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WITHDRAWAL SHEET
Ronald Reagan Library

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Collection: BAKER, JAMES A. III: FILES

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File Folder: Dept. Of Health and Human Services *Box 2*
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Date 7/9/99

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	Lyn Nofziger to Jim Baker, 1p.	4/16/81	<i>D5 B6</i>

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

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Anti-Defamation League  of B'nai B'rith
Washington, D.C. Office

DAVID A. BRODY
Director

MARVIN S. RAPPAPORT
Assistant Director

May 27, 1981

Mr. Frank Hodsoll
Deputy to the Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

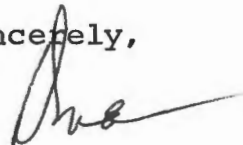
Dear Frank:

Liberty Lobby's Spotlight is hardly an exemplar of factual accuracy. Notwithstanding, I thought you would like to see what they have to say on the Warren Richardson matter. So that you don't have to waste your time reading all this garbage, I marked the paragraphs on pages 1 and 3 which I thought would be of more than passing interest. I was particularly amused by the paragraph on page 3.

How about lunch one day? Please call me.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,



David A. Brody

DAB:dlc
encls.

Galileo Tortured Into Saying Earth Flat; Does Richardson Believe Own 'Confession'?

By Fleming Lee

Warren Richardson worked for several years, until 1973, as Liberty Lobby's general counsel and chief lobbyist. He did an excellent job and departed on cordial terms. Over the ensuing years, he maintained friendships with officers and other employees of Liberty Lobby, obtained help and favors from them, dropped by the Liberty Building from time to time, and specifically sought the institution's support when he was nominated to become assistant secretary of health and human services (HHS).

At no time did Richardson, before or after his service at Liberty Lobby, indicate that he was at variance with the institution's policies and aims, much less that he found them "vile" or "repugnant." But in late April, Richardson recanted.

He was under pressure, of course. So was Galileo. Both men had vigorously represented views repugnant to the high priests charged with defending the dogmas of the Establishment. In Galileo's case it was his discovery that the earth orbited the sun (as Copernicus had theorized) and not vice versa. In Richardson's case it was the conviction that the United States should not orbit

Israel, but rather should oppose all efforts of the Israeli lobby to shape this nation's policies in ways inimical to America's best interests.

Galileo was shown the rack and the thumbscrew. Had Richardson stood up to the vicious propaganda campaign that was launched against him and Liberty Lobby by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL); and its toady, Rep. Sam Gejdenson of Connecticut; the American Jewish Committee; NBC television news; and the Washington "Post" and "Star," his fate would have been less dire than that Galileo faced. As it turned out, even Richardson's total capitulation led to the same result: He will not become an assistant Cabinet secretary.

There is a kind of Cerberus which guards the entrance to the dark realm of Establishment acceptance and advancement. No one passes that multiheaded monster without prostrating himself and renouncing all ties, friends, and opinions prohibited within the underworld. It is not enough merely to embrace the sacred dogmas: One must also grovel, apologize, and denounce.

The demand made of Richardson was clear. David Newhall, HHS Secretary Richard Schweiker's assistant, who had committed the sin of proposing Richardson's nomination even though he knew Richardson had worked for Liber-

ty Lobby, had from the first sign of trouble fairly shaken the walls of HHS with public *mea culpas* and flooded Pennsylvania Avenue with tears of contrition. If Richardson did not go beyond his first straightforward statement that he was not and never had been anti-Semitic, and if he refused to condemn Liberty Lobby, his nomination would be withdrawn and never considered by the Senate.

So Richardson recanted, and as is typical in such ritualistic confessions, not only cursed his own past, but also falsely attributed to his former friends and colleagues the spiritual crimes alleged against him. The chief inquisitor in the case, Nathan Perlmutter of the ADL, then intoned that "repentance at the 11th hour is nevertheless repentance . . . but some hard questions remain unanswered." Apparently, they were very hard questions. Richardson, having debased himself and abjured his heresies, still scented the smoke rising from the foot of the executioner's stake.

It is said that Galileo, having been forced to say what he knew was not true—that the earth did not move—muttered to himself as he left the chambers of the Inquisition, "Nevertheless, it does move." One wonders if Warren Richardson reserves in some corner of his soul a similar secret shrine to the truth.

Richardson Denounces Liberty Lobby, Withdraws as Nominee

The congressman who launched the widespread smear campaign against Liberty Lobby is now splashing tar on President Reagan.

By The SPOTLIGHT Staff

Following charges he made of "anti-Semitism" and "racism" against Liberty Lobby, Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn.), addressing a branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), seemingly has blamed the Reagan administration for what he perceives as a definite turn against blacks in America.

