

DRAFT 1 - 12/5/94

Contact: Mo Taggart
703/684-7848
Beep 800/946-4646
pin # 1115689
Jo-Anne Coe
703/845-1714

SENATOR DOLE SCHEDULE -- DECEMBER 6, 1994 -- NEW YORK**TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1994**

9:00 am DEPART Capitol for Watergate for National Airport/DELTA SHUTTLE
Driver: Wilbert

9:15 am ARRIVE National Airport and proceed to departing aircraft
Flight: Delta Shuttle # 1747

9:30 am DEPART Washington for New York, NY/Laguardia
Flight: Delta Shuttle # 1747
Flight time: 1 hour 11 minutes

10:41 am ARRIVE New York/Laguardia

10:55 am DEPART airport for Union League Club
Driver: Mark (USA Limo)
718/871-5600
Drive time: 35 minutes
Location: 38 Park Avenue (37th & Park, SW corner)

11:30 am ARRIVE Union League Club
212/689-2046
Contact: Janet Ryder
Met by: Linda Murphy
Kevin McDermott

11:45 am- ATTEND Pre-Luncheon Meeting with Union League Club Board Members

12:00 N Location: Main Lounge - 1st Floor
Attendance: 35-40
Format: Mix and mingle
Contact: Linda Murphy
212/668-0071 (w)
212/668-0039 fax
212/682-6133 (h)

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1994**PAGE 2****12:00 N- ATTEND/SPEAK Union League Club Luncheon**

12:30 pm Location: Grill Room - 3rd Floor
 Attendance: 330
 Event runs: 12:00 - 2:00 pm
 Press: Closed
 Facility: No headtable, seating in rounds
 Podium and mic
 Format: Dr. Stuart Prall, President of Union League Club,
 introduces Senator Dole
 Senator Dole gives remarks
 Q & A
 Contact: Linda Murphy
 212/668-0071 (w)
 212/668-0039 fax
 212/682-6133 (h)

12:30 pm DEPART luncheon for Campaign America Luncheon

 Location: Mary Murray Lounge - 4th Floor

12:35 pm- ATTEND Campaign America Fundraiser

1:45 pm Location: Mary Murray Lounge
 Attendance: 20+ @ \$5,000 per person
 Contact: Joe Reppert

1:45 pm DEPART Union League Club for Ken Langone's Office

 Driver: : Mark (USA Limo)
 718/871-5600

 Drive time: 20 minutes
 Location: 375 Park Avenue

2:05 pm ARRIVE Ken Langone's Office**2:30 pm MEET with Charlie Symington**

 Location: Ken Langone's Office

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1994**PAGE 3**

3:00 pm MEET with Stanley Druckenmiller

Location: Ken Langone's Office

4:00 pm DEPART Langone's office for Plaza Hotel

Driver: Mark (USA Limo)

718/871-5600

Drive time: 15 minutes

Location: 768 5th Avenue

USE ENTRANCE FACING FAO SCHWARTZ

4:15 pm ARRIVE Plaza Hotel, entrance facing FAO Schwartz, proceed to hotel room

212/759-3000

212/759-3167 fax

Met by: Jennifer Bartels

PRIVATE

NOTE: The Endowment for Democracy group has asked if you would like to have a press avail before attending the reception.

YES _____

NO _____

6:40 pm- ATTEND Endowment for Democracy in Eastern Europe Cocktail Reception

7:00 pm

Location: Terrace Room

Attendance: 300-350

Event runs: 6:30 - 7:00 pm

Press: Open

Attire: Black tie

Facility: None

Format: Mix and mingle

Informal photos

Contact: Rhena Bedford

212/354-3734

212/391-2674 fax

Jason Lyons

800/926-2251, 718/338-3157 (h)

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1994**PAGE 4****7:00 pm ATTEND/SPEAK Endowment for Democracy in Eastern Europe Dinner****8:30 pm****Location:** Ballroom**Attendance:** 300-350**Event runs:** 7:00 - 9:30 pm**Press:** Open**Attire:** Black tie**Facility:** Stage, podium and mic

Guests seated in rounds

Dole table: Mr. and Mrs. Russell Galbut

Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Galbut

Mr. and Mrs. Hyman Galbut

Mr. and Mrs. Ira Kanarick

Mr. and Mrs. Erwin Herling

Erica Jesselson

Sonny and Erika Kahn

Mr. and Mrs. Morty Davis

Senator Robert Dole

Format: 1st course pre-set

7:30 pm Simcha Lyons gives welcoming remarks

Video shown

7:58 pm Simcha Lyons introduces Senator Dole

8:00 pm Senator Dole gives remarks

8:30 pm Senator Dole departs

Robert Hartmann presents Freedom Award to

Professor Ferenc Glatz, Pres. Hungarian

Academy of Sciences

Professor Glatz gives remarks

Albert Reichmann gives presentation to Erica

Jesselson

Erica Jesselson gives remarks

Albert Reichmann presents Founders Award to Mr.

