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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** BLACKWELL, MORTON: FILES

**Withdrawer**

KDB 6/7/2010

**File Folder** COALITIONS FOR AMERICA (2)

**FOIA**

F09-0043/01

**Box Number** 9076

STRAUSS, C

6

DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
1	LETTER	PAUL WEYRICH TO REV. B. SAM HART	2	3/3/1982	B6

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

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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COALITIONS FOR AMERICA (2)

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1 LETTER

2 3/3/1982 B6

PAUL WEYRICH TO REV. B. SAM HART

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*all different articles?*



Telegraph  
North Platte, NE.  
Cir. D. 17,288

JAN 22 1982

UNIVERSAL Press Clipping Bureau

## Conservatives criticize Reagan

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A “who’s who” of the nation’s conservative political leaders sharply criticized the Reagan administration’s record Thursday, saying it has lost its drive to turn the country sharply to the right.

“We speak in sorrow over this because of the lost opportunities,” said Paul Weyrich, president of Coalitions for America. “President Reagan offered hope, but that has diminished. We are back to the old Republican way of doing business.”

Although the nearly 50 conservative leaders gave no overall rating for the president, Weyrich said he would give Reagan “only a ‘C’ or ‘C-minus’” in implementing the conservative program he outlined in his campaign.

Howard Phillips, national director of the Conservative Caucus, said to restore the faith of his most loyal supporters, Reagan must back massive

budget cuts to reduce the deficit, work toward more tax cuts and begin working on the right’s social agenda — abortion, school prayer, busing and similar issues.

“The president has unwisely accepted advice to seek not what is necessary but what is possible ... wooing adversaries instead of mobilizing his supporters,” Phillips said.

Ron Godwin, executive vice president of the Moral Majority, called on Reagan “to use the White House as a bully pulpit on social issues,” saying “morally concerned Americans” are growing frustrated with the administration’s silence on these matters.

While saying they are disappointed in the administration’s record after a year in office, most still give Reagan high personal marks and blame his staff for the failings.

“I have never known a troika to work in the history of mankind,” said

Weyrich, referring to Edwin Meese, Michael Deever and James Baker — the “Big Three” of the White House staff.

And in a joint statement, the leaders charged the State Department is staffed with “remnants of the Kissinger regime” and the Justice Department with “Carter holdovers” who have no interest in implementing the Reagan philosophy.

As a result, foreign policy has been “a continued pursuit of the illusions of detente, restrained demeanor toward our Communist opponents and cavalier treatment of our friends,” the group said in its statement.

Weyrich warned the administration not to follow the philosophy that conservatives will in the long run back Reagan because they “have no place else to go.”

“They’ve been losing elections with that philosophy for decades,” he said.

Press Intelligence, J  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

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30	Page	Page

KATTANOOGA, TENN  
TIMES

MORNING - 54,544  
SUNDAY - 59,148

DEC 29 1981

## Man the Barricades! Send Money!

The mail has brought a frantic appeal from Paul Weyrich, president of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, who says he needs \$51,250 for the organization’s “Judicial Reform” project. We held to our long-standing policy of declining to contribute to organizations that underline sentences in solicitation letters with colored ink, but the FCF’s appeal was interesting nevertheless.

Interesting in the sense that never have we seen so much space devoted to spotlighting the primary cause of the United States’ troubles today: the bureaucrat. And not just your ordinary garden-variety bureaucrat either, but “Ex-President Jimmy Carter’s bureaucrats...” As Mr. Weyrich tells it in his pseudo-chummy, just-between-you-and-me letter, the bureaucrats are out to get you — and to sabotage President Reagan.

Why, they are “standing in the way of President Reagan’s efforts to put limits on the bureaucracy ... to fight crime ... to restore voluntary prayer to our public schools ... to stop nationwide forced busing ... to help families with a system called ‘tuition tax credits.’” Hey, folks, this is serious.

How serious, you ask? This serious: Many bureaucrats, according to Mr. Weyrich, are part of a “radical holdover element” from the Carter administration. And “although none of the people at the Justice Department ... have been elected to govern ... they have seized control of the country.”

Mr. Weyrich calls it a “scary development.” Well, no scarier than the arrogance of organizations using half-truths and wild exaggerations to vacuum money out of the pockets of the gullible.

Richard A. Viguerie

Post, 2/14/82

# Republicans Should: Move Right...

Ronald Reagan won the 1980 election for four main reasons. He was a superb candidate. He had an unpopular opponent. The country was ready for a change from the big-government big-spending policies that had driven us to wrack and nearly to ruin. And, finally, he attracted two new and substantial blocks of voters to the Republican ranks: disgruntled Democrats and conservative Christians.

Many conservative Christians had not voted in elections until their ministers recently urged them to register and vote. Lou Harris has determined that two-thirds of Reagan's 8.5-million-vote margin came from born-again Christians who supported Jimmy Carter in 1976.

The elections of 1982 and 1984 will depend on Reagan's ability to mobilize these two groups again. To do so, he must begin paying serious attention, instead of just giving lip service, however eloquent, to the things they care about. That is why many conservatives are concerned about the large numbers of "non-Reaganites"—people who do not share Reagan's conservatism—in the administration.

Some Reagan aides have said they welcome this criticism from the right because it makes them look more reasonable and moderate. This is the same mistake President Carter's aides made when they alternately patronized and ignored the left until they needed it in 1980.

Other Reagan aides point out that many of the so-called "non-Reaganites" are in fact traditional conservative Republicans. But that is exactly the point. Reagan isn't a traditional conservative Republican. He never has been.

He has never been a part of the Ivy League-Wall Street-Big Business-Big Law Firm kind of Republicanism that used to be synonymous with political conservatism. The great political irony of the 1980s is that many of the "traditional conservative Republicans" have become part of the problem rather than part of the solution. At home, by temperament and by financial self-interest, they are more concerned with managing the chaos of big government than with fundamentally changing it. And abroad, they have, in George Will's tragic and memorable phrase, come to love commerce more than they loathe communism.

To be re-elected, the president must earn the support of those Americans who really care about forced busing and quotas and tuition tax credits and the shocking crisis in our school systems and affirmative action and stopping the epidemic of crime and drugs and appointing strong judges and other issues like these.

But these issues are not the usual topics of conversation on the country club terraces or in the corporate executive suites where the traditional conservative Republicans gather.

Those of us conservatives who support Reagan and want him to run again and win will

need at least some help from within the White House. Conservatives today have a duty to Reagan not to remain silent—as many conservatives unfortunately did when Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford began moving leftward.

But the signs are not encouraging. The White House pollster, Richard Wirthlin, recently told reporters that the social issues pressed by conservatives are "no-win issues" for the administration. This is typical traditional Republican strategy, which assumes the right wing has nowhere else to go and that victories therefore lie in the direction of the center and the moderate left. After all, they might say, look how Ike did it.

There is no doubt that Eisenhower enjoyed a stunning landslide in 1956—while the rest of the Republicans went right down the tubes. But Reagan's staff should be made to memorize the disastrous numbers from the 1954, 1956 and 1958 congressional elections. If these strategists are planning to give us Dwight D. Reagan, they should be asked to resign.

Even more instructive is what happened to Carter. In 1976, he dined, if not wined, his conservative Christian supporters while he was a candidate. Then he cut them off cold. Few, if any, were invited to the White House until he needed their help again in 1980. It is not surprising that they felt no stake in his re-election.

If all their efforts in 1980 only served to give them James Earl Reagan, they will surely sit out the 1982 and 1984 elections. Since Reagan's election he has had time to socialize with Warren Beatty and David Rockefeller but no time for even one private meeting or meal with Jerry Falwell or any of the other Christian leaders who were so pivotal to his election.

Just last Friday Reagan had a perfect opportunity to help this situation. A number of religious leaders, including some of his strongest

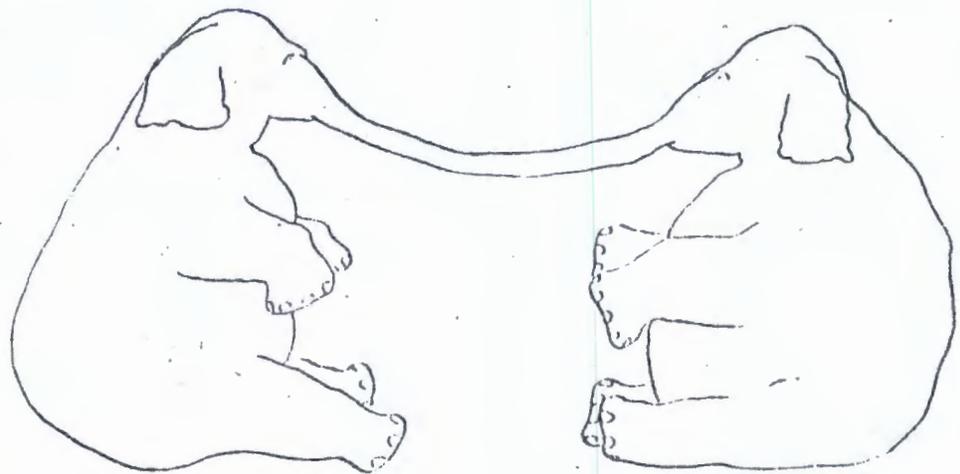
supporters, gathered in the Cabinet Room for the signing of the National Day of Prayer resolution. Several of them—including the Rev. Pat Robertson of The 700 Club, Jim Bakker of the PTL Club, and Dr. Francis Schaeffer, one of the best-selling Christian authors—were placed on the opposite side of the Cabinet table from the president. The result was that not only were they excluded from the official photographs of the ceremony, but Reagan left the room without even taking the opportunity to shake their hands and greet them.

It is just plain insensitive to ignore such major conservative religious leaders. And do you imagine for one minute that Lane Kirkland or the head of the Urban League would have been placed at such a sanitized distance? Whoever made those arrangements and prepared the president's briefing should be replaced. Reagan should appoint some politically astute conservatives to his senior staff—some people who remember his roots and can begin to restore his strongest political base.

Much has been made of Reagan's admiration for Franklin D. Roosevelt, who forged the most powerful political coalition in America's history, and was the ultimate practitioner of confrontation politics.

FDR was a patrician populist. He was strong and bold and audacious and radical and charming—just like Ronald Reagan. So there is the model for 1982 and 1984. There is nothing wrong with Reagan's administration that a good strong infusion of philosophical Reaganites and a crash course in FDR's confrontation politics and coalition building wouldn't cure.

*The writer, president of a direct-mail advertising agency, is publisher of Conservative Digest.*



Lewiston, ID  
Lewiston Morning  
Tribune  
(Cir. D. 24,691)  
(Cir. Sun. 24,892)

JAN 22 1982

# Conservatives

## 66 Reagan rates high on instinct, low on advice-taking

By Robert Shogan  
of the Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON — In a year-end assessment of the Reagan administration, a group of conservative leaders depicted the president Thursday as a man of admirable instincts who has delegated too much authority and taken too much bad advice.

At a press conference after a series of closed discussions among about 75 conservative activists, spokesmen for the group vowed their continued support for the president.

"Our best option is to make Ronald Reagan a highly successful president," said Howard Phillips, national director of the Conservative Caucus. "We have no other choice for 1982 and 1984."

But the leaders warned that rank-and-file conservative voters who supported Reagan in 1980 might desert him unless he takes a tougher stance on foreign policy, cuts spending further on domestic programs instead of raising taxes and puts more emphasis on such moral issues as abortion.

The Reagan administration, said Paul Weyrich, head of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, has been characterized "by a contest between Reagan's aides and Reagan's natural instincts. The president ought to let his natural instincts come forward."

Ron Godwin, an official of the Moral Majority,

said: "Our constituency likes Ronald Reagan. But there is an underlying frustration over the lack of initiatives on moral and social issues."

"The administration has lost momentum," Phillips said. "It has become an in-box administration — responding to questions. It hasn't really made a strong case for conservative issues."

More than 40 of the conference participants signed an eight-page statement complaining that the Reagan administration has appointed too many people to key jobs on the basis of their prior experience in government or business rather than on their adherence to Reagan's ideological principles.