Gejdenson seemed to imply that President Ronald Reagan is responsible for an anti-black direction in America when he told the Windham-Willimantic, Connecticut branch of the NAACP that he was not sure a year ago whether or not another branch of the NAACP was needed in the state, but that "I have no doubt today."

The freshman congressman urged the NAACP to strengthen its influence in American politics, suggesting that Reagan's tight fiscal policies and budget-cutting are directed deliberately at blacks.

"If there ever was a time when we need an organization that stands for what America needs," said Gejdenson, "we need the NAACP."

The congressman did not accuse President Reagan of being "racist" as he

had done days earlier to the populist lobbying institution in Washington. However, Gejdenson's comments seemed to draw a battleline between the administration and blacks.

Gejdenson addressed the NAACP April 25, about a week following the congressman's public criticism of Liberty Lobby and a former employee of the institution, Warren S. Richardson, for being "racist" and "anti-Semitic." Richardson had been nominated by Reagan to a top position with the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), but was compelled to withdraw following Gejdenson's charges.

"It isn't simply a budget-trimming process," charged Gejdenson of Reagan's economic package. "It is changing the direction of this country. It is taking from those who have not."

A spokesman for Gejdenson denied that the congressman was in any way im-

plying that President Reagan is "racist." The spokesman said the statements made to the NAACP were meant to be critical of the president's economic package because it was directed against the "poor." The spokesman promised to get back to The SPOTLIGHT with a more detailed explanation of Gejdenson's remarks but did not.

INFLAMMATORY STATEMENTS

Since his election to the Second Congressional District of Connecticut last November, defeating Republican candidate Anthony Guglielmo, Gejdenson has received national attention for inflammatory statements he made on what he calls a rise in "racism" and "anti-Semitism" in America.

Most notably, Gejdenson got national media attention for attacks on Liberty Lobby. The congressman played a key role in blocking the nomination of Liberty Lobby's former counsel and

chief lobbyist, Warren Richardson, to the position of assistant secretary for legislation.

Richardson had been acting in that capacity as assistant secretary for legislation pending appointment by the Reagan administration and approval by the Senate of someone to fill the post permanently. His nomination for the position was relatively routine and expected to receive a quick nod from the Senate until Gejdenson's accusations.

Gejdenson, who is Jewish and a member of B'nai B'rith—which contains the notorious Anti-Defamation League (ADL)—relied heavily on guidance and information supplied by the ADL, and the American Jewish Committee (AJC), to attack Richardson and Liberty Lobby.

Both are Zionist lobbying groups; they advocate U.S. financial and military support for Israel, regardless of that nation's aggressive "war Zionism."

The ADL, in particular, is an agent of a foreign government, Israel, but refuses to comply with federal laws requiring it to register. The Justice Department is aware of the allegations concerning the ADL's "foreign agent" status, but has not investigated the group, perhaps because of the strength and influence of the ADL in Congress.

In his attacks, Gejdenson implied that Liberty Lobby had ties with the KKK and "neo-nazism."

Said the congressman: "At this time with the Ku Klux Klan and other groups rearing their ugly head, it would be particularly unfortunate that we give even the appearance of support or condoning for organizations like the Ku Klux Klan or the Liberty Lobby and the things they stand for."

JEWES CONFUSED WITH ZIONISM

The ADL and AJC, to bolster Gejdenson's charges, produced an old New York "Times" article bearing Richardson's name with a particular paragraph the Zionist lobbies claimed denoted Richardson as "anti-Semitic." In the paragraph, which Richardson said he did not write, it said, "Liberty Lobby will not tag along with the cowards who would rather countenance another national disaster than brave the screams of the pro-Zionist 'free press' in America." Requests that the ADL explain how those words could be construed as anti-Jewish produced no response.

The ADL and AJC charged that the phrase "pro-Zionist" in the controversial passage was a code word used by Liberty Lobby for "pro-Jew."

Liberty Lobby, however, has stated repeatedly that it is a patriotic, nationalistic institution that has been burdened with the label of "anti-Semitic" because it opposes continued and unjustified amounts of foreign aid to Israel. Liberty Lobby noted that it is in favor of a pro-American, non-interventionist policy for the Middle East and is alarmed at recent considerations—espoused by the Israelis—that America send U.S. "peacekeeping" troops into the area to protect Israel from so-called "Arab terrorism."

Robert M. Bartell, chairman of Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy, said that the institution believes in fulfilling the needs of Americans first and those of foreign nations second. Bartell noted that Liberty Lobby opposes sending huge sums of foreign aid to any nation. But because

the institution also objects to the special aid enjoyed by Israel, some Jewish groups call the lobby "anti-Semitic," Bartell added.

