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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1983

file
MM

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED FIELDING

VIA: JONATHAN VIPOND III *JB III*

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL *MM*

I addressed the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) Congressional Salute Dinner June 28, 1983. This dinner was to honor the members of Congress for their support of the President and the Republican Party platform of 1980. Attached is a copy of my remarks, which were directed to congressional races. Also enclosed is a copy of the letter I read from the President and the invitation stating the purpose of this event and the disposition of the funds raised from this dinner.

I would appreciate your office providing those of us who deal with organizations that are or will be supporting the President for re-election with a set of guidelines.

cc: Ed Rollins

*Morton -
Usaid the
President
announces,
we have no
guidelines.
7.*

1/2
Remarks to NCPAC Dinner, June 28, 1983, Watergate Hotel
by Morton C. Blackwell, Special Assistant to the President

Thank you for that generous introduction.

It is my pleasure to represent the President here tonight. I understand that your purpose here is to honor Members of Congress who by their votes gave the greatest support to the President and the platform on which he ran in 1980.

Unfortunately, too few Members of Congress merited these awards. I understand that NCPAC is taking steps to ensure that many of those who didn't win awards this evening will be replaced in 1984 by others who are more conservative.

For years I published analyses of the activities of political action committees. The consistent pattern of Terry Dolan's NCPAC has always been to seek out those close, hard-fought congressional races where its efforts might make the difference between defeat and victory for conservative candidates. Unlike some other PACs, NCPAC did its best not to make big contributions to conservative sure winners or to conservatives, no matter how principled, who were sure losers. Terry always

tries to put his resources where they will do the most good.

Now I know that Terry is controversial. He seems to thrive on making liberals mad. Terry understands something Franklin Roosevelt understood: politics necessarily means controversy. You can't make friends of your enemies by making enemies of your friends. No matter what Terry's enemies say, the man who recruited Jim Abdnor to run against George McGovern can't be all bad.

Terry Dolan played a major role in building the winning coalition which gave us more election victories than anyone expected in 1980. With your help, Terry's award ceremony two years from now will give out many more plaques and trophies.

Here is a letter I have been sent to read:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1983

I am delighted to send my warm greetings to all those gathered for the National Conservative Political Action Committee's Congressional Salute Dinner.

This event provides a fine opportunity for us to recognize and show appreciation for the principled accomplishments of the outstanding Americans honored on this occasion. The Members of Congress you salute tonight have repeatedly demonstrated their overriding commitment to the fundamental values that ushered America into the company of great nations. Their devotion to sound economic progress, reduced government spending, a strengthened defense posture, and a more determined foreign and national security policy is the foundation of the renewed vigor of our country at home and abroad.

Their courage and records of achievement serve as an inspiring display of what our people can do when they are properly informed and motivated. Indeed, the efforts of such leaders are helping shape the destiny of our nation and the Free World.

Nancy joins me in wishing you a delightful evening and continued success in the future.

Ronald Reagan



*In appreciation for their support of
President Ronald Wilson Reagan
and
the Republican Party Platform of 1980*

We Honor:

Honorable James S. Shriver U. S. Senator—South Dakota	Honorable Thomas F. Harshbarger U. S. Congressman—South Carolina	Honorable Robert H. Michel U. S. Congressman—Illinois
Honorable Bill Sticker U. S. Congressman—Texas	Honorable Orrin G. Hatch U. S. Senator—Utah	Honorable Frank H. Lautenberg U. S. Senator—New Jersey
Honorable Thomas F. Wiley U. S. Congressman—Virginia	Honorable Duncan Hunter U. S. Congressman—California	Honorable Dan Rostenkowski U. S. Senator—Illinois
Honorable Mark Brown U. S. Congressman—Colorado	Honorable Roger W. Jenson U. S. Senator—Iowa	Honorable Dan Rostenkowski U. S. Senator—Illinois
Honorable Richard D. Cheney U. S. Congressman—Wyoming	Honorable Nancy Landon Kassebaum U. S. Senator—Kansas	Honorable William V. Roth, Jr. U. S. Senator—Delaware
Honorable Larry E. Craig U. S. Congressman—Idaho	Honorable Bob Darden U. S. Senator—Wisconsin	Honorable Ellen S. Sudd U. S. Congressman—Illinois
Honorable Phil M. Crane U. S. Congressman—Illinois	Honorable Ken Kerner U. S. Congressman—Indiana	Honorable Alan Simpson U. S. Senator—Wyoming
Honorable William E. Dannemeyer U. S. Congressman—California	Honorable Paul Laxalt U. S. Senator—Nevada	Honorable Christopher Smith U. S. Congressman—New Jersey
Honorable Kenneth Johnston U. S. Senator—Alabama	Honorable Jerry Lewis U. S. Congressman—California	Honorable Donald Rumsfeld U. S. Congressman—New York
Honorable David Duren U. S. Congressman—California	Honorable Robert S. Livingston U. S. Congressman—Louisiana	Honorable John Stangorland U. S. Congressman—Minnesota
Honorable John P. East U. S. Senator—North Carolina	Honorable Tom Loeffler U. S. Congressman—Texas	Honorable Bob Stump U. S. Congressman—Oklahoma
Honorable Mickey Castor U. S. Congressman—Alabama	Honorable Trent Lott U. S. Congressman—Mississippi	Honorable Steven Symms U. S. Senator—Idaho
Honorable Jack Fields U. S. Congressman—Texas	Honorable Dan Simpson U. S. Congressman—California	Honorable Strom Thurmond U. S. Senator—South Carolina
Honorable Mark Shagrich U. S. Congressman—Georgia	Honorable Mark Hatfield U. S. Senator—Oregon	Honorable Malcolm W. Allott U. S. Senator—Wyoming
Honorable Charles E. Grassley U. S. Senator—Iowa	Honorable James O. Mc Clellan U. S. Senator—Ohio	Honorable Vin Weber U. S. Congressman—Minnesota
Honorable George Hannon U. S. Congressman—Ohio	Honorable Richard G. Lugar U. S. Senator—Indiana	Honorable George E. Wahlen U. S. Congressman—New York
Honorable James V. Hansen U. S. Congressman—Utah	Honorable Bill McCollum U. S. Congressman—Florida	

It is with great pride that we honor the
Members of Congress whose dedication to the principles of
the 1980 Republican Platform and whose support of
President Ronald Reagan's legislative agenda has launched
the United States on the road to economic recovery.

In the wake of relentless opposition from liberals who
would continue the disastrous policies of past administrations,
these Members of Congress have fought to restore conservative
leadership to government. Indeed, the future of our nation
would be in serious jeopardy without their commitment.

NCPA has formed a special fund to assist these
Congressmen in their re-election campaigns as well as to elect
more representatives in 1984 who will further
the cause of freedom.

We cordially invite you to join us for this historic
gathering and request your support of this special fund.

—The Sponsoring Committee—

John T. Dolan
Chairman

National Conservative
Political Action Committee

requests your presence
to honor
the

Members of the House of Representatives
and the U. S. Senate

for
their support of

President Ronald Wilson Reagan

and

The Republican Party Platform of 1980

at

The Watergate Hotel

2650 Virginia Avenue, N. W.

Washington, D. C.

on June 28, 1983

Cocktails 7:00 p. m.

Dinner 8:00 p. m.

R.G.V.P. Card Enclosed

\$ 500 per couple

\$2500—table of 8

Black Tie Requested

Complimentary

Sponsoring Committee

Honorable Raymond Donovan
Secretary of Labor

Honorable James Watt
Secretary of the Interior

Honorable James Baker
White House Chief of Staff

Honorable Ed Rollins
Assistant to the President
for Political Affairs

Honorable Faith Whittlesey
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Honorable Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President

Mrs. Henry Bentes

Mrs. Carlos Benitez

Mrs. Randy Best

Mrs. & Mrs. James Cathoun

Mrs. Anna Chennault

Mrs. Richard De Vos

Mrs. Iris Eaton

Mrs. Edward House

Mrs. Keith Perry

Mrs. Maurine Shadruck

Mrs. Mike Valerio

Funds raised from this event will be used to support the
re-election of loyal Republican incumbents in Congress and
to elect more pro-Reagan Congressmen in 1984.

In the event that you cannot attend, it is requested
that you support this special fund with your highest possible
contribution.

Conservatives' Targets Battle Back

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13 — If you are a group of ardent conservative activists and have just helped defeat four of the most prominent liberal Democrats in the Senate, what do you do for an encore?

That is the problem now facing the National Conservative Political Action Committee, known as Nickpack, which is one of the more successful practitioners of a new and highly controversial style in American politics.

As an "independent" committee under Federal election laws, Nickpack is allowed to spend unlimited amounts of money attacking opponents, so long as it does not consult directly with candidates that it is, in fact, supporting. That tactic worked particularly well in 1980. But as the 1982 election year begins, Nickpack's guerrilla warriors of the New Right must grapple with a shifting political landscape that could significantly impair their impact next November.

"It's not as much fun, to be perfectly honest," said John T. Dolan, the combative director of the committee. "We face a vastly different situation. This year will be a heck of a lot tougher than two years ago."

Victims Now Forewarned

The emergence of the National Conservative Political Action Committee and similar groups has been praised as an expression of free speech and denounced as a danger to democracy. Whatever the case, Nickpack in one sense has been hampered by its own success, or at least its own press releases. Potential victims are now forewarned, and forearmed; the element of surprise has been lost in the glare of television lights and self-congratulatory rhetoric.

"In 1980, no one took Nickpack seriously, and they could mount a sneak attack," said Representative Tony Coelho, a California Democrat who is helping to plot his party's counterattack. "In 1982 they can't do that. It's important to take Nickpack seriously and take them on, and that's what everybody is doing."

The committee has identified 13 Congressmen and 10 Senators, including three liberal Republicans, as likely targets of a campaign that could cost \$3 million. But most are hitting back with both fists.

Representative Jim Wright, the Texas Democrat who is the House majority leader, sent thousands of letters to his Texas constituents, denouncing Nickpack. Senator Lowell P. Weicker Jr., a Connecticut Republican, wrote local newspapers to compare the committee's tactics to the "reign of terror" promoted by the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Several liberal lawmakers have warned television stations that they might face libel actions if they run Nickpack commercials, or least be required to provide equal time for rebuttal. By Mr. Dolan's own count, 11 of the 25 stations approached by the committee have rejected the advertisements. In Massachusetts, where Senator Edward M. Kennedy is up for re-election, all three outlets in Springfield turned down the business.



