of the past," he said. "The city is now on track to get it resolved. It's a very, very difficult issue. If it were simple, it would have been resolved by now. I think a little understanding and a little working together on everybody's part is called for."

As Mayor Campbell added: "The criticism, the fines or the moratorium will not get this done any quicker."

Rheta Grimsley Johnson: House Speaker Gingrich has no right to speak about environmental concerns

D1

February 6, 1996

Letters to the Editor
Atlanta Constitution
72 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30303-2804

To The Editor:

I was interested to read Speaker Gingrich's comments about Atlanta's water pollution calling for strong enforcement of environmental laws to protect the Chattahoochee River. I am encouraged by the Speaker's call for a "strong" EPA, but find it ironic in light of Congress' recent actions on environmental laws and EPA's budget.

During this Congress, the U.S. House of Representatives has voted to weaken longstanding Clean Water Act protections -- passing a bill that would severely limit EPA's ability to protect our nation's waters. The House also passed legislation that would have prohibited federal spending on enforcement of sewage cleanup plans -- like those in place in Atlanta. Finally, the House passed budget for EPA specifically targeted enforcement of our nation's environmental laws proposing to cut enforcement by 27 percent -- severely limiting EPA's ability to enforce major environmental laws such as the Clean Water Act and the Safe Drinking Water Act.

Clearly, EPA's ability to protect the Chattahoochee River would be jeopardized by such drastic Congressional actions.

A majority of all Americans do not want less protection of the water we drink and the air we breathe. Cleaning up our nation's water is not always easy -- federal, State and local governments have to work together to ensure effective solutions are found. EPA is doing just that in Atlanta -- working in partnership to support state and local efforts, and provide needed flexibility to solve environmental problems. Gutting environmental laws and the EPA budget will not serve the interests of protecting public health, and it certainly will not serve the interest of the people of Atlanta in protecting the Chattahoochee. I look forward to the Speaker's help in making sure that the federal EPA can continue to do its job to protect and restore the nation's waters.

Sincerely,

Loretta M. Ucelli
Associate Administrator

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THE ENVIRONMENTAL NEWS DAILY

3129 Mount Vernon Avenue, Alexandria, VA (703) 518-4600

*14 GEORGIA: GINGRICH ATTACKS ATLANTA OVER RIVER POLLUTION

House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) yesterday said Atlanta's continuing pollution of the Chattahoochee River is due in part to the city's "grotesque incompetence" and said the federal gov't has "every right" to step in and force a halt to the pollution.

In a "wide-ranging" discussion with a panel of Georgia environmental leaders who advise him, Gingrich said that he fought to stop Atlanta's pollution in his old congressional district, which included several counties downstream from the city. Gingrich: "The city of Atlanta not only is polluting downstream in the state of Georgia, but also is polluting downstream in Alabama and Florida and all the way to the Gulf." Gingrich said he wants a strong US EPA to stop such pollution, but said the agency was "still too bureaucratic and adversarial."

While the GOP has singled out the EPA for cuts, Gingrich said he agrees with an assessment sent to him last week by 30 congressional GOP moderates who complained the party had "taken a beating this year over missteps in environmental policy" (GREENWIRE 1/26). The group asked him to correct the course during budget talks (Charles Seabrook, Cox News Service, 1/30).

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2/5/96

VP/C Brown

Do we need to do
more on EPA ~~in~~
in Atlanta?

Be

VP sent to Katie 2/5

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 FEB 22 P 5: 08

13 February 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2/27/95

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
LEON PANETTA

FROM: Harold Ickes (H)

SUBJECT: Meeting with Owen Beiber of the UAW

On 9 February, I met with Owen Beiber of the UAW. He made several points.

- Strike replacement. The rank-and-file simply don't believe that the Administration "went to the wall" to try to get striker replacement legislation adopted.
- NAFTA and GATT still rankle the rank-and-file. It was a real "grass roots" issue which caught many in the labor leadership off-guard. As a result, the top leadership continues to feel compelled to "work" the issue, which, in turn, keeps it alive with the membership.
- There is increasing concern about affirmative action and its impact on many of the rank-and-file. He thinks will continue to be a growing issue.
- He made specific reference to the "fact" that you seldom, if ever, use the word "union" in your remarks or speeches.
- He urged that you take on several well considered fights to show strength of leadership, which he thinks is the most important issue for you.

