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*National Conservative  
Political Action Committee*

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

*John T. Dolan  
National Chairman*

*(703) 522-2800*

June 11, 1983

Mr. Morton Blackwell  
Office of Public Liaison  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton:

You will be happy to know that my brother, Craig, recently won the largest and most prestigious international conducting competition in the world. At 23, he is the youngest person ever to win the competition by five years, and the first American.

Additional good news is the UCLA debate team just won its second national championship in a row. The Attorney General, a former UCLA debator himself, will be attending our awards banquet next weekend where we are presenting him with a special award for public service.

Enclosed is an article describing my brothers victory and a letter to the President from the UCLA debate coach.

I have sent a letter of request to Mrs. Reagan, asking if Craig could receive recognition or perhaps conduct on the next airing of In Performance at the White House. In addition, Professor Miller of the UCLA debate team has asked if the President would be able to take pictures with the UCLA championship team next time he is in Los Angeles. These pictures would be prominently displayed in our trophy case which is next to the giant registration lines that every student has to walk through every quarter at UCLA. Furthermore, we would

especially like to have a photograph of the President and Nelson Hernandez, a Mexican-American student who won our Most Valuable New Member Award. If this picture were sent out in a press release to various Mexican-American publications I would think it would receive tremendous coverage and help the President in his reelection efforts.

It would mean a lot to me, Morton, if there was anything that you might want to do in your capacity as public liaison on these two outstanding achievements by young people.

I understand my other brother, Dean, is currently undergoing your arduous campaign school which I attended in 1978. I hope his performance proves satisfactory. Dean is a brilliant young man. At 18 he is already a senior at NYU and is planning to attend either Fletcher or SAIS after he graduates. He plans a career in the foreign service which is a tradition in my family.

Thanks, Morton, for any help you might want to give.

Sincerely yours,



Brad Zerbe  
Campaign Director  
NCPAC

April 21, 1983

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear President Reagan:

Last week students from the University of California at Los Angeles were officially designated National Debate Champions for the 1982-83 season by the Cross Examination Debate Association. This is the second year in a row that UCLA has won the National Championship.

Knowing how you appreciate the importance of debate in our democratic society, I wanted to share with you the results of these students' efforts.

The national rankings are determined by the total number of debate wins over the entire year. The top five schools this year were: UCLA, Brigham Young University, The University of Santa Clara, The Air Force Academy and the University of Alabama.

A resolution of commendation that I might post in the debate commons would help engrain the sense of personal achievement of those fine young students. In addition, I am certain it will inspire many future students to develop their critical thinking and forensic capabilities. Your commendation of last year, delivered to UCLA by Attorney General William French Smith (who debated for the Bruins in 1939) was extremely helpful in recruiting many fine students to our Forensic program.

May I ask one additional favor of you? In the past year, we have voluntarily made a major effort to recruit Mexican-Americans and other minorities to UCLA in general and to the Debate team in particular. We have been moderately successful in our effort. One Mexican-American student--Nelson Hernandez--was essential to our winning the National Championship this year and will be awarded the Most Valuable New Member award at our Awards Banquet at the end of the year. The next time you are in the Los Angeles area, would there be a time that you might meet with Nelson and the other team members for pictures?

President Ronald Reagan  
April 21, 1983  
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I am certain that such a picture would be published in nearly every Mexican-American publication in the nation. This would help us by publicizing our commitment to Mexican-American students, establish a positive role-model for the Mexican-American community youth, and demonstrate that our President cares deeply about academic excellence from our Mexican-American students. My Administrative Assistant, Ms. Hazel Richmond, may be reached at (213) 825-3303, 8-12 noon and at 825-4501, 1-5 P.M. for arrangements and/or any further information.

I am most grateful to your assistant Robin Gray who was most helpful to us during our recent visit to Washington, D.C. The tour of the White House that he conducted for us was most memorable. He is a kind man and a real asset to your Administration.

I have enclosed an information sheet detailing this year's accomplishments. Thank you for your help in this matter.

Respectfully,

Thomas Heinkel Miller  
Director of Forensics



'A good orchestra can play without a conductor. What you need a conductor for is not to make good music, but great music'

Evening Outlook - 5/26/83 p.1

# SM maestro wins international competition

By JENNIFER SMITH  
Our Town Assistant Editor

SANTA MONICA — If conducting were an Olympic event, Craig Tillman Zerbe would be its next Eric Heiden.

At 23 years old, he is the first American and the youngest ever to be awarded the top prize in the recent Hungarian Television's fourth International Conductors' Competition in Budapest.

While the contest is not quite of the same magnitude as the Olympics, it is the largest event of its kind in the world, and not without its own celebrity status. This year, some 5 million Hungarians tuned in to the nationally televised contest and by the end of the event Zerbe's blond, all-American looks had graced the pages of most of the country's top newspapers and magazines.

"The people are really involved in the competition. When I walked down the streets of Budapest, people would point at me and honk their horns. It was incredible.

"The audience just loves it. If it was held over here, PBS might put it on," said Zerbe.

Instead of a gold medal, the young conductor took home 100,000 forints (\$2,500) in prize money last week when he returned to his parents' home in Santa Monica, where unlike in Hungary, his name is not yet a household word.

Not yet. Not only has Zerbe been invited to perform in

Hungary again during the Spring Festival next year, he was also recently named one of five conducting fellows for the 1983 summer season of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Institute, which involves conducting at least three concerts.

In fact, for Zerbe, all the attention has been somewhat overwhelming. "I went (to Budapest) hoping for a good experience and I thought maybe I'd get in the finals. I didn't expect to win it (the competition)."

The competition was judged by an international jury headed by Hungarian conductor Janos Ferencsik and included well-known West German conductor Christoph von Dohnanyi and Italian maestros Alberto Erede and Roberto Benzi.

Zerbe, who recently graduated from the University of Indiana at Bloomington, was chosen over Andreas Weiss of West Germany, who won second place, and Robert Houlihan, an Irish-born conductor living in France, who placed third.

The finalists were whittled down from a total of 61 entries in the preliminary rounds to three during the three-week event, with those with the lowest scores advancing. Before each round, contestants were required to draw from a hat one of five works, which are announced beforehand, with only 24 hours to prepare for the piece.

Zerbe conducted music by Mozart in the final round of

the competition and Tchaikovsky's *Romeo and Juliet* at the subsequent gala at Budapest's prestigious Franz Liszt Academy of Music.

"It was the first time I conducted a professional orchestra — not only professional, but one of the greatest in the world," Zerbe said. The performing orchestras included the Hungarian State Symphony Orchestra and the Budapest Philharmonic.

Unable to speak the native language and knowing only a few words of German, Zerbe said he found the experience "very challenging."

But, he added, "If you're an excellent conductor you don't need to talk a lot."

"Conducting can be very expressive. You do a lot of talking with your hands and most of the movements, a down beat for instance, are universal."

A common misconception, Zerbe said, is the public's view that a conductor's skills are superfluous. "People are right. A good orchestra can play without a conductor. What you need a conductor for is not to make good music; but great music. A conductor is like a cheerleader — a choreographer.

"It's kind of the ultimate expression of music . . . and it's a power thing too. Here I was some little whipper snapper telling an older musician how to play. They make mistakes to — they're fantastic, but they're not perfect."

There is no contest in the U.S. comparable to the Hungarian event, which was his first competition. But then, for Zerbe, there has been a first time for nearly everything.

Zerbe attended Santa Monica schools, performing as timpanist and principal percussionist for the Santa Monica High School orchestra and Brentwood Palisades Symphony.

He later became the youngest assistant conductor of the Pacific Palisades Symphony and Santa Monica Youth Orchestra, as well as being the youngest associate instructor of music for the Santa Monica School District from 1978 to 1979. He has also performed with the Santa Monica, Pacific Palisades and Brentwood Palisades symphonies.

Zerbe received a number of awards and scholarships before attending Indiana University, where he received degrees in instrumental conducting — the youngest recipient of a master's degree in conducting in the school's history and the only undergraduate ever admitted to the program.

In the near future, Zerbe said he plans to visit his fiancée, Leah Morris, 23, who is a senior at Indiana University, and is scouring the wanted ads for a full-time conducting position.

Said Zerbe, "I have no idea what I'll be doing this fall just like half the other musicians in the world."

*National Conservative  
Political Action Committee*

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

*John T. Dolan  
National Chairman*

JULY 1982

(703) 522-2800

MEMORANDUM FOR: COUNCIL MEMBERS, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS,  
AND CONSERVATIVE LEADERS

FROM: JOHN T. (TERRY) DOLAN  
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

SUBJECT: Monthly Political Report  
Update on NCPAC Activities

CONTENTS: I. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE RACES.....  
II. OTHER KEY RACES.....  
III. NCPAC ACTIVITIES.....  
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V. NCPAC TV AND RADIO SCRIPTS.....  
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I. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE RACES

Connecticut

For the past several weeks the National Conservative Political Action Committee has been engaged in a direct mail effort aimed at the delegates and alternates to the Connecticut Republican State Convention on July 24th. The text of the pieces discusses Lowell Weicker's anti-Reagan, anti-Republican voting record and pronouncements. NCPAC will drop five pieces to each delegate and alternate to the convention.

On July 9th, NCPAC will begin running a series of television ads in Connecticut. The theme is Republican disgust at the liberal, anti-Reagan, anti-Republican record of Senator Weicker.

The commercial will run through the July 24th convention and Peg Dolan, chairman of Republicans to Replace Lowell Weicker, will be featured in the commercial explaining the conservative view of Lowell Weicker.

By most accounts the convention should be close, with both Weicker and Bush having a chance to get the 50% plus to win party designation for the September primary. However, NCPAC predicts even if Weicker wins the convention nomination, he will lose embarrassingly to Prescott Bush in a Republican primary. Furthermore, we predict since Weicker has one of the most venal reputations of anyone in Congress, he will either refuse to endorse Bush or actually support the Democrat candidate Toby Moffett.

The text of the commercial is attached.

### Maryland

While our independent expenditure campaign in Maryland, "Marylanders for the Mandate," is not currently on the airwaves, we are expanding with a grass roots organization and free media projects.

On June 12, NCPAC Chairman, John T. (Terry) Dolan, appeared on "Edition Eleven," a Baltimore talk show. Dolan and Vic Kamber, chairman of the liberal Progressive Political Action Committee (PROPAC), discussed the Sarbanes race and independent expenditure campaigns.

On July 6, Vic Gresham will join a panel discussion on WFBR-AM's "Conference Call." Gresham, NCPAC's political director, will discuss the Maryland Senate race with other members of the panel.

"Marylanders for the Mandate" distributed literature to over 2,500 households over the last weekend in June exposing liberal votes cast by Paul Sarbanes. We plan to continue this project throughout July and reach over 30,000 households.

Also that weekend NCPAC started passing out literature at the many ethnic festivals to be held over the weekends this summer at Baltimore Harbor. Approximately 70,000 people visit these events each weekend and NCPAC will be there to spread the word about Sarbanes' voting record.

### Missouri

An exciting race is developing in the Missouri fourth. Due to reapportionment Missouri lost one Congressional seat. Redistricting has had the effect of pitting Democratic Congressman Ike Skelton and conservative Republican Congressman Wendell Bailey against each other for the surviving seat. The party that wins this race will score a double victory by both holding a seat and eliminating a seat from the opposition's party.

Bailey is a strong Reagan supporter in contrast, Skelton leaves much room for doubt. Last year Skelton voted for the initial round of budget cuts but against both President Reagan's tax cut plan and the second round of budget cuts. Bailey stood firm with the President on all three accounts.

Although Skelton carries a larger percentage of his constituents into the new fourth than Bailey (63% vs. 37%), this race is still very winnable for Wendell Bailey. In the 1980 election, every county in the new district went for Ronald Reagan. A Market Opinion Research (MOR) poll conducted for Bailey showed 69% of the new fourth's voters identified themselves ideologically as either conservative or very conservative.

The White House has targeted this race as one of the top two priority races for 1982.

Bailey has projected a budget of \$425,000 to win this race. Currently he has raised \$125,000 toward his objective.

Bailey for Congress, P. O. Box 760, Blue Springs, Missouri 64015.

#### Montana

In Montana NCPAC is continuing its campaign against Senator John Melcher by going back on the air this week with a television commercial that attacks Melcher as being too liberal for Montana. (See attached script.)