John T. Dolan

Associated Press

'This year will be a heck of a lot tougher than two years ago.'

"What this is," Mr. Dolan asserted, "is censorship. The television stations are working hand in glove with the politicians, the very people who have to regulate them."

Critics allege that Nickpack ads usually bear faint resemblance to the facts. Mr. Dolan retorts that all of his charges are accurate, and that most of them contain some version of the aspersion that the liberal candidate is "out of touch" with the conservative folks back home.

In West Virginia, Senator Robert C. Byrd, a Democrat, is chided for not owning property in his home state. In Montana, Senator John Melcher, a Democrat, is attacked for supporting a Congressional pay raise. In Connecticut, Senator Weicker is described as having the most "anti-Reagan record of any Republican in the Senate." In Maryland, Senator Paul Sarbanes, a Democrat, is accused of abandoning a favorite local project, the dredging of the Baltimore harbor.

Nickpack has filed a suit charging the Democratic Party and individual candidates with conspiring to keep the committee off the airwaves. The Democrats deny that they have done anything illegal, but they do plead guilty to pursuing one clear and basic aim: to undermine the committee's credibility with the voting public.

"When people hear something that is preposterous or stupid," said Robert Shrum, a spokesman for Senator Kennedy, "we want them to say, 'Wait a minute, that is probably not true.'"

The Democrats have filed their own

lawsuit, charging that Nickpack has plotted strategy with the Republicans, which would be a violation of Federal campaign financing laws. Moreover, they have started a rival independent committee, the Progressive Political Action Committee, or Propac. And advertisements slamming five conservative Republican Senators facing reelection started running last month.

"Our theory is, let the right-wingers feel a taste of their own medicine," said Victor Kamber, a Democratic activist who organized the committee.

To Mr. Dolan, his biggest problem is the changing political climate. President Reagan, he feels, has muddled the waters by supporting positions that are an anathema to conservative purists, such as raising the national debt. As a result, there are fewer issues that Nickpack can use to attack its rivals, and the slumping economy further erodes the committee's firepower.

"I'm not sure," said Mr. Shrum, "you can arouse the voters of Buffalo against Pat Moynihan because he voted to give away the Panama Canal when unemployment is at 16 percent."

Arsenal Defused

Ironically, the current power of conservatives has forced some liberals to drift rightward, and their shift has defused some of Nickpack's arsenal. With a tinge of regret in his voice, Mr. Dolan noted that only one Senator up for re-election, Mr. Kennedy, opposed Mr. Reagan's tax legislation last summer. One potential target, he added, has a 70 per cent pro-Reagan voting record, hardly the sort of performance to set conservative ire boiling.

The luck of this year's candidate draw has also thwarted the committee. In 1980, its targets included such well-known icons of the liberal pantheon as George McGovern and Frank Church; stirring up resentment against Senator Quentin Burdick, the North Dakota Democrat, is a more difficult task.

In addition, the old battlegrounds included such highly conservative states as Iowa and Idaho; the Maryland constituents of Senator Sarbanes, or the New Yorkers who elected Mr. Moynihan, are more liberal. One result of this change showed up recently when Representative Marjorie Holt, a leading voice of the right in Congress, gave up her plans to challenge Senator Sarbanes on the ground that she could not win.

Even some conservative Republicans have accused Nickpack of using "fear tactics," in the words of Senator Jake Garn, Republican of Utah. Mr. Dolan, however, feels that he is doing such critics a favor.

Nickpack, he said, is the "conscience, the cutting edge" of the conservative movement. "We've never been in the mold of respectable, Establishment Republicans, and we don't want to be."

Conservative problems seem so pervasive that some Democratic strategists are warning their colleagues against "unwarranted euphoria," as Joe Rothstein, a veteran political consultant, put it. Liberals underestimated Nickpack and Ronald Reagan once before, goes their advice, and they cannot afford to do it again.

Rep. Conable's Dandy Doodles

The average voter often starts yawning at the first whiff of political rhetoric. Imagine what it is like for a member of Congress, who has to sit through hours and hours of meetings and hearings every week.

Some cope by dozing or daydreaming. Others pour their bottled-up energy into the fine art of doodling.



NCPAC switching 1984 drive tactics

By Michael Himowitz
Evening Sun Staff

WASHINGTON—With its negative congressional campaigns sputtering badly, the National Conservative Political Action Committee plans a partial switch of tactics in the 1984 election—a \$5 million “American Heroes for Reagan” campaign aimed at reelecting the president.

“Our best chance for making a conservative majority in America is still through the Reagan administration,” NCPAC director John T. “Terry” Dolan said yesterday in announcing the campaign.

“The presidential campaign will be our principal activity in this elec-

tion cycle,” Dolan said.

The centerpiece of the new plan is a glowing 30-minute television documentary called “Ronald Reagan’s America”—complete with Kate Smith singing “God Bless America” from a 1940s film clip. The documentary, referring to a Reagan speech, calls on “ordinary American heroes” to support the president.

NCPAC plans to air the documentary in every major television market starting within the next 30 days.

While he said many conservatives are upset about Reagan’s deviations from the New Right agenda, “It’s our belief that the media elite has done a

SC/NCPAC A1 Col. 1

NCPAC planning switch in 1984 election tactics

NCPAC, From A1

botched job on Reagan and we want to stress his accomplishments,” Dolan said.

Other documentaries and commercials are scheduled, along with rallies, the encouragement of other independent political action committees, and the mobilization of a million-member grass roots organization.

As an independent political committee, NCPAC is not subject to federal election limits on expenditures,

and in the past the group has spent its money in negative campaigns against liberal Democrats.

Although the tactic worked in 1980, when four key incumbents were defeated, last year Democrats used NCPAC itself as an issue and only one of its six major targets was defeated. That was Sen. Howard Cannon, D-Nev., who was scarred anyway by corruption allegations.

In Maryland, NCPAC spent almost \$700,000 in an effort to defeat Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes. The liberal Demo-

crat crushed his Republican opponent, Lawrence F. Hogan.

Dolan denied that NCPAC was changing directions because the old negative tactics didn’t work, saying

“... It’s our belief that the media elite has done a botched job on Reagan and we want to stress his accomplishments...”

—John T. “Terry” Dolan

the group was “successful” in 1982.

“Our primary focus [in 1984] is the presidential campaign because the stakes are so high,” he said.

In 1980 the group spent only \$2

million on the presidential race. The 1984 expenditure could go much higher than the initial \$5 million estimate, Dolan said.

Dolan denied that NCPAC, whose hard hitting ads often made even conservatives queasy, was getting soft.

“To put your mind at rest, we’re going to do a lot of pieces about Walter Mondale and some of the other Democratic candidates as time goes by,” he said.

He said NCPAC will be active in congressional races, but much of the

money the group raises will be aimed at a positive campaign for Reagan. He said he expects the president to seek re-election, although he said he had no inside information.

In fact, he said NCPAC has not discussed the campaign with Reagan aides for fear of violating federal election laws.

In 1982, Dolan said, NCPAC raised \$9.7 million. Most of that came through sophisticated direct mail operations. For 1984, Dolan said the group hopes to raise \$12.7 million.

*National Conservative
Political Action Committee*

*Suite 513, 1500 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209*

*John T. Dolan
National Chairman*

June 10, 1981

(703) 522-2800

Honorable James A. Baker III
Chief of Staff and Assistant
to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Jim:

As a result of a conversation I had with you in February of this year, I wrote to Gregory Newell concerning a meeting of the National Conservative Policy Advisory Council with the President.

There has been some confusion about our meeting, and on April 6, the Executive Committee of the Advisory Council met with Lee Atwater and Lyn Nofziger. One of the subjects we discussed was the proposed meeting. Lee assured the Committee members that, after the 1st of June, he, with your help and the assistance of Max Friedersdorf, would set a date for the fall, and, indeed, our long-hoped-for reception with the President would occur.

As it is now June, I wanted to let you know that we, of course, are very interested in obtaining a date for our Council membership that would be convenient with the President in the fall.

I had originally hoped that we could arrange a reception where our Council would meet for cocktails and a short address by the President. It was also hoped that the President, who knows many of these Council members personally, would be able to walk through the gathering, be it at the White House or a local hotel, and say hello to these very strong and steadfast supporters. I still feel that this style would be most effective, but whatever you feel should be done will be welcomed by us.

We would be pleased to pay all costs incurred for whatever reason regarding such a reception.

I am enclosing a current list of our Council membership. They include some of the President's earliest and staunchest supporters. I think that when the reception is held 99% of those on the list would attend.

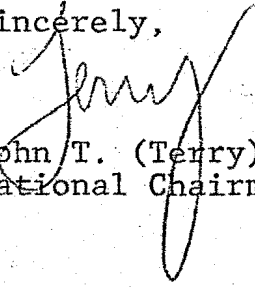
Page two

I do hope that this time we will be able to arrange a reception for these people, and if it pleases you, we would like to have it in September or October.

Please let me know how to go about working with you further on this meeting.

With very warm regards,

Sincerely,



John T. (Terry) Dolan
National Chairman

Enclosure

JTD/ekh

cc: Honorable Franklyn C. Nofziger
Assistant to the President for
Political Affairs
✓ Honorable Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

*National Conservative
Political Action Committee*

*Suite 513, 1500 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209*

*John T. Dolan
National Chairman*

June 10, 1981

(703) 522-2800

Honorable Franklyn C. Nofziger
Assistant to the President for
Political Affairs
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Lyn:

When you were kind enough to receive the NCPAC Executive Committee on April 6, we discussed with you and Lee the proposed meeting of our National Conservative Policy Advisory Council with the President.

As you may know, there has been some confusion about this meeting, but Lee assured me that, after the 1st of June, he, with your help and the assistance of Max Friedersdorf, would set a date for the fall and, indeed, our long-hoped-for reception with the President would occur.

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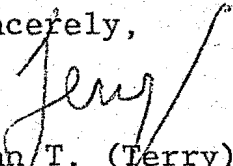
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Please let me know how to go about working with you further on this meeting.