NO FREE SPEECH

When Liberty Lobby attacks "Zionism" it is referring to a political movement that places the national interests of Israel above those of the U.S., Bartell said. He said Gejdenson's charge of "anti-Semitism" is an attempt to undermine Liberty Lobby's right to speak against a political movement. "If we cannot criticize a foreign government, there is no freedom of speech," Bartell said in an interview requested by the NBC network but never aired.

Richardson, at first, countered Gejdenson's attacks by saying, "I am not now, nor have I ever been, anti-Semitic."

Richardson, subjected to extremely harsh pressure by Gejdenson and the Zionist lobby, issued a statement against Liberty Lobby. Allegations since then have surfaced that Richardson was not the author of the statement, but that it had been written for him.

"I condemn unequivocally the anti-Jewish and racist actions of Liberty Lobby and some of its employees and officers," he said. "I find morally repugnant their statements, publications and views—expressed and unexpressed—which are anti-Jewish, anti-black or discriminatory in any way to any group by virtue of race, color, creed or national origin."

Shortly after circulating the statement through HHS, Richardson withdrew his name from consideration.

Interestingly, after Richardson pulled out, Secretary of HHS Richard Schweiker said he regretted the withdrawal and that he did not believe the allegations against Richardson.

Earlier, Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) privately confided to a newsman that he thought Richardson, despite the charges in the media, had a "60-40 chance of confirmation."

NO SALARY INCREASE

It is also interesting that at the peak of the allegations, Richardson defended himself by saying that he worked at Liberty Lobby because he earned 50 percent more pay there than at his previous position. Liberty Lobby noted, though, that Richardson came to work for the lobby in 1969 at \$15,000 a year and did not receive an increase in his salary during his four-year tenure.

It was after Gejdenson's successful attack on Richardson and Liberty Lobby that he addressed the NAACP, turning his attention to the Reagan administration and the Republican Party in general.

During his verbal assault before the NAACP, Gejdenson implied that progress of blacks had been checked and was moving backwards with the election of President Reagan and a majority of Republicans in the Senate. Gejdenson pursued this theme even though Reagan has appointed blacks to government positions and included blacks in his transition team.

Moreover, the president has met with black leaders across the nation since his election, as well as during his campaign, including leaders of the NAACP.

Gejdenson pursued his charges against the Reagan administration with the same style that he attacked Liberty Lobby. Using his office as a stage, the congressman made accusations without offering substantiation.

In a similar manner, Gejdenson has recently come out uncompromisingly in opposition to U.S. arms sales to Saudi Arabia. The congressman feels it is not in the interest of Israel for the Arab nation to obtain sophisticated surveillance aircraft and other high technology to upgrade its defense.

Reagan has stated through Secretary of State Alexander Haig that the arms sales to Saudi Arabia are essential to give America a better strategic position against Soviet expansionism in the Middle East and to help the Saudis protect their oil fields. Gejdenson's main reason for opposing the arms sale is to protect Israel—even though the administration has assured Congress that Israel's security is not threatened.

Similarly, Gejdenson's relentless attack on Liberty Lobby is clearly motivated by the fact that the institution is not overly concerned about the security of Israel.

Questions are raised, therefore, about Gejdenson's loyalties. His attack on Liberty Lobby and Richardson, with his attending alliance with the Zionist lobbies, makes it appear he has a dual loyalty—to Israel first, America second—at a time when the Reagan administration is attempting to build patriotism in America.

With the arms sale to Saudi Arabia, Gejdenson and others in Congress, as well as the ADL, may be forced to decide finally whether they are Israelis or Americans. Already the issue is promising to be divisive in Congress.

Media Coverage of Richardson Controversy Was Deliberately Unfair

By Truth in Press

Newspapermen and broadcasters who fancy themselves recovering the prestige and credibility of the press so badly besmirched by the Washington "Post's" "Jimmy" fabrication by driving a cowering, recanting Warren Richardson from the position of assistant secretary for Health and Human Services should hand in their press credentials and hang their heads in shame.

The point TIP is addressing here, is whether Richardson is "anti-Semitic" because he served as general counsel to Liberty Lobby (publisher of The SPOTLIGHT) for nearly four years.

The media again demonstrated its habit of unfairly crucifying people and organizations it dislikes by the universal refusal to air or publish any denials by Liberty Lobby of the chorus of claims that the organization is "racist" and "anti-Semitic."