No one was singled out for criticism, but the statement said: "The problem begins with the White House staff itself and from there radiates throughout the government and through the Republican National Committee."

The statement complained that the non-ideological appointees have been too willing to compromise on economic policies and other policies, including "capitulating to demands for a series of Republican-sponsored tax increases allegedly needed to eliminate huge deficits."

Asked whether Reagan should be held responsible for these alleged defects, Phillips said: "He's trying to come to grips with all this. He has delegated authority and relied on the opinions of experts, rather than his own instincts." 0

JAN 22 1982

# Conservatives warn Reagan

By David Hess  
Knight-Ridder Service

WASHINGTON - Leaders of the country's most conservative pressure groups yesterday warned President Ronald Reagan that he had better advance their programs or risk the loss of their support.

Clearly upset by what they consider to be a downgrading of conservative principles by the Reagan Administration, the leaders said the "most dangerous thing" the President could do is take them for granted.

"There are some who say we have no place to go (if Reagan spurns them)," said Paul Weyrich, president of Coalitions for America. "That is totally false . . . We can either vote for conservative Democrats or stay home (from elections)."

More than 40 conservative groups have convened here this week to discuss the Reagan program and plot strategy for the 1982 congressional elections.

Sounding a bit like jilted lovers, the conservative leaders said they helped Reagan win the presidency and now he appears to be giving them the brush-off.

"Frankly, we are not consulted very often," Weyrich said. "The Administration is not prone to seeking advice, not only from us but from the neoconservatives and all sorts of other people who've helped him a great deal."

In grading Reagan's first year in the White House Weyrich said the President would probably rate an 'A' in terms of his public relations but a 'C-minus' in terms of his advocacy of conservative causes.

Like many other critics of the Reagan Administration, the conservatives tended to steer their criticism away from the President himself and toward his chief aides.

"The President relies heavily on delegating authority to others," complained Howard Phillips, head of the Conservative Caucus. "The problem is, there's been insufficient attention to laying down principles to follow in carrying out the President's values."

Reagan has good "conservative instincts," Phillips said, but his staff is not projecting them through the federal establishment.

U.S. NEWS  
& WORLD REPORT

WEEKLY-2,050,000

FEB 1 1982

## Currents in the News

### Reagan Hears Thunder From the Right

Disappointed conservatives created fresh political problems for Ronald Reagan in late January by openly accusing the President of abandoning his own policy goals.

Anger that had been building for months burst forth in Washington on January 21 in a biting critique signed by 45 activists who complained that their onetime hero was losing a chance to move the country to the right.

White House officials expressed concern over the prospect of losing the commitment of conservatives in an election year, particularly with tax and budget battles coming up in Congress. Said one aide: "We badly need the enthusiastic backing from this base group of Reagan's support."

Appointment of conservative favorites William Buckley and Clare Booth Luce on January 20 as White House consultants was viewed as a signal that Reagan was anxious to calm the storm from the right.

Conservative leaders recited a long list of Reagan errors and omissions they regarded as betrayals. They opposed any new tax increase, called for an "all-

out effort" to cut social-entitlement programs and demanded that the State Department be stripped of "relics of the Kissinger era and the Carter administration." They urged total White House support of bills barring abortions, ending busing to achieve school integration and permitting prayer in schools.

On foreign policy, the right-wingers demanded a tougher line with the Soviet Union and aid to "freedom seekers" in Angola, Afghanistan, Cuba, Nicaragua and Poland. Another complaint: Reagan's refusal to sell advanced jet fighters to Taiwan, which conservatives claimed breaks a defense commitment to the Taipei government.

While leaders insisted they met "in heartache, not anger," some said the rhetoric grew bitter. Reagan was called "the prisoner on Pennsylvania Avenue." The State Department was labeled "Haig's plague."

Asked whether they had anyone to turn to except Reagan, Paul Weyrich, president of Coalitions for America, chilled White House officials by warning: "They can vote for conservative Democrats, or they can stay home." □

# New hitch in ERA appeal

WASHINGTON (AP) — Proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment are losing a powerful ally in their drive to quickly overturn a federal court ruling that threatens to doom the amendment.

The Justice Department said Tuesday that it opposes a request by ERA advocates for an immediate appeal to the Supreme Court "since the entire matter may be rendered moot in the months ahead."

The department said it would only favor Supreme Court action if the ERA is ratified this year by three additional states by the June 30 deadline. The ERA has been approved by 35 of the 38 states needed to ratify a proposed constitutional amendment.

On Dec. 23, U.S. District Judge Marion Callister ruled in Boise, Idaho, that Congress violated the Constitution when it extended the deadline for states to ratify the proposed Equal Rights Amendment from March 29, 1979 until June 30.

The National Organization for Women sought immediate Supreme Court review of the ruling, arguing that it would dampen prospects of getting three more states to approve the amendment.

Assistant Attorney General Paul McGrath said Monday the Justice Department would appeal Callister's ruling in both the Supreme Court and in the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. He declined then to say on what basis the government would appeal.

But on Tuesday, faced with conservative opposition and after consulting with the White House, the department said it was not taking a position on the constitutional arguments in the case.

The decision to appeal, the department said in a statement, was based on the narrower legal grounds that the courts should not have intervened in the controversy at this time at all.

Asked if the administration was seeking to assuage conservatives, department spokesman Tom DeCair chuckled. "Implicit in it (the statement) is that we are not for the ERA or against it. We have a basic obligation to defend acts of Congress," he said.

President Reagan opposed the ERA in the 1980 presidential campaign.

A lawyer for NOW, professor Laurence Tribe of Harvard University, said NOW and the state of Idaho, want prompt Supreme Court action.

A group of conservatives said Tuesday President Reagan should overrule the department and "shelve plans to appeal the case."

Among its signers were Richard Vignerie, the direct-mail expert; the Rev. Jerry Falwell, head of the Moral Majority; Howard Phillips, head of the Conservative Caucus; Phyllis Schlafly; and Paul Weyrich, head of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress.

Washington (UPI) — The nation's conservative political leaders are deeply disappointed with the Reagan administration's record and fear the president is losing his opportunity to turn the country to the right.

They say deeper budget cuts are needed, a tougher foreign policy is required and more attention must be paid to controversial social issues, particularly abortion.

"We speak in sorrow over this because of the lost opportunities," Paul Weyrich, president of

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005  
 Front Edit Other  
 Page Page Page  
 MARTINSVILLE, VA.  
 BULLETIN  
 JAN 22 1982  
 EVENING-- 17,230  
 SUNDAY -- 18,200

Roseburg, OR  
 News-Review  
 (Cir. D. 19,202)

2861 9 JAN

## Reagan Disappoints Conservatives

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They say deeper budget cuts are needed, a tougher foreign policy is required and more attention must be paid to controversial social issues, particularly abortion.

"We speak in sorrow over this because of the lost opportunities," Paul Weyrich, president of

Coalitions for America, told a news conference Thursday. "President Reagan offered hope, but that has diminished. We are back to the old Republican way of doing business."

A "who's who" of the nation's conservative political leaders are meeting in Washington for two days and hope their prodding will help the White House regain what they believe is the lost momentum of the "Reagan Revolution."

The nearly 50 conservative leaders gave no overall rating for the president, but Weyrich said he would give Reagan "only a 'C' or 'C-minus'" in implementing the conservative program he outlined in his campaign.

While saying they are disappointed in the administration's record after a year in office, most still give Reagan high personal marks and blame his staff for the failings.

"I have never known a troika to work in the history of mankind," said Weyrich, referring to Edwin Meese, Michael Deaver and James

Baker — the "Big Three" of the White House staff.

And in a joint statement, the leaders charged the State Department is staffed with "remnants of the Kissinger regime" and the Justice Department with "Carter holdovers" who have no interest in implementing the Reagan philosophy.

As a result, foreign policy has been "a continued pursuit of the illusions of detente, restrained demeanor toward our communist opponents and cavalier treatment of our friends," the group said in its statement.

Weyrich warned the administration not to follow the philosophy that conservatives will in the long run back Reagan because they "have no place else to go."

"They've been losing elections with that philosophy for decades," he said.

Howard Phillips, national director of the Conservative Caucus, said to restore the faith of his most loyal supporters, Reagan must back massive budget cuts to reduce the deficit.

FORT WORTH, TEXAS  
STAR-TELEGRAM

EVENING - 136,676  
SUNDAY - 219,763

JAN 14 1982

# New Angry Middle-ism is emerging

WASHINGTON — Something funny is happening to the so-called "New Right," the conservative populist organizations and individuals who played such a major role in the 1980 elections.

With little attention from the press, they seem to be becoming a lot more populist and distinctly less conservative.

At the core of this embryonic shift is the growing sense of New Right leaders like fund-raiser Richard Viguerie, top strategist Paul Weyrich and Conservative Caucus chief Howard Phillips that the Reagan administration has turned its back on the "little guy," on the farmers, blue-collar workers, small businessmen and social issue groups whose voting shifts played such a large role in Ronald Reagan's stunning majority.

The press has managed to pick up the pure politics of New Right disillusionment. Viguerie complains about the "Country Club Establishment" type of Republicans in the White House who ignore the interests and issues of the man in the street. Weyrich cites the growing feeling of "betrayal" that the administration pushes nothing but Reaganomics. And Phillips of the Conservative Caucus proclaims that "the only optimism we have is hoping the Reagan administration will see they're going to be clobbered in 1982."

But what the press has largely missed is the growing evidence that



Kevin Phillips

the New Right, bitter at private administration (and media) attempts to cast it as the "hard core of the hard right," intends to make clear its militant Middle Americanism and angry centrism. Yesteryear's ties to retired admirals and little old ladies in tennis shoes are giving way to a determination to be a "New Angry Middle" representing the full spectrum of "forgotten American" viewpoints, economic as well as social.

Perhaps the best revelation of the New Right's shift to New Angry Middle-ism can be found in two relatively obscure interviews of Paul Weyrich, the Free Congress Committee chieftain who also coordinates — and some would say dominates — the network of New Right and social-issue groups based in Washington.

In an interview with theologian Richard Neuhaus, carried in *Commonweal* magazine back in October, Weyrich offered up the following analyses and thoughts:

On traditional conservatism: "The Old Right is as elitist as the liberal

intellectuals. I'm not an intellectual, but they don't know a thing about precincts and neighborhoods and they don't want to know."

On participatory and plebiscitary democracy: "Direct democracy is not just an expedient until we get into power. It's a necessary part of the political process; it's the only way to make the government responsive, to make sure that people keep promises after they're elected."

On the two-party system: "The Republican Party is not built on principles, it's a tradition maintained by effete gentlemen of the Northeastern Establishment who play games with other effete gentlemen who call themselves Democrats."

On big business: "Big corporations are as bad as big government. They're in bed together."

On social programs: "Of course I care about the people who are treated unfairly. In that sense, I feel a lot closer to William Jennings Bryan than to the Tories of whatever stripe. The liberals' compassion is really condescending, it's patronizing."

On free market economics: "*Laissez-faire* is not enough, there has to be some high value in a society. There can be no such thing as an entirely free market. The market has to be responsive to social responsibility. Here I even agree with some liberals, but we disagree on what those social responsibilities are and how you translate them into policy."

By December, Weyrich, the son of a Wisconsin machinist, was slipping farther and farther toward the legacy of William Jennings Bryan. In an interview with his hometown *Milwaukee Sentinel*, he said that he intends to work as a voice for the "people from the other side of the tracks" who voted for Reagan but who make Republicans uncomfortable. The administration, he says, has an orientation which favors big business at the expense of small business and is out of touch with blue-collar workers. The men in top White House positions cannot identify or empathize with the rank-and-file Reagan electorate.

And he argues that there's something wrong with the policy of cutting aid for the "little guys" while giving the wealthy tax cuts. Those who buy imported clothes and mink coats with their new tax savings, he suggests, should be penalized with a heavy tax on these luxuries. And Weyrich complains that President Reagan appointed too many businessmen to his private sector initiatives task force while ignoring groups like the Salvation Army, black ministers and teachers, "people who understand poverty."

This isn't conservatism; this is old fashioned American populism — and the Reagan administration had better learn the difference.