Meanwhile NCPAC is keeping off the air two commercials which attack Melcher for his votes against indexing taxes for inflation while voting himself a 29% pay raise. NCPAC is challenging Melcher to explain to the public and the press why he had changed his position on tax indexing from that of consistent opposition to support for the measure.

In a letter sent to Melcher (see attached letter) NCPAC charged that the Senator had voted against tax indexing in 1977, 1978, 1979, and 1980, and then switched around and supported a bill for tax indexing in 1981.

#### Texas

NCPAC chairman, John T. (Terry) Dolan, held a Dallas press conference on June 23 to launch a campaign aimed at informing Texans of Senator Lloyd Bentsen's liberal voting record. The thrust of the campaign is that Bentsen is "too liberal for Texas."

Dolan based his statements of a recent poll done for NCPAC by Decision Making Information (DMI) that shows 60% of the Texas electorate consider themselves conservative. Bentsen has a favorable rating of 53% and an unfavorable rating of 19%.

NCPAC is now running two commercials in the test market of Lubbock. They will run for three weeks at 600 GRPs, which means the average person should view them six times. These commercials show how Bentsen voted to raise his own pay by 29%, voted against voluntary prayer in public schools, and voted for federal funding of abortions. (See script.)

Dolan has sent a personal letter to Bentsen asking him to explain these votes to the citizens of Texas. On more than one occasion, Bentsen has flip-flopped on these three vital issues by voting for them at times and against them at other times.

Republican Jim Collins, Bentsen's opponent, trails Bentsen by 32%, but is still largely unknown to 37% of the Texas electorate.

### West Virginia

The NCPAC independent expenditure campaign in West Virginia to expose the liberal voting record of Senator Robert Byrd is gearing up. A recent tracking survey by Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates shows that 55% of the West Virginians support the President's programs and that only 36% are sure that they want to reelect Robert Byrd.

The poll also shows that 32% of the electorate in West Virginia would vote against Byrd for opposing the Administration's proposals and for voting himself a pay raise. NCPAC will start airing commercials during the second week of July that will run for three weeks on all the major media markets.

NCPAC's Bye Bye Byrd Committee held an organizational meeting on July 1 with 30 people to discuss the campaign in West Virginia.

On July 4, we will be attending West Virginia's Hot Dog Day where over 25,000 people are expected to visit. We will be distributing brochures to show that Robert Byrd has consistently voted liberal.

## II. OTHER KEY RACES

### California 1st

Incumbent conservative Republican Congressman Don Clausen is facing the most difficult reelection campaign of his 20-year Congressional career. Clausen has several times faced difficulty winning his district. Because of the tremendous growth in the district, parts of the district had to be taken out, and the parts that Democrat Congressman Phil Burton chose when he drew the California redistricting plan did not help Clausen.

The two most Republican counties of Napa and Lake were taken out, with a total population of 130,000. The more Democratic parts of the district remain, including Del Norte County where unemployment is almost 30%, and Humboldt and Mendocino Counties where unemployment is running about 20%.

Challenging Clausen is liberal Democrat Assemblyman Doug Bosco, who is considered a very strong opponent. Currently he is chairman of the Utility Performance, Rates and Regulations Committee in the state Assembly.

Clausen, whose ACU rating in 1981 is 93, is one of the more vulnerable conservative Republicans up for reelection in California in 1982.

Committee to Reelect Congressman Don Clausen, P. O. Box 1968, Santa Rosa, California 95401.

### Georgia 1st

Charlie Holm is running for the Democratic nomination for Congress in the Georgia district now represented by Bo Ginn who is vacating the seat to run for Governor. Holm served in Washington as an aide to Congressman Ginn.

The redistricting plan for Georgia's Congressional districts is under review from the Department of Justice and there probably will be at least a change of four counties in the First District. This uncertainty about the boundaries of the district threaten to push back the August 10 primary date.

There are seven candidates in the race for the Democratic nomination and despite problems with redistricting the candidates are gearing up for the election. Holm has sent out a fundraising letter to 1,500 possible contributors and is organizing a strong volunteer organization. He has hired John Thomas and Associates to serve as his media consultants and has committed \$25,000 for the media campaign.

On the Republican side, Herb Jones and Jimmy Franklin are running in a very close race for the nomination.

Holm for Congress, P. O. Box 234, Oliver, Georgia 30449.

### Maine Governor

This will be a classic matchup of the "Northeast Liberal Democrat" versus the "Rockribbed Republican."

Despite making a name for himself fighting Indian land claims while serving as Maine's Attorney General incumbent Democrat Joseph Brennan has a solid liberal record on economic issues in the state. Brennan gained some recognition in national affairs when he endorsed Ted Kennedy over Jimmy Carter in 1980. Kennedy has since returned the favor by doing TV ads for Brennan.

Republican Charlie Cragin has been a conservative leader in Maine for several years. He was a Reagan supporter in 1976 as well as 1980. He has been working toward his own gubernatorial bid for the last five years.

Cragin won the Republican nomination in a three way primary. He campaigned against the record of incumbent Brennan rather than attack his Republican primary opponents Sherry Huber and Richard Pierce. Cragin captured 38% of the vote.

Brennan had an easier time in his primary effort beating opponent Georgette Berube 77% to 23%.

With the primary behind him Cragin plans on setting his polling schedules and finance needs into perspective with firm dates and figures expected shortly.

#### Massachusetts 10th

Conservative Republican Jack Conway is seeking his first elective office. He is challenging incumbent liberal Democrat Garry Studds in a district which runs from just south of Boston nearly to the Rhode Island border, including all of Cape Cod and the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket.

Redistricting removed the Democrat strongholds of Weymouth and Rockland but the Democrats still hold a 38,000 voter registration edge. Thirty three percent of the voters are Democrats to 26% for the Republicans. Unaffiliated voters hold the key to the district with 41% of the registrants.

Studds was first elected on an anti-war platform in 1972. He has expanded his thinking to his current stands against nuclear power and big business.

Conway entered the campaign with a 52% name ID due to his extensive real estate business in the district. Conway has set a \$500,000 campaign budget with \$310,000 targeted for media, primarily New Bedford and Boston TV. He has been endorsed by the Right-to-Life groups in his district.

Conway's next poll is due to become available the first week of July.

Conway for Congress, 80 Front Street, Scituate, MA 02066.

#### Michigan 10th

Here is a traditionally conservative seat which should return to conservative control this year. This large, mostly rural, district comprises 30% of Michigan's "Lower Peninsula" and has been in the hands of liberal Democrat Don Albosta since 1978.

While Albosta has a cumulative ACU rating of 31, he has the support of some Michigan conservatives because of his pro-life position. Albosta is one of the biggest spenders in Congress and was an active proponent of the Obey-Railsback budget proposal. Albosta also wants to rescind the 1983 tax cut.

The conservative challenger is Larry Reed, chairman of the Economics Department at Northwood Institute. Reed is solid on the conservative issues and will attack Albosta for his anti-Reagan, liberal record. Reed sees this rural district as traditionally conservative and will campaign as a conservative, running an issue-oriented campaign.

Reed is uncontested in the primary and has established a \$400,000 budget to carry him through the general election.

The district numbers are favorable to a conservative candidacy. Reagan took 55% of the vote in the new district, and while there is no party registration in Michigan, analysis of the primary vote patterns indicates a base Republican vote of 52%.

Reed for Congress Committee, P. O. Box 388, Midland, Michigan 48640.

### Minnesota 2nd

An exciting race is brewing in Minnesota as incumbent conservative Republican Vin Weber prepares to direct his formidable campaign skills toward what promises to be a difficult battle for reelection in a district that has been changed by redistricting.

Weber's new district retains only 60% of his old district; a disadvantage that may serve to offset the advantages of his incumbency. On the other hand, Weber has good campaign experience, and a strong organization. His Democratic opponent is Jim Nichols, a former State senator who is campaigning against Weber's pro-Reagan record.

The new Second District is marginally Republican (52%), but also very rural and hard-hit by the recession. This will make for a very close race. Both sides are planning to spend a great deal on media. Weber should have a slight edge in the race, especially if he can raise all the money he will need to wage a strong media campaign. His budget is \$435,000.

Friends of Vin Weber Committee, 1950 Morgan Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota 55116.

### New York 20th

Despite the Justice Department rejection of New York's redistricting plan conservative Jon Fossel continues his race against liberal incumbent Richard Ottinger. Fossel is running on his own strong conservative credentials of pro-business, anti-big government, pro-defense, and the anti-Reagan record of the liberal Ottinger.

Even though several redistricting plans are possible each one favors a conservative Republican for this district. The district will show a net gain of 8,000 Reagan voters to the district which had given Reagan a 25,000 vote margin in 1980. Making the 1982 plurality approximately 33,000 Reaganites.

In party enrollment the Republicans and conservatives outnumber the Democrats and liberals by better than 7,700 registrants. Jon Fossel will have both the Republican and conservative lines in 1982.

Wherever the lines ultimately fall this district will be well within, and subject to, the New York City media market. Fossel has established a nearly ½ million dollar budget with \$100,000 raised to-date.

The National Conservative Political Action Committee has designated this a priority race. NCPAC has already done a mailing to its contributors for Fossel and will continue to play an active role in Jon Fossel's race throughout the campaign.

Friends of Fossel for Congress, 378 Halstead Avenue, Harrison, New York 10528.

### Oklahoma 4th

Liberal Democratic Congressman David McCurdy first came to office in 1980 from the Fourth District, after one of the most hotly contested U. S. Congressional races of that year. Running as a conservative he barely beat out retired Navy captain and former Vietnam prisoner of war, conservative Republican Howard Rutledge, 51% to 49%.

Rutledge attributes his defeat to the fact that he entered the race late, June 30, 1980, giving him only 126 days to organize a campaign, raise funds, and increase his name ID, in a district where the partisan registration of voters was (is) 4:1 against him.

This year the circumstances have changed but the names remain the same, Rutledge vs. McCurdy.

Every formal and informal poll taken in Oklahoma over the past year has shown solid support for President Reagan's Economic Recovery Program. McCurdy has only supported the President a paltry 50%, Rutledge plans on making this an issue, vowing that he will support the President and give his programs time to work.

Rutledge does not anticipate a primary challenge on August 24th, he has already received the Oklahoma Republican State Party's endorsement. His budget for this race is \$400.

Rutledge for Congress, P. O. Box 462, Norman, OK 73070.

### Virginia 1st

On Tuesday, June 22, liberal George Grayson withdrew as the Democratic nominee for Congress in Virginia's First District. He was running against NCPAC-endorsed Republican Herb Bateman of Newport News.

Apparently, Grayson bowed out because of severe insomnia brought on by his hectic campaign schedule. The First District Democrats will choose a new candidate in the next few weeks. The most frequently mentioned names to replace Grayson are liberals Jessie Rattley and state Democratic chairman Alan Dimonstein.

The campaign had focused around economic and environmental issues. Bateman attacked Grayson for being a "liberal-populist, an ultra-consumer protectionist and an environmentalist." Bateman has been a conservative leader in the Senate of the Virginia general assembly since 1968.

The Bateman campaign has raised over \$112,000 and they intend to operate on a \$316,000 budget.

Bateman for Congress, P. O. Box 1668, Yorktown, VA 23692.

### Washington 3rd

The Washington Third Congressional District is held by liberal Democrat incumbent who has an ACU rating this year of 13, and a cumulative rating of 11. Bonker has a dynamic conservative Republican opponent in the person of State senator J. T. Quigg. Quigg has served five years in the State Legislature and is chairman of the State Senate Commerce and Labor Committee.

The race has been targeted by the Republican Party, and one of the reasons is redistricting. Over 40% of the new Washington third's voters are from Congressman Sid Morrison's old Fourth District in Clark County, the biggest

city of which is Vancouver. Sid Morrison is a conservative Republican with an ACU rating in 1981 of 93. Bonker loses the Olympic Peninsula from his old district.

In addition, State senator Quigg's fundraising has been successful. He has raised over \$100,000 while the incumbent Bonker has managed to raise only \$45,000. According to a Lance Tarrance poll Bonker is also vulnerable on the issues, especially jobs which Washingtonians blame on high interest rates caused by high federal spending which Bonker has voted for. Bonker has also supported legislation which restricts log exports which has caused many businesses in the area to go broke and thrown many workers into unemployment lines. Bonker is chairman of the Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee under the House Foreign Relations Committee, which he uses to expound his views on international issues.