In fact, the media has not treated what are the basic qualifications of allegedly "anti-Semitic or racist positions." They have resorted to employment of totally undocumented accusations against Liberty Lobby without investigations into the truth of the matter.

What has happened to the days when the media felt honor-bound to achieve the impossible goal of "objectivity"?

EDITOR'S RESPONSIBILITY

Consider this analogy:

You are the city editor of a medium-sized daily newspaper, the type most Americans read.

One of your "general assignment" reporters turns in a story about a meeting of the Lion's Club and accurately details how the treasurer accused the president of squandering funds on worthless projects.

"Hey," you ask the reporter. "Didn't the president deny those charges?"

"Yeah," responds the reporter, "I've got that in."

You read the copy and finally find the one parenthetical mention, deeply embedded in the story: "The president denied the charges, but he continued throwing money down the sewer."

Again, you inquire of your reporter: "Didn't the president have more to say than that? Did you interview him after the meeting?"

"Sure," your reporter responds. "I talked to him for 20 minutes. Here're copies of my notes. In fact, he gave me detailed accounting for every penny."

You ask: "Then why didn't you write about his accounting for the money?"

Your reporter explains: "Well if I did that, it would have ruined a good story. Now everybody'll be wondering what the president did with the money and we'll have another good back-up story over the controversy."

Right then and there, would you not severely chastise the reporter, if not outright fire or suspend him? If your answer is no to this question, your publisher should immediately replace you as city editor.

End of analogy, but not of comment.

BLACKED OUT

If the Washington media imposed such basic standards as your local city editor probably does, some of the "biggest media names" in the capital city would have to be chastised or fired over the Liberty Lobby issue.

For example, NBC-TV network appeared at the Liberty Lobby Building and took up a great deal of Robert M. Bartell's time. Bartell is chairman of Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy and is widely known as the organization's daily radio commentator over more than 470 stations nationwide. Bartell also anchors a half-hour TV news show now aired in 20 cities.

Bartell gave an articulate interview explaining that Liberty Lobby opposes the sale or giveaway of arms to both Israel and Arab nations in the Mideast. "We are not anti-Israel or anti-Iceland," Bartell said in the never-aired interview. "We are pro-American," he emphasized.

On the evening network "news," NBC devoted plenty of prime time to smear Liberty Lobby, but no time for Bartell's rebuttal.

By the end of one week, Bartell had been interviewed by numerous media types and had been so completely blacked out and inked out, that he stopped wasting his time with further interviews. On April 24, Bartell refused to be cross-examined by the Washington "Post."

The "Post" seized the opportunity. Its reporter smeared Liberty Lobby and said Bartell "angrily refused to comment." That was one of the few times the "Post" could even make it appear it was trying to produce an "objective" story.

BIASED STORIES

Another case on point would be that of one Judy Bachrach, who, illogically, used her forum, on what the Washington "Star" once called its "women's pages," to pour out two days of hysterical vituperation against Liberty Lobby.

She interviewed Bartell at his home for 20 minutes. But not one word was used of Bartell's explanations. The Establishment rationalization is that Miss Bachrach has an "opinionated column," which translates into meaning that she owns that portion of the paper, with fee simple title, and can do anything she wants with it without editorial supervision.

Many editors view journalistic responsibility more seriously. They will edit or yank out Jack Anderson or anybody they feel may embarrass their newspaper. More frequently, they will order the reporter to rewrite the "news" more fairly. At least, most editors used to do that.

In Miss Bachrach's case, you can be assured that she would have given Bartell "umpteenth" lines of print had he

Truth in Press (TIP) is a non-profit organization with offices at the National Press Building in Washington. It is composed of active and retired members of the television, radio and print media and presently has 27 members, with new applications under consideration. Each member volunteers his time in support of truthful and objective reporting. There are no paid staffers.

made a fool of himself, or reflected badly on Liberty Lobby. She opted to not quote him at all for which she has earned TIP's "biased reporter recognition."

The same biased handling of the Liberty Lobby story was typical of a majority of the nation's press. NBC has earned TIP's "biased network recognition"—and there will be others to follow.

And the media wonders why polls show readers and listeners are skeptical?!

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE 4-24

TO:

Jim Baker

FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

For your information ✓

Call me _____

Please handle _____

Please follow-up _____

For your comments:

*I don't
know if there is
anything to this,
but wanted you
to be aware.*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 22, 1981

FOR: MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF
THRU: KENNETH M. DUBERSTEIN *Ken D.*
FROM: NANCY J. RISQUE *Nancy*
SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN TOM LANTOS (D-CALIF.)