Kevin Phillips writes for King Features Syndicate.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.  
NEWS-SENTINEL

EVENING - 101,628  
SUNDAY -- 157,625

JAN 22 1982

## New Right To Revive Controversial Issues in '82

By ALAN THOMPSON  
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — After a year of playing second fiddle to the state of the economy, leaders of the New Right are planning a major campaign to bring controversial social issues to the forefront of political debate in 1982.

Towering above all other issues on their agenda is a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion. Also on the list are school prayer, tuition tax credits and a balanced-budget constitutional amendment.

Those same issues were deliberately sidetracked by the Reagan Administration and moderate Republican congressional leaders last year in order to concentrate on tax and budget battles.

But conservative leaders now say bringing these other issues before the public will be a political plus for President Reagan and the GOP by preventing Democrats from focusing the entire 1982 election on economic problems such as soaring unemployment, high interest rates and huge deficits.

Paul Weyrich, director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, said conservative strategists are "going door to door" reminding lawmakers of commitments made in 1980 but not met in

1981. The strategy, he said, would be to "force votes on all the issues, even those we cannot win."

Declared Weyrich, "From a political standpoint, if all of the issues in the 1982 elections are economic issues, then we very well could suffer defeats we wouldn't have to suffer if the debate was focused on other issues."

"We have waited patiently . . . while the President addressed the issues of military preparedness and the economy," added Ron Godwin, executive vice president of the Moral Majority. "We will expect Congress, the Senate, this Administration to make good on the commitments that were made to use during the campaign."

Weyrich, Godwin, Howard Phillips, director of the Conservative Caucus, and Don Todd, director of the American Conservative Union, outlined their 1982 agenda in a sweeping — and frequently stinging — criticism of the first year of the Reagan presidency. All were participants in a day-long conference of leading conservative opinion makers and strategists.

But while commending Reagan's first-year efforts to cut Government red tape and taxes, slow the growth of Federal spending and bolster U.S. defenses, a statement

issued by the group expressed "deep concern about the present conduct and future prospects of the Administration.

"In numerous cases, follow-through on the programs enunciated by the President has been weak and halting," the statement said. "In others, promising initiatives have been blunted or reversed. In still others, there has been little or no attention to matters addressed so eloquently by Mr. Reagan in his campaign."

Essentially, the group sees the current period as a struggle for Reagan's soul between traditional Republicans and believers in the new, more militant brand of conservatism preached by the New Right.

It is, said Weyrich, a contest between the President "and some of his aides who would like to restrain his natural instincts."

The four said that a "tendency to accommodate" is behind what they see as potentially calamitous political directions.

They are concerned by calls from White House advisers for tax increases to cut the deficit. They criticized what they feel is a per-

ception in the White House and by Republican moderates that the domestic budget has been cut to the bone and a reluctance to tackle the social issues. They decried the "abandonment, reversal or blunting" of Reagan foreign policy positions on relations with Taiwan, response to the crackdown in Poland and the "manifest weakness of the Voice of America."

They said that Reagan, despite his continued popularity with the voters, does not have an unlimited amount of time to deliver on his promises and that even his conservative support will diminish if he fails to act.

"To say (conservatives) have no place else to go is false," said Weyrich. "(Republicans) have been losing elections with that philosophy for decades."

Press Intelligence, Inc.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

Front Page	Edit Page	Other Page
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WASHINGTON, D.C.  
POST

MORNING - 584,500  
SUNDAY - 820,452

JAN 28 1992

## Dying Gay Bill of Rights Stirs Hot Debate on Hill

By Margot Hornblower  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Gay Bill of Rights, a measure to outlaw discrimination against homosexuals in housing, employment, education and public accommodations, has virtually no chance of passage in Congress this year, its sponsors acknowledge, but the debate it aroused before a House subcommittee yesterday was no less impassioned.

The bill, which would grant to homosexuals civil rights protections that women, blacks and religious groups now enjoy, is sponsored by 52 House members, including D.C. Delegate Walter E. Fauntroy and Maryland Democrats Michael Barnes and Parren J. Mitchell. It is endorsed by the American Bar Association, the National Council of Churches and the American Federation of Teachers.

It has become, however, a target

of groups such as the Moral Majority and the National Pro-Family Coalition, who say it would promote an unacceptable life style.

In a mass mailing last fall, the Christian Voice Moral Government Fund, based in McLean, solicited contributions to fight the bill, saying, "Thousands of innocent American children may soon be molested by sex deviates" if Congress passes it.

It would, the letter said, "force every local school to hire practicing homosexuals as teachers, coaches and counselors; force every Christian church to hire a homosexual minister or other church employe; force every family business to hire sodomites . . . ."

Such charges are preposterous, Craig Christianson, dean of Syracuse University law school, told the committee yesterday. Instead, he said, the bill would alleviate "the pain and suffering of countless homosexuals who have lost homes and jobs and yet have never proclaimed their sexuality."

However, Connaught Marshner, chairman of the National Pro-Family Coalition, said, "Mere orientation is not the issue. Overt sexual behavior is the issue . . . . What we are advocating is that our right to privacy be respected: that the homosexual life style not be flaunted in our neighborhood and shouted from the housetops. The public has a right to be protected from the promotion and glamorization of something that is by its nature antithetical to the social order."

Press Intelligence, Inc.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

Front Page    Edit Page    Other Page

DANBURY, CONN.  
NEWS-TIMES

EVENING - 38,729  
SUNDAY -- 41,070

JAN 21 1982

## Conservatives discuss Reagan complaints

WASHINGTON (AP) — Conservatives, frustrated that many of their ideas have "been given short shrift" by the Reagan White House, are trying to develop a strategy to get the administration to move farther to the right.

More than 70 conservative activists were meeting today to discuss their collective disappointment with the administration on such issues as abortion, federal budget deficits, foreign policy, defense and what one participant described as the "IRS Punish the Churches Bill."

The meeting was the latest sign of conservative discontent with the Reagan administration.

"We have a stake in President Reagan's success," said Howard Phillips, director of the Conservative Caucus. "And we are disappointed that conservative policies have been given such short shrift in many areas despite our efforts to advance them."

Phillips said participants in the closed meeting would try to "develop agreement on a strategy" for increasing pressure on the administration to follow conservative policies.

Paul Weyrich, director of the Committee for Survival of a Free Congress, said he believes the "president's coalition that elected him in 1980 is in real danger of falling apart. This is largely due to a lack of understanding on the part of many in the White House of the attitudes of the great angry middle."

"Some of their economic pro-

grams are skewed to big business and not to the middle class," Weyrich said. "The middle class guy does not mind big business getting a break. He is not anti-business ... but he is not so pro-business that he wants to sit and see some of the major oil companies getting accelerated depreciation while he, himself, is cut out of a program to try to help him get a job because he's been put out of a job by the current economic situation."

He added that many people in the administration "simply are not compassionate when they talk about people who are being hurt."

Connie Marshner, another participant in the meeting and director of the Pro-Family Coalition, said she was willing to go along with the administration's view that it had to concentrate on economic issues in 1981.

"I was willing to give them the benefit of the doubt," she said. "I'm not prepared to give them the benefit of the doubt this year. I want to see some kind of action."

Mrs. Marshner said conservatives strongly supported the administration decision to grant tax exemptions to private schools that practice racial discrimination.

She bitterly referred to the subsequent proposed legislation to outlaw tax exemptions for such schools as the "IRS Punish the Churches" bill.

On abortion, she said that while the president's "heart is in the right place" he has advisers "who don't like the issue at all."

ST. LOUIS, Mo.

GLOBE-DEMOCRAT

JAN 16 1982

### Will GOP money talk in the '82 elections?

By PATRICK J. BUCHANAN



WASHINGTON — With 10 million unemployed, with the auto and housing industries near Depression levels, Republicans are looking to take a bath in November. Traditionally, off-year elections are hard on the president's party; and 1982 looks to be no break with tradition. Post-inaugural braggadocio about a "take-over" of the House is no longer heard at the Capitol Hill Club.

But in 1982 there is a critical difference, little noted except by those whose penchant runs to bedtime reading of print-outs from the Federal Election Committee — or regular perusal of such novellas as "Campaign Regulation and Public Policy; FACs, Ideology and the FEC," action-packed pages produced for the Free Congress Research & Education Foundation.

Using both sources, however, one can sketch a relief map of some heretofore uncharted terrain on the political landscape. Few are more familiar with the virgin territory than Morton Blackwell, the New Right activist who labors in President Reagan's Executive Office Building. He notes the following:

Of the party organizations reporting receipts and expenditures to the FEC for 1981, the four largest are Republican. The GOP committees annually roll over scores of millions of dollars. For every dollar raised by their Democratic opposites, the GOP's Congressional Campaign Committee, Senate Campaign Committee and National Committee raise and spend more than 10. Of the 10 most affluent state parties reporting in 1981, nine were Republican.

AUGMENTING that weighted party advantage are the "independent" committees which likewise report to the FEC. Of the 10 with the most imposing income statements in 1981, five were Movement Conservative or New Right, two are Free Enterprise, one is Republican. The only two ideological "independents" to raise more than a million were Terry Dolan's NCPAC, with \$3.4 million, and Jesse Helms' Congressional Club with \$2.5 million. The only liberal-labor Political Action Committee to make the top 10 was the United Auto Workers subsidiary, outspent by NCPAC five to one.

Outside the party and independent committees are the corporate PACs and the business and trade association PACs. The Free Congress Foundation studied both; the trends are startling.

The old era of even-handed giving, to Republicans and Democrats alike, liberals and conservatives, is over.

Of the 269 company PACs which gave more than \$25,000 in the last biennium, only two gave 90 percent of their money to liberals in tightly contested races where the money counts, while 57 gave between 90 and 100 percent of their critical dollars to the endorsed candidate of the Right.

Like the corporate PACs, the business-trade association PACs are proliferating like Idaho jackrabbits. In 1979-1980, 116 of these contributed more than \$25,000, 13 contributed more than a quarter-million dollars, and three crossed the million-dollar threshold — the doctors' PAC, the realtors' PAC, the auto dealers' PAC. Here, the ideological targeting is equally pronounced. Twenty-five of these PACs devoted over 90 percent of their critical dollars — i.e., in seriously contested races — to the conservative candidate, and 51 devoted 70 percent or more. Only three contributed 90 percent to the conservatives' opposition.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN? Well, if money talks in electoral politics, conservatives, free enterprise advocates, tax cutters and Republican candidates will be monopolizing the microphones relative to the Naderites, liberals and anti-business activists who heretofore dominated the dialogue.

When these financial resources of the Reagan coalition are added to the unarguably superior organizational, fund-raising and communications capacity of the Right, it represents layered, formidable, expanding infrastructure that dwarfs the liberal-labor coalition.

Even if the Republicans suffer attrition in November, eventually the big battalions must prevail. That 1974 Campaign "Reform" Act some of us begged Gerald Ford to veto, it turns out, wasn't all bad. Designed to cripple the Republican Party permanently, it may end up permanently

LANSING, MICHIGAN  
JOURNAL  
JAN 25 1982

EVENING - 71,135  
SUNDAY - 75,430

# Reagan manages to miff them all

By Don Campbell

WASHINGTON — President Reagan's handling of the school discrimination controversy was one of those cases where a public figure manages to alienate all sides of an issue.

In the first instance, when the White House moved to overturn a 1970 Internal Revenue Service regulation barring tax-exempt status for private schools that discriminate on the basis of race, Reagan invited a firestorm of criticism from civil rights groups, Democrats and even from moderates in his own party.

Indeed, two days after the announcement, a group of conservative leaders were having breakfast in Washington and concluded among themselves that, as one put it, "Anybody hearing it (the Reagan announcement) would assume he was a racist."

Then came the turnabout, with the White House announcing that Reagan would ask Congress to pass legislation barring tax exemptions for such schools by law, as opposed to an IRS regulation. For good measure, the White House announced a few days later that the original IRS regulation would be reinstated for all but two religious schools in the Carolinas.

With this, Reagan alienated not only the bulk of the political New

Right activists who supported him ardently in 1980, but a lot of religious leaders as well.

"Where the president failed," Howard Phillips, chairman of the Conservative Caucus, said last week, "was in not framing the issue in terms of religious liberty..."