With very warm regards,

Sincerely,



John T. (Terry) Dolan
National Chairman

Enclosure

JTD/ekh

cc: Honorable James A. Baker III
Chief of Staff and Assistant
to the President
✓ Honorable Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

National Conservative — File
Political Action Committee

*Suite 513, 1500 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209*

*John T. Dolan
National Chairman*

June 4, 1981

*Red, says
he will do it.*
(703) 522-2800

6/22/81

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the
President for Public Liaison
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Morton:

On Wednesday, June 24, 1981, the National Conservative Political Action Committee will be hosting an executive political and economic briefing at the Quality Inn on Capitol Hill. This meeting will be attended by some of NCPAC's best supporters and other conservative businessmen from throughout the U.S.

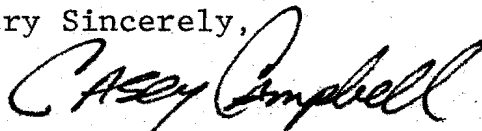
At this time Representatives Daniel B. Crane and James M. Collins have agreed to speak to this group in the morning and Senators Jeremiah Denton and John P. East after lunch.

Terry was hoping that you could assist us in getting Elizabeth Dole or Virginia H. Knauer to represent the White House and speak to this group of strong Reagan Supporters during lunch between 12:30 and 1:30 P.M.

I am anxious to hear your reply to this request and can be reached by telephone at 522-2800.

Your help in this matter is greatly appreciated.

Very Sincerely,



W. R. Casey Campbell
Director, Washington Briefings

WRC/lrk

File
NCPAC

TV Stations Refuse Anti-Kennedy Spots

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Aug. 20 (AP) — Television stations in Springfield and Hartford, Conn., have refused to broadcast a conservative group's commercial critical of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.).

The 30-second spot was produced by the National Conservative Political Action Committee, which had hoped to start a two-week test of the commercial this week in its efforts to unseat the veteran senator in 1982.

But the stations — WGGB in Springfield and WFSB in nearby Hartford — have balked at running the ad.

The commercial features an actor who resembles Kennedy giving a speech in which he advocates "more government spending, more bureaucracy, more taxes," said NCPAC spokesman Jerry DeAngelo.

Toward the end, an announcer asks, "Isn't it about time Massachusetts replaced Ted Kennedy?"

Gilbert Lefkovich, WGGB station manager, said his station rejected the ad because "it was done in poor taste and we felt it could be misleading."

WFSB has a policy that permits only political ads sponsored by a candidate or a candidate's authorized committee, said Tom Eaton, station vice president.

*File
Conservative
Cause*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 28, 1981

Ms. Sharon Geltner, Editor
White House Weekly
1261 National Press Bldg.
Washington, D. C. 20045

Dear Ms. Geltner:

As a former long-time political newsletter editor, I can appreciate the joys and sorrows of your current job.

Your July 20 issue got things wrong or perhaps backward. Terry Dolan might be called my man at NCPAC, not the other way around as you had it. Many major conservative organizations which supported the President in 1980 have officers or staff I have helped train and involve in politics. Terry is one of the most successful.

You have misled your readers as well regarding my friend Republican National Committee Chairman Dick Richards. You reported that he "specifically" favors the elimination of NCPAC. Not so, said Richards when I asked him about it on July 27. While he does not approve of everything they do, he is not about to go to war with other elements of the President's winning coalition. Richards and Dolan have agreed to disagree on certain things, but most certainly neither is trying to eliminate the other.

Finally, since you indicate your orientation by taking complaints from the White House as evidence that you are doing something right, consider my modest proposal. Why not alter your controversial logo, placing a sketch of the White House as the center of a target pattern? Do your bit for truth in advertising.

Sincerely,

Morton C. Blackwell

Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the
President

cc: Richard Richards
John T. Dolan

*National Conservative
Political Action Committee*

*Suite 513, 1500 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209*

*File
Block
Grants*

*John F. Dolan
National Chairman*

June 12, 1981

(703) 522-2800

Honorable Edwin Meese III
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ed:

I am sending this letter to the following people:

Honorable James A. Baker III
Chief of Staff and Assistant to the President

Honorable Martin Anderson
Assistant to the President for Policy Development

Honorable Robert Carlson
Special Assistant to the President
for Policy Development

Honorable Elizabeth H. Dole
Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

Honorable Max Friedersdorf
Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs

Honorable Franklyn C. Nofziger
Assistant to the President for Political Affairs

Honorable David A. Stockman
Director, Office of Management and Budget

Mr. Donald Moran
Associate Director for the Division
of Human Resources, Veterans, and Labor

It regards the "compromise" on block grants reported out of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee.

NCPAC is one of 77 conservative groups that openly support the President's original, pure block grant program as reflected in the forthcoming Gramm-Latta II plan. The Senate "compromise," or "sell-out" as it should be called, contains grants earmarked for specific programs. They are categorical grants disguised as block grants. They make a mockery of the block grant concept.

June 12, 1981

Page two

Remarkably, there is a perception on the Hill that the Administration supports the Senate compromise. I would be shocked if the President does support such a version. He campaigned on the principle that state and local governments are competent to do their own work if Washington would just get out of the way. I would be deeply disappointed if he has changed his position. I feel it is critical to stick with the original block grant proposals.

First, spokesmen have indicated their unqualifying support for it. To back off now would do great harm to the Administration's credibility not only among its adversaries and the media, but among its friends as well.

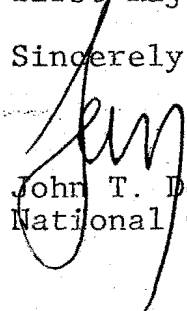
Second, there is overwhelming support in America for the proposal. You only compromise when you're losing, and here we are clearly winning. I would challenge any politician to try to explain to his voters why a Federal bureaucrat knows better about how to spend money in his State than someone who actually lives in that State.

Third, if the Administration supports the Senate compromise, you will destroy the good will of conservative organizations that you need to get the tax cuts passed. Most, if not all, of the 77 groups supporting the President's original block grant concept will come out in opposition to the Administration's position. This would be a tremendous embarrassment to the White House. It would also impede passage of the President's tax cut proposal.

Fourth, a reversal here would doom the tax cut plan. The reversal would encourage your adversaries to fight the tax act, dampen the order of supports or perhaps turn them off entirely, and give the media an angle to exploit wishy-washiness or incompetence at the highest administrative levels which would severely hurt chances of passing the President's program.

I strongly urge you to reject the Senate block grant version and instead back Gramm-Latta II which more accurately reflects the President's views on block grants. Most importantly, I urge the President himself to bring this matter to the public's attention. He has all kinds of public support for his block grant concept, and unless he raises this issue to a more visible level, he could be facing his first major defeat.

Sincerely,


John T. Dolan
National Chairman

JTD/wrc

cc: President Ronald Reagan
The White House

Honorable Richard S. Williamson
The White House

✓Honorable Morton C. Blackwell
The White House

White House Weekly

A Feistritzer Publication

Vol. 1 No. 26

July 20, 1981

WASHINGTON FOCUS: The Reagan Administration is the target of a new Democratic fund-raising campaign based on fear...Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) lent their names to 70,000 letters arguing that, if contributions to the Democratic National Committee aren't forthcoming, "New Right Republicans with their computerized contributor lists and agenda of extremist social issues" will capture the House by 1982...The two Democratic members of Congress write potential donors: "The Republicans have changed. Large corporate interests still exert a great degree of control. But the new ingredient is the foot soldiers of the New Right, the moral majoritans who strike fear in the hearts of even moderate Republicans like Howard Baker"...The Reagan Administration's social goals blistered as "extremist" -- to "cripple day-care centers for children of working mothers, gut job training programs for unemployed teenagers, restore 1981 counterparts to the infamous House Un-American Activities Committee, give developers a free hand to exploit our public lands...turn their backs on older people dependent on Social Security benefits...require women to return to their 'traditional' role in the home, repeal the 1964 Voters Rights Act, and amend the U.S. Constitution to outlaw all abortions and many methods of birth control"...The letters were sent just two weeks ago and contributions already are pouring in at twice the rate the DNC had hoped...So far, 2 percent of the letters have been returned with money.

MAJOR STORIES IN THIS ISSUE

White House Aides Receptive
To Call for Watt's Ouster . . . 1

Max Hugel's Resignation at CIA
May Have Saved Afghan Ploy . . . 3

Terry Dolan's NCPAC Figures
It Has Friend at White House . 2

O'Connor Confirming a Shoo-in
But Feminists Stay Angry 7

Why Is the White House Picking on <i>White House Weekly</i> ? Page 4
--

SECRET WHITE HOUSE TALKS, THEN CRY FOR WATT'S FIRING

The head of the National Wildlife Federation, the 4.5 million member organization that recently called for the removal of Interior Secretary James G. Watt, has been secretly meeting with White House aides sympathetic to Watt's ouster.

In the past week, just before formally calling on President Reagan to fire Watt, the federation's executive vice president, Dr. Jay D. Hair, met twice with Lee Atwater, deputy assistant to President Reagan's political affairs specialist,

Lyn Nofziger, and once with an aide to Congressional liaison Max Friedersdorf. He is scheduled to meet with Counsellor Edwin Meese III, at Meese's request, shortly.

After Hair's meetings with White House aides, *White House Weekly* learned Hair assured his staff that a "high administration official" told him there was "waning support for Watt in the White House."

Apparently confident from these meetings, Hair called a press conference and announced his organization saw no possibility of "rehabilitating" Watt and that the President's most controversial Cabinet officer would have to go. "Removal is the only option we see open to the President," Hair said.

The day after Hair called for Watt's removal, James A. Baker, White House Chief of Staff, told reporters that he could not say that Watt "was not a liability to the Administration."

Here from inside sources, is the story we pieced together of how Hair quietly conferred with White House aides, checked his membership, and decided to speak out publicly for Watt's ouster:

In mid-May, Hair was called to consult with President Reagan's Task Force on Regulatory Relief, which is studying ways and means of de-regulating the various sectors of American life. Hair was consulted as an expert on environmental areas in which regulation had become onerous and unnecessary.

At the Task Force session, Hair got to chatting with the chairman, Vice President George Bush, and the subject of Watt's fitness came up. Watt, who is not a Task Force member, was not present. Bush listened but promised nothing.

A while later, Hair found himself on a commercial airliner sitting in first class next to Lee Atwater, Nofziger's aide. Hair told Atwater he had tried a "patient" approach to Watt, meeting with him privately on two occasions but without achieving any results that he could call satisfactory.

In fact, Hair told Atwater, each time Watt ignored Hair's suggestions for changes in Interior Department policies and thereafter went "180 degrees in the other direction." Further, he said, Watt challenged Hair as being "out of touch with his own rank and file" and demanded of him: "Don't attack me personally. ..attack my record."