Eric Schnapper, Tom's administrative assistant, called to "counsel" us on the Warren Richardson issue. He says that in 3 or 4 days Lantos will send a letter to the President enclosing some "front page stuff" that should make it totally inadvisable to proceed with the nomination. He hinted that the letter and materials would go to the press also.

He called because he heard that a decision to go or not to go would be made by Friday.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 15, 1981

File

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES BAKER

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER

SUBJECT: HHS Hiring



HHS did in fact issue a release that they would be hiring 1,000 new people for their social security facility.

They had continued the initial hiring freeze at HHS even after it was lifted by OMB. The employment level at Social Security was so low (down by several thousand according to the Secretary's Office) that the freeze for Social Security had to be lifted.

The people are primarily engaged in getting checks out and operating computers.

cc: Larry Speakes

Give to Frank

ALBERT A. RAPOPORT
ATTORNEY AT LAW
SUITE 701
2025 EYE STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 783-1140

*File
Richardson*

April 19, 1981

Mr. David Newhall III
Executive Assistant to the Secretary/
Executive Secretary of the Department
Department of Health & Human Services
Suite 606-G
200 Independence Avenue, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20201

Dear Mr. Newhall:

As an American citizen of Jewish descent, I could not think of anyone I would rather have as the Assistant Secretary for Legislation than Mr. Warren Richardson.

Today's story in The Washington Post by Spencer Rich is outrageous. His story in Friday's edition of the Post was no better. The gist of the allegations is that Mr. Warren Richardson is anti-Semitic and, therefore, unfit for public office. I consider the charge absolutely false, and I object to the methods which have been utilized to smear him.

I am an American of the Jewish faith. In the past, I have been a member of B'nai B'rith, B'rith Sholom, and the Jewish War Veterans. Because of my background, education, and practice as a lawyer for over 27 years, I feel well-qualified to judge whether a person is anti-Semitic or not. Anti-Semitism is a condition of a person's character. It cannot be imputed. It either exists, or it doesn't exist.

Warren is not anti-Semitic in any way, shape or form. This judgment is based on the many years I have known him as a friend, and to be a sensitive human being. We met in September of 1951, at law school in Washington, D. C. Warren and I went to classes together, studied together, and endured the trauma of studying for and taking the bar examination together. We socialized at parties and family gatherings. During all of these years, I have never heard Warren utter an anti-Semitic remark; tell a racist story of any kind; or speak unfeelingly of a person, because of his race, religion, or national origin. You can understand my sense of

Mr. David Newhall III
April 19, 1981
Page Two

outrage at seeing groundless allegations that Warren is anti-Semitic. The only obvious thing to be gleaned from these Post articles is that Warren is being used as a political football for the selfish interests of others, regardless of consequences to a really decent human being, and his family. Is it any wonder that we have difficulty in getting the best people for government service when they have to bear unfounded slings and arrows?

I am indignant that this is a media smear campaign, using innuendo to achieve a political purpose. In Friday's article, Post writer Rich quotes Nathan Perlmutter that he "believes" that Liberty Lobby was anti-Semitic for the last 20 years. So what? The critical issue is whether Warren is anti-Semitic!

Today's Post article of Sunday, April 19th, is more of the same. Mr. Rich refers to code words which I have never heard. Warren was probably just as surprised to learn that he spoke some kind of code language not taught us at law school.

Warren and I were in law school during the McCarthy era. We were almost alone in our opposition to McCarthyism. In the after-class discussions and arguments, which are so much a part of the law school experience, Warren and I would go against as many as 15 to 20 other students, expressing our immense distaste for Senator McCarthy's tactics. How ironic that one of the great anti-McCarthy debaters is now being subjected to "McCarthyism" by the very institution which deplored that reprehensible tactic! If Warren's nomination is stopped because of guilt by association, I shall be in the forefront of a defense committee, organized to stop this terrible disease of McCarthyism, which I thought had been done away with years ago.

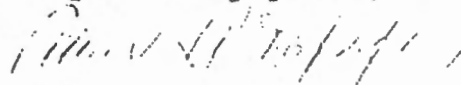
Another innuendo which I object to strongly in the Rich articles, is that Warren should have somehow silenced others from voicing their opinions. During our law school years, both in and out of classes (and particularly during the McCarthy debates), Warren reminded us that we are not entitled to freedom of speech if we deny it to others. It is entirely within Warren's character to let others say whatever suits their fancy.

I have always thought of Warren as a brilliant, intellectual type, who cared about the problems of people. In nearly thirty years of our knowing each other, and discussing matters ranging from politics, to religion, to sports, to social problems and

Mr. David Newhall III
April 19, 1981
Page Three

foreign affairs, Warren has never expressed an extremist view;
on the contrary, they are balanced, rational and moderate.