"Racial discrimination is the pits, but religious liberties are more important. This is really going to cost him politically as much as any decision he's made."

Ironically, the question of tax exemptions had been primarily a religious liberty issue in the federal courts. It didn't become an out-and-out racial issue until the White House got involved.

Now, Reagan's proposal for a legislative ban on such tax exemptions is going to raise the religious liberty issue in the third branch of government — Congress.

However blatant the racism may have been at places like Bob Jones University in South Carolina, there are many religious leaders who genuinely fear government intrusion for reasons that have nothing to do with race. And they are going to carry their case to the hearing rooms of Congress, even as the White House tries to rush the legislation through.

But Reagan probably will get pretty much what he wants. For one thing, he's now back on the side of the angels as far as opposing any hint of racial discrimination is concerned.

Secondly, opponents of the legislation are divided on strategy. Howard Phillips and some other conservative leaders oppose legislation in any form, arguing that it is an infringement on religious liberty.

But some "pro-family" groups are taking the tack that they can live with the bill if it's amended. Of course the kind of amendment they're talking about would have the tail wag the dog.

Basically says Connie Marshner, chairman of the National Pro-Family Coalition, her group wants the bill to shift the burden of proof from the school to the government.

A strategy memo being circulated among conservatives puts it this way:

"The danger to be avoided at all costs is the situation in which any school without a specific percentage of black students would have affirmatively to prove that it does not discriminate."

"It is essential to make clear that the government bears the initial burden of proving that a school has discriminated before a school can be asked to go through the enormous expense of proving that it does not discriminate."

My guess is that two years ago, candidate Ronald Reagan would have embraced that argument. In fact, the 1980 Republican platform on which he ran implied as much when it said, "We will halt the unconstitutional regulatory vendetta launched by Mr. Carter's IRS commissioner against independent schools."

But being president is not the same as being a candidate for president, as President Reagan acknowledged in his very public flip-flop on tax-exempt schools.

And quite aside from the merits of either position, the president failed to erase the perception that, as Howard Phillips put it last week, "No one at the White House knew what was going on."



Don Campbell is a national political writer for Gannett News Service based in Washington, D.C.

*Press Intelligence, Inc.*  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

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WASHINGTON, D.C.  
POST

MORNING - 584,500  
SUNDAY - 820,452

JAN 28 1982

## White House Assailed

# Religious Right Decries Shift on Tax Exemptions

By Charles R. Babcock  
Washington Post Staff Writer

After being attacked by civil rights groups for trying to remove the ban on tax exemptions for private schools that discriminate against blacks, the Reagan administration is now under attack from the opposite end of the political spectrum for retreating and reversing itself on the issue.

Representatives of the religious right told top White House aides Tuesday that they will oppose the administration's proposed legislation that would reinstate and reinforce the tax exemption ban, and they warned that President Reagan's flip-flop on the issue was eroding his political base.

Some civil rights leaders say that no bill is necessary because existing Internal Revenue Service rules already bar discrimination.

Several participants at the White House meeting complained that the administration aides present—including counselor Edwin Meese III, domestic policy adviser Martin Anderson, White House counsel Fred Fielding and Deputy Attorney General Edward C. Schmults—just didn't seem to understand their concern that religious liberty, as well as racial discrimination, is an issue in the bill.

They said that William B. Ball, an attorney who is representing Bob Jones University before the Supreme

Court in its challenge to the IRS's revocation of its tax exemption, called the bill "blatantly unconstitutional" because it wouldn't cover schools whose discrimination is based on religious beliefs.

The administration aides made no commitment to address the groups' concerns, participants said. "The administration feels boxed in," one said. "It feels it has to come out with a great display of nonracism and support this bill."

Paul Weyrich, head of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, said the group reminded the Reagan aides that it was the Christian schools' battle with the IRS over tax exemptions, not abortion as is generally perceived, that prompted such groups as the Moral Majority to take an active part in the 1980 election.

Connaught Marshner, of the Pro-Family Coalition, said conservative religious groups thought the administration's Jan. 8 announcement that the IRS would no longer bar exemptions for discriminatory private schools "was too good to be true."

After the administration retreat, "we're worse off than when we started," she said.

Marshner and Bob Baldwin, of the National Association of Concerned Parents and Educators, said most Christian schools don't discriminate, so the bill amounts to using "a cannon to get a mosquito."

PATERSON, N.J.

NEWS JAN 25 1982

EVENING--34,037

## Conservative? You bet

Sometimes as a bargaining tactic, negotiators will assume an extreme position at the outset in order to panic their opponents into yielding more than they should. Perhaps this reasoning accounts for why a group of the nation's conservative political leaders last week felt compelled to express what they said was their extreme disappointment with the Reagan administration's performance to date. "We speak in sorrow... because of the lost opportunities," said Paul Weyrich, president of something called, "Coalitions of America."

Generally, when a negotiator tries springing this ploy, the best thing is to insist that both sides recognize objective standards of judgment in settling the dispute. We might try that here in deciding whether it is rational for people to be upset with the Reagan administration because it has not been conservative enough.

In some respects, Mr. Weyrich and company have a point. Running through traditional Republican philosophy has been the argument that the existence of many small companies is preferable in a free market economy to the concentration of just a few conglomerates. In this regard, President Reagan's presidency may have been a disappointment to conservatives. Federal dismissals of long-standing antitrust suits against IBM and the big cereal companies see to that.

In addition, conservatives dating back to Theodore Roosevelt have strongly favored preserving the environment. The central thrust of Interior Secretary James Watt's policies, with their emphasis on the extraction of petroleum, natural gas and minerals, does not seem to follow that tradition.

So, in this respect, too, conservatives may have reason to feel betrayed.

But otherwise, Mr. Reagan's record is largely reflected in remarks the president made to supporters after his election when he said, "fellow conservatives, our time has come." Only late last week, for example, the White House unveiled the concept of shifting full responsibility for the food stamp program from the federal government to the states. In addition, the FBI assumed basic responsibility for interdicting drug traffic. These are not liberal positions.

In addition, the administration has agreed to sell large quantities of arms to the Saudis, Venezuela and Pakistan. It has continued draft registration. It has cozied up to right-wing governments in Argentina, Brazil and Chile. These are not liberal policies.

The White House has resurrected plans to build the B-1 bomber. It intends to spend \$1.5 trillion over five years on the military — \$158 billion more than President Carter had budgeted. And perhaps, above all, it has slowed the rate of growth in the federal budget, cutting deeply into social programs from food stamps to subsidized housing to school lunches. These certainly are not the actions of a liberal administration, either.

People sometimes make distinctions between "economic" conservatives, who got pretty much what they wanted in 1981, and "social" conservatives, some of whom now hope the president will address questions of abortion, school busing and school prayer. This, of course, is their right. But it is unfair to President Reagan to say he has not been conservative. In that regard, he has been as good as his word.

TOLEDO, OHIO

BLADE JAN 22 1982

EVENING - 170,349

SUNDAY -- 210,607

**Social-Issue Action Urged****Conservatives Assail  
Liberal Reagan Aids**

By JOHN BLOCK

Blade Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Leaders of conservative organizations charged Thursday that President Reagan is often restrained by liberal White House aids from pursuing the policies that he advocated in getting elected.

The leaders of the conservative groups, all of which actively supported Mr. Reagan's 1980 candidacy, also said the Administration has shunned them completely, refusing to give them opportunities to give advice to the very President whom many of them still regard as a conservative mentor.

The conservatives met here to discuss their views of the Reagan administration after its first year in office. Wednesday was the first anniversary of Mr. Reagan's inauguration.

"There has been no one in the White House who has been an advocate of the social issues. There is no comprehension at the senior staff level of what middle America thinks," Paul Weyrich, president of Coalitions for America, said at a press conference. "We are not consulted very often. This Administration is not prone to seeking our advice."

**Reagan Instincts Praised**

But the conservative leaders repeatedly asserted the belief that Mr. Reagan has the right instincts and acts according to those instincts whenever he is aware of a situation. But he often doesn't know what his minions are doing, and he is screened from their liberal actions, the right-wing spokesmen said.

Ron Godwin, executive vice president of Moral Majority, said his organization is not Republican or Democrat. Its constituency is Americans who are genuinely concerned about moral issues, on which the Administration has been inattentive, despite campaign rhetoric, he said.

"We would fervently hope that the President will do more of what he did as recently as Tuesday, and that is to use the White House as a bully pulpit for moral issues," Mr. Godwin, who was standing in for the Rev. Jerry Falwell, said.

The group issued a written statement after the all-day meeting. Years of "liberal dominance in our politics" cannot be undone overnight, and Mr. Reagan faces "a long and arduous mission," it says.

The Administration successfully has changed the direction of the American government away from government domination at home and toward the "firm defense of free-world interests overseas," the statement says.

**Personnel Selection Criticized**

But, the statement said, the inclusion in the Administration of some personnel left over from the Nixon-Ford era who hold top-level positions and "have small history of sympathy with, or understanding of, the Reagan mandate" is a problem of major dimensions for the President to correct.

"Such appointments have apparently occurred because of a selection process which placed inordinate emphasis on prior government service or corporate managerial credentials, criteria which effectively screened out many Reagan activists who had worked for the President's nomination in 1976 and 1980, while screening in many who did not support him at all, or did so only after his nomination was assured, in many cases against their opposition," the statement said.

"The problem begins with the White House staff itself, and from there radiates throughout the Government, and through the Republican National Committee. It is readily documentable that, in agency after agency, dedicated Reaganites are in a distinct minority, if not entirely isolated."

As examples of these agencies, the statement mentions the State, Justice, and Education departments and the Voice of America.

The conservatives charged that the State Department "with few exceptions is staffed with remnants of the Kissinger regime and career officials whose idea of proper policy is to keep doing what we have been doing — which means a continued pursuit of the illusions of detente, restrained demeanor toward our Communist opponents, and cavalier treatment of our friends."

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 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

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COLUMBIA, S.C.  
 STATE

MORNING - 103,010  
 SUNDAY - 120,381

JAN 22 1982

Los Angeles Times

JAN 22 1982  
 MORNING - 1,018,490  
 SUNDAY - 1,302,395

TIMES  
 LOS ANGELES, CAL.

The State/Columbia, S.C., Friday, January 22, 1982 7-A

# 'Jilted' Conservatives Plotting Course To Regain Reagan's Ear

Knight-Ridder

WASHINGTON — Leaders of the country's most conservative pressure groups Thursday warned President Reagan that he had better advance their programs or risk the loss of their support.

Clearly upset by what they consider to be a downgrading of conservative principles by the Reagan administration, the leaders said the "most dangerous thing" the president could do is take them for granted.

"There are some who say we have no place to go" if spurned by Reagan, said Paul Weyrich, president of Coalitions for America. "That is totally false. . . . We can either vote for conservative Democrats or stay home" from elections.

More than 40 conservative groups have

"We've waited patiently for a year while the president addressed the problems of the economy and military preparedness. But we believe that all of our concerns, including the social issues, can be addressed by the administration at once."  
 — Ronald Godwin, representing the Moral Majority

convened here this week to discuss the Reagan program and plot strategy for the 1982 congressional elections.

Sounding a bit like jilted lovers, the conservative leaders said they helped Reagan win the presidency and now he appears to be giving them the brush-off.

In grading Reagan's first year in the White House Weyrich said the president would proba-

bly rate an 'A' in terms of his public relations but a 'C-minus' in terms of his advocacy of conservative causes.

Like many other critics of the Reagan administration, the conservatives tended to steer their criticism away from the president himself and toward his chief aides.

"The president relies heavily on delegating authority to others," complained Howard Phil-

lips, head of the Conservative Caucus. "The problem is, there's been insufficient attention to laying down principles to follow in carrying out the president's values."

Reagan has good "conservative instincts," Phillips said, but his staff is not projecting them through the federal establishment.

Asked to itemize the conservatives' gripes about Reagan, Phillips ticked off several issues on which the conservative movement disagrees with the White House, including the administration's refusal to upgrade Taiwan's armed forces, the granting of loans and credits to Nicaraguan Sandinistas, and the failure to take a harder line against renewal of the Voting Rights Act in its present form.