Hair, continuing his report to Atwater, added that, in response, he surveyed his membership. He found, he said, that, of 4,500 members polled, two out of three had voted for Reagan and approved of his stewardship but felt, by a margin of 10 out of 11, that Watt should be fired.

Hair also compiled a 117-page document analyzing Watt's policies and actions over his first six months on the job.

Watt's reaction, according to Hair's account, was that he had been misrepresented to those responding in the poll -- so badly that he himself would have "voted to dismiss Secretary Watt." He denied that the White House at any time had ever told him to ease up on his policies.

Nevertheless, White House Weekly has learned the White House is riding closer herd on Watt. He has been told to clear major policy and program decisions through President Reagan's top triumvirate--James Baker III, Edwin Meese III, and Michael K. Deaver.

White House insiders suggested the National Wildlife Federation is succeeding where others have failed -- that is, curtailing the activities of the free-wheeling Watt -- for two basic reasons: First, it managed to get the ear of people in the White House who could make things happen, and, second, it is universally acknowledged as the most moderate of all the nation's conservation groups and therefore more representative of Reagan's political base.

CONSERVATIVE NCPAC HAS ITS OWN MAN AT WHITE HOUSE

President Ronald Reagan has walked a thin line between rebuffing and embracing his ultra-right supporters from the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). Now, we have learned, his Public Liaison, Elizabeth H. Dole, has hired a \$50,112-a-year special assistant who seems to be NCPAC's main man at the White House.

Morton Blackwell, like four other Dole aides at the same salary, specializes in handling religious and ethnic groups and veterans affairs. But his most important constituent group appears to be conservatives in general and NCPAC in particular. At NCPAC, they say Blackwell is THE White House official who gives the group "a handle on Reagan's activities."

Richard Richards, chairman of the Republican National Committee, earlier told White House Weekly that elimination of extremist groups, specifically NCPAC, would be in the best interests of his party and the political process. And even the President, when asked about NCPAC, has said he opposes "all negative political activity."

Richards' difference of opinion with Lyn Nofziger at the White House is well known. Insiders say that Nofziger, the President's political adviser, while agreeing that NCPAC makes some embarrassing mistakes that bring bad publicity to Republicans, sees the group as beneficial overall to the party and his boss, Ronald Reagan. Richards disagrees, saying to us:

"Lyn and I obviously have a disagreement as to the role of these groups. I'm not trying to convince him; he's not trying to convince me...I am not against them because they are conservative. I am against them because they happen to be doing the wrong things."

NCPAC has proved most embarrassing to the White House with its "hit list," targets among members of Congress it wants to defeat in 1982.

NCPAC recently sent a form letter telling thousands that Sen. John Melcher (D-Mont.) voted in favor of "giving away" the Panama Canal, for example, and therefore should not be reelected. It said the same of Sen. Quentin Burdick (D-N.D.). In both cases NCPAC was wrong about the voting records. Melcher got a formal apology from NCPAC Chairman Terry Dolan, who waved off other mistakes, saying such errors "appear in the Washington Post every day."

Dolan has promised that NCPAC will stay out of California, President Reagan's home state. Dolan claims he has no political targets in California, because it is "too large." However, he is not adverse to taking on Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.) in New York. White House insiders say the reason is that Dolan does not want to go head to head with the President on his own turf.

HUGEL'S DEPARTURE MAY HAVE SAVED AFGHAN OPERATION

Fast-talking, moneyed Max Hugel, who resigned as head of undercover operations for the Central Intelligence Agency after his Wall Street dealings were brought

under fire, will not be missed by the CIA's Middle East hands. They were fearful up to the moment of his departure that he was going to queer a slick operation underway now in Afghanistan.

According to insiders at the agency and in the White House, this was the situation:

For more than a year, the CIA has been coordinating a program designed to bog down the Soviet Union in Afghanistan the way the United States was stuck in Viet Nam.

It is doing this through other countries, keeping America's hand hidden. Without going into too much detail, the CIA was bankrolling an arms supply venture -- so far, on the order of well over \$100 million -- with the weapons being mostly of Soviet manufacture or built to Soviet design in Egypt and China.

"You remember how we sold scrap iron to the Japanese in the 1930's and they gave it back to us in bombs at Pearl Harbor?" asked one informant rhetorically. "Well, that's the basic idea. The Soviet arms are being funneled into Afghanistan, to the anti-Soviet rebels, and nobody is sure so far that we are even remotely involved."

The chief avenue for the weapons is through Pakistan, where more than 2 million Afghan refugees are being sheltered. The Pakistan government, which may or may not know what is going on, is fretful that the Soviets might take action if there is much publicity about either the arms or the refugees.

Hugel, in his few days as chief of covert operations at the CIA, had expressed special interest in the arms-running operation. What upset oldtimers who were directing it, we were told, was that he wanted to step up the pace and also try to make political capital out of the U.S. role as silent partner.

Both Hugel and the man who appointed him, CIA Director William J. Casey, may be called before Senate investigators now to find out more about how both got to be appointed. But at the agency, with a career man, John Henry Stein, in charge of clandestine operations, they are breathing easier.

IF THEY COMPLAIN, ARE WE DOING SOMETHING RIGHT?

One of the many things puzzling us as we go to press this week is: Why is the White House picking on *White House Weekly*?

Fred F. Fielding, Counsel to the President, found time in his busy schedule to write our publisher, C. Emily Feistritz. His letter, dated July 14, 1981, is reproduced on the opposite page.

The letter, together with its reference, seems to be saying that *White House Weekly* should change its name and stop using any picture of the White House on its masthead. The reference enclosed was a December 1980 publication of the Council of Better Business Bureaus, Inc., called "Do's and Don'ts in Advertising Copy." The language cited said:

"Neither the name nor the photograph or likeness of the *White House* should be used in any advertising whatsoever. If asked, the Counsel to the President would decline to give authorization for such use . . . "

We were especially puzzled by Fielding's statement that the Reagan Administration policy (which he never spelled out) was the same as its

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 14, 1981

Dear Ms. Feistritzer:

Your publication, carrying a photo of the White House and the words "White House" in its logo, has been called to our attention.

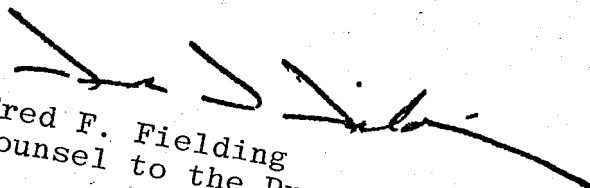
The policy of this Administration, as well as its predecessors, concerning unauthorized use of the White House name or photo is set forth in the Do's and Don'ts of Advertising Copy, published by the Better Business Bureaus, Inc., a copy of which is attached.

Accordingly, it is requested that you make the suggested changes and advise us.

Please contact us if you have any questions.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



Fred F. Fielding
Counsel to the President

Ms. C. Emily Feistritzer
White House Weekly
1261 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

predecessors' policies. The reason was that we had checked with Fielding's immediate predecessor -- Loyd Cutler, Counsel to President Carter -- and Cutler's office gave our masthead a go-ahead. It nixed anything like "Reagan Report" but said "White House Weekly" was in the public domain, and so go right ahead.

We called Fielding's office to express our puzzlement. And we asked questions:

- What did the Better Business Bureau's advice on advertising have to do with our masthead? We carry no advertising.

- What was a weekly newsletter about the White House supposed to call itself?

- If it was against policy to reproduce a likeness of the White House, what were all those network reporters doing when they stood in front of the White House to give their reports?

- What about hotels and restaurants called "White House"? And canned foods in supermarkets?

And, finally, Fielding's letter asks us to "make the suggested changes" but nowhere suggests any changes. What are we supposed to do?

A spokesperson for Counsel Fielding said there was no law against using "White House" and the picture, only policy; also, there was no general agreement *in law* on what the building at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue should be called until 1978. Various statutes were harmonized then, we were told, to: The Executive Residence at the White House.

The spokesperson also said a copy of *White House Weekly* was brought to the Counsel's office a few days ago by Frank Matthews, chief of records management at the White House. It was thought to resemble The White House News Summary, put out by the White House and distributed throughout the government, the spokesperson said, adding that there was no reference to text, only to the masthead.

In calling Fielding's office, we asked specifically if anything in the issue that Matthews brought in had bothered anybody at the White House? We had had several exclusives lately, we boasted quietly, and ticked off a few:

- The one about Reagan advisers already telling the President that he must revive the military draft?

- The one about how the White House is trying to wriggle out of a \$300,000 tax bill for the Reagan Inaugural?

- The one about how Supreme Court Justice-designate Sandra D. O'Connor is being coached to temper her abortion views so she can be confirmed by the Senate?

- Or the one about how Nancy Reagan stopped special tours for some Boy Scouts because she felt they wouldn't appreciate White House art?

Nothing seemed to ring a bell with Fielding's spokesperson.

But we figured we must be doing something right.

White House Weekly

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C. Emily Feistritzer

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Sharon Geltner
Consulting Editor
Warren Rogers

REAGAN'S REGAN TOUCHES ALL BASES

Secretary of the Treasury Donald T. Regan started as an "outsider" in the Reagan Cabinet in more ways than one. He was, we have learned, the only member who donated money to President Carter's campaign as the 1980 Democratic nominee for President.

Regan made a \$1,000 contribution in September of 1979.

Presidential adviser Lyn Nofziger and other Republican hardliners opposed Regan's selection, but the President overrode their objections. As a compromise, Regan's top staff was loaded with supply-side ideologues.

Regan, who was president of Merrill Lynch, the biggest brokerage house in the country, was an East Coast stranger to the President in January. Now, he has gained the President's favor. White House sources say Regan is attracted to the Treasury Secretary's easy-going but direct manner, plus his diplomatic way with Congress and the press. Insiders expect Regan to share more of the fiscal limelight with David Stockman, director of the White House's Office of Management and Budget. The President has said Regan, and not Stockman, is his "chief economic spokesman."

FEMINISTS PRESSING REAGAN DESPITE O'CONNOR CHOICE

President Reagan's nomination of Sandra D. O'Connor to the Supreme Court effectively neutralized most feminists -- but only for a while. The National Organization for Women (NOW) has served notice it will not slacken its fight against the Administration's proposed budget cuts and opposition to an Equal Rights Amendment even though Judge O'Connor is certain to win Senate confirmation.