Respectfully yours,



Albert A. Rapoport

April 19, 1981

Mr. David Newhall III
Executive Assistant to the Secretary/
Executive Secretary of the Department
Department of Health & Human Services
Suite 606-G
200 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20201

Dear Mr. Newhall:

I write this as an American Jew and a friend of Warren Richardson and to express my strong disagreement with the allegations of anti-Semitism made against Warren Richardson as reported in the Washington Post of April 17, 1981.

At the outset, I would stress that as a Jew, I have known anti-Semites and experienced their hatred first hand. I have known Warren Richardson for over 25 years (since December 1955) and state that Warren has never by word or deed shown or expressed anti-Semitism. On the contrary, Warren Richardson is one of the most fair-minded, objective persons I have known.

This is not to say that Warren and I agree about everything. On the contrary, we have argued together, disagreed in certain areas, and agreed in others. But never has there been acrimony or hatred shown by Warren and I have always considered him a friend.

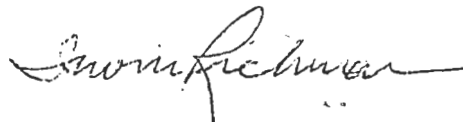
During the period December 1955 through September 1959, Warren and I, as attorneys at the General Accounting Office, were close. We ate lunch together, had many talks on life, religion, raising children, and almost any other subject that close friends discuss. Warren is a man of strong convictions, but even if you disagree with him (as I did on some matters), you recognize him as an honest, straightforward person. As a political liberal I saw this in Warren's conservatism.

Our contacts have not been restricted to the office. Warren and his wife, Nancy and myself and my wife have socialized together. In fact, Warren held my first-born son in his arms at my son's bris (circumcision ceremony) and participated in our religious celebration. This was not the act of an anti-Semite.

Mr. David Newhall III
April 19, 1981
Page Two

And so, as a matter of conscience, I have written this on my
Passover and Warren's Easter to refute the allegations of anti-Semitism
against Warren Richardson. These allegations have no basis in substance
or fact.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Irwin Richman".

Irwin Richman

10831 Margate Rd.
Silver Spring, Md. 20901

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: David Newhall, III
FROM: Warren Richardson
SUBJECT: My Tenure with the Liberty Lobby (1969-73)

In response to your request for additional information focusing on the nature and length of my service with Liberty Lobby as chief lobbyist, the following facts, statements and sequence of events are presented.

First, I condemn unequivocally the anti-Jewish and racist actions of the Liberty Lobby and some of its employees and officers. I find morally repugnant their statements, publications and views--expressed or unexpressed--which are anti-Jewish, anti-black or discriminatory in any way to any group by virtue of race, color, creed or national origin. I never at any time personally subscribed to those views; nor did I assist in any way in their preparation or dissemination.

Racist and discriminatory views divide and detract from any society, and the anti-Jewish and racist actions of the Liberty Lobby and some of its employees and officers are not only reprehensible, they undermine public confidence in legitimate conservative policies advocated by responsible organizations.

My tenure at the Liberty Lobby occurred during a period of financially stressful family circumstances. While I have reflected in the eight years since quitting that I should have resigned promptly upon learning of actions and views there which I found personally abhorrent, the fact is I did not. In retrospect it became clear to me long ago that it was wrong not to have quit earlier. I apologize for my inaction to all who have felt the vicious racist and ethnic stings of the Liberty Lobby. I never participated in those Liberty Lobby activities. I never agreed with them. I found them then, as I do now, to be vile.

In September 1968, my 14 year-old daughter enrolled at the University of Maryland. Because she lived at home and was not of driving age, I had to take her to and from college virtually every day. In February 1969, my wife, daughter and two sons were involved in a serious automobile accident necessitating five major operations, three on the spine, on my wife over the next seven years. The medical costs were massive.

At that time, I was Comptroller of a small home construction firm near my Maryland home and had been seeking to re-enter the lobbying profession. The financial burden of the accident intensified our need. I learned of the job opening

at Liberty Lobby (paying 50% more than my current salary) and applied knowing nothing more about the organization's activities than its general conservative stance and opposition to American involvement in Vietnam.

Following my interview, I was presented a copy of the booklet "The How" (which you have seen) setting forth the then current legislative program of the Liberty Lobby which I would be responsible for pursuing. It did not contain any of the racist or anti-Jewish views or goals which I later found to be a part of Liberty Lobby activities or those of some officers or employees.