Ronald Godwin, representing the Rev. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, also criticized

the White House for delaying action on an anti-abortion constitutional amendment and other so-called "social" issues.

"We've waited patiently for a year while the president addressed the problems of the economy and military preparedness," Godwin said. "But we believe that all of our concerns, including the social issues, can be addressed by the administration at once."

Though the conservative leaders were reluctant to single out people who they believe are short-circuiting Reagan's goals, they did note their displeasure with the advice the president has gotten from Budget Director David Stockman, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. and White House communication chief David Gergen.

## Conservatives Criticize Reagan but Vow Support

By ROBERT SHIGAN, Times Political Writer

WASHINGTON-In a year-end assessment of the Reagan Administration, a group of conservative leaders Thursday depicted the President as a man of admirable instincts who has delegated too much authority and taken too much bad advice. At a press conference after a se-

national director of the Conservative

aid Reagan a highly successful

President's best option is to make Ron-

the President

vowed their continued support for

among about 75 conservative acti-

ries of closed-door discussions

live Caucus. "We have no other

choice for 1982 and 1984."

But the leaders warned that

rank-and-file conservative voters

who supported Reagan in 1980

might desert him unless he takes a

tougher stance on foreign policy,

cuts spending further on domestic

programs instead of raising taxes

and puts more emphasis on such moral issues as abortion.

The Reagan Administration, said Paul Weyrich, head of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, has been characterized "by a contest between Reagan's aides and Reagan's natural instincts. The President ought to let his natural instincts come forward."

Ron Godwin, an official of the Moral Majority, said, "Our constituents like Ronald Reagan. But there is an underlying frustration

over the lack of initiatives on moral and social issues."

"The Administration has lost momentum," Phillips said. "It has become an in-box Administration—responding to questions. It hasn't really made a strong case for conservatism issues."

More than 40 of the conference participants signed an eight-page statement complaining that the Reagan Administration has appointed too many persons to key jobs on the basis of their experience

in government or business rather than on their adherence to Reagan's ideological principles. "The problem begins with the White House staff itself and from there radiates throughout the government and through the Republican National Committee." The statement complained that the non-ideological appointees have been too willing to compromise on economic policies and other

Friday, January 22, 1982 / Part 1 13

JAN 23 1982

EDITORIALS

Disillusionment  
On the Right

LEADERS OF THE EXTREME right wing in American politics are expressing fear and concern that President Reagan is being diverted by bad advice and bad advisers from going down the slippery path toward a confrontation with the Supreme Court by banning abortions.

The top men of such groups as the Moral Majority and Coalitions for America gathered in Washington last week to issue a statement praising the president for articulating "the case for limited government," yet they went on to show their disillusionment with him for failing to give their views a push toward serious consideration, particularly their view that the "number one priority for 1982 remains the protection of unborn life."

They said they have been waiting and waiting for Reagan to push for legislation to ban abortions — the Hatch Amendment specifically — and unless some action is soon forthcoming, president Paul Weyrich of Coalitions for America doesn't think Reagan can hold his conservative support indefinitely.

IT SEEMS UNFORTUNATE that the Moral Majoritarians should ask Reagan to attach a greater priority to reversing the constitutional right of abortion than to other legislative tasks such as saving the economy from recession. Just nine years ago yesterday, in the 1973 case of Roe v. Wade, the U. S. Supreme Court declared abortion to be a constitutional right of women pregnant during their first trimester. The Hatch amendment would overturn the Court with the words: "A right to abortion is not secured by this Constitution."

This sets up a defiant, possible even dangerous, confrontation with the Supreme Court, and we are among many — the polls show us an overwhelming majority — who want to see the Hatch amendment go nowhere.

Consequently, we are not displeased to find Reagan losing some of the loyalty of those who hold the prohibition of abortion to be the foremost need of the day. He shouldn't trouble himself about this loss, we feel, because the Hatch route is a no more auspicious way to its goal than the rejected 18th amendment — national Prohibition — was. Hatch is an attempt to regulate the individual personal behavior of the female half of the U. S. population by constitutional enactment, as the disastrous 18th did. It embodies a contradiction that Reagan should beware of.

TO PROHIBIT ABORTIONS would mean government interference in the most personal and private decisions. There is nothing in that that would square with the "case for limited government" which the conservative right praises Reagan for articulating. The two paths diverge. Hatch would have government law enforcers intruding into the private lives of citizens in the most flagrant and unlimited way to make sure that no recourse could be had to an abortion for an unwanted pregnancy. Yet, as the pro-abortion movement points out, "abortions will continue to be performed as they were on millions of American women prior to 1973." Anti-abortion laws would only eliminate safe and legal abortions, not abortions themselves.



News  
Norfolk, NE.  
Cir. D. 21,713

JAN 22 1982

Conservatives  
Concerned  
About Reagan

WASHINGTON (AP) — Conservative leaders, warning that their followers won't support President Reagan indefinitely, say bad advice from aides, not loss of faith, has kept Reagan from fulfilling campaign pledges on social issues.

"I have confidence in President Reagan's natural instincts," Paul Weyrich, president of Coalitions for America, said Thursday. "Sometimes, he has permitted aides to restrain these instincts."

"It isn't that we believe that Ronald Reagan has ceased to have faith" in conservative principles, added Howard Phillips, director of the Conservative Caucus. He said Reagan has "unwisely accepted advice which leads him to opt not for the necessary but for the possible."

THESE AND other conservative leaders, who refused to single out any particular adviser, said a principal disappointment has been the administration's reluctance to push for early congressional action on social issues, such as banning abortion.

Still, Reagan retains the support of rank-and-file conservatives, according to Ron Godwin, executive vice president of Moral Majority, the politically active religious group.

"Compared to the last occupant in the White House, the Moral Majority is extremely pleased with this president," Godwin said. "Our constituency likes President Reagan. They have very warm feelings to him."

He said, however, that Moral Majority members have "an underlying frustration over the lack of initiative and action by this administration concerning moral and social issues."

CONSERVATIVES "have waited and waited and waited for this administration to demonstrate with actions the verbal commitment to moral and social issues that was so evident during his campaign," Godwin said. "Our No. 1 priority for 1982 remains the protection of human life."

Weyrich said that rank-and-file conservative support for Reagan can't last indefinitely.

"I don't think they are so fond of him they will overlook heresy," he said. "To say that we have no place else to go (politically) is absolutely false. There have been losers of elections with that philosophy for decades."

The conservative leaders made their remarks at a news conference following a closed meeting. They also issued a prepared statement that combined praise for Reagan and disappointment about action on social issues.

The statement said that Reagan is making "a magnificent effort to articulate the case for limited government on the homefront (and) a firm defense of free-world interests overseas."

But it also expressed concern that "in numerous cases, follow through on the programs enunciated by the president have been blunted or reversed. In still others, there has been little or no attention to matters addressed so eloquently by Mr. Reagan in his campaign."

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

Front Page Edit Page Oihar Page

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.  
CHRONICLE

MORNING - 474,001

JAN 22 1982

San Francisco Chronicle 11  
Fri, January 22, 1982

New Right's  
Report Card  
On Reagan

Washington

Conservative leaders tried mightily yesterday to show continuing support for Ronald Reagan while also expressing disappointment with his presidency.

At a news conference, the conservatives issued a statement that praised Reagan for "a magnificent effort to articulate the case for limited government on the home front, firm defense of free world interests overseas."

But it added, "In numerous cases, follow-through on the programs enunciated by the president has been blunted or reversed. In still others, there has been little or no attention to matters addressed so eloquently by Mr. Reagan in his campaign."

The conservative spokesmen said a chief disappointment had been the administration's reluctance to push for early congressional action on social issues, such as legislation to ban abortions.

Ron Godwin, executive vice president of the Moral Majority, said his group had "waited and waited for this administration to demonstrate with actions the verbal commitment to moral and social issues that was so evident during his campaign.... Our number one priority for 1982 remains the protection of unborn life."

While criticizing the advice Reagan was getting, the conservatives would not single out particular aides or officials.

As for their own influence, they said they had plenty of access to the White House, but always left feeling their views were not given serious consideration.

Paul Weyrich, president of Coalitions for America, said he didn't think conservative support for Reagan would last indefinitely.

"To say that we have no place else to go is absolutely false," he said. "There have been losers of elections with that philosophy for decades."

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

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LA SALLE, ILLINOIS  
NEWS-TRIBUNE

EVENING - 20,806

JAN 19 1982

## Beating up on ERA



WASHINGTON — I received a "Warmest Regards" letter in the mail from Richard Viguerie, the conservative mail-order king, which I'd like to share with you because it says a good deal about how things get done in this town.

Not that the letter is secret. It was addressed "Dear Friend," as Mr. Viguerie's letters usually are. But the anonymity of its salutation does not detract from the information it imparts.

It tells us that Mr. Viguerie picked up the papers one morning to read that the Justice Department was appealing to the Supreme Court Judge Marion Callister's ruling that the Congress had no right to extend the original seven-year period for the states to ratify the ERA.

Mr. Viguerie then reports that he, along with Terry Dolan, Ron Goodwin, Howard Phillips and Paul Weyrich, decided to "do something to express our strong concern." They decided to organize a telegram to the President requesting that he order the attorney general to remove the Justice Department from the appeal. "Phyllis Schlafly generously offered to prepare the text."

Viguerie goes on to report a "temporarily happy ending." The Justice Department issued a clarification. It would appeal on principle. But it would not appeal in time to reach the Supreme Court before the June deadline for ratification has passed and ERA has become "a long-overdue dead letter."

What a travesty of our laws and our procedures Mr. Viguerie and his fellow New Rightists have achieved. Judge Callister ruled against the Congress of the United States. The Justice Department customarily springs to the defense of the Congress when the constitutional powers of the Congress are in question. Justice does this as a matter of course and no matter what law is involved. For example, when a lower court recently held that Congress had exceeded its powers in passing an anti-busing law, Justice sprang to the defense of the Congress.

So customary is it for Justice to defend congressional authority,

that even Mr. Reagan's Justice Department has said it would appeal Callister's ruling "in principle."

But if the deadline for ratification of ERA has passed, the "principle" will be an empty one. Mr. Viguerie is correct. Unappealed in timely fashion, the Callister decision will have a chilling effect upon ERA, which now needs the consent of three more state legislatures in order to become law.

Why would a state legislature take the trouble to act upon ERA now that Callister has said it is too late?

I shall stipulate that even before the Callister ruling, the likelihood that three more states would ratify was slim. Mr. Viguerie and Mrs. Schlafly and the others seemed about to win a victory and to win it fairly.

Then why not win it that way? Why win it by pressure tactics on the Justice Department? Why win it by forcing that department to adopt the sleazy tactic of delaying customary appeal until such time as the whole question becomes moot?

Who are the heroes of the New Right? Would New Rightists regard Theodore Roosevelt, who broke up the trusts for the betterment of free enterprise, as one of their own? If so, they ought to remember the advice he offered to succeeding generations of Americans: "Hit the line hard but play the game square."

# Worries for New Right

## Group Thwarted on Social Policy, Badly Split Over Abortion Tactics

By Bill Peterson

Washington Post Staff Writer

Every other Thursday morning an increasingly troubled group of about 40 New Right conservatives gathers in a large, smoke-filled room on the second floor of a renovated stable eight blocks from the U.S. Capitol to plot strategy and exchange ideas.

The Library Court, as the group is called, is largely unknown to outsiders.

But the White House considers it important enough to send a representative to every meeting. So does Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.).

Sens. Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala.) and Roger W. Jepsen (R-Iowa) have on occasion attended meetings. So have Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), Health and Human Services Secretary Richard S. Schweiker, and Richard Wirthlin, President Reagan's pollster.

The reason is that the Library Court has become a farmers' market for New Right social issues.

It is a regular gathering point for a host of groups attempting to ban abortion, put prayer back in public schools, eliminate sex education, ban pornography and secure tax exemptions for segregated Christian schools and tuition tax credits for private schools.

Library Court takes its name from the Capitol Hill street where the group began meeting in 1979. Since that time, it claims to have played an influential part in stopping a host of liberal legislative and administrative initiatives.