The biggest losers under the new budget will be poor women and their children," Eleanor Smeal, president of NOW, told *White House Weekly* in a special briefing paper.

Thirty percent of all female-headed households lived below the poverty level in 1979 and comprised the largest class of poor adults, Smeal said. The second largest class of adult poor consists of women aged 65 and over, she said, and 70 percent of the aged poor are women.

"Because of their poverty, women are more dependent upon Federal assistance programs such as Aid for Families with Dependent Children, Social Security, food stamps, Medicaid and subsidized housing," Smeal added.

PARTY'S OVER, BUT MALADIES LINGER ON

President Reagan's Official Presidential Inaugural Committee is trying very hard to get out of paying \$300,000 in entertainment taxes for the gala last January that featured such stars as Johnny Carson and Frank Sinatra. *White House Weekly* has learned exclusively that the committee has decided to take its case to a Maryland tax court.

"The bill isn't due and it must be modified," said Herbert Marks, chief

counsel of the committee. "We're going to take this through the entire appeals process of the State of Maryland."

Marks added the committee's strategy would not be to "bring in new issues," but to "refine legal matters."

The bill, from Maryland's Prince George's County, arrived in Mark's offices at the firm of Wilkinson, Cragun and Barker on July 6 (see *White House Weekly*, July 6). Marks had expected a bill for \$200,000 and was unpleasantly surprised at the higher charge. He was given 30 days to respond to the bill, and in the meantime he and the committee are keeping a low profile.

When the White House got word of the bill, it disassociated itself from the committee immediately. A spokesman stressed the White House traditionally is kept "separate" from the committee.

The tax tab came after a four-month audit of the event, which was held at the Capitol Centre at Landover, Md., on the night of January 19. State auditors were called in by the county after Marks tried to get the gala's proceeds exempted from the entertainment tax on grounds that the income would go toward charitable uses. "The bulk of the money," he said January 27, just eight days after the event, "is intended for further public inaugural events and for the inaugural scholars program."

Not much has been said recently about scholars. But Marks did try reaching a settlement on the basis of \$25 per ticket, arguing \$25 was the going rate for concert tickets. The county, however, insisted on 10 percent of the total collected on the basis of the gala's prices -- \$100 per ticket generally, and for some boxes, as much as \$10,000 each.

Auditors out of State Comptroller Louis Goldstein's office told us they expect to win any appeal the inaugural committee may bring.

Maryland auditors said the inaugural committee was run like a "Mom and Pop organization," with many of the members of the committee scattering all over the country after the gala. The auditors further suggested most of the committee's claimed expenditures for expenses paid for "perks" for the stars who attended the event.

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 NCPAC - 1.4%
 Sarbanes - 8%

file
 NCPAC

Sarbanes

	MR	MA	<u>DC</u>		<u>BAL</u>	
			MR	MA	MR	MA
F	44.0	39.4	37.7	30.9	48.7	44.7
U	13.4	17.0	12.1	16.9	13.9	17.7
NO	33.2	38.0	40.9	44.9	28.3	34.0
NH	9.6	5.5	9.3	7.2	9.4	3.5

LIB'S

	MR	MA	
	49.6	53.1	- .7%
	6.2	10.4	
0	31.9	32.3	
H	12.4	4.2	

MODS

	MR	MA	
	46.6	44.0	
	10.0	12.0	- 4.6%
	35.9	38.6	
	7.9	5.4	

CONS

	MR	MA	
	38	27.5	
	21.6	25.3	
	29.3	41.0	- 14.2%
	11.1	6.2	

LIB DEM'S

	MR	MA	
	51.1	60.9	
	4.5	7.2	+ 3.1%
	28.1	30.4	
	12.4	1.4	

MOD DEMS

	MR	MA	
	52.4	53.3	
	7.7	10.0	- 1.4%
	32.7	30.8	
	7.1	5.8	

CONS DEMS

	MR	MA	
	47.8	39.6	
	15.0	22.0	- 15.0%
	28.3	35.2	
	8.8	3.3	

Sub Rep's - 9.6%
 M Rep - 12.4%
 Cons Rep's - 17.0%

Head to Head

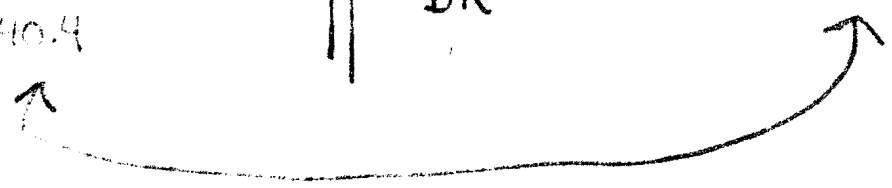
	MR	MA
HOLT	37.5	30.1
Sarbanes	43.7	34.3
U	18.8	35.6

	Always Dem	Usually D	Dem/ Rep	Usual R	Always R
TR UND	8.8	17.2	23.0	15.6	0
NA UND	19.4	23.9	41.6	31.2	46.2

	CONS	Dem's
	MR	MA
+	34.5	37.4
S	52.2	30.8
U	13.3	31.9

I Sarbanes Liberal moderate or Conservative?

	MR	MA		Holt or Sarbanes UND	MR	MA
Lib	29.4	38.4	+9.0	Lib	14.2	27.8
mod	17.4	12.3	-5	mod	8.8	6.1
cons.	10.3	8.9	-1.4	cons.	4.4	6.1
DK	43.0	40.4		DK	72.6	60.7



	CONS	DEMS	
-	23.9	45.1	+ 21.2
M	17.7	7.7	- 10
C	16.8	7.9	- 6.9
OK	41.6	31.7	

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
Conserv.
GP.*

NCPAC

May 20, 1981

To: Elizabeth Dole

From: Morton Blackwell *MB*

Re: Dick Richards Meeting with Conservative Organization Leaders

Yesterday morning at the Capitol Hill Club, Dick Richards met with a broad cross section of conservative leaders and White House staff. Attendees list attached.

The occasion for the meeting was Dick Richards repeatedly published criticism of conservative PACs, specifically his criticism of independent expenditures by these PACs.

Lyn chaired the meeting.

Richards said his criticism was not personally directed against any PAC or its leaders. He maintained that he opposes the practice of independent expenditures because such activity is not under the control of candidate's campaign managers or of state party chairmen. He denied that he had been quoted correctly and said that he could not be held responsible for media misquotes. He quoted figures from a Dick Wirthlin poll which showed that after the campaign in Idaho, NCPAC had 14% negative and only 10% positive in the view of Idaho voters. He quoted Dick Wirthlin and Sen. Abdnor as saying that negative campaigns were harmful.

Dolan responded, in a lively exchange back and forth, that:

1. The quotes which Richards admitted to were totally uncalled for.
2. Richards' statements did not reflect Wirthlin's views.
3. So what if NCPAC was unpopular in Idaho? Or that polls showed it was a negative campaign? The fact is that there is no indication that Symms was hurt and much documentation that Church was. Moreover, the perception that it was a negative campaign was Church's smear of Symms as a womanizer, etc.
4. Abdnor admits that NCPAC convinced him to enter the race.
5. Later in the meeting, Dolan called Wirthlin, who said that he had not studied the results of his

poll sufficiently to determine how NCPAC affected the Symms-Church race.

Bunker Hunt raised the point that it was not appropriate to criticize the exercise of the constitutional rights of these people. He said PACs can stop candidates from joining to avoid issues.

Richard Viguerie said that the time has passed when conservative leaders feel bound to get permission from Republican Party officials before they take action.

Howard Phillips said that Richards was wrong to suggest that candidates and Party officers were the only ones with rights to speak out on issues.

Richards said that he had no objections to independent expenditures by single issue groups which motivate their special constituencies in ways that the campaigns could not. His objection was targeted to multi-issue PACs.

Richards said that conservative PACs have claimed they elected the President and other candidates. Dolan replied "You have a \$35 million budget, but your staff can't find where I ever made such a statement. Because I didn't."

In conversation after the meeting had broken up, Richards told Dolan that the NCPAC campaign against Sen. Sarbanes was designed to get Dolan publicity. (In fact as we knew back in February, Dolan's media campaign regarding Sarbanes was designed to impact on the wavering votes on the President's economic package, giving them a taste of what they might expect if they voted wrong.)

The tenor of the meeting can be summed up in the exchange in which Richards said that independent expenditures were loose cannonballs on the deck of a ship. John Lofton replied that, in light of the fact that Richards was repeatedly attacking the groups who were fighting hardest for the President's economic package, it was Richards who was the loose cannon.

After the meeting, Weyrich, Viguerie, Phillips, and Dolan all pledged to me that they would not respond to press inquiries about the controversy or the meeting. (Dolan agreed to exchange letters with Richards.) I got these post-meeting comments:

Weyrich warned that one more attack from Richards and he would take Richards on as a project. Viguerie said that Richards has done what no other ever has: united the conservative movement. Howard Phillips said that Richards mistakenly believes that conservatives are just a faction of the GOP, forgetting that conservatives are motivated by philosophy. Schlafly asked me to imagine how Richards would have acted if we were a group of blacks whom Richards had offended.

page 3

The solution to these problems ought to be a joint statement by Dolan and Richards to the effect that they agree that independent expenditures are undesirable but that the election laws restricting personal participation in elections have forced some people to resort to them. Maybe Angelo's committee will come up with some such formula in their report to Richards. I do not expect Richards to agree to such a statement. I think he has a personal animosity now to Dolan.

Regarding Richards' claim that he was being misquoted, Weyrich told me, "I'm interviewed by the press every day. If you are careful, even a hostile press conveys your meaning. If he (Richards) can't handle himself with the press, he should get out of this business."

One of the great ironies in all this is that NCPAC was the biggest contributor to Dick Richards' campaign for RNC chairman four years ago.

In the absence of prompt cooling of this, I suggest that the White House quietly inform Richards to cool it before he breaks up the winning coalition which is now performing so well on the Hill and in election contests.

cc. Lyn Nofziger

Wash. Post
May 20, 1981

Conservatives Angrily Debate Party Chairman

GOP 'Peace Mission' Becomes Stormy

By Bill Peterson

Washington Post Staff Writer

A meeting called to smooth relations between Republican National Chairman Richard Richards and New Right conservatives yesterday erupted into an angry debate over the role of independent campaign expenditures by conservative groups.