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MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Mark Penn

Re: New York Times Interview

This follows up on our discussion on the plane to provide an analysis of the New York Times interview. This note contains some general points, a content analysis of what we touched on, and then a detailed review of the main questions and answers with some suggested further directions. To save time, I have summarized their questions and your answers in a short-hand form.

Overall, this was a good interview in which you covered a lot of ground and did the best job to date of setting out the second term agenda.

In general, we should:

Get away from defending the '93 budget accord and talk more about the success of the '96 budget at stopping the extreme elements in Congress from having their day. This election is about '95/'96, not '93, and this is the fight that has defined the clear choice facing the voters.

✓ Spend more time talking about the public values issues that differentiate us from the Republicans and Dole: tobacco, guns, student loans, FMLA, and child immunization. These are the issues that foster bringing up kids and were opposed by the Republicans at every turn. We should also bring in Meagan's law and the domestic violence program, issues that speak to women.

Talk more about how the role of government is changing. (Era of big government is over.) And how the new approaches you are taking to crime, welfare, balancing the budget and the values issues are consistent with this change. This is one of the major themes we should be continuing from State of the Union.

X [Tie the efforts of the first two years to the need to put our house in order after the mess left by the Republicans in terms of the economy and the federal budget; this puts the first two years in context.

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I catalogued all the issues you touched upon and organized them by topic.

These included:

- The 1993 tax increase on the wealthy
- 1993 budget agreement
- Failure of healthcare (discussed twice)
- NAFTA
- American dream – opp, resp, community
- 10 million jobs
- EITC
- Want to do more to cut taxes for middle class
- Two-tier Medicare system Republicans wish to pass
- Medical advances/impact on Medicare
- Medicare commission
- College tax deduction
- School uniforms
- Schools on Internet
- Student loans
- FMLA/FMLA II/flex time
- GI Bill for workers/pensions
- Kennedy Kassebaum
- Lobby reform bill
- Telecomm bill
- Anti-terrorism bill
- Making environment part of economic strategy
- Meat inspection
- balanced budget proposal
- NRA/Brady bill/assault rifles/ 60,000 felons
- Welfare moms must go to school
- Welfare time limits
- Wisconsin waiver
- Welfare waivers generally
- Leaving Cold War behind
- Dealing with new security threats
- Creating a structure global economic opportunity
- MFN justification
- Bosnia
- Nuclear non-proliferation
- Whitewater/D'Amato hearings/full cooperation
- FBI files/special case not like Whitewater
- FBI files/not let the process rob people of their president
- Tied tobacco and V-chip to anti-terrorism, nonproliferation (these issues were sandwiched in the last foreign policy discussion)

Here are the major accomplishments/issues NOT discussed:

- 100,000 cops
- 3 strikes - you're out
- Child immunizations
- Community policing
- Juvenile justice focus/proposals
- ✓ • Meagan's law
- ✓ • Deadbeat dad proposals
- ✓ • Domestic violence protections
- Educational TV
- ✓ • Good statistic to use: 12 million have used FMLA to date
- Juvenile justice focus/proposals
- ~~Meagan's law~~
- ✓ • Raising school standards/ending automatic promotions
- ✓ • Need for accelerated toxic waste cleanup/threat from Republicans on this
- ✓ • Explicit discussion of the '96 budget agreement as a success at cutting deficit but protecting our values, including MME.
- ✓ • More prominent mention of tobacco ad ban for kids

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Specific analysis of questions and answers:

Q: Why so unpopular in 1st two years, so popular after losing control of Congress?

Current Answer:

- 1) did controversial things (deficit reduction, crime) that took time to work
- 2) failure of healthcare overshadowed the campaign
- 3) less active in Congress (except telecommunication, anti-terrorism, unfunded mandates)
- 4) undertook more Executive action (curfews, school uniforms, welfare waivers)

Analysis:

Suggest starting off with:

In first two years, did many things necessary to put our house in order. After Bush it became clear from the CBO that the deficit was out of control and our economy had serious problems, and high unemployment. We had to clean up the mess we were left before we could move forward and we did: ...EITC, student loans, deficit reduction, increased free trade. The results of this approach took time to develop, but today...