But these are troubled days for the group. It is frustrated with the Reagan administration, and deeply divided over the abortion issue.

Most Library Court members consider Reagan one of their own. As a candidate, he embraced their issues and courted their leaders.

Library Court chairman Connie Marshner became a campaign adviser on family policy issues. At least two Library Court members, the Rev. Bob Billings, formerly executive director of the Moral Majority, and Jo-Ann Gasper, a self-described "pro-family leader" who formerly edited a magazine called "The Right Woman," received mid-level appointments to the new administration.

Gasper is HHS deputy assistant secretary for social services policy; Billings is in charge of regional liaison at the Education Department.

But as president, Reagan has disappointed the group. "We get the rhetoric, but we don't get the action," complains Marshner.

What upset the group most was Reagan's on-again-off-again support for tax exemptions for segregated Christian schools, an issue that first brought the religious right into politics in 1979.

When the Reagan administration initially lifted the ban on tax exemptions for such schools "we all applauded," says Bill Billings, Bob Billings' son and executive director of the National Christian Action Coalition, which represents 13,000 churches and 9,000 religious schools.

When Reagan proposed legislation to reinstate the ban "we all booed," adds Billings. "It was almost like he put the racial monkey on our back. Now we're being branded racists, which couldn't be further from the truth. We feel he has a moral obligation to reframe the issue. If he doesn't, he will lose the support of the religious right."

The split within the Library Court coalition over abortion is more complex, and evokes the kind of deep-seated emotions found only among true believers defending the morality of their cause.

It involves name-calling, backbiting, threats and scurrilous behind-the-scenes intrigue, which Marshner says add up to "a scandal of division" that threatens the future of the right-to-life movement.

Virtually everyone in the group wants to ban legalized abortions. The split is over the best legislative vehicle to accomplish that—a constitutional amendment sponsored by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) or a human life bill sponsored by Helms.

Both were designed to appeal to pragmatists and began with the assumption that the current Congress would not pass a simple constitutional amendment to ban abortion.

Stephen H. Galebach, an attorney with the Washington law firm of Covington & Burling, conceived the Helms approach. It would ban abortion by declaring that human life begins at conception. Abortion would thus be murder.

Although this approach was widely condemned as unconstitutional, it held one great appeal for anti-abortionists: it needs only a simple majority for passage. An amendment takes two-thirds approval.

The Helms bill was the toast of the right-to-life movement for a few months, and was approved by a Senate subcommittee. Then came the Hatch amendment.

The idea of David O'Steen, executive director of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, the amendment also was supposed to offer a winnable strategy for the pragmatists. It was written to answer two of the harshest criticisms of the Helms bill—that it would outlaw some contraceptive devices and that it would prohibit abortion exemptions for rape and incest.

The amendment would do so by giving states and Congress concurrent power to restrict and prohibit abortion. It also declares that "a right to abortion is not secured by the Constitution."

The amendment set off a vicious battle among foes of abortion. The National Conference of Catholic Bishops and several other groups quickly endorsed the approach. But other right-to-life groups condemned it as "sell-out" of principles with little chance of passage.

They received an unexpected boost when a memo written by Stephen Markam, a Hatch staff aide, came to light. The memo portrayed the amendment as a rather cynical political ploy "with a reasonable possibility of success on the Senate floor if everything comes together."

"There is also the advantage working for us that some senators may feel that they can cast a politically advantageous vote in support of the amendment with the knowledge that the measure will be defeated later by the House or by the states," the memo said.

Hatch opponents leaked the memo to the press, calling it a "smoking gun." Other leaks about internal divisions within the right-to-life movement popped up everywhere.

One group suggested that the U.S. Catholic Conference, which espouses liberal causes, had joined forces with the New Right, noting that Ernest Ohlhoff, executive director of the National Committee for a Human Life Amendment, which is supported by Catholic groups, had begun attending Library Court meetings.

In recent weeks, the battle escalated. Paul Brown, executive director of the Life Amendment Political Action Committee, sent a telegram to senators that said his group will consider any vote for the Hatch amendment "a total anti-life vote."

Marshner and Paul Weyrich, a leading New Right strategist, tried to put a stop to all this at a Library Court meeting last month. Both begged that right-to-life leaders unite behind Helms or Hatch. Weyrich said he was trying to save the groups "from destroying themselves." Marshner said the groups were confusing friends on Capitol Hill.

She warned: "The average politician will throw up his hands and say, 'A pox on both your houses—don't any of you ask me to do anything for you ever again.' If that happens, the right-to-life movement will have pulled the trigger on its own heart."

Judie Brown, president of American Life Lobby, was shocked. "This was something that never should have come up at Library Court," she says. "I cried right there in the Library Court meeting."

When she and other right-to-life leaders were asked to sign a "human life covenant" that declared "solidarity in this cause," Brown, who opposes the Hatch approach, refused.

"We know there are not 67 votes for anything on the Senate floor, and we do not want to be defeated this year," she says.

Those who favor legalized abortions couldn't be more pleased. They think the divisions in the right-to-life movement may keep any anti-abortion measure from being enacted this year.

"Any division on that side clearly helps us," says Nanette Falkenberg, executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League. "The longer they stay split the more it helps us."

REAGAN'S BLACK NOMINEE UNDER FIRE

By Frank van der Linden

CACM / TTC

WASHINGTON --- Certain civil rights, women's and gay groups are trying to panic the Reagan White House into withdrawing the nomination of a black radio evangelist, B. Sam Hart of Philadelphia, to the Civil Rights Commission.

Are these groups racist? They would deny it. They consider Dr. Hart is the wrong kind of black. He does not think correct thoughts.

He opposes the Equal Rights Amendment and forced busing for racial balance in the public schools. He does not favor any special legal protection for homosexuals, saying: "They can repent like other sinners."

So the official civil rights outfits, the National Organization of Women, and their liberal-left allies are raising a great hue and cry for President Reagan to drop Dr. Hart like a hot potato and select someone suitable to their views.

They have persuaded Pennsylvania's senior senator, Republican John Heinz, to place a "hold" on the nomination, so that the Senate cannot confirm it any time soon. Heinz has not opposed Dr. Hart, however, and neither has the state's junior senator, Arlan Specter, although both senators say the minister has not been active in their party politics. Actually, this Civil Rights Commission post is not a patronage plum that belongs to the senators. It is a place on a five-member national agency which Reagan is trying to re-shape from its traditional role as a haven for the advocates of radical social change.

The President first offered the job to Dr. E. V. Hill, the dynamic black pastor of the Mount Zion Baptist Church of Los Angeles. Dr. Hill a former democrat, campaigned for candidate Reagan in the Los Angeles ghetto in 1980 and is strongly advocating Reagan's policies of encouraging Americans to help each other through their churches and neighborhood groups.

Dr. Hill declined the C.R.C. offer and recommended his friend, Dr. Hart, who is the founder of the Grand Old Gospel Hour, the largest black-produced evangelical program. Dr. Hart also operates station WYIS, the first black-owned radio station in the Delaware Valley.

The Evangelical Christians, who are fervent supporters of Reagan, are expected to rally around his nominee and mount counter-pressure in favor of his confirmation.

Jittery White House staff members, who might be tempted to drop Dr. Hart to appease the loudly protesting groups on the left, should stand firm in defense of their President's nominee. In short, they should take a little heat and not run out of the kitchen.

Dr. Hart also can expect some help from his colleagues in the National Religious Broadcasters. They gave a roaring ovation to the President when he spoke at their annual convention in Washington a few days ago.

Reagan evoked cheers, applause and whistles when he told the "electronic" preachers: "I do not agree with those who accuse you of trying to impose your views on others. If we have come to the point in America where any attempt to see traditional values reflected in public policy would leave one open to irresponsible charges, then I say the entire structure of our free society is threatened."

Dr. Hart, born in New York City fifty years ago, grew up on the island of Jamaica, West Indies. He finished the British equivalent of junior college there, came back to the United States at eighteen and took advanced courses at several Eastern colleges. He holds an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Carver Bible College, Atlanta Georgia.

He has established churches in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Harlen, Washington, Germantown and Norristown, Pa. and the Willingboro Christian Assembly in New Jersey.

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"HIGH TAX" HOLLINGS

By Frank van der Linden

WASHINGTON --- If the Democrats adopt South Carolina Sen. Ernest Hollings' alternative budget plan, they need not be surprised to hear President Reagan denouncing them as the "high tax" party.

For "Fritz" Hollings is proposing the repeal or reduction of income tax cuts which Reagan rammed through Congress last year. Under the senator's proposal, the taxpayers would fork over \$185 billion more in taxes during the next three years.

Think that over for a moment. The Democrat's alternative proposal calls, in effect, for higher taxes totaling \$185 billion.

Hollings would start out by canceling the ten per cent income tax reduction scheduled for this coming July. He says that would avoid \$40 billion in "tax spending."

"I say 'tax spending' rather than 'tax cut' because it amounts to sending out money we really do not have," Hollings told the Senate. "The tax cut requires the government to go into the market and borrow \$40 billion at 14.5 and mail it out to the taxpayers."

That is simply not so, and Hollings knows it.

The \$40 billion will not consist of government checks, sent out of Washington to the people. It will be \$40 billion of the people's own money which they won't have to send to Washington. They can keep the money for their own use -- to spend or to save or to invest.

Hollings also wants to lower next year's tax cut from ten per cent to five per cent. Then he would wipe out the "indexing" provision of the new revenue law under which income taxes, starting in 1985, would be tied to the inflation level.

"Indexing" will end "bracket creep" which causes workers to pay ever-increasing income taxes as inflation requires them to seek pay raises and those, in turn, throw them into the higher tax brackets intended for the rich.

- More -

"Increasing taxes is not the answer," the President said when he called for his critics to "put up or shut up" and offer some sensible alternatives to his own budget with its projected deficit of more than \$90 billion. "We doubled taxes between 1976 and 1981 and had the biggest string of deficits in our history," he said. "Besides that, taxes reduced our ability as individuals to save."

Reagan will also keep on saying "No" to pleas from Republicans as well as Democrats for a reduction in the defense budget which exceeds \$200 billion. It is so easy for politicians to call for defense cuts as a way of lowering the projected deficits and thus encouraging the timid businessmen to invest some of their hoarded billions in new industrial expansion programs.

This is not 1932, when American industry ground to halt amid a worldwide depression. Sen. Hollings himself said: "Money is out there. People are ready to invest. Employers are ready to hire." All they need, he argued, is a reduction in deficits which could lead to lower interest rates.

Reagan insists that the businessmen should be encouraged by his steady course, which has slashed inflation down below the double-digit marks of the Carter regime. The truth is that some speculators who have bet big wads of money on ever-rising prices of housing, metals, commodities and the like are going to suffer big losses unless they can get the market booming again with another round of inflation. They don't like Dr. Reagan's apartan remedies. They want cheap money and plenty of it.

## Weather

Today—Mild, with occasional rain through tonight, high 48-53, low 36-41. Chance of rain: 70 percent, 90 percent tonight. Wednesday — Rain continuing, high 43-48. Yesterday — 10 a.m. AQI: 25; temp. range: 68-30. Details on C2.

# The Washington Post

105th Year . . . . . No. 73

The Washington Post Company

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1982

Higher in Areas Approximately 75 Miles From District of Columbia (See Box on A2)

## The Charmer From Tennessee

### Howard Baker Leads the Senate His Way

By Helen Dewar  
Washington Post Staff Writer

One day last year a freshman senator wandered onto the floor as the Senate was voting to resolve a turf fight between two committee chairmen and noticed that Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr. was missing from his usual perch on a table at the front.

He found Baker hunkered down in a third-row chair and asked why. "There's an old Tennessee saying," responded Baker, grinning. "Ain't got no dog in that fight."

Baker had more glittering moments during his first year as den mother, father confessor and big brother for the fledgling Senate Republican majority. But the story, told by Sen. Slade Gorton (R-Wash.), helps explain how Baker has combined easy-going Tennessee mountain charm, legislative street-smarts, seemingly inexhaustible patience and a keen instinct for winnable dog fights into a growing reputation as the most resourceful, successful majority leader since Lyndon B. Johnson.

If Johnson won by twisting arms, Baker wins by stroking egos.