The debate, according to several participants, pitted Richards, who has been highly critical of the groups against a who's who of the leadership of the New Right, including Terry Dolan, chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, direct mail expert Richard A. Viguerie and Paul M. Weyrich, chairman of the Committee for Survival of a Free Congress.

The two-hour breakfast was officially off the record and key New Right participants refused to comment on it. "We all had an opportunity state our respective positions," Richards said in a prepared statement. "We will attempt to formulate an agreement as to our respective positions, including how we will disagree, if at all, in the future."

Richards apparently understated the acrimony of the meeting. "There were some very strong comments

made about whether money raised by all kinds of mischief and have the political action committees should be potential of damaging President Reagan. Although his remarks sparked a public disagreement with Nofziger, Richards has refused to retreat. In a meeting with Washington Post editors and reporters Monday, the chairman said, "My quarrel is that independent expenditure groups butt in on the strategy of a campaign."

Dolan reportedly was particularly adamant about defending the right of his NCPAC to undertake independent campaigns against liberal Democrats, like Sens. Paul S. Sarbanes of Maryland and Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

"As they say in diplomatic circles, it was a frank and open discussion," another participant said. "Although there may have been some fiery words, nobody swung a punch. Everyone there understood Dick Richards is head of the Republican National Committee, not the conservative national committee. Most of us consider ourselves conservatives first, and Republicans second."

White House political adviser Lyn Nofziger initiated the meeting between Richards and more than 20 New Right leaders after the national GOP chairman last month said independent groups, like NCPAC, "create

all kinds of mischief and have the potential of damaging President Reagan. Although his remarks sparked a public disagreement with Nofziger, Richards has refused to retreat. In a meeting with Washington Post editors and reporters Monday, the chairman said, "My quarrel is that independent expenditure groups butt in on the strategy of a campaign."

Richards conceded they may "soften up opponents early in a campaign, but he added, "The problem is they stay too long, they say the wrong things and ultimately they may be counterproductive."

Among others at yesterday's meeting at the Capitol Hill Club were Howard J. Phillips, of the Conservative Caucus, Thomas Ellis of Sen. Jesse A. Helms' North Carolina-based Congressional Club, Phyllis Schlafly of Eagle Forum, Ronald Godwin of Moral Majority, Robert C. Heckman of the Fund for a Conservative Majority and Robert Richardson of Gun Owners of America.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1981

ATTENDEES AT THE DICK RICHARDS BREAKFAST, TUESDAY, MAY 19, 7:30 A.M.
CAPITOL HILL CLUB

Richard Viguerie, Jeff Butzke,
John Lofton, Editor, Conservative Digest

Richard A. Viguerie Co.
Richard A. Viguerie Co.

Terry Dolan, Lisa Stoltenberg

National Conservative PAC

Ed Feulner

Heritage Foundation

Paul Weyrich

Committee for the Survival
of A Free Congress

Howard Phillips

The Conservative Caucus

Bob Heckman

Young Americans for Freedom
Fund for A Conservative Maj
The Moral Majority

Ron Godwin

Sen. Bill Richardson, Bill Saracino

Gun Owners of America

Reed Larson

National Right to Work Comm

Allan Ryskind, Tom Winter

Human Events, Conservative
Victory Fund

Phyllis Schlafly

Eagle Forum

Tom Ellis

Congressional Club

Ed McAteer

Religious Roundtable

Don Todd

American Conservative Union

Bill Shaker

National Tax Limitation Comm

Lee Edwards

Lee Edwards & Associates, Inc.

Bunker Hunt

Texas Inventor

White House Staff

Lyn Nofziger

Morton Blackwell-EHD Staff
Maiselle Shortley-EHD Staff

Ed Rollins-LN Staff

Lee Atwater-LN Staff

Morgan Mason-LN Staff

Tim Crawford-LN Staff

Dick Richards-RNC Chairman

Rich Bond-VP Staff

Dave Turner-RNC Staff

MEMORANDUM

Tim Crawford

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 15, 1981

Lyn Nofziger
Morgan
Atwater
Rolnick
Russo
Richards
Rich Bond
Dave Turner

TO: Lyn Nofziger

FROM: Morgan Mason *MM*RE: RICHARDS BREAKFAST, TUESDAY, MAY 19, 7:30AM @ CAPITOL HILL CLUB

Here is the invitee/RSVP list for the Richards breakfast next Tuesday morning; we have a total of 21 attendees from this list.

✓ MORTON BLACKWELL, MAISELLE SHORTLEY	456-2657	YES
✓ JEFF BUTZKE, JOHN LOFTON, RICHARD VIGUERIE	356-0440	YES
✓ TERRY DOLAN, Lisa Stoltenberg	522-2800	YES
✓ LEE EDWARDS	783-9447	YES
✓ TOM ELLIS	(919) 828-7206	YES
✓ ED FEULNER	546-4400	YES
NEAL FREEMAN	437-0500	NO
✓ RON GODWIN	484-7511	YES
✓ BOB HECKMAN	450-5162	YES
✓ REED LARSON	321-9820	YES
CONNIE MARSHNER	546-3004	NO
✓ ED MCATEER	525-3795	YES
✓ HOWARD PHILLIPS	281-6782	YES
✓ SEN. BILL RICHARDSON	(916) 445-3688	YES
✓ ALLAN RYSKIND, TOM WINTER	546-0856	YES
✓ PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY	(618) 462-5415	YES
BILL SHAKER (SUBSTITUTE FOR LEW UHLER)	393-2060	YES
✓ DON TODD	546-6555	YES
✓ PAUL WEYRICH	546-3000	YES

Rich Bond - V P Bush's off

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1981

ATTENDEES AT THE DICK RICHARDS BREAKFAST, TUESDAY, MAY 19, 7:30 A.M.
CAPITOL HILL CLUB

Richard Viguerie, Jeff Butzke,
John Lofton, Editor, Conservative Digest

Richard A. Viguerie Co.
Richard A. Viguerie Co.

Terry Dolan, Lisa Stoltenberg

National Conservative PAC

Ed Feulner

Heritage Foundation

Paul Weyrich

Committee for the Survival
of A Free Congress
The Conservative Caucus

Howard Phillips

Bob Heckman

Young Americans for Freedom
Fund for A Conservative Maj.
The Moral Majority

Ron Godwin

Sen. Bill Richardson, Bill Saracino

Gun Owners of America

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Human Events, Conservative
Victory Fund
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Maiselle Shortley-EHD Staff

Ed Rollins-LN Staff

Lee Atwater-LN Staff

Morgan Mason-LN Staff

Tim Crawford-LN Staff

Dick Richards-RNC Chairman
Dave Turner-RNC Staff

Rich Bond-VP Staff

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1981

To: Lyn

From: Morton 

Re: Press Conference Rumor

I understand there is a rumor that Terry Dolan and Paul Weyrich intend to hold a press conference after our meeting with Dick Richards tomorrow. It is a pack of nonsense.

Paul and Terry are right now en route back to D.C., but their staffs know nothing of such plans. Susan Arico of Paul's office tells me that, when told by her that a reporter had called asking to interview him about the meeting with Richards, Paul replied, "The only way she could talk to me would be to catch me on my way out of the meeting."

Perhaps you may remember that an identical rumor circulated in the White House the day before our February 17 meeting of 24 conservative leaders with the President in the Cabinet Room. Supposedly, Weyrich and Dolan were planning to have a press conference after that meeting. It was a totally false report.

I suggest that:

1. Someone is deliberately trying to abort meetings of conservative leaders, or
2. Someone is trying, by making false claims, to assure that such press conferences do not occur.

I lean toward explanation #1.

I'm having supper with Terry tonight and will contact you if he has any such plans, which I'm confident he doesn't. Terry would have preferred a smaller meeting, not a more public meeting.

THE BARON REPORT

1730 M Street, N.W. • Suite 1100 • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 202 659-9470

TO: Our subscribers

May 11, 1981

FROM: Alan Baron

No. 124

SPECIAL REPORT: NCPAC Attack

"Tip O'Neill is less powerful in the House than NCPAC," said the Bureau Chief of one of the nation's major media organizations last week. "These guys are running right as fast as possible to avoid being targeted like Sarbanes. There has never been anything like it."

NCPAC (pronounced Nicpac) is the National Conservative Political Action Committee. It ran the independent negative media campaigns which helped defeat liberal Democratic Senators George McGovern, Birch Bayh, Frank Church and John Culver in 1980. And it has already launched an independent \$400,000 negative media campaign against liberal Democratic Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland, whose term expires in 1982. And it is planning media campaigns against Jim Wright (D-TX), Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL) and Jim Jones (D-OK) on their opposition to Reaganomics.

Not surprisingly, NCPAC is rapidly becoming the most hated word in the Democratic dictionary. Last week, Democratic National Chairman Charles Manatt named former John Kennedy speechwriter Ted Sorenson to head a new committee to investigate independent political committees "that answer to nobody and have a great evil influence on the electorate." Democrats for the 80's, a political action committee organized by Pamela (Mrs. Averell) Harriman and other establishment Democrats (Bob Strauss, Ed Muskie, etc.) has initiated a media campaign attacking NCPAC. And PROPAC, an independent liberal PAC organized by labor/liberal consultant Victor Kamber, is planning anti-NCPAC media as well.

Even some Republicans are not comfortable with NCPAC. They include, of course, the remaining moderates and liberals in the GOP. But also critical is the party's institutional leadership, including conservative, Reaganite Republican National Committee Chairman Richard Richards. Richards has charged that independent conservative groups "create all kinds of mischief" and has named a committee headed by Ernest Angelo of Texas to study them and other aspects of Federal election laws. NCPAC's critics within the GOP charge that it competes for funds, undermines the party system and is, in the words of one, "an unguided missile with almost as much potential for harm as good."

To most conservative activists, all of these criticisms are simply indications that NCPAC is effective. From White House political advisor Lyn Nofziger - whose background is in insurgent Rightwing GOP politics - to conservatives in Congress, NCPAC is viewed as the cutting edge of their movement. They see it as:

- (1) determining issues which become the focus of debate in the campaigns in which it becomes involved;
- (2) scaring incumbent officeholders into moving Right;
- (3) getting contributions from Rightwingers who would never give to the official Republican Party;
- (4) waging negative campaigns against the opposition, and allowing Republican/conservative candidates to take the "high road" and run positive campaigns; and
- (5) testing the outer limits of Federal election and contribution laws.