J. T. Quigg for Congress, 121 State Street, Olympia, Washington 98501.

#### Washington 8th

Three Republicans, only one of whom is a conservative, are vying for the new Washington Eighth Congressional District which is overwhelmingly Republican and consists of the King County suburbs surrounding the city of Seattle.

State Representative Bob Eberle is the conservative Republican candidate in the race. Bob Eberle is chairman of the State Redistricting Committee, and serves on the Select Committee on Private Enterprise. His brother, Bruce Eberle, is well known in conservative circles in Washington, D. C., as president of Eberle & Associates, a large conservative direct mail company. Bruce Eberle is actively involved in his brother's campaign.

Eberle faces strong opposition from moderate to liberal State Representative Rod Chandler who is chairman of the State Ways and Means Committee, and King County Councilman Paul Barden who has flip-flopped on many of the issues in the campaign.

A Lance Tarrance poll shows that Eberle can win the race with a strong effort, but the primary will be close. Whoever wins the Washington September 14th Republican primary will face liberal Democrat Beth Bland, who is mayor of Mercer Island.

Bob Eberle for Congress, 232 S.W. 43rd Street, Renton, Washington 98055.

### III. NCPAC ACTIVITIES

#### PAC Spending Article

NCPAC has spent more on independent expenditure political campaigns in the last four months than all the other PACs in the country put together, according to statistics released by the Federal Election Commission last week.

The figures released show the spending by political action committees on independent expenditures from January 1 to April 1 of this year. The total spending reported was \$1.9 million. Of that amount, NCPAC alone accounted for 1.8 million dollars. NCPAC's closest rival, the liberal Independent Action PAC spent only \$42,000.

These spending totals reflect NCPAC's intensive efforts at waging independent expenditure campaigns against liberal incumbents. NCPAC has become the expert at the independent expenditure campaign, with great successes against liberal incumbents like Frank Church and George McGovern in 1980. These campaigns specialize in airing TV commercials exposing the voting records of liberal politicians to their constituents. These campaigns are known as independent expenditures because they are controlled and funded by NCPAC rather than any one politician's campaign.

NCPAC strategists plan to increase spending as the election season heats up.

#### Fundraising

##### Florida

On July 16th NCPAC will hold a strategy meeting in Miami for Florida conservative leaders. This meeting is designed to discuss and plan in what ways NCPAC can best help Florida conservatives get elected.

##### Oklahoma

Oklahoma City will be the location for a late July strategy meeting for NCPAC council members. Directors and council members are joining to chart the future course for NCPAC.

## Texas

NCPAC is now planning three fundraisers to be held in Texas. In coordination with Bunker Hunt, NCPAC hopes to raise the \$350,000 needed for our independent expenditure against Senator Lloyd Bentsen. NCPAC chairman John T. (Terry) Dolan met with Mr. Hunt and other conservative leaders recently in Dallas. This meeting was called to plan the strategy for raising the needed funds.

## National Conservative Foundation

The preliminary work is being completed for a three day conference in Washington, D. C. This conference will be held in December. The purpose is an open forum on the future of conservatism in America.

## IV. LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

### The Equal Rights Amendment

The fight for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment has been a long hard battle. This fight has now come to an end, or has it? Even though the deadline for final passage of June 29th has passed, there is a new effort to have ERA raise its head once more.

The new drive for ERA is to be headed by the liberal junior Senator from Massachusetts Paul Tsongas. Senator Tsongas has banded together with his liberal cohorts in the Senate and plans to reintroduce the Equal Rights Amendment on July 14, in exactly the same form as the amendment just defeated. This according to Mary Ann Bresnahan of Senator Tsongas' office, will be quite a media event. A press conference will be called and the 37 co-sponsors will place statements in the Congressional record showing support for the ERA.

The ERA has been a hotly debated issue since the original passage by the U. S. House on October 12, 1971, and the U. S. Senate on March 22, 1972. This dangerously broad ranging mandate has no safeguards nor any comprehensible means of ensuring survival of traditional American values. No one can truly state the effects of this amendment on our society. The only recourse for testing the amendment will be in the court system and with the past record of judicial restraint that we have experienced in the last two decades this open ended amendment would give free reign to "Judicial Legislation" outside the control of the very people the law is suppose to help.

This attempt by Senator Tsongas and his 37 co-sponsors is outrageous. If the ERA could not pass in the specified time allotted, it should have been dropped. Yet in an unprecedented extension of time this measure still could not pass. Now, with a slap in the face to the American public, Senator Tsongas tries once more to perpetrate this atrocity called the Equal Rights Amendment on the people of the United States. One is forced to ask what interest these 38 Senators serve, surely it is not that of the American people.

### Insane Justice, Where will it End?

Within hours after the Hinckley verdict was handed down, cries were heard from coast-to-coast demanding that sanity be returned to the American Justice System. An ABC news public opinion survey conducted within 24 hours after the verdict was made public found Americans significantly one-sided on the issue with over 70% believing that justice was not served in the Hinckley trial while 90% of those surveyed felt that Hinckley would go free.

U. S. Government attorneys prosecuting the case made every effort to illustrate the clear case that Hinckley had planned his actions to become ingrained in the history books. Many wonder how a man who stalked Presidents for years, practiced shooting at rifle ranges, bought devastator bullets, researched an optimum location at the hotel and assumed a shooters' crouch during the assault, could be found insane and not responsible for his planned-out actions. The prosecution's success in proving that indeed Hinckley knew what he was doing, and in fact planned it all in advance, made no difference due to a legal technicality that forced the prosecutors to prove that Hinckley had "substantial capacity to appreciate" the wrongfulness of his acts.

Defense attorneys William Fuller and Gregory Craig, of the Washington-based Williams and Connolly law firm (the same E. B. Williams who owns the Baltimore Orioles), spent their time focusing on varied irregular mental themes on Hinckley's mind. The burden of proof held the defense less constrained than the prosecutors, while they paid hundreds of thousands of dollars in legal and psychiatric fees trying to prove that their client was not responsible for his actions.

The great romance between psychiatry and law began as early as the 1950's. Ironically, much of the fervor over this issue originated in Washington, where U. S. Court of Appeals Judge David Bazelon created the Durham rule. This controversial doctrine greatly expanded the parameters of the insanity plea: it covered defendants who could prove that

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their crimes were a product of a mental disease or disorder. Judge Bazelon invited psychiatrists into the court and optimistically predicted a new world of jurisprudence. Instead, the Durham rule produced massive legal morass. Many critics claim that having psychiatrists in the courtroom adds more confusion than clarity. Ten years ago, the Appeals Court overruled the Durham doctrine and turned to a new, slightly narrower test: a modern fusion of the M'Naughten and impulse tests.

The notion of the insanity defense is indispensable to justice. What is incompatible, however, with justice, is the massive proliferation of categories and aggregates of diminished capacity. Law by nature must assign responsibility, the failure to do so serves only the forces of the criminal element in society.

An evaluation of the Hinckley case leaves little doubt that the injustice done by proclaiming him not guilty was not the fault of the jury or emotion, but rather the law itself. Prior to jury deliberations Judge Parker instructed the jury to find Mr. Hinckley not guilty by reason of insanity at the time of the shooting unless the government could "prove beyond a reasonable doubt either that the defendant was not suffering from a mental disease or defect, or else that he nevertheless had substantial capacity on that date to conform his conduct to the requirements of the law and to appreciate the wrongfulness of his conduct."

In essence, the jury had been forced to vote the not guilty alternative, unless the prosecution could prove that Hinckley was sane when he shot the President. As many psychiatrists have mentioned, it is almost impossible to say whether a person is "sane" or not, much less make that determination of a person's mind on a particular day last year.

The result of the 25 hours of deliberations was to spark a public outcry for stricter regulations on the use of the insanity plea and even some who are calling for its abolition. Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) introduced two pieces of legislation last year, S. 818 and S. 1558 which would be incorporated into Title 7 of S. 2572, a major drug trafficking bill which includes a section on limiting the use of the insanity defense. Senator Hatch has stepped up his efforts to ensure passage of the two bills which are now being processed in the Senate Criminal Law Subcommittee. The whole crime package is expected to go to the floor of the Senate before the end of this legislative year.

Time itself will judge the impact the Hinckley verdict will have on the American justice system. One thing, however, should stand clear: any justice system which frees a man who viciously shot down its own leader, is itself insane.

### Your Tax Dollars at Work

Below is a reprint of an article that appeared in the Congressional Record. This is just an example of the still rampant waste in our federal budget.

For those who scream over the loss of social programs money, we would like to show how some of our taxes are being spent.

### You Funded 'Condom Week'

Rep. Walker: I am going to discuss something here this evening that disturbs me highly because I think it indicates that indeed, even though the federal budget is often talked about as a budget that has been cut substantially, yet we still find that there are monumental cases of waste within this budget.

I think we need to begin to focus on some of the things that are being done even under a budget that supposedly last year was cut, and cut so deeply that we cannot possibly find any more waste in social programs.

I submit that there are still considerable areas of waste in that federal budget process, and I think that we can find one in just looking at what took place last month (February) in this city (Washington), using federal funding:

Federal funding was used to fund something called "National Condom Week." That is almost unbelievable.

When you look at the literature that was put out in support of this, you find out that National Condom week was advertised to the public, again using federal money--and this is something I confirmed. Federal money was used for this--under the slogan of "Help Make Washington Safe for Loving."

Unbelievable--that federal money should be used in this way, that taxpayers have worked hard and sent their money to Washington to pay for something of this type.

What was done in the course of the scheduled events here was that they included in that schedule of events something, and I am quoting from the literature that they sent out, something called "Rubber Disco."

I quote from the literature about this event sponsored with federal money:

This fabulous dance will be held at the Beret discotheque decorated with a rainbow of different-colored, blown-up condoms. The height of festivities will culminate with a condom-blowing contest, the winner of which is to receive a prize of \$35.

Unbelievable. This is federal money. This is your tax dollars that are being used in this kind of enterprise. If ever there was a case of waste, this is it.

Now, we checked with the Planned Parenthood of metropolitan Washington to make absolutely certain--

Rep. Rousselot: Will the gentleman yield?

W: I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from California.

R: I appreciate our colleague bringing to the attention of the House this obviously strange method of spending federal money. Now, did I hear him say that there was some kind of an event that was advertised to celebrate "National Condom Week"?

W: That is absolutely right. There were publications put out advertising this. I might say to the gentleman, this is not some half-baked notion that came up in the back room of some Washington agency.

Mayor Marion Barry of this city issued a proclamation endorsing National Condom Week, using federal tax dollars.

R: This is certainly an outstanding example of the misuse of federal money. But did I understand the gentleman to say this was done in the name of Planned Parenthood?

W: Well, Planned Parenthood of Washington were the ones who sponsored this whole event. It is their name that appears on all the flyers.

I checked with the financial director of Planned Parenthood to ask whether federal dollars were used in this. I was assured by that financial director, "Yes, Title X funding was used in this enterprise," and I was told that it was some portion of \$161,000, something less than that amount.

R: For National Condom Week?

W: I am not certain that we can say that that was used for this, but something less than that was. That was the amount of Title X funding that they got, so we know some portion of that money was used for the enterprise.

I would say to the gentleman, and I think that he would agree with me, that if one dime was used for of federal money for this particular kind of thing, that is money no one in this House could justify. And no one in Congress, and, in fact, no one out across the country, could justify spending for this kind of point.

R: Well, I say that I appreciate the gentleman calling this to the attention of the House, and he is correct, it is obviously a misuse of federal funding.

W: I thank the gentleman for that, and I think what needs to be done is, I would hope that there would be a full investigation by the congressional committees concerned about this to find out just how much money was used. When we checked with Planned Parenthood, they refused to give us the exact amount of money that was expended.

I would hope that we would have a congressional investigation. I also hope that the Department of Health and Human Services would look into this matter, because no doubt this is the kind of waste that continues to go on--which indicates why there should be continued cuts in the federal budget without really getting at the muscle of the federal programs.

This is fat of the worst kind.

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V. NCPAC TV AND RADIO SCRIPTS

# National Conservative Political Action Committee

20

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1500 wilson blvd. suite 513 arlington, va. 22209 (703) 522-2800

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Bentsen - TV Commercial

"Man on the Street" ad

Question: "Did you know that Senator Lloyd  
(Off camera voice) Bentsen voted to raise his own  
pay by 29%, but voted against  
indexing your taxes to inflation?"