Sitting in the same office he held as minority leader, having appeased Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) by letting him keep the corner suite he held when he was majority leader before the 1980 elections, Baker was asked to reflect on his own style of leadership.

He squirmed a little, talked about "reasoning together" and "personal relationships" and then recalled an introduction that Sen. William V. Roth (R-Del.) once made for him: "Howard Baker is like a political neutron bomb. He destroys his opponents and leaves their egos standing." Not quite true, Baker added, but "it's the highest form of flattery."

It is hard to imagine the short, stocky, low-key and amiable Tennessean, a self-described "camera nut" who seems happiest when he is running around snapping photographs of other important people, as any kind of explosive device.

See BAKER, A8, Col. 1.



By Steve Mendelsen — The Washington Post

# Tennessee Charmer: Howard Baker

BAKER, From A1

But his is a highly personal and collegial style of leadership that keeps senators in line by making them feel important and needed, which is how senators like to feel.

He spends at least three-quarters of his long days on Capitol Hill with individual senators, and rarely does he end a meeting without "handing out bouquets all around the table," according to associates. He uses people in ways they don't seem to mind, protecting his own political capital while committee chairmen and others venture forth to test the minefields.

"Whatever it is, he lets you think you're doing it, not that it's being done to you," observes Senate Budget Committee Chairman Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.). But, says Banking Committee Chairman Jake Garn (R-Utah), he's "upfront . . . with no hidden agenda."

"He never tries to upstage a committee chairman," says Senate Finance Committee Chairman Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.).

Virtually born to politics, a "congressional brat," as one friend puts it, Baker knows Congress and its inner dynamics as well as anyone. His father and stepmother served in the House from their rural district in Republican eastern Tennessee (where his grandfather was a judge and his grandmother a county sheriff).

His father-in-law was the late Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.). His daughter Cissy is now running for the House.

He passed up his father's House seat to take a long shot at a Senate seat in 1964, and built on a strong first showing to win election to Tennessee's other Senate seat in the still strongly Democratic state in 1966. He was elected minority leader in 1976 on the third try but was growing so bored that friends say he almost did not run for reelection in 1978. His boredom was instantly relieved when the Senate turned Republican in 1980.

Only a year ago when Baker made the jump from minority leader to majority leader, there was a widespread impression that he was on probation, elected only at the sufferance of the suddenly swollen ranks of GOP right-wingers who were suspicious of his conservative credentials.

Baker was chosen unanimously only after he solicited, and got, the active support of Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.), who was, by virtue of friendship and political loyalty, President Reagan's "man in the Senate." There was also talk that it would be Laxalt, not Baker, who would really be running the Senate.

Now, as Baker begins what is ex-



By James K.W. Atherton - The Washington Post

Baker became majority leader almost 15 years after winning his first term.

pected to be a much tougher second year as majority leader, he is clearly in command, with Laxalt playing a supportive role that is apparently comfortable to both men. "A 10 plus," says Laxalt of Baker's performance.

Early in last year's session, Baker headed off a revolt among nervous freshmen over a necessary but politically distasteful proposal from Reagan to raise the debt limit, using Senate elders like Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) to soothe them in a way that made Thurmond feel needed, the freshmen comfortable and Reagan grateful.

"That was perfectly dreadful," Baker said in an interview, recalling how he had to tell the White House that he did not have the votes to pass the debt bill and did not know where to get them. "It was all I had left—to bring in the hierarchy."

And that is what he did. "I'll never forget Strom Thurmond. He looked at the eight to 10 freshmen and he said, 'Gentlemen, I understand you are concerned that you always opposed an increase in the debt limit. Some of you served in the House and you never voted to increase it. Well, neither have I. But I never had Ronald Reagan for president before, so I'm going to vote for it and I believe you should too.'" The measure passed.

Through the even larger budget battles of the year, this often protracted, sometimes clumsy groping for a consensus paid off so handsomely that the Democrats decried in forlorn envy that the Republicans did everything in "lock-step." Said Appropriations Committee Chairman Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.): "He was the catalyst who brought us together."

Hardly a budget battle that mattered was lost in the Senate, giving Reagan a secure base from which to operate successfully on the Democratic-controlled House.

In some cases, Baker, joined by major committee chairmen working in impressive concert, was able to pull the administration back from the brink of congressional defeat, as in the case of its proposed Social Security benefit cutbacks.

Moreover, Baker is regarded by his colleagues as largely responsible for having saved the administration from an embarrassing, largely self-inflicted foreign policy setback on the sale of AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) planes to Saudi Arabia. "It couldn't have been done without him," says Laxalt.

Baker was less successful in fending off the administration's "September offensive" for additional budget cuts but was instrumental, in weeks of painstaking and painful negotia-

# Leads the Senate His Way

**He rides high in the Senate because he has been able to deliver on critical issues for both the White House and Senate Republicans, blunting the arguments of those who might prefer a leader of greater ideological purity.**

ished his patience and ego-massaging charms disagree, but even last year he often walked a fine line—between congressional imperatives and obedience to his president, between conflicting interests within the Senate itself and between his own moderately conservative tendencies and the more all-out brand of conservatism espoused by Reagan and the GOP's far right.

He got off to a shaky start this year by pushing a measure to allow Senate sessions to be televised, ruffling some Republicans and risking an embarrassing personal defeat if the Senate shoots the proposal down. To Baker it is an important step in putting some polish on the Senate's tarnished reputation as the world's greatest deliberative body, which he has set as one of his goals.

More importantly, Senate Republicans are in open revolt over Reagan's proposed budget for fiscal 1983. Baker stepped out front early, welcoming a proposed alternative from the Budget Committee's ranking Democrat, Sen. Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina, that administration officials promptly denounced. It is a vise, and Baker is right in the middle.

Baker, who had unsuccessfully challenged Reagan in the early 1980 primaries, got off to a good start with the new president last year.

In one of their early conversations after the inauguration, Baker recalls, "he [Reagan] was hedging a little [to the effect that], 'Well, this may be at variance with what I understand your position to be.' I said, 'Look, Mr. President, there are some things on what you and I may disagree and if we do and if I must take a separate position, I will try to let you know in advance. But you should also know that on every issue where it's a close call I'm going to resolve the issue in your favor.'"

Baker acknowledges he had to make what he calls "delicate" choices "a lot of times" last year. While he declines to go into details, he is clearly uneasy over the administration's civil rights record and said, albeit after the fact, that social program appropriations may have been cut too severely last year. He has lost on some battles but won on others, most conspicuously on submitting the issue of Social Security cuts to a bipartisan commission.

Baker rides high in the Senate because he has been able to deliver on critical issues for both the White House and Senate Republicans, blunting the arguments of those who

might prefer a leader of greater ideological purity.

But if Reagan is now asking Congress to deliver the undeliverable, as some Republicans fear, Baker could suffer too as dissension undercuts his ability to achieve consensus and emboldens the far right.

It is still suspicious of Baker but less agitated about him. "Because of his record . . . the residual hostility is still there," says Paul Weyrich, one of the New Right's leaders, claiming also that Baker has treated the New Right's agenda as "second-class issues."

Moreover, some of the very qualities that help Baker as majority leader—a compulsion for compromise and a cautious, reasoned personal style that can lull a crowd as easily as it charms an individual—could get in the way of his still-strong ambition to be president.

For his disastrous presidential campaign in 1980, Baker can blame the fact that he stayed too long in Washington, apparently hoping the Senate, along with a planned show-down on the strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT) that never materialized, would give him a compelling platform for advancing his candidacy.

But friends cite other reasons as well: "advanced disorganization" when it comes to national campaign strategy and a public record of ideological "flexibility," exemplified in 1980 by opposition to SALT coming just after he supported the Panama Canal treaties, that creates an aura of inconsistency if not outright expediency.

Passed over at least three times for even the GOP vice presidential nomination, Baker appears to be feared more by the Democrats, many of whom rated him as their biggest threat going into 1980, than he is sought by the Republicans.

"I make no bones about it, I want to be president," Baker said the other day in an interview.

But, given his conviction that he got drummed out early in 1980 because he stayed too long at his Washington duties, he believes he would have to resign from the Senate at the end of his year, which he appears reluctant to do.

1984? "That's too far in the future to look."

Patient man that he is, he nonetheless concedes "the tates may be against me." But, he added, his back toward the window looking out over the Mall leading toward the White House, "this ain't no bad job either."

tions, in getting them cut back to digestible proportions: a "half-load" that enabled Reagan to claim a victory without really having won one.

Comments from two ends of the political spectrum are indicative. From the liberal end, Senate Minority Whip Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) calls Baker "remarkably effective" as well as "fair." Sen. John East (R-N.C.), one of the most conservative of the freshmen, says he has "nothing but the highest praise" for Baker and adds: "He carried a great deal of water for Ronald Reagan."

For all the dazzling reviews for his debut, however, his patience and consensus-style leadership may be severely tried if, as many expect, Reagan's second-year program and "social issues" like abortion and school prayer exacerbate the divisions in Republican ranks that Baker helped paper over last year.

"If there is any criticism of Howard Baker," said an otherwise admiring committee staffer, "it's that he's not mean enough," implying that his patience sometimes creates impatience in others.

Senators upon whom he has lav-



# Coalitions For America



## Officers

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Richard B. Dingman  
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Addah Jane Hurst  
*Secretary*

John F. Grecco  
*Special Assistant*

Dr. Charles Moser  
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Padraic Buckley  
*Director of Operation*

Paul M. Weyrich  
*President*

Annette Richards  
*Administrative Assistant*

Connaught Marshner  
*Vice President*

Allison Freeze  
*Receptionist*

July 8, 1982

Ms. Helene von Damm  
The White House  
145, OEOB  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Helene:

A very good friend of mine who has been extremely helpful to a multitude of the conservative groups who support President Reagan has been under consideration for the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). I understand that he was passed by in the last round of appointments. I also understand that the additional appointments will be made at the end of this year. **Marion Harrison has been** endorsed by Paul Laxalt, John Warner, the Virginia Congressional Delegation, Ed Derwinski and others.

In case there is question about his conservative commitment, I am ready willing and able to testify that Harrison has been most dedicated and active in the Washington scene. I sincerely hope you will give him priority consideration for the upcoming December appointments. If I can be of any further assistance in answering any questions, please do not hesitate to call me.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Weyrich  
President

PMW/agr



# Coalitions For America

### Officers

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Chairman

Richard B. Dingman  
Chairman, Kingston Group

Addah Jane Hurst  
Secretary

Padraic Buckley  
Director of Operation

Dr. Charles Moser  
Treasurer

Annette Richards  
Administrative Assistant

Paul M. Weyrich  
President

Allison Freeze  
Receptionist

Connaught Marshner  
Chairman, Library Court

John Grecco

## MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. Jerry Falwell  
Reverend Jimny Swaggart  
Dr. Bill Bright  
Dr. Timothy LaHaye  
Steve Galebach  
Morton Blackwell ✓

*file*

DATE: May 12, 1983

FROM: Connaught Marshner *CRcm*

SUBJECT: Action on President's Prayer Amendment

-----

First of all, enclosed are the lists I promised you of the members of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees, along with the Washington addresses and the local office phone numbers. These are all the members on these committees, both Democrats and Republicans. For the time being, that is to say, the next two weeks, it is probably just as well to initiate personal contacts with all members of the Senate Judiciary Committee. There may be times in the future when a "targeted" list is more appropriate - down the road, later, we may not want to ask over and over again when we know that the answer is going to be yes.

I think it is an excellent idea to make personal phone calls immediately to your most reliable colleagues, and ask each of them to make ten personal phone calls to their friends, with the goal in each case to be personal phone calls to members of the Judiciary Committee and the United States Senate.

Any effort that we can give to publicize the issues at stake in the President's Prayer Amendment and Denton Bill would be helpful. Guest on radio or television shows, topics in the pulpit, even fundraising letters with postcard enclosures on this subject would be helpful for the next several months. For sure, any publications that we all have influence on should discuss the Prayer issue prominently in the very near future.

I hope this information is helpful to you. To those of you who I have not yet met in person, I look forward to meeting you in the not to distant future. Best wishes to those whom I do know.