NCPAC was formed in May, 1975, by three young conservative organizers: Charles Black, an aide to Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina, Roger Stone and John T. Dolan.

Black later resigned from the Board - first to become Executive Director of the Republican National Committee under Bill Brock, later to assist John Sears in the Reagan campaign. Stone also resigned, first to become President of the national Young Republicans, later to head the Reagan campaign in New York. Now Black and Stone are partners in a political/PR firm, whose clients have included such moderates as GOP Senators Mathias of Maryland and Specter of Pennsylvania.

Dolan remains in charge - total charge. (The official board of NCPAC includes three members: Dolan and his brother-in-law are two of them.) And while he uses outside experts (e.g. pollster Arthur Finkelstein, direct mailer Richard Viguerie), Dolan makes strategic decisions - and even drafts the direct mail letters himself.

Not even Dolan's harshest critics charge him with seeking material gain; his salary (about \$30,000) is in the range of leaders of liberal public interest groups, or less.

Dolan is, rather, a committed ideologue - a true believer.

Note: Dolan's views differ somewhat from those of his allies in the New Right, Moral Majority and similar groups. His major conviction is that the Federal government should provide for national defense, deliver mail and do virtually nothing else. He believes other matters - from social security to education to civil rights should be left to state and local governments. But if he were making policy on the state and local level, Dolan could incur the wrath of some of his friends. He opposes, for example, restrictions on the sale of birth control devices and pornography and calls himself "libertarian."

How does Dolan stand on the "hot" issues? On abortion, he opposes Federal funding - and believes this to be the aspect of the issue on which conservatives should concentrate (he acknowledges that banning abortions does not have majority support in the country). Dolan would prefer that abortion be decided by the states. If forced to choose between a Federal ban and Federal legalization (the current law) he would support the ban. On civil rights, he opposes discrimination in Federal employment on the basis of race, color or even sexual orientation. But he opposes any restrictions on the right of private citizens and businesses to discriminate. On gun control, he favors no Federal controls - or state or local ones.

Despite his ideology, however, Dolan is a pragmatist when it comes to politics. He targets opponents based on polls to determine their vulnerability and the costs involved in challenging them (he avoids big states). He then concentrates his campaigns on the issues on which his opponent and the electorate - according to Dolan's polls - disagree.

Most of NCPAC's negative campaigns concentrate on the economy, taxes and deficit spending. The second most common theme is defense. The third type of ad focuses on special issues - such as John Culver's extensive foreign travel or George McGovern not owning property in South Dakota.

With the exception of one ad calling on Sen. Kennedy to take a lie detector test with reference to Chappaquiddick, Dolan says he has never discussed personal issues. Indeed, Dolan tells reporters that he understands Sarbanes is a decent man.

The major criticism of Dolan and NCPAC is that they distort the records of their opponents. The anti-NCPAC ads prepared by Democrats for the 80's mention two examples: a charge that Sen. Church voted to raise his own pay and one that Sen. Eagleton voted for aid to Nicaragua. Both were untrue.

In response, however, Dolan says that both charges were retracted. In the Church case, Dolan says a newspaper ad of equal size to the one making the charge was placed withdrawing it. In the Eagleton case, Dolan says he told a press conference the Nicaragua vote was wrong.

NCPAC critics don't deny Dolan's retractions. But they suggest the situation is like a judge telling a jury to ignore what it has just heard; it never really means much.

Fact is, Dolan's own allies and friends accuse him of a "sloppy" research operation. Indeed, the same word is used by Peter Fenn, former Campaign Manager to Church and now Director of Democrats for the 80's. But there is little strong evidence that Dolan purposely distorts liberal voting records; from his standpoint, there are always more than enough real "wrong" votes to use.

The bigger issues are two. First is whether early negative campaigns are "fair"

-3-

play" in American politics. To Dolan, they are; to his opponents, like Sarbanes, they are not. To the voters, angry about inflation and unemployment and frustrated with government, they appear to be. And it seems unlikely that attacks on Dolan and NCPAC - on the grounds that negative campaigns are inherently unfair or that out-of-staters should not target local incumbents - will work.

Note, however, that a key reason for the success of the negative campaigns in 1980 was that people knew who to blame for those problems - the Democrats controlled the White House, the Senate and the House. In 1970, Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew used negative campaigns, but they could not convincingly blame the state of the world on the Democrats, since they held the White House. With the GOP now in control of the government, negative campaigns blaming Democrats for the problems of the world are likely to prove far less effective, particularly if the Reagan economic package is perceived to have been adopted. Then the prime question in voters' minds - regardless of NCPAC - is likely to become what it should be: does Reaganomics work? Or, as Ronald Reagan asked in 1980, "Am I better off now than I was four years ago?"

The second issue relates to the future of the two party system. In a sense, NCPAC is an inevitable result of a new political environment - highlighted by voter independence and issue-oriented campaigns. No matter what legal changes are implemented, NCPAC and other independent groups are likely to remain.

But there is another cause of NCPAC's growth - the Federal election reforms initiated by Common Cause and other liberal groups. The maximum contribution limits have encouraged persons to seek independent avenues for their political resources. (That's why, contrary to popular image, NCPAC raises considerable funds from large donors. In 1981, the large donor group is likely to contribute 60% of NCPAC's funds.)

Finally for Democrats and liberals, there is a third issue - how to respond to NCPAC now. The NCPAC negative advertising on Paul Sarbanes has, according to NCPAC polls, reduced his standing from 43-12% positive to 25-24% negative. So far, the jury remains out on whether the current Democratic response - to attack Dolan personally - will work. But many political and media pros believe it will not. If that's the case, the Democrats will need to consider two approaches: first, developing early positive media campaigns for targets like Sarbanes and, second, developing negative media campaigns aimed at Republicans and conservatives... in effect, adopting the NCPAC approach - and defining the issues of the campaigns rather than letting others do so.

Slowly, Democrats are turning toward this strategy; PROPAC will soon begin negative campaigns aimed at Senators Hatch (R-UT) and Hayakawa (R-CA) and others. But the number of GOP targets available in 1982 is limited.

Meanwhile, NCPAC plans to raise \$4 million in 1981 - compared to \$2.2 million in 1979, the last off year. (In 1980, it raised \$5.4 million.) It's uncertain as to its prime 1982 targets. The most likely choices include Sarbanes and Majority Leader Bob Byrd, who is regarded as out of line with his constituents. Less likely choices include Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, (too big a state) and Sen. Kennedy (too tough to beat). But Kennedy might be a token target, since his name on the list helps direct mail contributions.

THE MEDIA CAMPAIGNS

NCPAC: "Paid for by the National Conservative Political Action Committee as a service to the people of Maryland. What do you know about Maryland's liberal Senator, Paul Sarbanes? Maybe he wants it that way. Maybe he'd like to keep his voting record a secret...Did you know the National Taxpayers Union rated him the biggest spender in the Senate?...That Sarbanes voted to increase Federal spending by a staggering \$241 billion?...That he opposed tax cuts for the people of Maryland, and President Reagan's economic recovery plan? Now what do you think of Paul Sarbanes? Doesn't Maryland deserve better?"

NCPAC: "Two Congressmen stand in the way of President Reagan's economic recovery plan. Speaker of the House, Tip O'Neill, a liberal obstructionist who, in his own words, is one of the biggest spenders of all times. And following his leadership,

*National Conservative
Political Action Committee*

*Suite 513, 1500 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209*

July 31, 1981

(703) 522-2800

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the
President for Public Liaison
The White Office
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton:

I was delighted that you could join us at the Quality Inn Tuesday to address the participants of NCPAC's 4th Washington Briefing of 1981.

I'm sure many demands are placed upon your schedule daily, that's why the time you shared is especially valued.

I'd like to thank you very much for enthusiastically sharing your thoughts and comments with our supporters. I received many excellent remarks about the meeting when it commenced and really appreciate your helping make it so successful.

Those in attendance certainly profited from your insight. I'm sure they were encouraged to become more politically active because of it.

I do hope we are fortunate enough to have you participate in another meeting of ours soon.

Very Sincerely,


W. R. Casey Campbell
Director, Washington Briefings

WRC/lrk

Enclosure

P.S. Please find enclosed, for your information, a list of those people attending the briefing.

In the summer of 1979 an extremist right wing organization calling itself the National Conservative Political Action Committee accused a United States Senator of voting to increase his own salary. In fact, that Senator had voted against it. In another campaign NCPAC charged a Senator with voting to give away \$75 million to Nicaragua. In fact, that Senator had voted no. Even NCPAC's own Director, Terry Dolan, has said, "A group like ours could lie through its teeth and the candidate it helps stays clean." Think about it . . . Now they're ready once again to spend millions of dollars to spread their smears all across this country -- tearing down decent public officials -- leaders who are trying hard to make our government work -- to make it stand for something. But, this year is different, so Terry Dolan, if you're listening, we're going to fight your lies and your distortions with a political tactic you might find amazing . . . it's called . . . the truth.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 13, 1981

NCRA

TO: John T. Dolan
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
RE: Providing ammunition to the opposition

Attached are materials given me by Bob McAdam from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee's meeting on How to Respond to a Far Right Attack.

We can have some fun with this because they recommend that " the credibility of the (attacking) group should be made the issue, not your voting record." Thus their anti-independent expenditure efforts can be exposed as a deliberate effort to divert voter attention from their voting record.

Note also, however, radio spots which quote you:

1. "Groups like ours are potentially very dangerous to the political process. We could be a menace."
2. "We could elect Mickey Mouse to the House or the Senate."
3. "A group like ours could lie through its teeth and the candidate it helps stays clean."

To this could be added a line from your otherwise truly magnificent presentation at our workshop week before last: "We could bet away with murder. We did get away with murder."

Here are some other suggestions which would be useful to the Democratic Congressional Committee:

1. I enjoy watching my enemies squirm
2. Even when we get caught in untruths, we do damage to incumbents
3. We can defeat anybody, all it takes is access to television and enough money.
4. If we keep this up, we will have total control of Congress.

Huck always criticizes me when I make too much public emphasis on the importance of organizational technology. He says, correctly, "wrap ourselves in the American people." That is, we should always emphasize that we are merely helping public opinion from the grass roots prevail over arrogant, elitist, government policy makers. To brag in public about our cleverness only give fuel to those who say we are a tiny minority of elitist who are working our will on an unsuspecting public. What we actually have done is learn how to activate hundreds of thousands of dedicated people who never before were able to participate effectively in the process. Our media

skills are not utilized to fool the people but to expose the masquerade of politicians who have survived under false pretenses. That is the message which we should hammer away at constantly when discussing our activities in public. Don't you agree?