The first day on the job I was asked if I objected to using the title General Counsel since I am an attorney. I did not object provided my function of being chief lobbyist remained unchanged. Throughout my tenure I functioned as a technical professional employee. I did not participate in policy making nor did I perform in the "traditional" mode of counsel. The Liberty Lobby used outside counsel from time to time as they saw fit and that counsel did not, as a rule, operate under my supervision.

After some time on the job I discovered that some of the employees and officers held what I consider to be anti-Jewish and racist views. Of course, the wise and principled action would have been to resign, but at that time, I felt the pressing

Page Four

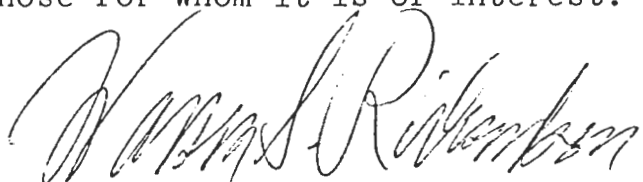
needs of my family were compelling. Without the promise of another position--although I did begin to search--I determined I must hold on to what I had.

In September 1971, my 13 year-old son also entered the University of Maryland giving me two non-driving children to take to and from college on a daily basis. That restriction limited the job opportunities I could pursue since my employers at Liberty Lobby allowed me the flexible work schedule necessary to meet this need but few prospective new employers could be expected to do so.

When my daughter received her second degree in June 1973 and went to work in Takoma Park, she began to assume an increasing share of the burden of driving her brother to the University.

One month later, in July 1973, I resigned from the Liberty Lobby to become a lobbyist for a trade association in Washington, D.C. In the eight years since, I have not had any dealings with the Liberty Lobby and, I believe, have proven myself to be a capable, professional lobbyist of high integrity.

I believe a lobbyist's greatest asset is his reputation for honesty and fair dealings. I trust that this revelation of the events and circumstances surrounding my tenure at the Liberty Lobby will enlighten those for whom it is of interest.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "James R. [unclear]". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned at the bottom right of the page.

April 27, 1981

NOTE FOR DICK DARMAN

FROM: FRANK HODSOLL

Attached is the original of a letter from Liberty Lobby to the President regarding Warren Richardson. I suggest Pen James respond on behalf of the President. Warren Richardson has asked that his candidacy be withdrawn. Ed Meese has decided that the White House concurs in this.

ATTACHMENT

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE:
300 INDEPENDENCE AVENUE, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003
PHONE: 202-LIBERTY 6-5611

WEST COAST OFFICE:
P.O. Box 45302
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90045

4/22 - Brought to JAB
from Press Office

April 17, 1981

The President
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Your nomination of Mr. Warren S. Richardson as Assistant Secretary for Legislation at the Department of Health and Human Services, has been opposed in the most immoderate terms by Congressman Samuel Gejdenson and by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. In short, the congressman and the ADL (to which he is evidently closely tied) have said that your nomination of Mr. Richardson should not be approved because Mr. Richardson is an anti-Semite. The supposed evidence of Mr. Richardson's anti-Semitism consists of his having worked for Liberty Lobby many years ago and of a couple of quotations from the same era which were not even written by Mr. Richardson.

Matters which may at first glance appear to involve the fate of one man's career can have a moral and historical significance of much greater magnitude. In this event the truth is being despoiled, an innocent, well-qualified man is being defamed, and a patriotic institution which is one of the most positive forces in this country, is being falsely pilloried.

Liberty Lobby makes adherence to the United States Constitution its paramount principle. It is nationalist but not interventionist; that is, it believes in putting the welfare of the United States first, in avoiding foreign entanglements, in staying out of foreign wars, in a strong national defense, and above all in opposition to any power or faction which attempts to use the people, resources, or government of the United States in any manner which is contrary to the best interests of the people of the United States.

It goes without saying (or should), that Liberty Lobby has never advocated the religious prejudice which would warrant the charge of "anti-Semitism" now being hurled at it (and in the old technique of guilt by association, at Mr. Warren Richardson) by the Anti-Defamation League. By "anti-Semitism" the ADL means an opposition to American favoritism of Israel. True to its principles, Liberty Lobby has long held that the United States should observe neutrality in the Middle East, treating all sides equally, even though it would appear that in view of their energy resources, wealth, and opposition to Communism the Arab countries would be our natural allies.

You will notice, Mr. President, that the quotations being attributed to Liberty Lobby and Mr. Richardson by the ADL and its cohorts, deal with the subject of Zionism. Zionism is a political movement which promotes the establishment and maintainance of Israel as a Jewish state, the movement of all Jews to Israel, and in the interim the support of Israel by Jews in other countries. Needless to say, all Jews are not Zionists, and Zionism is not Judaism. Opposition to Zionism has nothing to do with opposition to Jews or Judaism.