Then use 1 – did controversial things that were the right thing. Use Brady bill, FMLA as examples.

Skip points 2,3

Use 4

Add: And in the last two years as our policies were increasingly working, the public got an up-close look at the true Republican objectives of cutting Medicare, Medicaid, Education and the Environment, and as their goals became clearer the public started to realize that our priorities were much more in line with the direction that Americans wanted for their country....

Q: Follow up question on how the public handles change.

Analysis: No suggestions except: At one point you discuss problems with Medicare as the Republicans wanting to create a two tiered system – one for the sickest and poorest and the other for the healthiest and well to do.

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Suggest just criticizing Republicans for wanting to cut too much from Medicare and increase premiums and deductibles, cut benefits in ways that just would have meant too little healthcare for all older Americans, cuts that violated our duty to the elderly.

Q: Second term agenda?

Current Answer: Best answer to date putting second term in context of what you did in the first term, and outlining your goals.

But last paragraph of answer says that the goal of the second term is to create more security and reduce inequality.

Analysis: Suggest: 2nd term goal is to build on the opportunity, responsibility and economic security we have created in the first term to meet the new challenges America is facing and to truly prepare this country to compete and win in the 21st Century.

Q: MFN Discussion

Current Answer: You justify change in policies based on a revised assessment on whether this would force China to change policies.

Say it is part of moving away from the Cold War. Dismiss economic arguments.

Analysis: Suggest adding rather than dismissing the economic argument: The change that suggested a second look at the MFN issue was the fast paced acceleration of the importance of the global economy. We would have been locked out of the world's fastest growing market and be exporting jobs to Japan on a permanent basis if we were not competing there. And experience has shown us that increased intertwining of the two economies is one of the best ways to reduce tensions and encourage action on human rights in the long run.

Q: Future of Medicare?

Current Answer: Technological change will create new cures, new efficiencies. Call for a bipartisan group ready to negotiate balanced budget, bothered by a Republican approach that would hurt the poorest, sickest, hospitals, traced to desire for Republican tax cut.

Analysis: Suggest you avoid class analysis of Republican proposals as we are losing middle income seniors and only holding poorer ones and instead paint the Republicans as really trying to cut Medicare too far back for all senior citizens - doubling premiums, raising deductibles, increasing costs too much.

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The Republicans simply didn't understand the priority that Americans attach to Medicare. We believe in cost containment sufficient to maintain the system and we believe that technological changes will make it easier to do over time. But our balanced budget plan shows that we can be fiscally responsible and preserve Medicare...

Q: Whitewater questions

Good. No comments

Q: Files questions.

Current Answer: Whitewater is politics. I don't believe that about the FBI files. "That's a legitimate issue...I want to know the truth myself." Complained that other investigations Administration did just spawned investigations of investigations.

 **Analysis:** Suggest emphasizing actions taken: 1) put in new controls and procedures to make sure that we can guarantee the careful handling of all security information (describe procedures). 2) we asked the relevant independent authorities to fully investigate what did happen, and we expect them to issue a full report to conclude this matter.

Follow-up: Why aren't you investigating it?

 **Analysis:** Suggest just repeating the facts that we have put in new procedures and turned it over to independent authorities and adding that duplicate investigations of the same matter would be counterproductive and are unnecessary.

Q: Is all this negativity a reflection of the change in your generation?

Current Answer: I don't know....Get four years....less I think about this the better...