Person 1: "No, I didn't know that."

Question: Repeat

Person 2: "No, I was not aware of that."

Announcer: "Well, Lloyd Bentsen voted to increase  
(Off camera) his own pay by 29%, but voted against  
indexing your taxes for inflation."

Person 1: "Lloyd Bentsen is too liberal for Texas."

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# National Conservative Political Action Committee

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## Melcher Script

I'm proud to be a traditional Montana conservative. That's why I was so upset to hear about John Melcher's liberal record in Washington.

I was shocked to learn that Melcher voted to raise his own pay an incredible 29% at the same time inflation was eating the rest of us alive. Can you believe that?

And the National Taxpayers Union rated him one of the biggest spenders in the West.

John Melcher's liberal big spending voting record proves he's out-of-step with traditional Montana conservatives like me. How about you?

# National Conservative Political Action Committee

22

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1500 wilson blvd. suite 513 arlington, va. 22209 (703) 522-2800

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## Weicker - TV Commercial

I'm proud to be a Republican.

It's too bad Lowell Weicker isn't.

Weicker has the MOST liberal, anti-Reagan, anti-Republican record of any Republican Senator in Washington.

He was one of only two Republican Senators who voted against Reagan's budget cuts in 1981.

Last year he voted against President Reagan more than any other Republican Senator.

If you're upset about Lowell Weicker's anti-Republican, anti-Reagan record call me at 255-7618 or write:

Peg Dolan  
Republicans to Replace Lowell  
Weicker  
703 Post Road, Suite A  
Fairfield, Connecticut 06430

DISCLAIMER: Republicans to Replace Lowell Weicker is a project of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, which paid for this communication. Not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

Lloyd Bentsen:Video:

Group shot of Cheerleaders holding  
Bentsen signs and balloons.  
Waving them.

Cheerleaders start to look per-  
plexed and disillusioned,

Cheerleaders start dropping  
Bentsen material and walking  
away.

Cheerleaders continue to lose  
interest in Bentsen; start  
dropping large "Bentsen" ban-  
ner.

Last Cheerleaders walk away.

Audio:

Is Lloyd Bentsen too liberal for  
for Texas?

Lloyd Bentsen was too liberal when he  
voted to raise his own pay by 29%.

Lloyd Bentsen was too liberal when  
he voted for federal funding of  
abortion.

Lloyd Bentsen was too liberal when he  
voted against voluntary prayer in  
public schools.

Lloyd Bentsen.....too liberal with your  
tax money.

Too liberal for Texas.

30-Second Jones Commercial--"Jones vs. Reagan"

24

| <u>VIDEO</u>                                                                            | <u>SFX</u> | <u>SUPER</u>                                                                                               | <u>AUDIO</u>                                                                                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| B&W picture of Jones.                                                                   |            | Jim Jones                                                                                                  | Let's look at Jim Jones' record in the recent budget battle.                                                            |
| STAR WIPE to split screen. Left: B&W Jones picture BOXED.                               | BOOM       | Jim Jones wanted to raise your taxes \$150 billion.                                                        | Jim Jones wanted to raise your taxes 150 billion dollars over the next three years.                                     |
| WIPE: left to right to split screen. LEFT: SUPER. RIGHT: Color Reagan picture BOXED.    | BOOM       | President Reagan wanted lower taxes.                                                                       | President Reagan wanted lower taxes.                                                                                    |
| WIPE right to left. Split screen. Left: B&W picture of Jones BOXED. Right: SUPER.       | BOOM       | Jim Jones' welfare budget was 15 billion more than President Reagan.                                       | Jim Jones' welfare budget was 15 billion dollars more than President Reagan's.                                          |
| WIPE left to right to split screen. Right: color picture of Reagan. BOXED. Left: SUPER. | BOOM       | President Reagan wanted a lower welfare budget.                                                            | President Reagan wanted a lower welfare budget.                                                                         |
| WIPE right to left. Left: B&W picture of Jones. BOXED. Right: SUPER.                    | BOOM       | Jim Jones supported higher taxes.<br>(Add) Higher welfare spending.<br>(Add) And opposes President Reagan. | Jim Jones supported higher taxes.<br>Higher welfare spending.<br>And opposes President Reagan.                          |
| WIPE to billboard: Jim Jones Doesn't Represent Oklahoma.                                | BOOM       | Disclaimer                                                                                                 | Maybe it's time to oppose Jim Jones, because when it comes to taxes and spending, Jim Jones Doesn't Represent Oklahoma. |

VI. NCPAC IN THE NEWS

# Little old lady swings big purse<sup>26</sup> to oust Weicker

By Steven Slosberg  
Day Staff Writer

FAIRFIELD — Margaret K. Dolan is a little old lady swinging a very big purse who is aiming to knock U.S. Sen. Lowell P. Weicker Jr. out of politics.

She's spending \$220,000 to accomplish it.

Mrs. Dolan, 66, is head of "Republicans to Replace Lowell Weicker," a committee set up and funded by the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) that launched an intense anti-Weicker telephone and advertising campaign in last month's Fairfield County delegate caucus.

One of Mrs. Dolan's sons, Terry, is the national director of NCPAC, which is based in Arlington, Va. and considered one of the major "New Right" political action committees. Her other son, Anthony, won a Pulitzer Prize in 1978 as a reporter for the Stamford Advocate and is now President Reagan's chief speech writer.

Weicker lost that Fairfield caucus vote by a 2-to-1 margin to Prescott S. Bush Jr. of Greenwich, who is challenging Connecticut's senior senator for this year's GOP Senate nomination. Bush is the brother of Vice President George Bush and the son of the late U.S. Sen. Prescott S. Bush of Connecticut.

Mrs. Dolan, who is known as Peg and jokingly bills herself as the "Miss Lillian of Connecticut," takes much credit for Bush's victory. She wants Weicker out.

"Our aim is to expose Lowell Weicker's voting record to every Republican in Connecticut," she said this week during an interview in her modest office in Fairfield.

In a statement about NCPAC earlier this year, Weicker said, "Most political action committees see their duty as creating and serving. NCPAC seeks to besmirch and destroy. True to the tradition of the Know-Nothings and the McCarthyites, its rhetoric is riddled with innuendo and outright falsifications.

"I deplore NCPAC's toilet tactics," he continued, "whether practiced against Democrats or Republicans and I hope that my state will be

the one to pull its chain."

Mrs. Dolan, a small woman who each day walks at least two miles and tries to swim a half-mile, is a former Democrat who turned Goldwater Republican in the early 1960s. She was a once a friend of Weicker, who now lives in Mystic, and helped him when he first ran for Congress as a Greenwich resident in 1968.

Her disenchantment with Weicker, she said, began soon after his election to Congress because of what she termed his "posturing." Her dislike intensified during Weicker's participation on the Senate committee investigating Watergate. "It was obvious he was running for president," she said.

"I voted for Weicker in 1976 very reluctantly. Who could vote for Gloria Schaffer (the Democrat Weicker defeated)?" she added. "All of Weicker's votes have been anti-Reagan. He's fought everybody. He wouldn't support Jim Buckley for Senate in 1980. He wouldn't support George Bush. And I'm appalled at Weicker's language."

Rumors surfaced this week that conservative groups, such as Mrs. Dolan's, were becoming involved in the May 4 GOP delegate primary between Bush and Weicker backers in Stonington.

GOP National Committeewoman Mary H. Boatwright, a long-time Weicker ally, forced the primary after the town committee endorsed a four-member slate to this summer's GOP state convention that leaned toward Bush rather than Weicker.

Stonington Town Chairman Wendell O. Whipple, a party-endorsed delegate and Bush supporter, angrily denied the rumors, and Mrs. Dolan said although she would do anything she could to help defeat Weicker, the lack of time will prevent her committee from launching a Stonington campaign now.

"It isn't that I wouldn't love to get Weicker," she said. "We just don't have the time to do it thoroughly."

Whipple stressed that he would not allow any political action committee to get involved in what he called a local fight, but Mrs. Dolan said that if she wanted to get involved, no one could stop her.

"We can do what we want," she said. "Our aim is Weicker. Whatever we do is strictly on our own. Federal election laws say we can't coordinate strategy with the Bush people and we can't aid any candidate. But we can run our own ads."

She said that she doesn't know how much was spent in the Fairfield caucus campaign, but the committee took out full-page anti-Weicker ads in several newspapers in the region, sent out mailings and conducted an extensive telephone campaign.

NCPAC has targeted \$220,000 for the committee to spend to help defeat Weicker this year, a significant sum for an independent political committee to spend. But Weicker already has raised more than \$867,000 and Bush has raised \$665,000 in their campaigns.

The newspaper ads run last month detail a number of Weicker's votes, emphasize his stances against the Reagan administration and label him "the most anti-Republican Republican in the Senate."

Mrs. Dolan believes that if Bush had forced more delegate primaries throughout the state, he could have ended Weicker's run for re-election as a Republican before the convention. She would like Weicker to run as an independent.

She said she is supporting former State Sen. Lewis B. Rome of Bloomfield for this year's GOP gubernatorial nomination, but added that Rome is her personal choice and has nothing to do with the committee.

Asked which politician she is closest to politically, Mrs. Dolan mentioned U.S. Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona and also said she has been a long-time supporter of Ronald Reagan.

She also said she believes the nuclear arms freeze movement across the country is being led by Communists and that the United States must maintain superior armament and readiness for war.

"I'm not totally in agreement with Bush's philosophy," said Mrs. Dolan. "But I think he'll be a good candidate. I don't think he's the type of man who'll jump up and down and he certainly won't use Weicker's language."

# opinions



# NCPAC to campaign against Bentsen

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WASHINGTON — The National Conservative Political Action Committee's on-and-off campaign against Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen, the Texas Democrat up for re-election this year, is on again, a NCPAC spokesman says.

NCPAC Chairman John T. Dolan plans to unveil today in Dallas a \$300,000 campaign against Bentsen, NCPAC political director Vic Gresham said Tuesday. Television ads will be the centerpiece of the campaign, which will also use direct mail.

NCPAC, which has headquarters in suburban Virginia, is a committee that runs independent campaigns — usually against Democratic incumbents such as Bentsen.

NCPAC took credit in 1980 for helping defeat a number of incumbent senators, including George McGovern, D-S.D.

NCPAC's hardball style is often controversial, and some candidates it has helped have asked the organization to quit campaigning.

According to United Press International, Rep. James M. Collins of Dallas, Bentsen's Republican challenger, said he welcomed NCPAC's activity.

Bentsen has always expressed little concern

about what NCPAC would or would not do in his race.

The re-entry of NCPAC into the Bentsen race will again raise the question of how independent it is from Collins' campaign. Democrats are watching closely because NCPAC's pollster, Arthur Finkelstein of New York, has been used by Collins.

Several of NCPAC's 1980 targets questioned the independent status of the organization, but none were successful in proving the group did not keep at arm's length from the candidates it was helping.

In the flush of 1980 victories, Dolan described Bentsen as one of approximately 20 "prime candidates for defeat" in 1982.

But in December 1981, after spending only \$3,600 on a Texas poll, NCPAC spokesman Steve D'Angelo, who is no longer with the organization, said, "We consider the Bentsen race a low priority."

Gresham said the decision to spend \$300,000 against Bentsen was based on a new public opinion poll in Texas. He refused to discuss the poll.

In its new campaign against Bentsen, NCPAC apparently intends to pick up on Collins' main theme: that Bentsen is the most liberal Southern senator.

After NCPAC announced a campaign

against Bentsen in 1980, a number of Republicans questioned its chances of success. Texas' Republican governor, William P. Clements Jr., said: "I've known Lloyd a long, long time, and I've never been under the impression he was a liberal."

Even state Sen. Walter H. Mengden Jr. of Houston, Collins' chief opponent in the Republican Senate primary and one of the most conservative politicians in the state, said Collins' could not beat Bentsen by adhering strictly to the theme that Bentsen is a liberal.

Gresham said the current proposed campaign budget calls for NCPAC to spend more in three campaigns than it will in the one against Bentsen.

The targets of those campaigns and the amounts that will be spent, according to Gresham, are: Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., \$400,000; Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md., \$344,000; and Sen. Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., \$312,000.

In a rare move against a Republican, Gresham said NCPAC planned to spend \$300,000 against Sen. Lowell P. Weicker Jr., the Connecticut moderate who is being challenged for renomination by Prescott Bush, brother of Vice President George Bush.