and Mrs. Erwin Herling

Mr. and Mrs. Herling give remarks

Dinner served

Dr. Baldwin gives report on the American

Endowment School and introduces students

Contact: Rhena Bedford

212/354-3734

212/391-2674 fax

Jason Lyons

800/926-2251

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1994**PAGE 5**

8:30 pm DEPART Plaza Hotel for Lagueardia Airport

Driver: Mark (USA Limo)

Drive time: 30 minutes

9:00 pm ARRIVE Lagueardia and proceed to departing aircraft
FBO:

9:05 pm DEPART New York for Washington/National

FBO:

Aircraft: Challenger (Union Pacific)

Tail number: N601UP

Flight time: 1 hour

Pilots:

Seats: 8

Meal: Light Dinner

Manifest: Senator Dole

Mark Miller

Contact: Katie Mannis

202/662-0140

10:05 pm ARRIVE Washington/National

FBO: Signature

703/419-8440

10:10 pm DEPART airport for Watergate

Driver: Wilbert

10:25 pm ARRIVE Watergate

Reception with Senator Robert J. Dole
11:30 Main Lounge

Expected to attend:

John Curtin & Guest
Hubert Horan & Guest
Stanley McDermott & Guest
Pen James & Guest
Richard Maynes & Guest
P. J. Schwarz & Guest
Whit Foote & Guest
James McKinnon & Guest
Stuart Prall & Guest
Charles Heming
John Casey & Bill Plunkett
Paul Trevor & Guest
Bob Logan
Chuck Windsor & 4 Guests
Ray Price & Guest
Nick Stewart & Guest
Bert Jamison

December 5, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO SENATOR DOLE

FROM: JON LYNN 
SUBJECT: SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

The following individuals have been suggested to Arthur Levitt or to us as candidates for the two Republican seats:

- * Whitney Adams - Rogers and Wells, practicing business litigation; formerly assistant U. S. Attorney and Assistant General Counsel in GC
- * Geoffrey Aranow -- Partner with Arnold and Porter; has significant amount of SEC enforcement work.
- * Sheila Bair -- Commissioner FTC
- * Ed Bolen -- General Counsel and Legislative Director to Senator Kassebaum
- * Mary Bush - Owns banking consulting business; held senior position at Federal Home Loan Bank; has been with Fannie Mae, IMF, Treasury, Bankers Trust and Citibank.
- * Pierre de Saint Phalle -- Partner with Davis Polk & Wardwell, practicing securities/corporate/'40 Act law
- * Ralph Ferrara -- Partner, Debevoise & Plimpton, former SEC General Counsel
- * Jean Gleason -- Partner, Fulbright & Jaworski; known for corporate and '40 Act practice; formerly Associate Director of Investment Management
- * Stuart Gordon -- Partner, Metzger, Hollis, Gordon; former Administrative Assistant and Chief of Staff for Senator Moynihan; worked as attorney in enforcement from 1957-63
- * Jim Hughes -- Partner, Dickstein, Shapiro and Morin; formerly, President, CEO C3, Inc., a computer systems integrator providing computers and computer maintenance to the military and DOD agencies. Recommended by Warner, Wolf, Jim Miller, Ed Cox.

- * Scott Muller -- Partner, Davis Polk & Wardwell doing white collar criminal defense; former Assistant U. S. Attorney
- * Robert Dean Pope -- Bond lawyer with Huntsman & Williams, a Richmond law firm. Recommended by Warner and Oxley.
- * Mary Seigal -- Professor, American University
- * Dennis Shea
- * Kenneth Stevens -- Attorney, partner with Portland law firm, specializing in corporate securities and banking law. Recommended by Senators Packwood and Hatfield.
- * Andrew Vollmer -- Partner, Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering; significant international securities experience (enforcement and corporation finance)

There is some talk that now that Senator Shelby has declared himself to be a Republican, the White House considers his former staff director and protege on the SEC, Rick Roberts (appointed by President Bush as a Democrat), to be a Republican as well.

As a consequence, the White House may try to nominate a Democrat for one of the two immediate vacancies on the SEC. (Roberts himself expects to leave the SEC sometime this spring. His five-year term expires in June of next year.)

Some speculate that nominating a Democrat takes the pressure off the Administration to name a woman to the Republican seat, allowing them to name a Democrat instead. One name frequently mentioned is Consuela Washington, an African American woman who is Dingell's alterego on House Energy and Commerce.