# # # # #

SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

REPUBLICANS

ADDRESSES

Washington, DC

Strom Thurmond (SC)  
218 Russell S.O.B.  
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224-5972

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Paul Laxalt (NV)  
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## POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY CLERGYMEN

You have asked for our advice with respect to legislative and political activities by clergymen and organizations exempt from tax under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (the Code). Let me summarize below the applicable law and regulations and then answer your specific questions.

### LAW AND REGULATIONS

An organization is exempt from tax under Section 501(c)(3) if it is

"... a corporation, ... fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary, or educational purposes,

... no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation (except as otherwise provided in subsection (h)), and which does not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing and distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office."

It is apparent from the language of the statute that an organization exempt from tax under Section 501(c)(3) may undertake no activity whatever on behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for public office, federal, state or local. This is an absolute prohibition.

Legislative activities, as contrasted to political activities, are permissible for such an organization. However, the statute specifically prescribes that no substantial part of the activities of such an organization may be devoted to activities intended to influence legislation.

The IRS regulations under Section 501(c)(3) elaborate on the general statutory requirements as follows:

(3) Authorization of legislative or political activities.  
An organization is not organized exclusively for one or more exempt purposes if its articles expressly empower it -

(i) To devote more than an insubstantial part of its activities to attempting to influence legislation

by propaganda or otherwise; or

(ii) Directly or indirectly to participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for public office; or

(iii) To have objectives and to engage in activities which characterize it as an "action" organization as defined in paragraph (c)(3) of this section.

Sections 1.501(c)(3)-1(b)(3)(i) and (ii) of the above regulation merely restate Section 501(c)(3) and its prohibition of political activity and limitations on legislative activity, but subsection (iii) expands the limitations placed upon charitable or educational organizations to preclude Section 501(c)(3) status for so-called 'action' organizations, which are defined to include any organization which contacts or urges the public to contact legislators regarding legislation or which itself advocates the adoption or rejection of legislation.

The statute does not define the term "substantial" for purposes of determining whether an organization qualifies under Section 501(c)(3). Court cases have held that an organization may devote at least 5 percent of its activities to lobbying without losing its tax-favored status, and that an organization devoting more than 20 percent of its activities to lobbying does not qualify. Organizations devoting between 5 and 20 percent of their activities to such pursuits are in an area of uncertainty. The IRS has never accepted the applicability of any specific percentage to determine the substantiality of an organization's legislative activity.

In 1976, Code Section 501(h) was enacted to relieve some of this uncertainty. That section sets forth a procedure whereby an organization may elect to expend a specified portion of its budget for legislative activities without any adverse effect upon its tax-exempt status. The amount of such activity is computed on a statutorily prescribed sliding scale. As an example, an organization whose total expenditures on all exempt purposes are less than \$500,000 per year may devote up to 20 percent of such expenditures to lobbying without paying any tax, and up to 30 percent without losing its tax-exempt status. Expenditures exceeding 20 percent, but less than 30 percent, are subject to a special tax, but will not adversely affect tax-exempt status. One-quarter of the allowable expenditure amount may be devoted to so-called "grassroots lobbying", defined as attempts to influence the general public regarding legislation. Organizations not electing under §501(h) are subject to the old rules. In either case, permissible lobbying must be in the public interest. Section 501(h) may be elected by most

organizations qualifying for tax exemption under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. However while the bill was being considered by Congress, there were those in the church community who believed that churches are not subject to the prohibitions against lobbying in any respect. These organizations believe that to include churches and integrated auxiliaries of churches in the relief legislation would imply that the government had the right to revoke their tax exemptions if they engaged in legislative activity. Since they do not believe that this is true, the organizations lobbied for a provision excluding them from the benefits of Section 501(h). The result is that churches, integrated auxiliaries of churches, and members of affiliated groups of organizations in which one or more members are churches or integrated auxiliaries of churches are not eligible to elect the provision of Section 501(h). Religious institutions which are not churches or integrated auxiliaries can make this election."

The requirements of the statute may thus be summarized as follows: An organization carrying on public affairs activities may qualify for exemption from tax under Section 501(c)(3) and receive charitable contributions under Section 170(a) if its activities are educational, charitable or religious, if it does not exceed the limitations imposed on lobbying and propaganda expenditures imposed by Section 501(c)(3) and/or Section 501(h), and if it engages in no activity intended to influence the election or defeat of any political candidate.

Federal elections are governed by Title 2 of the U.S. Code Section 431, et seq., comprising the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. The election laws prohibit contributions or expenditures in connection with any federal campaign by any corporation. Since most churches and charities are incorporated, the prohibition extends to many such organizations. It should be noted that this prohibition extends only to "contributions" and "expenditures". Thus, directly or indirectly, a corporation must spend money in support of or opposition to a candidate before a violation can be found. Activity by a minister outside working hours would not constitute a contribution by his church, though political advocacy on church time might. Use of church facilities for a political purpose by a candidate or committee may constitute the equivalent of a contribution, but merely allowing a visiting politician to deliver a sermon or read scripture would not.

## DISCUSSION

### 1. Endorsements

- a. Can a clergyman or officer of a nonprofit tax-exempt organization publicly endorse a candidate for public office?

Neither the federal tax statutes nor the federal election law place impediments upon individuals expressing their electoral choices. The fact that a clergyman is employed by a tax-exempt organization does not destroy his personal constitutional right to political expression, and such an individual may endorse or oppose candidates for office without endangering the tax-exempt status of the organization by which he is employed.

- b. Can it be done from the premises or pulpit of the tax-exempt organization?

Yes. There is no instance of which we are aware in which the Internal Revenue Service or the Federal Election Commission has sought to take adverse action against a church because its minister endorsed a candidate from the pulpit. However, a clergyman should not make a regular practice of endorsing candidates from the pulpit and on those rare occasions when he does do so, he should make it clear to his congregation that the endorsement is a personal one and not that of the institution.

- c. Can the "organization" endorse a candidate?

The federal election law prohibits the expenditure of corporate funds in an attempt to influence an election. If the endorsement does not involve such a corporate expenditure, it would be permissible under the election law.

But Section 501(c)(3) prohibits any direct or indirect participation in political campaigns by the charitable or religious organization. This prohibition is much broader than that of the election law, and extends to more than the mere expenditure of funds. Therefore, a charitable organization which officially endorses a candidate for public office would seem to be participating in a political campaign and would endanger its tax-exempt status.

We are aware of no instance in which the Internal Revenue Service has sought to revoke the tax-exempt status of a church merely because the church has endorsed a political candidate. This is probably due to the traditional timidity of the IRS in the face of organized religion. Such a policy could be changed at any time.

- d. Can the clergyman or nonprofit organization leader/officer lend his name to political advertisements and have his title listed under his name for identification purposes?

Yes. The IRS has ruled that even private foundations may support voter education drives. T.D. Release K-87, May 11, 1969. In this respect, Revenue Ruling 78-248, 1978-18 IRB 8 states as follows:

"Certain 'voter education' activities conducted in the nonpartisan manner may not constitute prohibited political activity under Section 501(c)(3) of the Code. Other so-called 'voter education' activities, however, may be proscribed by the statute."

This revenue ruling contains a number of examples of situations illustrative of the rules as applied by the IRS.

In one example, an organization compiled and made generally available to the public voting records of all members of Congress. The publication contained no editorial opinion, and its contents did not imply approval or disapproval of the members' voting records. The IRS held that such activity is not prohibited to a Section 501(c)(3) organization.

In another situation an organization was found to qualify as a Section 501(c)(3) organization even though it published a "voters' guide" containing the opinions of various candidates for political office on a wide variety of issues. It is important to note that the issues were selected solely on the basis of their importance and interest to the electorate as a whole. Candidates' positions were ascertained through answers to a questionnaire sent to all candidates.

Important distinctions may be drawn from a third example in which the same sort of questionnaire was sent to candidates in order to prepare a voters' guide, but the questionnaire was structured in such a way that it evidenced bias on certain issues. The organization was held not to qualify for tax-exempt status.

b. Must voter registration activities be nonpartisan?

Yes.

c. Can the organization spend money for paying registration organizers, or for mailing out registration forms?

Yes, if the registration is nonpartisan.

## 2. Candidate Appearances

a. Can candidates speak on the premises of a Section 501(c)(3) organization?

The Internal Revenue Service has never to our knowledge attempted to revoke the tax-exempt status of an organization which allowed political candidates to speak on the premises. It is fairly clear that there is no problem with such practice if all candidates are allowed to speak, rather than merely those endorsed by the leaders of the institution. This is consistent with revenue rulings dealing with broadcasting stations, in which it has been held that providing reasonable air time to all legally qualified candidates for election to public office does not constitute participation in a political campaign. See Rev. Rul. 74-574, 1974-2 C.B. 160.

The question is a closer one if only certain candidates are allowed to address the group with political speeches. It could of course, be argued that allowing a candidate to speak involves no expenditure or endorsement by the organization or that purely internal communications do not constitute intervention in a political campaign. Further, as we have noted, we know of no instance in which an organization has lost its tax-exempt status for such activities. Nevertheless, more care and consideration should be given to such an activity than to an activity where all candidates are provided with the opportunity to speak.

Of course, candidates and public officials retain their rights to religious expression. Ministers should be safe in introducing a candidate present in the congregation at a service, and candidates may be allowed to deliver sermons and read scripture.

b. Can public incumbent office-holders speak on the premises or from the pulpit?

Yes, though if such office-holders are candidates, the same considerations apply as are discussed above.

- c. Can an organization exempt from tax under Section 501(c)(3) operate forums where all candidates for a particular office come and speak?

Though the Internal Revenue Service has apparently never ruled on this exact question, such an activity is consistent with other IRS rulings. See, for instance, Revenue Ruling 74-574, supra, involving appearances by candidates on television stations operated by religious and education groups. See, also, Revenue Ruling 66-256, 1966-2 C.B. 210, in which an organization was held to qualify for Section 501(c)(3) status where it conducted public forums at which elections and debates on social, political, and international matters are presented.

### 3. Fundraising

Can funds be raised at religious services for campaign contributions to candidates, contributions to political parties or contributions for a legislative battle or moral or educational issue campaign?

An organization may qualify for Section 501(c)(3) status so long as it does not devote a substantial portion of its activities to propaganda or legislative activities. Collecting money at a church service does not involve an expenditure of funds which could under any circumstances amount to a substantial expenditure. Therefore, allowing fundraising for lobbying campaigns at church services incurs no significant expense.

In contrast, raising money for a candidate or a political party would in all likelihood constitute indirect participation in a political campaign. Since the prohibition on such activities is absolute, such an activity could result in the loss of tax-exempt status.

### 4. Mailing Lists

Can an organization exempt from tax under Section 501(c)(3) loan or rent its mailing list to an organization carrying on legislative activities or to a candidate or political committee for campaign fundraising?

Both the Federal Election Commission and the Internal Revenue Service would react adversely to a loan of an organization's mailing list for use in a political campaign.

Such an activity would constitute a corporate political expenditure to the extent that corporate funds had been used to develop the membership list. It would also constitute participation in a political campaign for purposes of Section 501(c)(3).

The loan of a mailing list to a "legislative" organization must be analyzed using different principles. The election law would not apply since that statute applies only to political activities rather than legislative ones. The loan could be considered a legislative expenditure to the extent of the cost of providing it, but in any event would be considered such an expenditure only to the extent of any additional cost incurred by the corporation. Presumably, such additional costs would be very slight and would only in a very unusual circumstance result in substantial expenditure.

The IRS could also argue that allowing a noncharitable organization to use the membership list of a charitable or religious organization for a legislative purpose constitutes inurement of the earnings of the charitable organization to the other organization. This would result in loss of tax-exempt status.

It is clear that both political candidates and parties and legislative organizations can buy mailing lists from charitable organizations. No problem would exist in any of the above cases if the list were rented at its fair market value (the value at which it is sold to other organizations, if at all) to either a political organization or a legislative organization. This approach is preferable, since it avoids the possibility of inurement.

We have attempted to deal in general summary form with the problems which you have raised. You should recognize that the tax effect of political or legislative activity on a church or charity depends on the precise facts of the particular case.