## THE



## SUN

# NCPAC tops early campaign spending list

By Robert Timberg  
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The hard-charging National Conservative Political Action Committee is setting a torrid early pace in campaign spending, easily outdistancing all other groups in the key area of independent expenditures.

More than 22 percent of the NCPAC money has been spent in its continuing campaign to unseat Maryland's Democratic Senator Paul S. Sarbanes, a charter member of the group's current congressional hit list.

All 27 political committees, including NCPAC, made a total of \$1.9 million in independent expenditures from January 1981 to March 1982, according to a report released yesterday by the Federal Election Commission.

Of that total, NCPAC alone spent \$1.8 million, the report said.

NCPAC's closest rival, the liberal Independent Action, has made only \$42,380 in independent expenditures.

An independent expenditure, under federal election law, is money spent to elect or defeat a clearly identified candidate for federal office and must be made without cooperation or consultation from any candidate or campaign.

The FEC said 98 percent of the independent expenditures made so far have been in opposition to, rather than in support of, congressional candidates, with 44 individual aspirants coming under negative attack.

"I think you'll see an increase in positive independent expenditures toward the general election," said Sharon Snyder, an FEC spokesman.

NCPAC, which is based in Arlington, Va., and some of its comrades in the conservative New Right coalition have established a pattern of spending heavily a year or more before an election to soften up the opposition.

The \$1.9 million spent through March compares with \$2.3 million in independent expenditures for congressional races during the entire 1979-80 election cycle.

Thus NCPAC by itself seems destined to surpass the 1979-80 total achieved by all committees and individuals making such expenditures during the previous cycle.

Of its \$1.8 million total, NCPAC has spent \$402,038—22 percent—in its bid to unseat Senator Sarbanes, a liberal targeted for defeat by a variety of conservative and anti-abortion groups.

As a result, NCPAC has already spent more against Senator Sarbanes than it did in any of its highly publi-

cized 1979-80 campaigns against Democratic senators George McGovern (S.D.), Frank Church (Idaho), Birch Bayh (Ind.) and John A. Culver (Iowa), all of whom were defeated.

NCPAC, in fact, has pledged to spend a total of \$550,000 to unseat Senator Sarbanes, who is completing his first six-year term.

"You can't discount the impact of spending that kind of money, you really can't," said Senator Sarbanes's press aide, Bruce C. Frame. "Obviously it reaches some people."

Mr. Frame called the NCPAC spending "a further demonstration of the highly financed intrusion into Maryland politics by this new and negative extremist group that is totally unaccountable in our traditional American political process."

NCPAC's national chairman, John T. (Terry) Dolan, could not be reached for comment.

Other anti-Sarbanes groups have spent an additional \$4,000 against him. A liberal political action committee, Democrats for the Eighties, has spent \$20,000 on his behalf, all for radio ads last year seeking to discredit NCPAC.

Despite all the attention the right wing has lavished on Senator Sarbanes, he is only No. 2 on the list of candidates generating independent

expenditures, behind Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D, Mass.).

Senator Kennedy, a likely presidential candidate in 1984 if he survives his re-election battle, has been the target of independent expenditures totaling \$545,607—\$527,395 by NCPAC alone.

Conspicuously missing from the big spender list released today were several right-wing political action committees which, with NCPAC, pumped millions of dollars into the independent expenditures category two years ago.

Most notably absent was the National Congressional Club, founded by conservative Senator Jesse A. Helms (R, N.C.), which made independent expenditures of \$4.6 million in 1979-80. That money, however, was spent solely to promote Ronald Reagan's presidential candidacy, not on congressional races.

Impressive as it is on the surface, the NCPAC independent expenditure figure includes hundreds of thousands of dollars in direct mail fund-raising costs.

Even though the effect is to inflate NCPAC campaign spending, the letters qualify as independent expenditures under FEC regulations if they advocate the election or defeat of a candidate for federal office.

# NCPAC to file complaint against Melcher, group

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By CHARLES S. JOHNSON  
Tribune Capitol Bureau

HELENA — In another election-eve surprise, the National Conservative Political Action Committee said Thursday it will file a complaint with the Federal Election Commission against Sen. John Melcher and a Montana political committee.

The Virginia-based NCPAC charges Melcher and the Montana Nonpartisan Fair Campaigns Committee violated federal election laws. Neither Melcher's campaign committee nor the Nonpartisan Fair Campaigns Committee listed each other as affiliates, which NCPAC believes they are.

In addition, NCPAC charges the Nonpartisan Fair Campaigns Committee violated federal law by continuing to be involved in a federal election after terminating its registration as a political committee.

It is NCPAC's latest action against Melcher, who is one of the targeted senators it wants to defeat. NCPAC already has spent more than \$100,000 to try to defeat Melcher.

Its complaint will be filed today or Monday, NCPAC said.

Filing the complaint this late appears to prevent the Federal Election Commission from investigating the matter before Montana's primary election Tuesday.

NCPAC, however, defended filing the complaint.

"We believe there is reason to believe that Senator Melcher or one of his agents was instrumental in establishing this so-called independent committee," NCPAC Chairman John "Terry" Dolan said in a prepared statement. "If this is true, it is a violation of the law."

Dolan said the arrangement shows how Melcher "feels he can do or say anything he wants, which obviously includes bending the law."

The NCPAC complaint is based in part on a Tribune story published April 19.

The Tribune, quoting anonymous sources, said Melcher and some of his supporters were instrumental behind the scenes in having the supposedly nonpartisan committee formed last fall to promote fair campaigns.

Although intended to convey the impression of nonpartisanship, the committee in fact was created at the urging of the Melcher organization to attack NCPAC, the Tribune said.

Melcher and Alve Thomas, chairman of the Nonpartisan Fair Campaigns Committee, have denied that the senator and his staff were involved in the group's formation.

News of NCPAC's intention to file a complaint provoked a storm of reaction from political spokesmen.

"Neither Senator Melcher nor any of his staff have had anything to do with the organization or activities of that committee," said Melcher campaign spokesman Evan Barrett. "We welcome a review by the FEC since it will totally reject NCPAC's false claims."

But Barrett said he is not surprised that "this group of out-of-state political terrorists is making a last-ditch attempt" to try to defeat Melcher.

Thomas said he is convinced the committee he heads is an independent group. Melcher and his staff have never been involved in its formation, he said.

The NCPAC announcement came one day after the state Republican Party's executive director, Dennis Bergvall, had threatened to file a complaint with the Federal Election Commission over the same matter.

Democrats were quick to try to imply a link between the GOP and NCPAC, but Bergvall denied it. He

said it was purely coincidental and that he hadn't talked to NCPAC about it.

"I wish those SOB's would just stay the hell out of here," Bergvall said of NCPAC. "We never invited them and we'd just soon fight our own battles."

But Barrett said the timing indicates close ties between the state Republican hierarchy and NCPAC.

He said "independent-thinking rank-and-file Republicans may want an investigation of the ties between NCPAC, and the state Republican Party organization as well as the ties between NCPAC and Larry Williams."

Williams, the likely Republican nominee, has admitted he attended a NCPAC-sponsored meeting in Billings last summer but said that is the extent of his connection with NCPAC.

Montana Democrats have tried to link NCPAC with the Republican Party in an attempt to jeopardize NCPAC's status as an independent political committee. That status exempts NCPAC from campaign spending law limits that other committees face.

Joe Lamson, state Democratic Party executive secretary, said the complaint "just continues to demonstrate the rather peculiar relationship between prominent officials of the Montana Republican Party, Larry Williams and NCPAC."

"On the same day it appeared in the Montana press that the Republican executive secretary was threatening John Melcher with an FEC investigation, lo and behold we learn the NCPAC is going to do that very thing," Lamson said.

Bergvall said his only contact with NCPAC came earlier this spring when an official called him about the Western District congress-

sional race.

The state GOP official said he told the NCPAC caller to "flake off" and suggested that NCPAC ought to "clean up its act."

Bergvall said he has never talked to anyone from NCPAC about Melcher's race.

NCPAC's activities in Montana clearly illustrate "some of the abuses present in out-of-state political action committee funding," Bergvall said.

"It makes me believe more in what Larry Williams is doing in his decision to not take any out-of-state political action committee money," Bergvall said.

NCPAC's decision to file the complaint is the group's second major surprise in the past week.

Last week, NCPAC stunned Montana political observers by running a television advertisement that criticized Melcher and all but endorsed his major primary election opponent, Mike Bond. Bond is generally considered the most liberal candidate in the three-man Democratic race.

NCPAC press secretary Joe Steffen defended as fair the group's decision to file the federal complaint so late in the campaign.

Steffen said he had hoped there would be further newspaper stories to back up the complaint but there weren't. NCPAC's lawyer reviewed the complaint and found it justified, he said.

The Federal Election Commission's procedures apparently preclude it from deciding on the validity of the complaint before the primary election.

Normally, the agency has five days to notify the person and committee against which the complaint is lodged, press officer Fred Eiland said. They in turn have 15 more

days to respond.

The six-member commission tries to expedite matters when possible, he said.

Federal Election Commission files show that the Montana Nonpartisan Fair Campaigns Committee registered as a political committee Oct. 8. But in a Dec. 26 letter, the Montana group asked to withdraw its registration, saying it had been advised by an attorney and the Montana political practices commissioner that federal registration was unnecessary.

"We are an educational organization that is promoting fair campaign practices," the letter said. "We are nonpartisan, nonaffiliated and not promoting or opposing any candidate or issues."

The FEC agreed but told the group it would have to retain its records for three years.

The Fair Campaigns Committee for the most part has been inactive. Since its formation, it has issued several press releases, including one in February asking state Republican and Democratic chairmen to discourage "irresponsible out-of-state groups from operating in Montana."

It mentioned NCPAC by name and urged the two political parties to "denounce all negative out-of-state groups as being a distortion of the Montana political process."

The Montana committee also conducted a study last fall examining fairness of press coverage after Rep. Ron Marlenee, a Republican, charged that Democrats and environmentalists received a disproportionate share of news coverage.

The committee examined coverage in the Tribune and Helena Independent Record for a week in October and concluded they provided balanced coverage of political and environmental news.

# Cannon refuses conservative group's debate offer

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WASHINGTON — A conservative group that has targeted Sen. Howard Cannon for defeat Tuesday challenged the Nevada Democrat to a televised Las Vegas debate.

The National Conservative Political Action Committee said the hour-long debate, for which it would pay, would give the organization a chance to refute some "totally untrue" accusations that Cannon has made and provide Nevada voters with "an opportunity to learn just how liberal Sen. Cannon is."

Cannon immediately refused the offer, saying the NCPAC has applied "lies and distortions" to the campaign and "truth is not a subject for debate."

The senator, who faces a stiff reelection challenge from Rep. Jim Santini, D-Nev., said NCPAC has sent a series of mailings to voters that misrepresented his views on such issues as defense, school busing and prayer in schools.

According to Mike Verneti, a Cannon spokesman, NCPAC has tried to paint Cannon as liberal by pulling out "a batch of procedural and tabling votes" on those issues. Verneti said the assertion that Cannon, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, is soft on defense is "so absurd what can you say."

Moreover, Verneti said the senator has "voted for everything to scuttle" forced school busing. As for the school prayer issue, the aide said Cannon consistently has supported voluntarily prayer and "they (NCPAC) never even backed up their assertion on that one."

NCPAC, though, feels it has been the victim of misinformation. NCPAC political director Vic Gresham, who would have represented the group in the debate, said he wants to "set the record straight."

"(Cannon's) record is the real issue in this campaign," Gresham said. "Remember, Cannon is the one running for office, not NCPAC."

NCPAC set its sights on Cannon shortly after the 1980 election, when director Terry Dolan unveiled a list of Democratic senators the group would target for defeat. Cannon was on the original list, though NCPAC has not decided whether to mount one of its "independent expenditure" campaigns against the senator.

In 1980, NCPAC funds flowed to advertising campaigns that helped unseat such Democratic senators as South Dakota's George McGovern, Idaho's Frank Church, Indiana's Birch Bayh and Iowa's John Culver.

To keep its independent status — thus, its freedom from fund-raising limits of the conservative candidates it favors — NCPAC uses its advertising to denounce opponents, rather than to promote particular candidates. This has led to charges that NCPAC uses exceedingly negative tactics.