MEMO TO: The Committee

FROM: Bob McAdam

DATE: October 6, 1981

Last Friday, October 3, 1981, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee held a seminar for the staffs of those Members of Congress who have been or expect to be targeted by the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. We were able to get someone into the meeting to find out what they had to say.

Basically they give us a lot of credit. While we have not issued any kind of target list, we have engaged in some recruiting activities which could be construed as "targeting" and undoubtedly this is what they are referring to. They claim that CSFC is the most dangerous of the groups of the New Right because we work under cover and are not out front with our activities. In addition, they say that Paul Weyrich is the most dangerous New Right leader because he is the most intelligent.

I am including copies of some of the materials that were passed out at the meeting. The basic tone centers around trying to discredit New Right groups rather than to defend their voting records. It is interesting to note that they advocate the establishment of separate groups to attack the New Right rather than having the candidate do it himself.

How we were made aware of this meeting and how we were able to get information out of it must remain confidential so that we can use these sources in the future.

Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee

TONY COELHO, CA, Chairman
Dan Rostenkowski, IL, Vice Chairman

SUITE 319
400 NORTH CAPITOL STREET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
202/789-2920

Martin D. Franks, Executive Director
Marta David, Deputy Director
S. Lee Kling, Finance Chairman
M. Jacqueline McCurdy, Treasurer
Christopher O'Neill, Counsel

EX-OFFICIO:
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., MA, Speaker
Jim Wright, TX, Majority Leader
Thomas S. Foley, WA, Majority Whip
Gillis W. Long, LA, Caucus Chairman

GROUPS THAT CAN BE OF ASSISTANCE IN COUNTERING THE FAR RIGHT

DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - 400 North Capitol, Suite 319, Washington, D.C. 20001; 789-2920. The DCCC has extensive files on the far right and will make them available to Members. The DCCC can put you in touch with organizations that will be able to assist you counter attacks. Please call Eric Berkman in the Committee's research office.

AMERICANS FOR COMMON SENSE - George McGovern, Chair; George Cunningham, Executive Director; 1825 Connecticut Ave., Suite 313, Washington, D.C. 20009, 202/332-2662. This group is not a PAC but will be involved in countering the New Right. Under the direction of George McGovern, they will set up local chapters and produce nationwide media spots. They are an excellent resource for material on the right wing.

COMMITTEE FOR AMERICAN PRINCIPLES - Bob Blaemire, Executive Director; 2000 N Street, N.W. Suite 105, Washington, D.C. 20036, 202/775-0313. This organization was formed as a PAC to assist in the formation of local groups of religious leaders to counter the Moral Majority, Christian Voice and other "activist New Right groups."

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY - Tony Podesta, Executive Director; 1015 18th St. N.W., Suite 310, Washington, D.C. 20036, 202/822-9450. Organized by TV producer/writer Norman Lear, this group has placed television ads to point up the intolerance and extremist nature of the religious New Right. They were active last fall and are planning a series of spots for this fall. They are a non-profit organization and will not get involved in campaign activity. However, they are an excellent resource for anyone needing research on the far right.

DEMOCRATS FOR THE 80's - Pamela Harriman, Chair; Peter Fenn, Executive Director; 3032 N Street, Washington, D.C. 20007, 202/333-1981. This PAC was established to elect Democrats to the House and Senate in 1982 and beyond. It has produced a radio spot against NCPAC which aired on Baltimore and Washington stations to counter the attack on Senator Sarbanes. A new right manual has been written and their files are available to anyone needing information.

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HOW TO TO RESPOND TO A FAR RIGHT ATTACK

(1) DO NOT DELAY RESPONDING TO ATTACKS. An early response is critical in neutralizing far right attacks. These groups usually begin their attacks early and pull out in the final two months. Be prepared for these early attacks. If ignored, these groups will soften your support.

(2) DO NOT PERSONALLY RESPOND TO ATTACKS. Responses to New Right attacks can be accomplished in two ways. First, the candidate should set up an affiliate of the campaign committee, "Citizens for Fair Play". As a part of the candidate's campaign committee, this would not be considered an "independent" political action committee, would not have to file separately with the FEC and would not have to remain apart from the candidate. In this way, the candidate maintains control of the organization. This part of the campaign committee would produce paid advertisements attacking the right wing and bolstering the candidate.

Secondly, another outside group should be formed consisting of local leading citizens who are offended by the tactics of the far right. This small group would not be a PAC, would not file as a campaign committee, and would not expend funds. Their sole purposes would be to challenge the right wing and to speak out in press conferences and at public meetings bringing up the past history of groups like NCPAC and the nature of smear campaigns that they pursue. The group has inherent credibility because of the stature of those involved and can take much of the pressure off the candidate.

(3) UNDERMINE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE GROUP. Warn constituents that a far right group will launch a scurrilous attack upon you. Prepare a packet on the group and distribute it to the press before the group attacks you. Many of these groups will distort, or lie about your record. This should be brought to light before the attack begins.

(4) ANTICIPATE THE TYPE OF NEGATIVE ATTACKS THAT COULD BE LAUNCHED. Most of these groups are predictable and will use identical negative campaigns against all of their targets. Have someone on your staff examine your record to determine where you might be vulnerable to attack.

(5) DO NOT BECOME DIVERTED BY ATTACKS. The credibility of the group should be made the issue, not your voting record. Allow someone else to speak on your behalf while you go about the business of representing constituents.

(6) STOP PAID POLITICAL RADIO AND TV ADS BEFORE THEY BEGIN. You are in most cases, entitled to equal time when a group like NCPAC attacks. Notify stations that if they air libelous information they themselves can be sued for libel. (You will want to have your attorney handle this).

Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee

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(7) USE THE FAR RIGHT AS A CAMPAIGN TOOL. Often these fringe groups can be used to help with your fundraising. Make note that these are radical groups outside the mainstream of American politics, while you are in the American mainstream.

Radio Spots: Demos for the '80s

Listen to this: "Groups like ours are potentially very dangerous to the political process. We could be a menace." Those words were spoken by a man named Terry Dolan. He heads a group called the National Conservative Political Action Committee . . . and he is right -- extremist radical political groups like his are a menace -- to you, to your family, to your community -- because they are seeking the power to tell you who you can vote for and who you can't vote for -- and they have millions of dollars to spend -- millions to spread their rumors and their smears and their distortions across the country -- to cover up the facts to splatter mud over the truth. What can we do to stop them? It's very simple -- because groups like Terry Dolan's forget one basic and powerful truth about the American people -- we don't like to be fooled -- we don't like to be pushed around and when we are -- we pull together despite our differences . . . So the next time you hear one of their ads or see one on TV trying to smear the record of our congressman remember . . . they can be stopped . . . join those of us who paid for this message.

Listen to this: "We could elect Mickey Mouse to the House or Senate." Terrific. Well the man who made that claim is named Terry Dolan and Terry Dolan heads up a radical extremist political group called the National Conservative Political Action Committee but don't let that name fool you. One of the best known conservative members of the U.S. Senate, Barry Goldwater, has said of radical groups like Terry Dolan's, "I don't think they can call themselves conservatives when they are really taking more of a fascist line." And radicals like Terry Dolan realize that the only way they can elect Mickey Mouse candidates -- candidates they can control is to smear the people we've elected with scare tactics and distortions. So while Terry Dolan may think it's funny to elect a Mickey Mouse candidate, we think it's kind of frightening and sad and if you agree, you can join with those of us who've paid for this message . . .

ought to be done by
independent group from.

EXTREMIST GROUP BUYING ANTI-WHITLEY ADS
ALSO SUPPORTS ANTI-TOBACCO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON -- The self-styled "radical" political action committee that has targeted Congressman Charles Whitley, D-NC, isn't well-known, but it has an interesting history.

The Committee for the Survival for a Free Congress (CSFC) has paid for a pre-campaign ad in the Goldsboro News-Argus attacking Whitley. CSFC also sponsored similar negative ads last week criticizing other Members of Congress, including another from North Carolina.

CSFC takes credit for its role in helping to elect the author of a House bill to dismantle the federal government's tobacco price support and poundage-acerage control program. The far-right group also takes credit for supporting several of the anti-tobacco bill's co-sponsors.

The committee, described by its founder, Paul Weyrich, as "radical" and "working to overturn the present power structure of this country," promotes in a report its support in two campaigns for Congressman Thomas E. Petri, R-WI and author of the anti-tobacco legislation.

North Carolina farm leaders have warned that dismantling the tobacco program would be a disaster for the state's economy. Members of Congress from the tobacco-producing areas have been waging an intense lobbying campaign against Petri's bill.

While Petri's legislation was delayed in a House Committee, North Carolina tobacco farmers fear that a similar plan in the form of an amendment will be brought to the floor early next month.

The negative ad listed Bob McAdam of Washington, D.C. as the contact and was paid for by CSFC.

McAdam, currently employed by CSFC and a former aide to one of the Congressman convicted in the Abscam trials, does political work for the extremist committee. CSFC has a record of support for extremist candidates and has gained a national reputation for injecting itself into local politics -- and not always with positive results.

(MORE)

CSFC
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CSFC usually spends most of its money and time trying to defeat Democrats. Yet CSFC has been soundly criticized by the Republican Party's senior conservative Senator and the GOP's national chairman for its questionable tactics.

"The uncompromising position of these groups is a divisive element that could tear apart the very spirit of our representative system if they gain sufficient strength," said Senator Barry Goldwater, R-AZ. Goldwater has long been the symbol of true conservatism.

Richard Richards, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, said about the extreme-right groups:

"They create all kinds of mischief. They're not responsible to anyone."

The Republican leader also warned that the real danger from these extremists is the excessive money they raise and spend in local and congressional elections.

Richards, who gained the top GOP job with the strong backing of President Reagan, linked the groups' free-wheeling spending and tactics to past political scandals.

Richards made his remarks in an interview with the Washington Post.

There's little question that CSFC has a strong financial base. The committee's latest Federal Election Commission (FEC) report shows that it raised more than \$1 million last year. It already has raised more than \$500,000 this year, according to statements.

Whitley, a native North Carolinian who has represented the state's third Congressional District since 1977, is a ranking member of the House Subcommittee on Tobacco and is working to defeat the Petri bill.