 **Analysis:** Suggest: on one level people do have doubts about their institutions and how Washington works. But at the same time people have a great deal of optimism about themselves, their own futures and the opportunities that are growing in this country. I think that a president has to increasingly tap into their personal sense that they can have a better life and provide opportunities for responsible citizens. I believe over time we can ease many of their fears about Washington by doing things that are not representative of big government but instead help their communities and their families ... [this intro would then allow you to launch into] community policing, V-chip, balancing work/family, juvenile justice, etc.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-15-96

To: Don Baer

From: Mark Penn

- The Kennedy
- N. Kennedy
- Proverbs, St Paul
- Jesus' new commandment see, R. Keibler
- Politics & Religion at Cleveland

Public Values: FDR: Thurgood / Goodman / Swann
 TR: Elmer
 WW: Heilman
 PL: Donnell, Stefan
 PST: McLennan

- ① Anti-Drug
- ② Zero tolerance
- ③ Need to try military
- ④

The key element in a values interview is to turn discussions on the typical issues the press will want to talk about – gays, abortion, religion, single sex marriages, moral character – into a discussion of our programs to protect kids, the budget fight, the new style of governing of bringing people together to help solve problems, the second term agenda, how the voters will judge character in the election by the fights you have fought and the people you have helped.

If he is asked to interpret what "values" is or why it is so important this year, we use it to turn our to our issues:

Values has come to the fore of the American public because people are increasingly concerned with questions of how to be a success at home and at work, how to protect and nurture their kids from the influences out there, how to provide their kids with the educational opportunity, and how to keep safe from crime. They are looking to have a greater sense of community and to see people take more responsibility for their own actions. They are looking for leadership that goes beyond Washington in finding solutions to these problems. This is really about finding the character of our nation and of applying their basic sense of right and wrong to the issues of the day in new ways.

This means: (these are shorthand as he can elaborate on any of these programs to great advantage).

- a) values and character/whitewater. Repeat answer of MSNBC
- b) talking about how the budget debate of 1995 was really not a battle over fiscal responsibility (both of you agreed to balance the budget) but about the fundamental values we have as a nation – doing our duty to our elderly with Medicare, creating opportunity for the young (education cuts), protecting our children (medicaid), and about what we leave for the next generation (the environment). It was really this powerful contrast in the values of the two positions that presented America with a clear choice about the direction it wants to take.
- c) emphasizing the value of protecting our kids from the influences that are beyond the control of parents – this is the essential value that has concerned parents in the information and technology age – protecting kids from tobacco ads, from violence on TV with the v-chip, from fights in school with school uniforms, from a substandard education with goals 2000, the new educational programs, from disease with our child immunization program, and giving parents the time they need to take care of their kids through the Family and Medical Leave Act and its expansion in FLMA.

Budget

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8-15-96

EITC
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- (d) talking about the first term in terms of the basic bargain of creating opportunity and demanding responsibility. Use this particularly to talk about how the EITC restored a sense of the value of work over welfare while we have been demanding that teen mothers live up to their end of the bargain by staying in school.
- e) talking about how the second term agenda can be viewed through the three great values of opportunity, responsibility and community. The accompanying chart shows how these are organized.

GS Transcript in 2/97 CMT

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2nd Term Agenda

Preparing America For The 21st Century

• Opportunity

✓ Educational Initiatives

- School standards
- School Construction
- Technology literacy
- Community Colleges Free/College More Affordable
- Complete Balanced Budget/Preserve Medicare

✓ Economic Security (pensions, healthcare, job training, empowerment zones)

• Responsibility

✓ Finish Crime

- ✓ Finish welfare reform
- ✓ Deadbeat Dads
- ✓ Teen Pregnancy
- ✓ Juvenile Justice

• Community & Family

- ✓ Comp Time/ Family Leave Act II
- ✓ Ban Tobacco Ads to Kids
- ✓ V-Chip/Educational TV
- ✓ Toxic Waste Clean-Up

✓ Guiglailes
✓ State Pms

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(Handwritten signature)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 MAR 20 A10:33

13 March 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
LEON PANETTA
MELANNE VERVEER
GEORGE STEPHANOPOLOUS

FROM: Harold Ickes (Handwritten initials)

SUBJECT: A possible demonstration by the Feminist Majority
and other groups in Washington, DC this week.

On 10 March, I spoke Bill Press, the Chairman of the California Democratic Party, who told me that on 9 March he had met with a group of woman leaders, including members of the Feminist Majority, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and others who where "outraged" at the President's recent remarks concerning affirmative action which they took to signal a retreat. He said that they indicated they would be demonstrating in Washington this week protesting the President's "retreat" on affirmative action.

He also said that they may also demonstrate at the state convention in California, which the President is to attend, unless a meeting is arranged. He advises against a meeting.