Cannon said NCPAC uses "the big lie" in politics. He cited a 1980 Dolan quote in which the NCPAC director reportedly said, "A group like ours can lie through its teeth and the candidate it helps stays clean."

The senator added "what should be examined" is NCPAC's 1983 budget recommendation that would scrap the Veterans Administration hospital system, abolish Environmental Protection Agency funding for pollution control, eliminate the Social Security minimum benefit and slash other social programs.

"Let (NCPAC's) political hired guns come out from under their rocks in Arlington, Va., and defend their budget proposals in front of Nevadans," Cannon said.

# NCPAC: Trifling with the Truth or Serving the Public?

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BY REV. DeWANE R. ZIMMERMAN

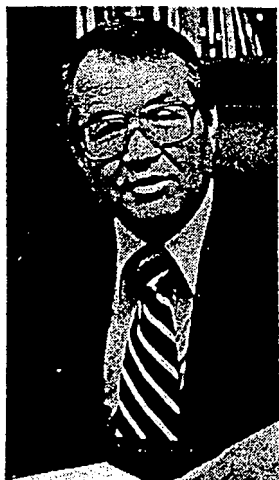
*DeWane R. Zimmerman is senior pastor of the First United Methodist Church of Phoenix. He is the current chairman of Fair-minded Arizonans for Integrity and Representation (FAIR), a bipartisan group of business, professional and civic leaders.*

I recently returned from conducting a retreat for U.S. chaplains in Germany. I was reminded again that we dare not take good government for granted as did many Germans when Hitler assumed the role of absolute Fuehrer. Edmund Burke was right: "All that it takes for evil to triumph is for good people to do nothing."

When it comes to politics, it is tempting to become hardened by cynicism and anesthetized by apathy. Yet to disdain politics is to do a disservice to our country and to each other. For politics is simply the use and abuse of power. Thus, our political system may ultimately be judged by what we do or do not do for the vulnerable and weak in our country.

Consequently, politics is too serious a matter to be left to politicians. In a free and self-governing nation, citizens must be able to call their leaders to account.

Crucial to accountability is access to the truth. This at least requires freedom of the press, disclosure of lobbying activities



sources of campaign funds, open meetings, and freedom-of-information acts. It also requires a commitment that by those seeking elective office as well as by those who campaign for it.

For this reason, it is distressing to find that the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) has signed on the fall elections in Arizona. NCPAC's journey to Arizona would be joyfully welcomed if truth was a part of its luggage.

Bill Rogers once said, "I don't make a sport of it — I just watch the government report the facts." While laughter and healing, it ceases to be a joke when, in the political process, the facts are not reported but distorted. For example, NCPAC publicly stated that Sen-

Henry Jackson opposed increased defense spending. He did not. NCPAC stated that Senator John Melcher was in favor of the Panama Canal treaties. He did not. However we may about those issues, NCPAC's statements were false.

1980, NCPAC accused Senator mas Eagleton of voting for aid to Nicaragua. He did not. NCPAC stated Senator Quentin Burdick voted against the Panama Canal treaties. This

too was false. NCPAC stated that Senator Dennis DeConcini was "in favor of abortion," yet the National Right to Life Committee, reviewing the senator's voting record, has labeled these charges "totally false."

Whether or not we agree with the stand any candidate or incumbent takes, it is crucial that there be a correct reporting of the actual stand taken. For to trifle with the truth in a free society is to slowly poison the well from which we all must drink.

No political candidate should be free from a fair fight. That is America's history and hope, but "fair" is more than an adjective. It is the very fiber of our freedom that enables us to be fit to live with. It is because of this that a bipartisan group of Arizonans, sharing this concern for fairness and honesty in the electoral process, have come together.

It is heartening to see Republicans and Democrats around the country become aware that "politics by innuendo" may win elections but so severely damage the political process that even the winners are losers. Television and radio stations in Oklahoma, Texas, Montana and Massachusetts, in a growing concern for accuracy, have refused NCPAC's attempts

to publicly air its statements.

When distortion is injected into the political process by any group or person, a smoke screen is thrown up that greatly hinders careful consideration of the more fundamental issues facing us.

Terry Dolan, head of NCPAC, has been quoted in *The New York Times* as insisting, "Images are important, not issues." Not so! Americans today are concerned about issues ranging from inflation to nuclear annihilation. As never before, we are aware that the world is much too dangerous for anything but truth. Only disaster can be harvested from falsehoods.

Following NCPAC's successful use of mass media in an election, Dolan stated, "We could elect Mickey Mouse to the House or Senate." Such is the power of mass media and the use we make of words. I love Mickey Mouse, but we already have enough fantasy in politics.

Today Americans are insisting that anyone involved in the political process use words not as weapons to confuse, but as tools to convey reality so that we can vote our convictions and not our confusions. Is it possible that, in the end, humankind will be saved or lost simply by the use or abuse we make of words?

BY JOHN T. (TERRY) DOLAN

*John T. (Terry) Dolan is chairman of the Virginia-based National Conservative Political Action Committee.*

The National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), when founded in 1975, was used almost solely in aiding conservative candidates in their bids to attain elected office.

Over the years, however, I began to sense that there was more that could be done — more for conservatives and more for voters. It was this train of thought that led NCPAC into using the independent expenditure campaigns that worked so successfully in the 1980 elections.

I'm constantly amazed at the response we receive every time we enter into one of these independent expenditures. While a good bit of the feedback is positive, a lot of it is negative in the sense that the media-oriented question of NCPAC's validity always seems to pop up.

Well, this question of validity — or viability, if you prefer — always did strike me as funny since I consider anything that is deemed as being necessary is valid.

Hopefully, after seeing NCPAC's side of the argument, you will see that not only does NCPAC have viable reasons for running our independent expenditures, but that these independent



expenditures are also very healthful to the political process.

To start with, contrary to media-oriented opinion, NCPAC has not, does not, and will never distort any incumbent's voting record in an independent expenditure campaign. On the few occasions that we have made mistakes, we've done everything possible to rectify the situation. This includes pulling out any incorrect information, issuing a public apology, as well as anything else that we could do.

Mistakes are few, though, because all of our independent expenditures are based on thorough research of the incumbent's actual voting record with most of the information being gathered from the *Congressional Quarterly*, and from polling data covering the incumbent's state or district.

NCPAC will not run a campaign unless our polling data shows us that the prospective candidate is vulnerable. By "vulnerable," I mean in the sense that the voters in his state or district may be inclined to vote the incumbent out of office.

Now that it's clear as to what our independent expenditure campaigns are based on, you're probably still wondering how I can say that they help to serve the political process. Let's examine the following reasons.

For years, the liberals have had a monopoly in political campaigns. Through big labor groups such as the AFL-CIO and their political arm COPE (Committee on Political Education), they have been able to sway a vast number of voters nationwide by showing their side, the liberal side of the story. In this type of instance, NCPAC's validity comes in the form of balance. I would think that you would have to agree that the best way, if not the only way, to judge an issue or a politician is to know both sides of the story.

Not only does this hold true for groups like COPE, but for many politicians as well. Elected officials who are more concerned with keeping their jobs than serving their constituents are only going to tell the voters what they think they want to hear. NCPAC's role is to give the voters the "other" information; vital issues or votes that their senator or congressman chose not to inform them of for whatever reason. In this aspect, NCPAC works as a public service.

Working independently through money that we raised through our contributors, we do what we can to counter the left wing's power. Actually, while NCPAC is often painted as being the invading storm troopers coming into a state to distort a politician's record in the hopes of sending the politician to political extinction, we are helping to even the score; it's all to the voter's benefit!

As in any analysis, all angles have to be taken into consideration: effectiveness, accuracy, fair play, etc. I am pleased to say that NCPAC covers all these bases.

As far as effectiveness goes, NCPAC record speaks for itself. In 1980, we helped to defeat four very prominent senators; just as importantly, however, we were effective in helping to educate the voters of those states on their senators' records.

Accuracy. We have made a few mistakes, as I mentioned before. However in seven years, we've made as many mistakes as most major newspapers do in a week.

Then there's the question of fair play. It seems that NCPAC is always accused of playing dirty pool or using smear tactics. This amazes me when you consider that we send incumbents all information that we plan to use against them before the expenditure begins. If they tell us that any of the information is incorrect then we remove the incorrect portion prior to publication. Therefore, anything that you, as the constituent see, hear, or read concerning your candidate has already been screened by that candidate.

In closing, NCPAC really does not have to argue its validity, as it speaks for itself. Hopefully, you can see the point. We are here as a service, not as a score. It's all to the voter's benefit!

# *Republicans to Replace Lowell Weicker*

P.O. Box 514  
Glastonbury, CT 06033  
(203) 633-1184

JUNE 10, 1982

703 Post Road, Suite A  
Fairfield, CT 06430  
(203) 255-7618

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MRS. MARGARET K. DOLAN, CHAIRMAN OF REPUBLICANS TO REPLACE LOWELL WEICKER, TODAY ISSUED A PROGRESS REPORT ON HER GROUP'S EFFORTS TO MOBILIZE OPPOSITION TO LOWELL WEICKER'S CANDIDACY BY INFORMING THE PUBLIC ABOUT MR. WEICKER'S SENATE VOTING RECORD.

"WE'VE TALKED ON THE PHONE WITH OVER 15,000 REPUBLICAN HOUSEHOLDS SO FAR. A CLEAR MAJORITY OF THE REPUBLICANS WE'VE CONTACTED HAVE ENDORSED OUR GOAL OF REPLACING WEICKER WITH A REAL REPUBLICAN. IN 32 DAYS OF CALLING SINCE THE FAIRFIELD CAUCUS, PEOPLE HAVE PLEDGED IN EXCESS OF TWENTY FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS. THE AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION IS APPROXIMATELY TWENTY DOLLARS."

"I AM REALLY GRATEFUL THAT SO MANY REPUBLICANS HAVE AGREED TO HELP US. MORE IMPORTANT, THOUGH, IS THE FACT THAT THE RESULTS OF OUR TELEPHONE CALLING INDICATE TO US THAT THE MAJORITY OF GRASS ROOTS REPUBLICANS SHARE OUR BELIEF THAT LOWELL WEICKER MUST NOT BE RENOMINATED."

"IF A STATEWIDE PRIMARY WERE HELD TODAY, IT IS CLEAR THAT MR. WEICKER WOULD BE DEFEATED HANDILY," DOLAN SAID.

CONTACT: BRAD KRONES

255-7618

# USA TODAY

VIA SATELLITE

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1983 • USA TODAY

## Strange bedfellows back PACs

By Pat Ordovensky  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — It was enough to boggle even a veteran political observer's boggle-proof mind.

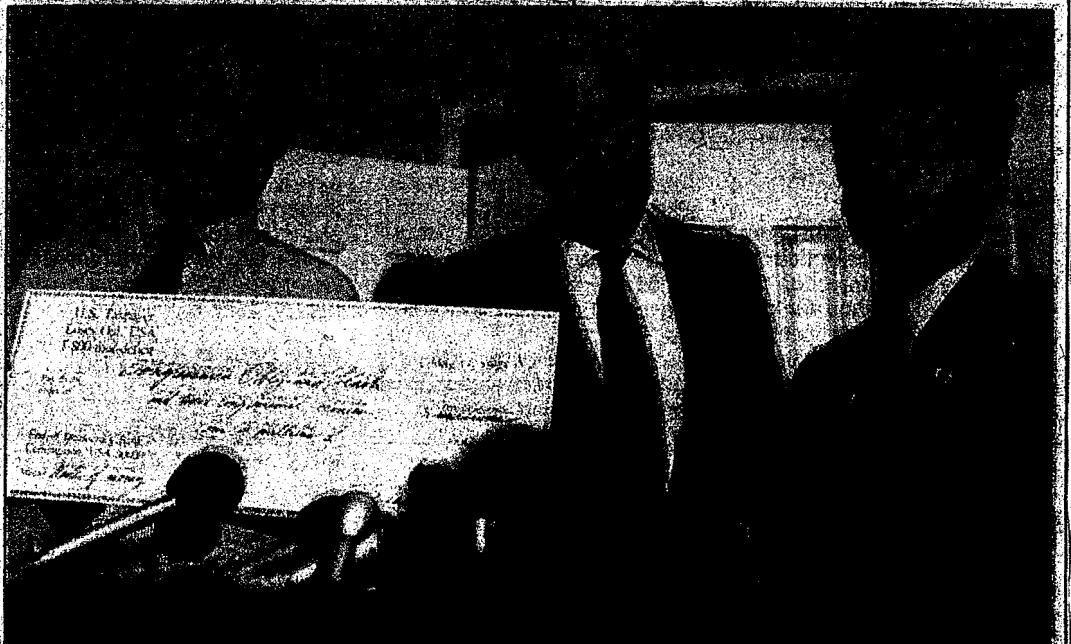
Terry Dolan, head of the New Right's most feared political apparatus, was wearing a "McCarthy for President" button, a relic of Eugene McCarthy's 1968 anti-war presidential campaign.