Unfortunately, since Israel is a nation which considers that state and religion are inseparable, and since Zionism defines the worldwide membership of that religion as a nation, the concepts of politics and religion are mingled, and it is all too easy to label an opponent of some Zionist or Israeli policy as a religious bigot on that ground alone. In actual fact, Liberty Lobby opposes Zionism only to the extent that Zionist groups attempt to exert influence and carry on activities within this country which are inimical to American interests. The theoretical principles of Zionism are of no more interest to Liberty Lobby than the theoretical principles of the Ayatollah Khomeini, but the holding of American hostages by Iran was certainly of interest, as is the payment of vast sums of American taxpayers' money to Israel and the sort of pressure that is exerted on the leaders and legislators of the United States if they do not go along with Israeli demands.

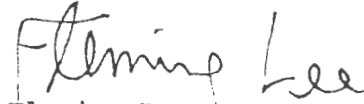
It is simply beyond dispute that many, many special concessions and privileges have been granted political Zionists within this country, and that Israel has been given virtually anything it wants, whatever the cost in the money of our citizens or in the enmity of other nations. Can one not discuss this matter without being called an anti-Semite and threatened with the loss of his public position or livelihood?

Tragically, the answer to that question is "no." An atmosphere of fear and intimidation prevails when the very subject is broached -- even when the word "Zionism" is used -- and the primary instrument within this country which produces that atmosphere is the Anti-Defamation League. That fact could not be more obvious than in the case of Mr. Richardson, where the ADL openly admits its role in trying to prevent his nomination. Any American in an official position who has ever voiced so much as the self-evident opinion that there is a strong Zionist influence on the American communications media or the American Congress has been subjected to the same treatment by the ADL, and has frequently lost his job if he wasn't ready with a quick and abject apology.

The Anti-Defamation League, in short, is fighting a political battle in this land, not a religious one. In effect it is putting the interests of a foreign nation above the question of who and what is good for the United States. Its method is not to analyze and debate the political issues involved, but rather to go *ad hominem* and assassinate the character of anyone whose views it finds disagreeable.

Mr. President, through your courageous action at this time you could exert influence which would guarantee that a good and qualified American will be treated fairly. More importantly, you can guarantee that the members of your administration are chosen according to their qualifications and true character, and not at the whim of the ADL or any other pressure group motivated by purely selfish and parochial interests.

Sincerely,



Fleming Lee
General Counsel



Robert M. Bartell
Chairman of the Board of
Policy

FL/lj

cc: Congressman Sam Gejdenson
Mr. Warren Richardson
Senator Richard S. Schweiker
Mr. Robert Hager, NBC News
The Washington Post
The Washington Star
New York Times

To FRANK

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 21, 1981

NOTE FOR JIM BAKER

FROM: FRANK HODSOLL *Frank*

SUBJECT: Warren Richardson

Per your instructions, I have talked with Secretary Schweiker today about Warren Richardson. Schweiker tells me:

- HHS has not been able to turn up any anti-Semitic Richardson comments other than the one reported.
- Liberty Lobby is an anti-Semitic organization.
- Schweiker says there is some possibility that former Senator Stone might come out for Richardson; they will know within a day or two.
- Richardson wants himself to meet with representatives of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League (David Brody).
 - He is meeting today with the American Jewish Committee (Dave Newhall will call me the result).
 - Brody has refused to meet with Richardson until HHS has determined whether or not to go forward with the nomination.
- Some Jewish friends of Richardson have written in to express their support of him.

Schweiker and I agree that HHS should complete its process over the next 2-3 days to see whether Stone would be supportive and what the ultimate attitude of the two Jewish groups would be. We can then decide. In Schweiker's view, the issue involves whether, whatever the merits, we will wish to pay a political price to stick with Richardson. I agree.

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 1 LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Breakfast

Warren Richardson
Dave Bradley



4/6

JAB:

David Brody called re: appointment of WARREN RICHARDSON as Asst. Secy. for Legislative Affairs at HHS. He pointed out that Warren Richardson was general counsel to Liberty Lobby, the single-most Anti-Semitic organization in the U.S.

He says that his nomination should be stopped and asked me to call back with some advice.

NYT:

KC

JAY:

Before I give this to JAB, could you please tell me if this is correct information re: appt. of Warren Richardson?

If you don't know, who is the appropriate person to call?

Thanks!

Kathy

V- He was amazed.
3/30 - He has
been working at HHS
for awhile - Schwartz's
pick