The current vacancies are for a full five year term and for a two year term, the remainder of Beese's term.

Sheila told Pat Griffin that Dennis is a must do -- and not to pull anything on Rick Roberts.

TO: Senator Dole
FR: Kerry

RE: Union League Club Luncheon

*The Union League Club was first formed in 1863, as a club for Republican businessmen. There currently are over 1,000 members in the New York club, and approximately 300 will be attending the luncheon on Tuesday. The Club was men only until recently, and they are now aggressively recruiting women members.

*Members of the Club include Lawrence Kudlow and Ray Price. A complete list of those attending lunch will be sent to us on Friday afternoon.

*The Lounge of the club--where you will have your pre-luncheon meeting--includes pictures of all former Republican Presidents.

*The meeting will begin with your remarks at 12:00--lunch will be served after you depart for the Campaign America Event.

*I spoke with Mr. Price who recommends that you just speak off the cuff on the elections and the Congressional Agenda for 5-10 minutes, and then take questions and answers. He says you'll be "preaching to the choir," and they just want to hear "pure Bob Dole."

*Attached are a few one-liners you might want to use in beginning.

*Thank you. I've dreamed of speaking at the Union League Club for quite a while. Well, actually, I've dreamed of having my picture on your "Wall of Presidents," but I guess I'll have to take what I can get.

*I have heard quite a bit about this group from friends like Larry Kudlow and Ray Price, and it is a pleasure to join you. I understand that this club was founded in 1863...and Strom Thurmond tells me that he remembers that first meeting very well.

TO: Senator Dole
FR: Kerry

RE: Union League Lunch

*Ed Cox will be attending the Union League Lunch with Ray Price. You might want to mention the list that Cox found in President Nixon's desk after his death, and that he passed on to you. A copy is attached.

A President needs a global view, a sense of proportion, and a keen sense of the possible. He needs to know how power operates, and he must have the will to use it.

If I could carve ten rules into the walls of the Oval Office for my successors to follow in the dangerous years just ahead, they would be these:

1. Always be prepared to negotiate, but never negotiate without being prepared.
2. Never be belligerent, but always be firm.
3. Always remember that covenants should be openly agreed to but privately negotiated.
4. Never seek publicity that would destroy the ability to get results.
5. Never give up unilaterally what could be used as a bargaining chip. Make your adversaries give something for everything they get.
6. Never let your adversary underestimate what you *would* do in response to a challenge. Never tell him in advance what you would *not* do.
7. Always leave your adversary a face-saving line of retreat.
8. Always carefully distinguish between friends who provide some human rights and enemies who deny all human rights.
9. Always do at least as much for our friends as our adversaries do for our enemies.
10. Never lose faith. In a just cause faith can move mountains. Faith without strength is futile, but strength without faith is sterile.

Having laid down these rules, I would also suggest that the President keep in his desk drawer, in mind but out of sight, an eleventh commandment: When saying "always" and "never," always keep a mental reservation; never foreclose the unique exception; always leave room for maneuver. A President always has to be prepared for what he thought he would never do.

Richard M. Nixon

VIP Reception
Attendees



THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

Senator Robert J. Dole
11:30 Main Lounge
December 6, 1994

Expected to attend:

John Curtin & Guest
Whit Foote & Guest
Hubert Horan & Guest
Stanley McDermott & Guest
Pen James & Guest
P. J. Schwarz & Guest
Richard Maynes & Guest
James McKinnon & Guest
Stuart Prall & Guest
Charles Heming & Guest
John Casey & Bill Plunkett
Paul Trevor & Guest
Bob Logan
Chuck Windsor & Guest
Ray Price & Guest (Ed Cox)
Cono Fusco
Nick Stewart & Guest
Ted Quantz & Guest

LUNCH
ATTENDEES

PUBLIC AFFAIRS
SENATOR ROBERT J. DOLE
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1994

V. ANGERMUELLER (A130)	2
C. BARNETT (B407)	2
D. BARTHOLOMEW (B060)	2
D. BENDER (B108)	2
S. BEPLER (B398)	2
G. BERADO (B484)	3
C. BLUME (B153)	2
C. BLUME (B431)	2
R. BROWN (B480)	1
R. BROWN (B145)	2
J.. BUTTINE (B522)	2
J. CAHILL (C451)	2
J. CASEY (C448)	2
G. COMFORT (C334)	2
A. COPPAGE (C414)	2
J. COYLER (C248)	2
T. CRONIN (C253)	2
J. CURTIN (C231)	2
J. DAVIS (D253)	2
A.. D'ELIA (D152)	3
J.D. DUNNING (D274)	2
R. DEVINE (D115)	2
M. DONOGHUE (D269)	3

G. DORLAND (Z872)	2	
R. ENGLISH (E101)	2	
J. FARRELL (F449)	1	
J. FARRINGTON (F244)	2	
R. FERGUSON (F118)	1	
W. FICCA (F109)	2	
T. FINN (F115)	2	
D. FLEMING (F447)	2	
J. FOERST (F253)	2	
G. FRASER (F110)	1	
C. FUSCO (F441)	33	3 TABLES OF 11
J. GRIMALDI (G357)	2	
A. GUARINO (G111)	10	
W. HAPWORTH (H111)	2	
H. HARDING (H036)	1	
R. HARPER (H267)	2	
N. HARVEY (H484)	2	
L. HATHAWAY (H424)	2	
C. HEMING (H471)	1	
M. HICKS (H416)	2	
H. HORAN (H265)	2	
C. HUG (H477)	1	
M. INVERNIZZI (I010)	2	
J. ISSLER (I007)	2	
P. JAMES (J108)	2	

B. JAMISON (J054)	1
G. JOBSON (J086)	2
B. JOHNSON (J125)	1
E. JOHNSON (J133)	2
E. JONES (J150)	1
S. KASHMERI (K101)	3
D. KEATING (K107)	3
A. KEENE (K288)	2
J. KELSEY (K123)	2
K. KORANDO (K151)	2
L. KUDLOW (K292)	1
W. LAMBERT (L094)	1
R. LANNING (L255)	1
D. LEDERMAN (L050)	2
A. LINZ (L166)	1
R. LOGAN (L155)	1
S. LOONEY (L216)	2
P. LOWERRE (L222)	2
E. MADDY (M601)	2
D. MARCUM (M616)	2
J. MASCONI (M113)	2
R. MAYNES (M535)	2
S. McDERMOTT (M471)	2
A. McGINNESS (M184)	2
F. McKINNON (M315)	2

J. McKINNON (2
J. McKINNON (M316)	2
M. McKINNON (M594)	2
P. McNAMARA (M605)	2
J. MENDER (M399)	2
C. MENK (M336)	2
M. MEYER (M618)	2
R. MILLHISER (M413)	2
G. MORGENSON (M634)	1
J. MORRIS (M626)	2
J. MORRISON (M163)	2
D. MUIR (Z140)	2
J. MURPHY (M623)	2
R. NEWMAN (N082)	2
B. O'CALLAHAN (O053)	2
W. OST (0079)	2
D. PANTHEN (P107)	1
K. PANTHEN (P229)	2
R. PARKE (P151)	2
S. PEARSON (P125)	1
R. PHELAN (P236)	2
D. PITTI (P176)	2
J. PLATTE (P253)	2
S. PRALL (P199)	2
J. PRICE (P127)	2

R. PRICE (P257)	2
A. QUANTZ (Q009)	3
J. RASIC (R290)	2
R. RAZETTI (R252)	4
C. REYNOLDS (R111)	2
W. RICHARDS (R283)	2
H. ROCKWELL (R179)	2
K. RYAN (R260)	2
S. SAUERHAFT (S390)	2
R. SAWYER (S156)	2
J. SCHWARZ (S352)	2
G. SCOTTI (S104)	2
G. SEEGER (S574)	2
C. SEIDLER (S461)	2
W. SERENBETZ (S413)	1
R. SERIO (S110)	2
D. SHEPHERD (S367)	2
J. SHUTTS (S596)	6
C. SMITH (432)	2
C. SMITH (S565)	3
J. SOHM (S118)	2
J. SQUIRES (S478)	1
M. STRAUS (S113)	2
W. STEVENS (S595)	2
N. STEWART (S424)	2

T. STIVES (S116)	8
H. STOLLER (S524)	2
D. STOECK (S446)	2
L. SUDEKUM (S173)	2
G. SULLIVAN (S564)	2
P. TRAVERS (T105)	2
P. TREVOR (T192)	2
M. TUCHMAN (T107)	1
D. TURKO (T198)	2
R. VAN CLEAVE (V069)	2
D. VANDER ZANDEN (V100)	2
C. VIALLE (V080)	2
M. WHEALON (W402)	2
C. WINDSOR (W200)	5
T. WINTER (W399)	2
T. WYATT (W107)	2

THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF NEW YORK

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING • SUITE 4910 • NEW YORK, NY 10118 • (212) 947-1138/1AX (212) 947 7118

FOUNDED 1907

Raymond K. Price, Jr./President

November 30, 1994

9

Dear Bob,

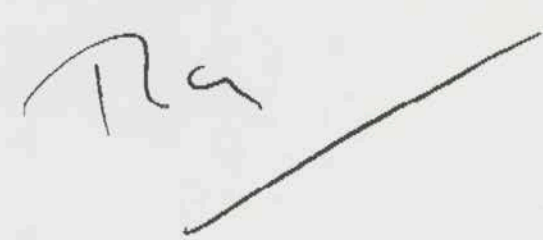
Three things:

a) Congratulations! It's going to be great to have you back again in the Majority Leader's seat.

b) I'm looking forward to seeing you next Tuesday at the Union League Club here in New York, of which I'm a member. FYI, I'll have as my guest President Nixon's son-in-law Ed Cox. As you're probably aware, Ed has become quite active in New York State Republican politics, including active campaigning this year for George Pataki.

c) You may recall that earlier this year I was trying to put together an Economic Club dinner with you and Pat Moynihan as the two speakers, but we couldn't match up your schedule, Pat's and the available hotel dates. If you're available, I'd still like very much to do that sometime early in the new year.

All best,



Hon. Robert J. Dole
United States Senate

December 5, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Senator Dole
FROM: Randy Scheunemann
SUBJECT: Jerusalem Issue

There is a reason Jerusalem was not mentioned in your Middle East speech; it is the most difficult issue in the peace process (and undoubtedly the one which will be resolved last). Virtually all Israelis (and American Jews) believe Jerusalem must be the undivided capital of Israel while Palestinians view Jerusalem as their capital. U.S. policy has been to leave the final status of Jerusalem for agreement between the parties, but not to take a position on the issue at the present time -- the U.S. has refused to move our Embassy to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv precisely to avoid taking a position. Earlier this year, the Clinton Administration did allow a U.N. resolution to pass which referred to Jerusalem as "occupied territory" which is, of course, anathema to Israelis.

The bottom line is that to side with Israel on Jerusalem is somewhat at odds with your past position (and that of successive administrations); leaving the issue to be resolved between the parties makes sense at a later date. You could refer to the tremendous importance of Jerusalem to Israelis (and to all members of the three great religions which have roots in Jerusalem), and to how difficult the issue will be to resolve given the currently incompatible positions.

Randy
The bottom line is that
united states did state a
by speech,
copy

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1994**PAGE 4**

7:00 pm ATTEND/SPEAK Endowment for Democracy in Eastern Europe Dinner

8:30 pm

Location: Ballroom

Attendance: 300-350

Event runs: 7:00 - 9:30 pm

Press: Open

Attire: Black tie

Facility: Stage, podium and mic

Guests seated in rounds

Dole table: Mr. and Mrs. Russell Galbut

Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Galbut

Mr. and Mrs. Hyman Galbut

Mr. and Mrs. Ira Kanarick

Mr. and Mrs. Erwin Herling

Erica Jesselson

Sonny and Erika Kahn

Mr. and Mrs. Morty Davis

Senator Robert Dole

Format: 1st course pre-set

7:30 pm Simcha Lyons gives welcoming remarks

Video shown

7:58 pm Simcha Lyons introduces Senator Dole

8:00 pm Senator Dole gives remarks

8:30 pm Senator Dole departs

Robert Hartmann presents Freedom Award to

Professor Ferenc Glatz, Pres. Hungarian

Academy of Sciences

Professor Glatz gives remarks

Albert Reichmann gives presentation to Erica

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Erica Jesselson gives remarks

Albert Reichmann presents Founders Award to Mr.

and Mrs. Erwin Herling

Mr. and Mrs. Herling give remarks

Dinner served

Dr. Baldwin gives report on the American

Endowment School and introduces students

Contact: Rhena Bedford

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Jason Lyons

800/926-2251

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Drive time: 30 minutes

9:00 pm ARRIVE Lagueardia and proceed to departing aircraft
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9:05 pm DEPART New York for Washington/National

FBO:

Aircraft: Challenger (Union Pacific)

Tail number: N601UP

Flight time: 1 hour

Pilots:

Seats: 8

Meal: Light Dinner

Manifest: Senator Dole

Mark Miller

Contact: Katie Mannis

202/662-0140

10:05 pm ARRIVE Washington/National

FBO: Signature

703/419-8440

10:10 pm DEPART airport for Watergate

Driver: Wilbert

10:25 pm ARRIVE Watergate

ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE

ALBERT REICHMANN

CHAIRMAN

November 8, 1994

Honorable Robert Dole
United States Senator
900 Second Street
Suite 118
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Senator Dole,

As we are fast approaching December 6, the date of our gala dinner for the benefit of the American Endowment School in Budapest, I would like to congratulate you for being chosen to be the recipient of the Raoul Wallenberg Award; and accepting to be the keynote speaker at this great event.

More importantly, I would like to thank you in my name and in the name of the 450 students learning at the American Endowment School, which at this very time is in the midst of becoming the first school in Eastern Europe to receive accreditation by an American accrediting agency, namely, Middle States Association of Schools and Colleges.

The parents and grandparents of the students are grateful to you as a leader in the only remaining great power in the world, for helping along, encouraging and nurturing their commitments towards a just society based on true democratic values, and in mitigating the nationalistic tendencies that society in Central and Eastern Europe is suffering from. Your commitments and actions is an inspiration for the minorities to take up the struggle and to assert their Jewish identity, and for the struggle of Jewish continuity, identity, and pride.

We also wish to thank you for your support in the revitalization process of the remnants of a Jewish presence in the land of the so called, "Austro-Hungarian Empire" which we have called home for the past one thousand years. Oh how hopeful our martyrs 50 years ago were!... Hoping that someone, from somewhere, would come to their rescue. It was 50 years ago that Raoul Wallenberg and yourself took up the struggle to stop tyranny and were ready to sacrifice life and limb to ensure that freedom and equality should become the order of the day. For the past 50 years, the people of Central and Eastern Europe have pointed a finger and accused America for lack of resolve and inaction.

It is only through people like yourself that we can hope that history will not repeat itself. Through your tireless efforts, and through the dedication and activism by men of conscience and resolve, in which our organization under the chairmanship of Mr. Albert Reichmann, can be counted. We hope collectively to insure that never again will our people be threatened with the atrocities of the past. It is through our collective teamwork that an open and free society will finally emerge.

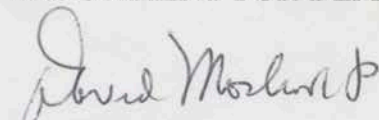
Although our organization has focused its initial activities in social, medical, and educational endeavors, we are in the midst of formulating and implementing programs to help along and nurture the development of a strong middle class. To bring down the evil empire was a great historical achievement, but the social ills that created that system has not been addressed. A truly democratic society can not be hoped for if only two classes of "haves" and "have nots" emerge.

I sincerely hope that we will have the opportunity to discuss in detail our programs at your convenience.

Thank you for being part of our great and noble team and may our wishes for survival of a just and open society become a reality in our lifetime.

Respectfully yours,

ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE



Mr. David Moskowitz
President

P.S. I have taken the liberty at this time to forward to you some video tapes and background material of our organization's activities to date.

**I AM HONORED TO BE HERE THIS
EVENING AND ESPECIALLY
HONORED TO RECEIVE THE
ENDOWMENT'S RAOUL
WALLENBERG AWARD.**

**LIKE COUNTLESS OTHER
AMERICANS, I HAVE BEEN INSPIRED
BY THE LIFE AND COURAGE OF
RAOUL WALLENBERG. AND THIS
AWARD HAS SPECIAL MEANING**

**BECAUSE DURING HIS WORK, MR.
WALLENBERG WORKED CLOSELY
WITH THE RED CROSS--AN
ORGANIZATION WHICH IS CLOSE TO
MY HEART.**

**IT ALSO MEANS A GREAT DEAL
TO BE HONORED BY AN
ORGANIZATION FOR WHICH I HAVE
THE HIGHEST RESPECT.**

**HERE AT THE ENDOWMENT, YOU
CORRECTLY REALIZE THAT OUR**

**RESPONSIBILITIES, AS A NATION,
TO THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL
AND EASTERN EUROPE DID NOT
END WITH THE DEMISE OF
COMMUNISM AND THE END OF THE
COLD WAR.**

**INDEED, I WOULD SAY THAT THE
FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL MARKED
NOT AN END--BUT A BEGINNING OF
A NEW AMERICAN COMMITMENT
TO THOSE COUNTRIES EMERGING**

**FROM THE TYRANNY OF
COMMUNISM: A COMMITMENT TO
FOSTERING DEMOCRATIC VALUES
AND BUILDING DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS.**

**MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT,
THE UNITED STATES WAS THE
LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD
DURING THE COLD WAR--AND IT
MUST CONTINUE TO BE THE LEADER**

**OF THE FREE WORLD IN THE
AFTERMATH OF THE COLD WAR.**

**THE RESPONSIBILITY IS A GREAT
ONE, NOT TO BE UNDERESTIMATED.**

**THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AND
EASTERN EUROPE SPENT DECADES
TRAPPED WITHIN COMMUNISM'S
STRAIGHTJACKET -- AND NOW
HAVE A BURNING NEED AND DESIRE
TO MANIFEST THEIR OWN
UNIQUENESS. THOSE**

**MANIFESTATIONS CAN BE BOTH
POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE,
HOWEVER, AS WE SEE IN THE
CONTRAST BETWEEN THE
PEACEFUL BREAKUP OF
CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE
GENOCIDAL WAR AGAINST BOSNIA-
HERZEGOVINA.**

**AS A VETERAN OF WORLD WAR
II, WHO FOUGHT AGAINST NAZISM,
FASCISM, AND BRUTAL**

**AGGRESSION, I NEVER THOUGHT I
WOULD AGAIN SEE
CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN THE
MIDST OF THE EUROPEAN
CONTINENT. OF COURSE, THE
SLAUGHTER OF BOSNIAN MUSLIMS
HAS NO WHERE NEAR THE SCALE
OF THE HOLOCAUST. HOWEVER,
THE OBJECTIVES BEHIND "ETHNIC
CLEANSING", THE HOLOCAUST,
AND OTHER GENOCIDES ARE THE**

**SAME: TO ANNIHILATE HUMAN
BEINGS WHO ARE OF A DIFFERENT
RACE OR RELIGION.**

**IN JUNE, I WAS IN SARAJEVO,
AND I WITNESSED THE SUFFERING
OF THE PEOPLE LIVING THERE --
MUSLIMS, CROATS, JEWS, AND
SERBS -- WHOSE ONLY CRIME HAS
BEEN THAT THEY REFUSE TO
SURRENDER TO THE IDEA THAT
THEY COULD NOT LIVE TOGETHER**

**IN PEACE. AND THEIR COURAGE
AFTER NEARLY 1000 DAYS OF
SIEGE IS A LIVING TESTAMENT TO
THE STRENGTH OF THE HUMAN
SPIRIT -- A PRESENT DAY ECHO OF
THE SURVIVORS OF THE
HOLOCAUST.**

**NOT ONLY DO WE HAVE A
RESPONSIBILITY TO CONFRONT
GENOCIDAL NATIONALISM IN
BOSNIA, WE HAVE TO PREVENT**

**FUTURE BOSNIAS. AS AMERICANS
WE HAVE TO FIGHT FOR THE CAUSE
OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS
EVERY DAY OF OUR LIVES. IT IS
THIS GOAL WHICH SHOULD UNITE
US WITH EUROPE, AND IN
PARTICULAR, THE NEW
DEMOCRACIES OF CENTRAL AND
EASTERN EUROPE.**

**SPECIFICALLY, WE MUST WORK
TO CONSOLIDATE DEMOCRATIC**

**AND FREE MARKET TRENDS,
PRESERVE PEACE AND STABILITY,
AND TO PREVENT THE EVILS OF
FASCISM, NAZISM, COMMUNISM,
AND TOTALITARIANISM FROM
SEEING THE LIGHT OF DAY AND
EVER TAKING HOLD AGAIN.**

**THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY WILL
NOT BE EASY. BUT, THE UNITED
STATES CAN PLAY -- AND MUST
PLAY -- A LEADERSHIP ROLE. WE**

**CAN DO SO BILATERALLY AND
MULTILATERALLY THROUGH
INSTITUTIONS, SUCH AS THE
CONFERENCE FOR SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE AND
NATO.**

**LAST WEEK I VISITED NATO
HEADQUARTERS IN BRUSSELS.
THERE I MET NOT ONLY WITH OUR
ALLIES, BUT WITH
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE**

**COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN
NATO'S PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE --
A PROGRAM WHICH SEEKS TO
INCREASE TIES BETWEEN NATO
AND THE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE
EMERGED FROM COMMUNISM IN
EASTERN EUROPE AND THE FORMER
SOVIET UNION. PARTICIPATION IN
THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE WILL
HELP PREPARE THESE COUNTRIES**

**FOR POTENTIAL MEMBERSHIP IN
NATO.**

**OFFICIALS OF THESE
GOVERNMENTS -- HUNGARIANS,
POLES, CZECHS, UKRAINIANS,
AMONG OTHERS -- WANTED TO
EMPHASIZE TO ME, THAT IN
SEEKING NATO MEMBERSHIP, THEY
WERE NOT ONLY SEEKING NATO'S
SECURITY GUARANTEES, BUT**

**CLOSER TIES TO THE UNITED
STATES.**

**THAT MESSAGE IS VERY
IMPORTANT. IT MEANS THAT
AMERICA IS STILL VIEWED AS THE
LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD. IT
MEANS THAT AMERICA STILL HAS A
VITAL ROLE TO PLAY IN THE
AFTERMATH OF COMMUNISM.**

**IT IS NOT JUST OUR MILITARY
AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH THAT**

**ARE IMPORTANT TO THESE NEW
DEMOCRACIES, IT IS THE SUM OF
WHAT OUR GREAT COUNTRY
REPRESENTS -- FREEDOM,
DEMOCRACY, RELIGIOUS AND
ETHNIC TOLERANCE. AMERICA IS
STILL THE HOPE OF THE WORLD.**

**DESPITE THE HARDSHIPS OF THE
PAST, AND THE HARDSHIPS OF THE
PRESENT, THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN
AND CENTRAL EUROPE ARE**

**PATIENT, HOPEFUL, AND
HARDWORKING.**

**PROGRESS AND SUCCESS IS
ACHIEVED BY THOSE INDIVIDUALS
OR SOCIETIES WHO HAVE THE
FORESIGHT, COURAGE,
DETERMINATION AND COMMITMENT
TO GO AGAINST THE TIDE, TO TAKE
RISKS, TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE.
THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AND
EASTERN EUROPE ARE DOING THIS**

**RIGHT NOW. THEY KNOW THAT
IDEAS, VALUES, AND CONVICTIONS
MATTER. THEY KNOW THAT
DEMOCRACY WILL NOT TAKE ROOT
ON THEIR SOIL UNLESS A CIVIC
CULTURE FORMS, DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS ARE ESTABLISHED,
AND SOCIETY IS COMMITTED TO
CHANGE.**

**I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT DESPITE
SETBACKS, REAL PROGRESS IN**

**BUILDING DEMOCRACY AND FREE
MARKET ECONOMIES IS BEING
MADE IN ALL OF THE COUNTRIES OF
EASTERN EUROPE -- ALBEIT WITH
VARYING DEGREES OF SCOPE AND
INTENSITY. WE MUST BE ENGAGED
AND ENCOURAGE THIS TREND.**

**TO EASTERN EUROPE, AMERICA
HAS ALWAYS BEEN A BEACON OF
FREEDOM AND LIBERTY. DURING
THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, MANY**

**NEW LEADERS OF EASTERN
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE COME
TO MY OFFICE--NOT TO ASK FOR
MONEY--BUT TO THANK US FOR
THE LEADERSHIP AND EXAMPLE WE
PROVIDED DURING THE COLD WAR,
AND TO SAY THAT THEY WANT TO
BE LIKE AMERICA.**

**OUR CHALLENGE IS TO
CONTINUE TO SET AN EXAMPLE--TO
CONTINUE TO LEAD. BY DOING SO,**

**WE ARE NOT ONLY MAKING AN
INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE OF
EASTERN EUROPE, WE ARE ALSO
MAKING AN INVESTMENT IN OUR
OWN FUTURE.**

**BEFORE I CONCLUDE, I ALSO
WANT TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT
AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IS STILL
REQUIRED IN THE MIDEAST.**

**I HAD THE HONOR OF SPEAKING
AT YESHIVA UNIVERSITY'S**

**CONVOCAATION TWO NIGHTS AGO
HERE IN NEW YORK, AND SAID
THAT THE HISTORIC PROGRESS
THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE
MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN ACHIEVED
ONLY BECAUSE THE UNITED
STATES AND ISRAEL HAVE STOOD
TOGETHER, AND ONLY BECAUSE
ISRAEL HAS REMAINED STRONG
AND SECURE.**

**WHILE MUCH PROGRESS HAS
BEEN MADE IN THE QUEST FOR
PEACE, AND PRESSURE FOR EVEN
MORE PROGRESS IS GREAT, ISRAEL
STILL FACES MANY VERY SERIOUS
THREATS--INCLUDING UNTESTED
PEACE PARTNERS IN THE SYRIANS
AND THE PALESTINIANS, AND
DEADLY ENEMIES IN IRAQ AND
IRAN.**

**AS ISRAEL CONTINUES TO
NEGOTIATE WITH SYRIA AND WITH
THE PALESTINIANS, NO ONE
SHOULD DOUBT FOR A MOMENT
THE FULL COMMITMENT OF THE
UNITED STATES TO THE SECURITY
OF ISRAEL.**

**LET ME LEAVE YOU TONIGHT
WITH WORDS WRITTEN BY A
COURAGEOUS TEEN-AGER NEARLY
FIFTY YEARS AGO.**

**"HOW LOVELY TO THINK THAT
NO ONE NEED WAIT A MOMENT,"
WROTE ANNE FRANK IN HER DIARY.**

**"WE CAN START NOW, START
SLOWLY, CHANGING THE WORLD.
HOW LOVELY THAT EVERYONE,
GREAT AND SMALL, CAN MAKE A
CONTRIBUTION."**

**AGAIN, I AM HONORED TO
RECEIVE THIS HONOR FROM AN
ORGANIZATION THAT CONTINUES**

**TO MAKE SUCH AN INVALUABLE
CONTRIBUTION TO DEMOCRACY.**