Dolan and McCarthy were on the same platform Tuesday, sharing it with Stewart Mott, self-described "fat cat" and generous contributor to liberal candidates and causes.

"There are probably very few issues that the three of us would agree on," Dolan said. But they came to a Washington hotel Tuesday to announce they oppose limits on political spending and public financing of congressional campaigns.

Their immediate goal: to block a House bill that would limit contributions by political action committees (PACs) and permit congressional campaigns to be financed by the same public funds that pay for presidential campaigns.

Their tactics: ads in the districts of three congressmen pushing the bill — David Obey, D-Wis.; Jim Leach, R-Iowa; and



**DOSE OF SPOOF:** Stewart Mott, left, with Eugene McCarthy and Terry Dolan, right, holds a check spoofing the bill they're fighting that would limit political spending on congressional campaigns.

Michael Barnes, D-Md. — hoping to provoke constituents to "rise in indignation," Dolan said.

Dolan said his National Conservative Political Action Committee has committed \$10,000 and will spend more if it's needed. Mott offered the same pledge of his liberal dollars. McCarthy, whose campaigns historically have been short of

money, gave them his blessing.

Common Cause President Fred Wertheimer called the new coalition "no surprise."

"Stewart Mott is a former fat-cat contributor who was basically put out of the campaign-giving business" by the contribution limits enacted in the 1970s, Wertheimer said. "Mott and NCPAC favor a system ... that would allow political con-

tributions to be used to buy influence."

Earlier Tuesday, the Republican campaign hierarchy backed a bill to relax the limits on spending by political parties, which they say would help the parties regain some of the influence they've lost to PACs.

Even with the limits, the Republicans outspent the Democrats last year almost 6-1.

By Barbara J. Res, USA TODAY

MAY 18 1983

BURRELLE'S

# 7439 GOP, unlikely coalition rap campaign finance bill

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The hierarchy of the Republican Party and an unusual coalition of far right and liberal politicians launched separate attacks yesterday on legislation for federal financing of congressional elections.

More than 120 House members are sponsoring the financing bill, which also would curb the amount of contributions candidates could receive from political action committees.

Sen. Paul Laxalt, R-Nev., general chairman of the Republican Party, the heads of the GOP House and Senate campaign committees and Republican National Committee Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf rejected that bill.

They proposed their own legislation, which would greatly increase or eliminate restrictions on the amounts political parties could give to candidates.

A few hours later, Terry Dolan, head of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, liberal philanthropist Stewart Mott and former Sen. Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota said they were forming a lobbying organization to launch a \$130,000 campaign against public financing.

The flurry of activity represented a collapse of attempts to reach bi-

partisan agreement on campaign finance law reforms and provoked rhetoric from both sides.

Rep. Dave Obey, D-Wis., primary sponsor of public financing, called Dolan and Mott "the spoiled brats of both the right and the left in the political contribution business," who just wanted the right to pour as much money as they want into campaigns.

Obey said it would be difficult to enact the bill this year, but he predicted the House will agree to it.

Laxalt said Republicans do not want to curb the power of political action committees but hope to strengthen the role of political parties.

"Candidates feel no real obligation to political parties, but they do feel increasing obligations to PACs," Laxalt said. "If you want the checkmate, here it is."

The Republican bill would increase the limits parties could give directly to candidates and put no restrictions on the amount they could spend in their behalf.

Dolan, McCarthy and Mott said the Obey bill seeks to limit the free speech PACs have enjoyed.

**For incumbents?**

McCarthy called Obey's measure an "incumbent protection bill that makes Congress even less accountable than it is today."

Dolan said public financing would force "the American people to pay the bill for greedy congressmen only interested in self-preservation."

The trio announced formation of the Committee for Free and Open Elections, which will advertise in

the home districts of Obey and Rep. James Leach, R-Iowa, and Mike Barnes, D-Md., two other sponsors of the bill.

Dolan said the advertisements will not urge their defeat, but ask voters to write Congress and state their opposition to public financing.

Common Cause, meanwhile, issued a statement saying Mott and NCPAC "favor a system for financing our elections that would allow political contributions to be used to buy influence with public officials."

The self-styled citizens' lobby noted NCPAC is the biggest PAC spender in the country, having spent \$6 million trying to elect or defeat candidates in the past two years, while Mott provided \$400,000 to presidential candidates of his choice before such donations were made illegal in 1974.

TUESDAY, MAY 17, 1983

## Campaign resolution foes differ in outlook

By Wesley Pruden  
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

Can Stewart Mott, John Terry Dolan and Eugene McCarthy find happiness singing close harmony together in the same Capitol Hill chorus?

They will find out this afternoon when they appear together at a joint press conference to denounce House Resolution 2490 — the so-called Clean Campaign Act of 1983.

This legislation, introduced by Rep. David Obey, D-Wis., and co-sponsored by 101 other mostly Democratic, mostly liberal members of the House, would severely restrict the influence of political action committees and other big contributors in congressional races.

Such law also would sorely crimp the high-visibility style of Mott, the rich sugar daddy of trendy liberal causes; Dolan, who as the director of the National Conservative Political Action Committee became a villain that liberals like most to hate; and McCarthy, the former Minnesota senator who wrote the book on how to run for president as an anti-war candidate, first for the Democratic nomination in 1968, and then as an independent in 1976.

This misalliance is rich with the irony political Washington loves. Mott was an early contributor to the presidential campaign of George McGovern (whom he once scolded as not being radical enough) in 1972. His Manhattan penthouse, overrun with exotic plants and regiments of political groupies, was the scene of stylish fundraisers celebrating the radical causes of a raucous era.

Dolan's political action committee enjoyed its most spectacular success in the Reagan landslide in 1980 when it was credited with retiring a group of liberal senators among which McGovern, whose rise to national prominence began with the anti-war tumult of the late 1960s, was most prominent.

This tumult was set off by McCarthy's so-called "children's crusade," legions of mostly upper-class college students who even cut their long hair ("getting clean for Gene") to avoid offending the voters who answered the doorbells they rang for McCarthy when he challenged President Lyndon B. Johnson in the New Hampshire primary. McCarthy lost, but when he ran well enough to draw the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of New York into the race, Johnson withdrew.

The new legislation that Mott, Dolan and McCarthy oppose would limit the amount of PAC money that candidates could accept and would establish, for the first time, taxpayer-financed campaigns for House races. The legislation would establish a ceiling of \$90,000 in contributions to each candidate from all PAC sources for each election cycle, which includes both primary and general elections.

Each candidate could get matching grants up to a total of \$100,000 from the federal treasury. Candidates could waive public financing and raise their own money but if they should do so their opponents would be entitled to a double dip into the federal treasury.

MAY 18 1983  
**BURRELLE'S**

# GOP Leaders Say Limits on Party Aid to Races Hobbles System

By George Lardner Jr.  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Republican Party leaders turned a cold shoulder to public financing of congressional campaigns yesterday, and instead proposed legislation that would raise the limits on political party expenditures.

They said the change would do much to revive the vigor of the two-party system and offset the evils, whether real or imagined, that have been attributed to the proliferation of independent political action committees (PACs) and the special interests they represent.

Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.), general chairman of the Republican Party, said at a briefing that current restrictions on political party expenditures for House and Senate candidates amount to a "straitjacket that has been imposed on the party structure."

"The party's influence on individual candidates is almost *de minimis*," Laxalt said.

In 1972, he continued, political parties provided 17.3 percent of the total receipts for a candidate's campaign, but last year, that support dropped to 2 percent. Meanwhile, the influence of political action committees and the importance of a candidate's personal wealth have increased sharply.

"There should be no limit on the amount political parties can spend or contribute on behalf of their candidates for public office," Laxalt testified later before the Senate Rules Committee. "If you increase the importance of political parties, you decrease the importance of the PACs."

Laxalt and other Republican leaders, including Sen. Richard G. Lugar of Indiana and Reps. Bill Frenzel of Minnesota and Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, outlined their bill at a breakfast meeting with reporters and again at the Rules Committee hearing where discontent with federal election laws—and with the Federal Election Commission—was a recurring theme.

The final witnesses, by their own description "a curious group of political bedfellows," were former senator Eugene McCarthy (D-Minn.), Terry Dolan, chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, and Stewart Mott, "an unabashed rat cat" for liberal causes.

They said they had banded together as the Committee for Free and Open Elections, and suggested that it is time to start dismantling "excessively complex" rules.

Like the GOP leaders, they expressed disdain for the so-called "Clean Campaign Act" that dozens of House Democrats are promoting in concert with Common Cause, the self-styled citizens' lobby.

This would impose a \$90,000 limit on the total contributions a House candidate could receive from PACs in an election cycle and institute partial public financing for candidates who agree to limit their spending.

McCarthy said if the idea of government financing

and control of the election process had been presented to the Founding Fathers, "I think that proposal would have been run out of the hall."

Lugar, chairman of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, argued that the Republican approach was much preferable to trying to limit PAC influence through legislation.

"Often," Lugar said, "PAC decisions are arrived at far more democratically than are the decisions of those groups which attack them."

The GOP bill would allow party committees to make direct contributions of up to \$15,000 for House candidates and \$30,000 for Senate candidates and would remove all limits on party spending on their behalf for such services as polling, telephone banks and advertising.

It would also allow presidential candidates to spend more during the party primaries and caucuses and would eliminate the present state-by-state spending limits.

MAY 18 1983

BURRELL'S

# GOP, NCPAC, liberals speak against campaign spending limits

7439

By Fred Barnes

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington — An unusual group of Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals — a group including the National Conservative Political Action Committee and liberal philanthropist Stewart Mott — stepped forward yesterday to fight limits on campaign spending.

First came the Republican party, which used a Senate hearing to call for the repeal of federal limits on the amount of money that national parties can spend in aid of federal candidates. This was a natural position for the GOP, since it is able to raise far more money than the Democratic party.

Then came NCPAC chief John T.

Dolan, Mr. Mott and former Senator Eugene McCarthy, a sometime liberal, who said in a joint press conference that they will fight vigorously against legislation to limit to \$90,000 the amount House candidates may accept from political action committees and to \$200,000 the total they may spend in the general election.

Meanwhile, the champions of limits on campaign financing were active. Just two days ago, the Democratic party filed suit in federal court to bar political action committees like NCPAC from providing more than \$1,000 in "independent expenditures" for presidential candidates.

And Common Cause, the self-proclaimed citizen's lobby that supports a number of liberal causes and favors public financing of campaigns, also

entered the fray. In a statement, Fred Wertheimer, the Common Cause president, denounced Mr. Dolan as a practitioner of "the politics of intimidation" and Mr. Mott as "a fat-cat contributor" whose influence has ebbed since campaign spending ceilings were set.

All the activity set the stage for a number of decisions in Congress and the courts on how much money will be available in 1984 to presidential, Senate and House candidates and who will get that money.

The officialdom of the Republican party — including Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, the GOP's general chairman — appeared before the Senate Rules Committee to push its proposal, which it said would strengthen political parties

Under the proposal, the complex formulas establishing amounts that the national parties may donate directly to individual candidates would be changed to allow higher amounts, and the ceiling on spending for polling, advertising and phone banks in behalf of candidates would be repealed altogether.

By boosting the role of the parties, the bill would have the effect of diminishing the influence of political action committees, making curbs on them unnecessary, the Republicans said.

The GOP chairman of the committee, Maryland Senator Charles McC. Mathias, is a supporter of public financing of House and Senate races, but the Republican leaders criticized this. "Surveys repeatedly show that

the public is overwhelmingly opposed to taxpayers' financing of elections," said Mr. Laxalt.

Despite the vigorous Republican effort yesterday, their proposal appears to have little chance of passage, if only because Democrats would come out on the short end. While Republicans raise far more money than they may legally use now to promote individual candidates, the Democrats raise less than the current ceiling.

Meanwhile, by filing suit in federal court, the Democrats want eventually to get a Supreme Court ruling that bars "independent expenditures" by PACs if that money would be a "qualified campaign expense" had the candidate made it. Last week, the Federal Election Commission said it

would enforce a \$1,000 limit on "independent expenditures," and the Democrats want the high court to ratify that decision.

Mr. Dolan said the suit was an anti-Reagan effort, since NCPAC spent \$1.9 million to aid Mr. Reagan's 1980 campaign and is preparing for a massive effort to promote his reelection in 1984.

But his appearance with Mr. Mott and Mr. McCarthy was to announce formation of the Committee for Free and Open Elections. Its purpose, said Mr. McCarthy, "is to oppose attempts in this session of Congress to pass legislation that would force the U.S. taxpayer to pay for the election campaigns of congressional candidates and limit PACs."

# Unlikely allies fight bill to alter campaign law, limit PAC funds

By Michael J. Himowitz  
Evening Sun Staff

WASHINGTON—There was Terry Dolan, executive director of the National Conservative Political Action Committee and darling of the New Right, sporting a "McCarthy for President" button.

And there was Stewart Mott, heir to a General Motors fortune and political bankroller of the Democratic left, up there on the dais, embracing Dolan like a long-lost friend.

And there was Eugene McCarthy, one-time senator, one-time presidential candidate and one-time symbol of clean politics to a generation of young liberal idealists, posing contentedly with the two men frequently criticized as symbols of everything that's wrong with the American political system.

The three unlikely allies assembled in Washington yesterday to kick off a campaign against a House bill that would provide partial public financing for congressional campaigns and limit spending by political action committees such as Dolan's.

Calling the proposal "a fraud on the American public," Dolan said that "public financing of congressional campaigns would mean that Stewart Mott's money would go to people who vote like [Sen.] Jesse Helms, while my

money would go to people who vote like [Sen.] Ted Kennedy."

The three announced a campaign of negative television ads—NCPAC's specialty—in the home districts of three of the bill's 122 sponsors. One of them is Montgomery County Democrat Michael D. Barnes, D-8th.

The targets of the ads quickly called their own press conference to denounce the attack.

"It's a perfect example of why we need campaign reform," said Rep. David Obey, D-Wis., a principal sponsor of the measure. He called the alliance of Dolan, McCarthy and Mott "an exhibition of the spoiled brats of the Right and the Left."

The bitter exchanges were a fitting cap to a day of intense debate over campaign finance reform. It's an issue that is likely to tie Congress in knots in coming months as it deals with political action committees and their emergence as a major factor in election campaigns.

If there was any common ground among proponents and opponents, it was dissatisfaction with the 1974 Campaign Reform Act that was supposed to diminish the power of special interests by limiting individual contributions and political party fund-raising.

See NCPAC, A3, Col. 5

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BURRELLE'S



Stewart Mott, left, Eugene McCarthy, center, and Terry Dolan are fighting proposed limits on political campaign spending.

## Bill fight finds odd allies

NCPAC, From A1

That same law also legitimized political action committees—now dominated by business, labor and conservative groups. They contributed more than \$15 million to winning Senate campaigns last year and provided more than 35 percent of House members' campaign budgets.

In the Senate, where the rhetoric was a little cooler, Republican leaders argued for a GOP bill that would increase contributions to candidates from political parties. Sen. Paul Laxalt, R-Nev., the GOP's national chairman, told the Rules Committee that bigger party contributions would diminish the power of PACs.

Laxalt said party contributions represented only 2 percent of candidates' receipts in 1982, compared to 17.5 percent a decade earlier.

The Republican bill would allow the political parties to spend as much

as they want on behalf of candidates. Current law restricts party spending. Democrats, who raise less than Republicans, are opposed to the change.

NCPAC's Dolan, who testified in the Senate, said Congress could put his organization out of business by changing the election laws. NCPAC has spent more than \$6 million over the last four years in campaigns against liberal congressmen, including \$697,000 in last year's unsuccessful effort to dump Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md.

On the other side, Mott spent more than \$400,000 of his own money on the Democratic presidential campaign in 1972. The reform act of 1974 put him out of business, but he said he would like to get into it again.

McCarthy said politicians should be able to take advantage of individual generosity instead of running to corporations, labor unions or other special interests.

## CLEAN CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1983

### Fact Sheet

#### PAC LIMITATION:

- Limits the amount of money a candidate for the House of Representatives may accept from political action committees to \$90,000 per election cycle.

#### CAMPAIGN SPENDING LIMITS:

- Limits the amount of personal and immediate family campaign expenditures to \$20,000 per candidate.
- Limits total campaign spending for general elections to \$200,000.

#### PUBLIC FINANCING:

- Contributions of only \$100 or less from individuals can be matched, and 75% of these contributions must be provided by residents of the state in which the election is held.
- A maximum of \$100,000 in such contributions may be matched.
- If both candidates agree to abide by the limits contained in the bill, a one-to-one match of their \$100 or less contributions would take place. For every \$100 in contributions, the candidate receives \$100 in public financing.
- If one candidate agrees to abide by the limits and his or her opponent does not, then two things happen. The first candidate is released from the limits included in the bill. That candidate also receives a 2-1 match in public financing rather than a 1-1 match. (This is similar to a plan now in effect in Wisconsin for gubernatorial candidates.)

#### INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES:

- When political committees "attack" a candidate with independent expenditures of \$5,000 or more, the candidate is guaranteed the choice of either (a) free radio or television advertising for a response or (b) additional public financing equal to the amount of independent expenditures for such a broadcast.
- If other independent expenditures (for example, newspaper ads) total \$5,000 or more, the candidate against whom they are used will qualify for additional public financing equal to these expenditures.
- Additional public financing provided to candidates as necessary under this section would not be counted against the total campaign spending limit.

May 17, 1983

Statement of Ad Hoc Committee for Free and Open Elections

Senator Eugene McCarthy, Chairman  
John T. Dolan, Treasurer  
Stewart Mott, Secretary

If you are in charge of the Democrat or Republican nominating conventions, you automatically receive \$4.4 million each, plus inflation, of U. S. taxpayers' dollars to help buy balloons, etc.

If you are in charge of a third party convention, your convention receives American tax dollars only after your Presidential candidate pulls 5% of the vote in the previous Presidential election.

If you are the nominee of either the Democrat or the Republican Party for President you will receive almost \$40 million of U. S. taxpayer money, for your general election campaign in 1984.

If you are a candidate, like John Anderson was in 1980, you must get 5% of the vote before you can obtain federal funding, which of course means you get your money after the election is over--maybe.

If you are an incumbent Congressman you can send out tens of thousands of dollars worth of free franked mail to your constituents. If you are a challenger, you receive no free mail. Little wonder that during the decade of the 1970's, 95.0% of incumbent House members running for reelection won.

If you represent a political party and you want to help a candidate get elected to the House of Representatives, it is illegal for your Party to give that candidate more than \$28,440 in a general election. If you represent a political action committee (PAC), it is illegal for your PAC to give that candidate more than \$5,000 per election. If you are a single individual citizen, the premise upon which our American government was founded, it is a violation of the law for you to speak out and give your favorite candidate more than \$1,000.

This is the American political process as it exists today, and we are not proud. This legislation was designed by people supposedly concerned with controlling what they think are "special interest" organizations. Anyone who has ever wanted to author a piece of "special interest" legislation should use our federal election laws as a model.

The net effect of these election laws today is nothing more than a shared oligopoly of power between the Republican and Democratic Parties. Current proposals to extend public financing to the Congress are little more than incumbent protection bills.

Prior to 1900 the United States never had "the two Party system." Although from 1789 to 1900 there were present in most elections two dominant Parties, these major Parties always faced competition from other Parties that goaded, hounded, and sometimes defeated the dominant Parties. Thus, for most of our history there have always been new political Parties waiting in the wings to supersede any Party that lost its mandate for existence.

The current system gives incredible advantages to the two major Parties, and thus cripples third Parties, and along with it the ideas they are trying to promote. It is novel in the 20th Century that the two presently dominant Parties have jointly used the structure of elections to cut off their potential competition.

In a Democracy, it is not the place of government to tell the people it is supposed to represent, when, and how, and how much it can speak out. "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, . . . or the right of the people . . . to petition the Government."

The most fundamental and basic right in a Democracy is the right of the people to participate in free and open elections, unfettered by government interference.

To deny groups the right to petition their government for grievances through contributions in the political process is a most pernicious harm indeed.

To shut people out of government may be a desirable goal for some other form of political philosophy, but in a Constitutional Democracy it is an utter violation of its precepts.

It may seem desirable to some people to keep the Congress and the President from the influence of groups or individuals, it frankly, sounds like totalitarianism to us.

The justification for spreading the evils of public financing still further to the Congress are twofold: campaign spending is too high and special interests control our Congress. Neither argument is true.

In 1982 only \$300 million was spent to elect officials to the Federal Government. More than that is spent on television advertising dog food. Considering that American legislators vote on an \$800 billion budget, and furthermore vote on issues that affect not only America, but the entire world--it is incredible that dog food is more important than communicating with the American voter.

It is a sad commentary on our American experiment in Democracy to note that half of the people in this country eligible to register to vote do not bother. Of the half that are left, half of these bother to show up at the polls and cast their ballots. Few Americans can even name their legislators, much less tell you where they stand on the issues.

There is an enormous justification for increased spending. There is no doubt that it costs money to set up voter registration drives, telephone banks, canvass drives, and all the aspects of a campaign designed to inform people about a candidate's stand on the issues and encourage them to vote.

If more money is not spent to encourage people to participate in the political process the United States will continue to have its leaders elected by one-fourth of its eligible voters.

The second major argument used by advocates of taxpayer financed elections is that "special interests" are controlling our Congress. This charge is repeated over and over like a drumbeat until people begin to think it is next to the word of God. However, the only group to attempt to give any examples of such a phenomena in recent Senate testimony is Public Citizen's Congress Watch.

This "study" cites five examples of "special interest" legislation to prove the claim that "special interests" control the Congress.

Out of the five examples this "study" cites, four of them did not even pass! In fact, none of these four examples even made it through the Congress, much less to the President's desk and past his signature. To say this "study" lacks significance is an understatement.

In a real study conducted by the Congressional Quarterly, 25 of the most expensive House races in 1972 and 1974 were compared in which large contributions were of critical importance to the candidates--with the endorsements the candidates received from various political groups with well-defined policy stances. The study concluded, and confirms the commonsense proposition that campaign contributions generally flow to those candidates who have clearly defined positions with whom donors already agree.

Surely it is better to have groups participating in the process defending their rights and interests than to be forced to stand by while an unaccountable Congress wills its whims on unfortunate groups.

It is interesting to note that two of the loudest proponents of taxpayer financing of elections and limiting political action committees are Public Citizen's-Congress Watch, and Common Cause--two big lobbying groups.

Since lobbying groups are in competition with political action committees, perhaps their motives are not as altruistic as they state.

Political action committees must publicly disclose all of their expenditures. If a candidate receives \$5,000 from a labor union or a corporation PAC, it is public knowledge, and a voter can use this knowledge when he decides who to vote for.

Lobbies, on the other hand, do not have to disclose what they do with their money. No one knows what they do with it.

One wonders how lobbying groups would feel if Congress made it a Federal felony to take a Congressman out to dinner more than twice a year, or spend more than fifteen minutes a month talking with each Member, or a violation of the law not to tape record every conversation with a Member which would then become available to the public.

Congress' attempt to regulate the many voices in the political process is nothing less than a violation of the very first amendment to the Constitution. That is the real harm to the American political process today.

In a Democracy all groups and individuals should have equal access to the political process, and Congress has no business making criminals out of persons or groups who want to do nothing more than exercise their first amendment rights.

\* Constitutional Scholar John Armor provided information for this statement.

Eugene J. McCarthy is a twice elected Democratic Senator from Minnesota, and spent 22 years in the Congress. He ran for President in 1968 and 1976. He is the author of 11 books, including two volumes of poetry. He works in Washington and lives in Virginia.

Stewart Rawlings Mott is a long time political activist, Philanthropist and self-described "maverick," and "public servant." He was a plaintiff in the landmark Supreme Court decision on the FECA, Buckey v. Valeo, along with Senator McCarthy.

John T. "Terry" Dolan is national chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee.