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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 9, 1981

TO: Diana Lozano

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell 

Here are "scrapbook type" clippings relating to the role played by Howard Phillips and Paul Weyrich in convincing conservative religious leaders to become active in the public policy process.

Prior to the work of Weyrich and Phillips it was only liberal religious leaders who, in substantial numbers, believed it was part of their role to involve their congregations in civic affairs.

News-Opinion Page

Potential Voters Located in Survey

A national survey reveals the interesting and significant fact that 15 percent of the 50 million non-voting Americans can be induced to go to the polls, according to an announcement by the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation.

"Fifteen percent may appear small at first blush," commented Paul Weyrich, president of the foundation, "but what we are talking about is 7.5 million people who can realistically be considered potential voters. If we average that out, it comes to 20,000 votes per congressional district."

In other words, the survey reveals enough potential voters to change the outcome of a presidential race, and to make the difference in most any congressional race.

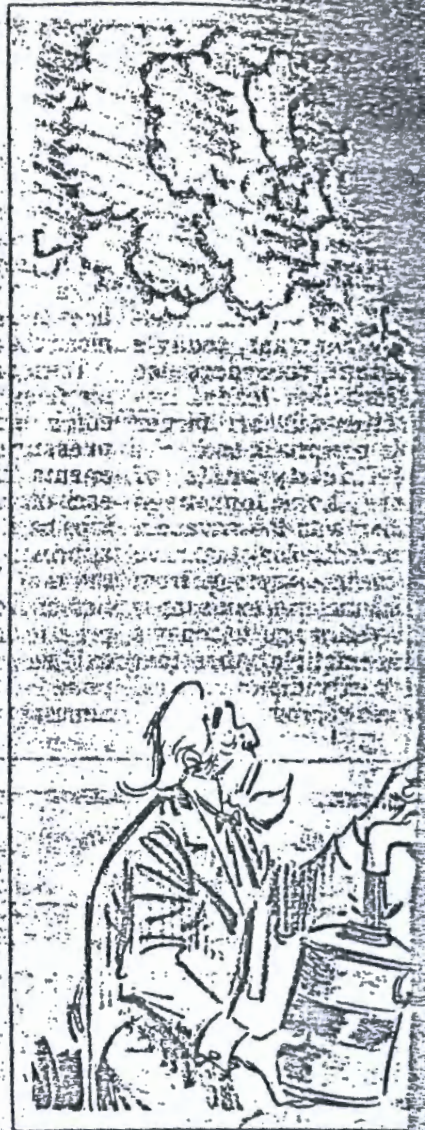
The estimated 15 percent potential voters leaves 85 percent of the 50 million non-voters unaccounted for. The survey classifies the remainder as 60 percent hard-core non-voters...and the other 25 percent as "a pretty apathetic bunch, although in a political environment such as we had in 1932 when we had a major shift, it is possible that they might vote."

The polling group reported in regard to most likely motivation to move the non-voters, "Generally, the issues which are most likely to be a source of motivation are abortion, defense and the Equal Rights Amendment. The nation's economic problems are not the real polarizing issues at this point."

Other interesting points in the survey include the finding that 21 percent of the non-voters are "born again" Christians who react most strongly to family-related issues, and 35 percent of the non-voters are under the age of 35 (fully half of which are college graduates.)

The foundation president concluded, "What we get here is a broad picture of millions of Americans who are not being motivated by the current shape of politics. It's not that they are dead-set against voting; it's just that they feel, apparently, that nobody pays any attention to them...so why bother."

"If one candidate or another is ever able to tap this hidden political resource, the shape of American politics would be changed forever."



Bobby N

Peace between Iran and Iraq will come when one side or the other gets an atom bomb.

Never argue with a lawyer who is behind on his bills.

So much of today's cars is plastic that Tupperware may start making them.

What this country needs is paycheck helper.

The presidential race is nearly down to the last barrel of mud.

Reagan Chances Looking Better

By Tom Wicker
N. Y. Times News Service

As trucks rumbled past the outdoor gathering, with their drivers letting off an occasional catcall, John Courson, the Re-

ter tactics. A president, he believes, "is the highest credibility source" in the nation and might therefore be able to frigate

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1980

The New Haven Register

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

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JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Moral issues will attract non-voters

The Old Right, as Ronald Reagan's press man Lyn Nofziger points out, always has been good at making speeches and writing articles. But it never could match the Old Left at getting out the vote. In many places the Old Left relied on COPE, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, to provide a margin at the polls.

The technique, utilizing telephone banks and chauffeured cars, was there all along for anyone to pick up. But to organize for such dog work always has been onerous.

In Washington there is one individual on the Right who has the taste for it. He is Paul Weyrich, who runs something called the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, a subsidiary of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. Weyrich knows something about margins.

Every four years 50 million eligible voters in this country fail to vote. The problem is how to motivate them. Seeking an answer, Paul Weyrich's foundation hired the V. Lance Tarrance Associates of Houston to conduct a survey designed to identify non-voters who might be persuaded to return to the polls if they were given a reason to do so.

The Tarrance conclusion is that 15 percent of the non-voters can be lured to rejoin the political process, but only by

getting at them in a special way that emphasizes moral issues.

"Fifteen percent may appear small at first blush," says Weyrich, "but what we are talking about is 7.5 million people." Averaged out, this comes to "20,000 voters per congressional district."

What Tarrance discovered was that the born-again Christians, who number 10.5 million people, or 21 percent of the population, can be motivated if they are asked to vote on "family-related issues."

They oppose abortion by a margin of 2 to 1. They would like to see voluntary prayer reinstated in the schools. They listen to their ministers or preachers, and they respond more than most to direct mail as a campaign medium. They prefer telephone contact over other campaign methods.

The Tarrance survey, conducted by telephone interviews in August, concentrated on adults of voting age who had not bothered to turn out for the 1976 and 1978 elections.

"What we get here," says Weyrich, "is a broad picture of millions of Americans who are not being motivated by the current shape of politics ... It's not that they are dead set against voting — it's just that they feel, apparently, that nobody pays any attention to them. 'So why bother?' they ask. If one candidate or another is ever able to tap this hidden political resource, the shape of American politics could be changed forever."

Contrary to what popularly is supposed, says Tarrance, the nation's economic problems are not the real polariz-

ing issues with the 15 percent of the non-voters who might be induced to become active. Much is being made of a recent poll which says that Reagan appeals more strongly to men than he does to women. The popular deduction from this is that women are against Reagan on the abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment issues.

But the Tarrance survey does not substantiate the idea that Reagan would gain anything by changing his anti-abortion and anti-ERA stances. There are enough votes to be had among the 15 percent of potentially persuadable pro-family people to support Reagan on abortion, the ERA and defense matters.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that Reagan is right to welcome the so-called Moral Majority to his campaign. A chronic liberal said to me the other day that he didn't like the way Reagan was playing up to "the Fundamentalists."

Maybe it isn't chic. And maybe it is deplorable that family-related concerns have seeped into politics. But the White House is responsible for bringing family-related morality to center stage. When the Leftists made a pitch for homosexual "marriage" at a White House family conference, it dragged a social issue into politics that was bound to provoke a reaction.

The Moral Majority is becoming a political force simply because Immoral Minorities forced a number of issues. And Paul Weyrich has had the shrewdness to spark a survey that will enable moral action groups to capitalize on it.



Viguerie Sets a Deadline for the New Right



Fauntroy "shocked" by Abernathy endorsement,

By Marjorie Hyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Richard Viguerie, fund-raiser for the new right political coalition, told a religious forum here this week that conservative forces have a maximum of six years to move into what he called the liberal "leadership gap" and gain control of the country.

"This is the opportunity for conservatives to come to power; if we don't do it now we never will," Viguerie told the Washington chapter of the Religious Public Relations Council. Pressed for a definition of "now," he said, "If we can't do it in the next six years, it's not going to happen."

According to Viguerie's analysis, liberals, who have been in the saddle for nearly half a century, are in trouble because "the liberal leaders are mostly dead or retired" and a younger generation of leaders has not moved into positions of power yet.

D.C. Del. Walter Fauntroy, who debated Viguerie before the group, supported the involvement of Christian ministers in politics but criticized the Christian right-wing for focusing on "secondary is-

"You have problems holding together when you win. The new right couldn't get together when someone whom we perceived to be one of ours — like Nixon or Ford — was in office."

—Richard Viguerie

"It's all right to pray in public schools," said Fauntroy, in reference to one of the central concerns of the new evangelical right "but that's not a major issue."

In remarks laden with Biblical quotations, the Baptist clergyman warned repeatedly against following "false prophets" who are "wearing sheep's clothing, yet in their hearts are ravaging wolves."

Asked about the Rev. Ralph Abernathy's recent endorsement of Ronald Reagan, Fauntroy said he was "surprised, shocked, hurt and indignant." He added that he understood the "frustration" of blacks with the Carter administration, "but Mr. Reagan is not an acceptable alternative; Mr. Anderson is not a viable alternative. Therefore I am between a rock and a hard place. Because I am between a rock and a hard place, I have sense enough to take the lesser of two. . ." He caught himself before he said the word "evils."

Fauntroy was an active supporter of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy during the primaries.

Viguerie said that the ability of the new coalition



Viguerie says liberal leaders are in trouble.

the election." He predicted that the new right would be much stronger four years from now if President Carter is reelected in November. "You have problems holding together when you win," he said. "The new right couldn't get together when someone whom we perceived to be one of ours — like Nixon or Ford — was in office."

Viguerie identified four men as the key figures who "had the vision" to marry the drawing power of fundamentalist preachers and television evangelists with right-wing politics: Ed McAteer of the Religious Roundtable; Howard Phillips of the Conservative Caucus; Paul Weyrich, director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, and the Rev. Bob Billings, a Baptist clergyman who was executive director of Moral Majority before joining the Reagan campaign.

At the conclusion of the brisk debate, the chairman of the panel commented that "God is not dead." "No, sir!" Fauntroy quipped. "He's alive — and in Lynchburg." Lynchburg, Va., is the home of the best-known of the new right's preachers, the

Religion thrust into national politics

Not since Al Smith and 1928 has religion been thrust so blatantly into national politics. The winners in that campaign, the Republican Party and the mainline Protestant churches, paid for their victory,



**Msgr.
Charles
Owen
Rice**

while the Catholic Church, which had been the target of abuse and whose favorite had been rejected, entered a period of strength and heightened prestige.

Today the mainline Protestant denominations are behaving admirably, but the fast-growing segment of Protestantism, the arrogant, electronic fundamentalists, is into politics to the hilt and enjoying it.

The leaders of that movement are answerable to no one and are independent operators, but they think remarkably alike and they form loose alliances. They are for Ronald Reagan, they are against the poor, they are arrant militarists and

they love money and the people who have money.

Really their beliefs are a travesty of Christianity. They oppose giving homosexuals any mercy and they thunder against equal rights for women. On abortion they are on the right side but they exploit this good issue just as they exploit religion itself.

THEY HAVE THE same hard, narrow attitude as the Mullahs of Islam; both are righteous and merciless. Jerry Falwell would be at home in the holy city of Qum, although it might be too quiet for him. The Aytollah Khomeini would dig the moral majority; while he would abominate its Christianity, he would love its methods.

It was inevitable that our shrewd Mullahs of the moral majority type would get into politics. They are riding the crest of the wave. They have money, they have the followers and they have power, but not enough power. How delicious it is to crack the whip and make the politicians shiver; how even more delicious to place your own people in the seats of power and to control the country.

There is formal cooperation between the political Evangelicals and certain right wing political strategists such as Paul Weyrich and Howard Phillips, who brought

Jerry Falwell into politics and got him into a successful anti-ERA campaign in Virginia. After that sweet taste of political power, there has been no stopping the Reverend Jerry.

BILLY GRAHAM was seduced by power and loved the powerful, but he was relatively benign and, while he served conservatism, his words lacked the edge of hatred, and he was not such an outrageous militarist. Moderation had a piece of him.

His successors are not bothered by restraint and, if they win this one, they will be hard to live with. However, win or lose, this campaign and their antics should be their high water mark, they are due to decline.

Catholics and Catholic leaders are seduced into current politics not out of love for power but of hatred for abortion and they are being used. Cardinal Medeiros, as he tried to defeat those two Boston Congressional candidates, was poorly advised and I am glad he was not successful because the two targets were good legislators, on the whole, and their defeat would not have wiped out the evil of abortion.

The Cardinal did not say that it was sinful to vote for candidates on the wrong side of the abortion issue, but he did juxtapose the words vote

and conscience, and the press was correct in sensing a code. Clergymen have a right to get into politics, but they ought to keep partisan politics out of the pulpit, and out of pastoral letters also.

IN PENNSYLVANIA, PALPAC is a political action committee formed to promote the pro-life amendment. Its officers have ventured into partisan politics and are promoting the election of Ronald Reagan. They are soliciting pastors to distribute their leaflets on the Sunday before the election, and in their letter to pastors they mention how such a blitz defeated Dick Clark in Iowa. Their leaflet endorses Reagan and four Catholic Democrats who are running for state office — a not too subtle bid for the Catholic vote.

I exposed this publicly and hope that the exposure will thwart it.

Really there is not all that much difference between Carter and Reagan in their abortion stand and previous record; not enough to involve the Church. Well-meaning Catholics are infected by the right-wing Evangelical hoopla and do not realize that they are being exploited and induced to engage in a rather low sort of politics.

At all costs we must avoid presenting the Church as any kind of political bully.

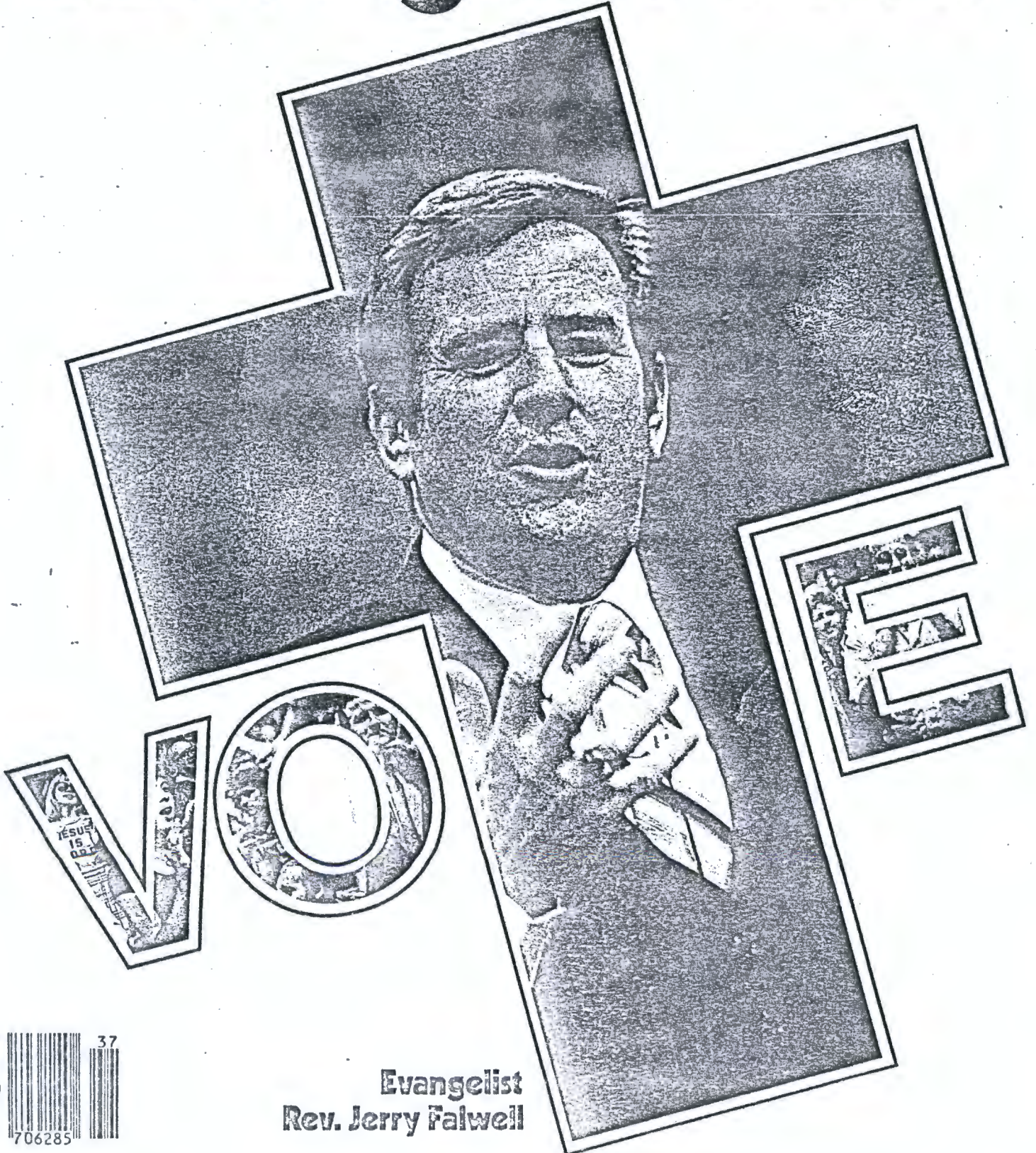
PITTSBURGH CATHOLIC
OCT. 17

No friend, but enemies can judge too.

September 15, 1980 / \$1.25

Newsweek®

Born-Again Politics



Evangelist
Rev. Jerry Falwell

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

a far-right conservative, Ronald Reagan."

Carter had similar difficulties with his eroding support among Jewish voters across the United States—particularly in Florida, Illinois, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, all of which are on the President's critical list. By some estimates, he stands to lose as much as 40 per cent of the Jewish vote—enough to tip some of those states to Reagan.

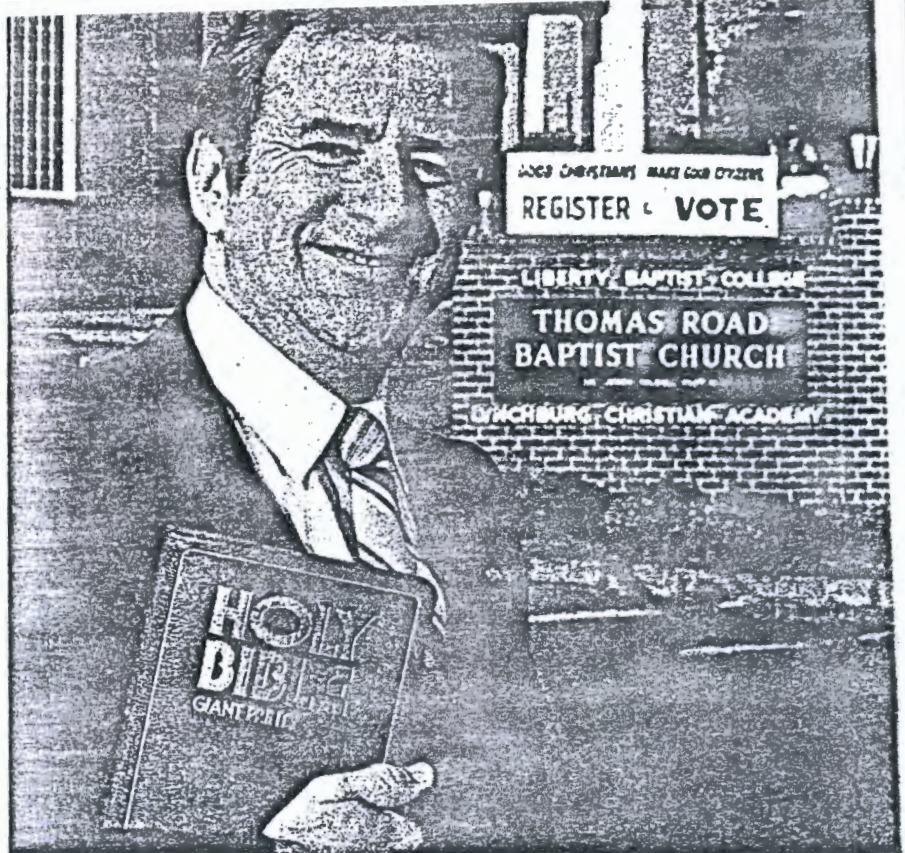
In wooing that vote—and in dusting off his foreign-affairs coup at Camp David—Carter demonstrated the classic power of incumbency. The new Mideast initiative won the agreement of Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egypt's President Anwar Sadat to join in another summit in Washington—but not until two weeks or so after Election Day. Meantime they agreed to reopen their stalled talks on Palestinian autonomy, using U.S. proposals as a point of departure. U.S. negotiator Sol Linowitz, who swung the deal, insisted the progress was real. But a senior Israeli official summed up a widespread impression when he scoffed: "The White House needed a semblance of motion to tide Carter over until after the election."

In his own effort to woo Jewish votes, Reagan told the B'nai B'rith convention that Israel's security is vital to the American interests in the Middle East, denounced Carter's sale of arms to Arab countries and assailed the Administration's failure to support Israel in the United Nations. His litany of criticism prompted far more applause than Carter received from the same audience the following night.

Stick to the Script: Reagan's polished performance before the Jewish group contrasted with the bloopers that had kept him on the defensive for weeks. His handlers said their polls showed that none of his earlier bobbles—on Taiwan, on evolution and on the "noble" Vietnam war—had hurt him. But even before last week's gaffe on the Klan, veteran political pro Stuart Spencer had been assigned to Reagan's traveling crew—to keep the candidate sticking to his script. "Best move they've made in three weeks," a Carter aide lamented.

The week's developments sharpened the prospect for a tighter, tougher three-way race. Carter's strategists professed to see a glimmer of vulnerability in their latest surveys on Reagan, and they insisted that Carter would beat both Reagan and Anderson in New York state. "Our polls indicate that Anderson is a way station for people who still haven't made up their minds," one staffer said. The challenge for Jimmy Carter is to coax such voters back to his cause—or face the growing likelihood that his electoral base will be undermined simultaneously from two directions.

TOM MORGANTHAU with THOMAS M. DeFRANK on the Carter campaign, ELEANOR CLIFT with Reagan, RICHARD MANNING with Anderson and JAMES DOYLE in Washington



Wally McNamee—New

Falwell in Lynchburg: 'We're joining hands for the rejuvenating of a nation'

A Tide of Born-Agai

The Rev. Jerry Falwell fidgeted impatiently as he waited for a colleague to finish thanking the Lord for his bounty. Finally, the Wednesday evening prayer service almost at an end, Falwell strode to the pulpit to address the well-scrubbed congregation of 3,900 that filled the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Va., a fortnight ago. "Senator [Mike] Gravel of [Alaska] was ousted last night," he told them. "He lost the primary. And that's the beginning." Before the year was out, Falwell intoned, a half dozen more liberal senators would fall: George McGovern of South Dakota and Frank Church of Idaho, John Culver of Iowa and Alan Cranston of California, Birch Bayh of Indiana and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin. "The moralists in America have had enough. [We] are joining hands together for the changing, the rejuvenating of a nation."

It was an unconventional litany, to be sure. But such overtly political preaching is an increasingly common—and, to many, worrisome—phenomenon in evangelical churches across the country. Over the last eighteen months a new and potent political force has been taking shape—a "New Christian Right," in the words of theologian Martin E. Marty. Led by religious-TV stars such as Falwell, whose "Old-Time Gospel Hour" reaches an estimated 18 million viewers each week, this movement is attempting to enlist the nation's 30 million to 65 million evangelical Christians in an

unabashedly political crusade based on fundamentalist morality. Its ideological base is distinctly conservative, embracing "p family" positions against abortion, Equal Rights Amendment and gay rights; but also extending to right-wing stands such secular issues as the strategic arms limitation treaty (which it opposes) and the Kemp-Roth proposal to cut taxes by 10 per cent (which it supports). The strate

Television preachers mount a controversial crusade to bring old-time religion into the voting booth.

is more electoral than Biblical. "We want to see more and more politicians in office who believe what we believe," says Charlotte, N.C., TV evangelist Jim Bakker.

To that end, politically oriented groups such as Falwell's Moral Majority and the California-based Christian Voice run massive voter-registration and education drives designed to turn traditionally apolitical elements of the evangelical community into a potent force at the polls. They are committed to partisan combat at every level—from campaigns for town council to th



© P. F. Bentley



John Ficarra—NEWSWEEK

Evangelical demonstrations at the Democratic convention in New York and in Washington: Onward, Christian voters

Politics

1980 Presidential race—throwing imposing organizational and financial resources behind candidates who share their born-again priorities. The movement's leaders maintain that their interest is in principle, not partisan personalities, and they insist that they have no intention of hitching their moral wagon to any secular star. But the main beneficiary of their activism, so far at least, has been the Republican Party in general—and GOP Presidential nominee Ronald Reagan in particular. "Christians gave Jimmy Carter his razor-thin margin of victory in 1976," says chief strategist Colonel Donner of Christian Voice. "We plan to reverse that in 1980."

Victories: Politics does not come naturally to the evangelical community, which has long held that the road to salvation lies in the Bible—not the ballot box. But many evangelicals have clearly become convinced that their fiercely held conservative values of God, country and family are threatened by a rising tide of what they call "secular humanism" sweeping through government. "All across the country, Christians are registering to vote like never before," says Gainesville, Fla., minister Gene Keith, who successfully exhorted his flock to take over the local Democratic committee—and who is now a candidate for the state legislature. "We're running for everything from dogcatcher to senator."

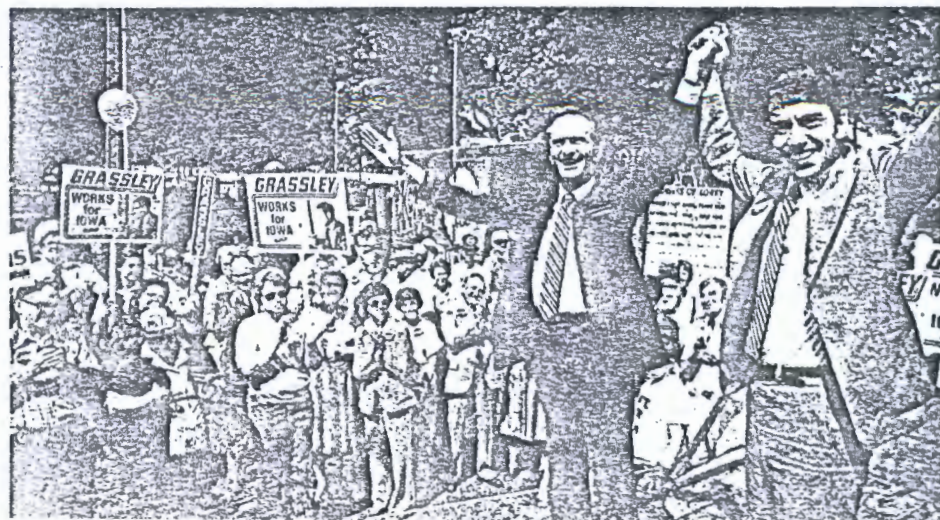
And they are winning. In 1978 evangelical activists helped to unseat at least

two liberal U.S. senators (Dick Clark of Iowa and Thomas McIntyre of New Hampshire) and elect one governor (Fob James of Alabama). Since then they have helped to block passage of the ERA in fifteen states, disrupt the White House Conference on the Family, impede the most recent Congressional effort at criminal-code reform and force both the Federal Communications Commission and the Internal Revenue Service to back down on challenges to religious organizations. This year their candidates have scored upset victories in primaries for the Senate and House in Alaska, Iowa and Alabama—and though they lost the fight to keep George Bush off the Republican ticket, they did manage to shape large sections of the GOP platform.

The movement's rapid growth and early success worries not only its political opponents, but many mainstream theologians as well. "Its leaders are profoundly immature," says Richard John Neuhaus, a Lutheran pastor and member of the board of the influential *Worldview* magazine. "They don't really understand the ethical and philosophical traditions of democracy or how to bring about change in a pluralistic society." Even some evangelists themselves are uneasy about the new movement's often strident partisanship and its creative use of scripture to justify the most secular of political positions. "God isn't a right-winger or a left-winger," argues preacher Pat Robertson, president of the Christian Broadcasting Network and host of "The

Senate candidate Grassley (right) at Iowa rally: A Moral Majority blessing

© Dana Downie



NATIONAL AFFAIRS



©Wayne Herdlicka

Robison: 'Come out and change America'

700 Club," a popular daily religious program. "The evangelists stand in danger of being used and manipulated." In judging political performance on the basis of Biblically derived standards, others contend, the movement is in danger of crossing the constitutionally drawn line between church and state. "They are violating Article Six of the Constitution, which says there must not be any religious test for holding office," says Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee.

'Buzzards': Predictably defensive, evangelical politicians charge that such criticisms are themselves political sour grapes from liberal opponents. "Nobody's ever accused the National Council of Churches of mixing religion and politics," Falwell says. "But when ol' Jerry gets into it, that's violating separation of church and state. The problem isn't violating anything. The problem is that we don't agree with those buzzards—and that we outnumber them." Perhaps—although there is a real question whether leaders like Falwell really do represent a huge and potentially monolithic political bloc. According to a new Gallup poll, evangelical Christians are as politically divided as most Americans (chart). Though as a group they are somewhat more conservative than the nation as a whole, the majority of the registered voters among them nonetheless identify themselves as Democrats, and they favor Jimmy Carter by a wide margin over Ronald Reagan. What's more, a majority (53 per cent) support ERA, and only 41 per cent favor the extreme position of banning abortion entirely.

Still, there is no mistaking the enormous potential of evangelical politics. The movement's basic raw material is the vast number of fundamentalist Americans who do not

normally vote—Christian Voice's Donner estimates it at 25 million—and whose attitudes, as a result, are not reflected in Gallup's findings. So far this year, the movement claims to have registered some 2 million new voters from the ranks of the born-again—and, says Falwell, the total should reach 4 million by Election Day. Even if those figures are inflated, born-again politics could well play a decisive role in this year's Presidential race. "The significance of the fundamentalist vote is not numbers but geography," says Reagan campaign aide Roger Stone. Close elections, he notes, tend to be won or lost in the heartland states of Ohio, Illinois and Michigan—all of which boast growing evangelical communities. "Some of the southern counties in Ohio are as fundamentalist as the Deep South," Stone says. "The return of the fundamentalist vote [to the GOP] will allow Reagan to carry Ohio and, conceivably, the country."

The movement's political gurus are



UPI

Robertson: 'God isn't a right-winger'

prone to play down their immediate prospects. "Anybody who thinks this group is going to contribute to a political revolution this election is going to be disappointed," says Paul Weyrich, who runs a highly regarded "training school" in Washington for conservative candidates as well as a clearinghouse operation for 30 or so evangelical and secular pro-family groups. But as the strategists see it, the longer-term future is bright. "The basic problem, only now being overcome, is to get people involved," says Howard Phillips, organizer of a right-wing lobbying group called The Conservative Caucus. "Once that is done, this movement will be formidable."

The effort began in earnest less than three years ago, spurred in part by disappointment with the first born-again candidate, Jimmy Carter. "It was a tremendous let-

down, if not a betrayal, to have Carter stumping for the ERA, for not stopping federally paid abortions, for advocating homosexual rights," says Donner. The original movers and shakers were mainly political pros, not preachers. The core group consisted of Phillips and Weyrich (who were old comrades-in-arms from the political wars), Robert Billings (a failed GOP Congressional candidate from Indiana who had attended Weyrich's candidate-training school) and Ed McAteer, a veteran marketing man for the Colgate-Palmolive Co. who had come to know hundreds of evangelical preachers around the country. In January of last year they persuaded Falwell to set up a political organization—which Weyrich suggested calling "Moral Majority" and which Billings was assigned to direct. Falwell's backing was crucial; the financial and logistical resources that he commanded were immense.

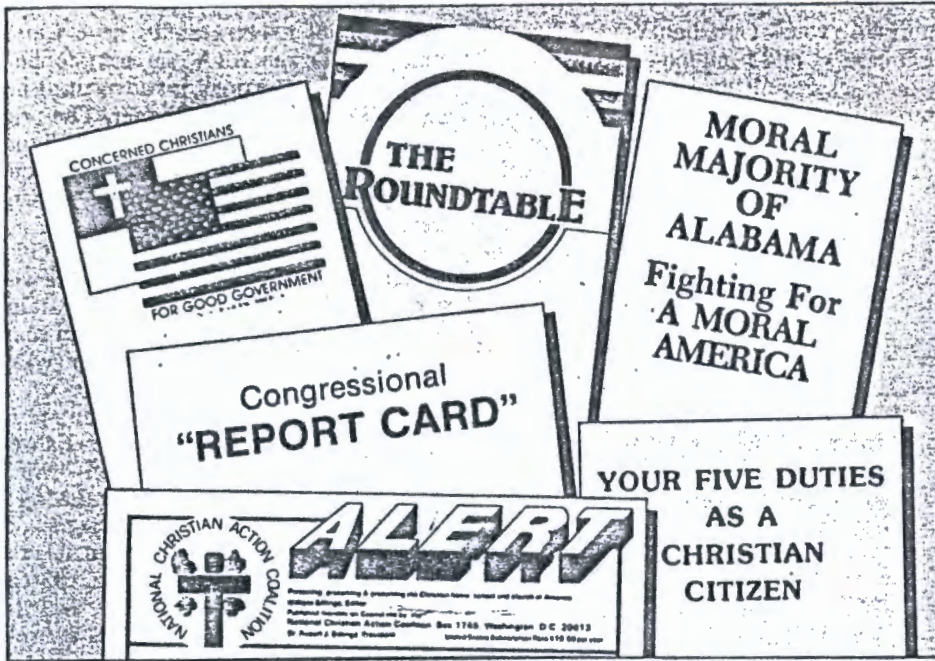
Allies: There were other allies as well. McAteer had set up a nonpartisan, interdenominational group called the Religious Roundtable. It had just 56 members, but among them were most of the major television preachers as well as an impressive list of New Right politicians. Funded mainly by what McAteer describes as "some gifts from businessmen," it sponsored rallies, seminars and training sessions aimed at increasing the political sophistication of evangelists. Meanwhile, Weyrich had begun holding informal get-togethers for evangelical and pro-family activists every other Thursday in his Washington offices on Library Court, behind the Library of Congress. The Library Court group, as it came to be known, now coordinates strategy for the entire movement.

Another politically potent evangelical group had arisen on the West Coast. Called Christian Voice, it sidestepped IRS strictures on political lobbying by setting up

Bakker: Voting 'what we believe'

Terry Arthur—Camera 5





A 'New Christian Right': Seeking salvation in the ballot box as well as in the Bible

a political-action committee (PAC) called the Christian Voice Moral Government Fund. Unlike the other born-again political organizations, Christian Voice has no compunctions about endorsing specific candidates for office. "We make judgments based on principles," says Gary Jarmin, executive director of the Moral Government Fund. "When you go into a voting booth, you pull a lever for a name, not a principle." Last February it set up another group—called Christians for Reagan.

Agenda: Working together in an informal but very real alliance, these organizations are trying to mobilize a conservative evangelical electorate. The concerns of born-again politics are defined by Falwell's "agenda for the '80s"—a pro-family, pro-life, pro-morality platform that, in a triumph of political packaging, turns out to be considerably more "anti" than "pro." Among other things, Moral Majority—and its evangelical allies—are against abortion, ERA, gay rights, sex education, drugs, pornography, SALT II, the Department of Education and defense cuts. They are for free enterprise, a balanced budget, voluntary prayer in the public schools and a secure Israel.

Using Falwell as its main drawing card, Moral Majority has been holding rallies around the country to spread the word and develop a truly national base. The work is already beginning to pay dividends as a cadre of budding evangelical politicians takes root. Rev. Keith of Gainesville, Fla., is typical—a total neophyte when Moral Majority suggested he attend the weeklong "Campaign Training Conference" run by Weyrich in Washington last November. When he returned to his

pulpit at the Southside Baptist Church he persuaded his congregation to run for seats on the local county Democratic committee. Ultimately, they swept 42 of the 53 seats they went after.

Falwell says he is not "candidate oriented." Still, he has managed to lend a hand in several campaigns. At a recent Moral Majority rally in Des Moines, for example, he made a point of praising Senate candidate Rep. Charles Grassley as a "dear friend of ours and a fine Christian." And in Birmingham, Ala., a fortnight ago, Falwell noted pointedly that Moral Majority's local bete noire, Rep. John Buchanan, had "unfortunately" voted to extend the time limit for passage of the ERA. Buchanan lost in last week's GOP primary.

Falwell's political sermonizing doesn't always work out so well. Several months ago he told a Moral Majority rally in Alaska a completely fabricated story about an ac-

tual meeting he and other evangelists had with President Carter in the White House last February. According to Falwell's first account, he had boldly asked the President why he had "known practicing homosexuals" on his staff—to which Carter supposedly replied that it was because he considered himself "President of all the American people." When the story got back to the White House, angry Carter aides released a transcript of the meeting—which showed that there never had been any such exchange. "I shouldn't have said it," Falwell conceded recently. "Obviously it was a reckless statement."

Questions: Such gaffes don't really worry him. "There are only two things a preacher just can't afford to be accused of," he says. "One of them is sexual impropriety... the other is messing with the church funds." Falwell's reputation as a family man is impeccable. But the Securities and Exchange Commission once raised questions about his ministry's finances (box)—and there are indications that Moral Majority, ostensibly independent, has received favored treatment from Falwell's lucrative religious enterprises. Although contributions have been flowing into Moral Majority lately at the rate of \$400,000 a month, the organization has been strapped for cash all year. It has been consistently bailed out by the "Old-Time Gospel Hour," which has allowed Moral Majority to run up debts to it for months—apparently free of any interest charges.

By far the most controversial of the evangelical political groups is the unabashedly partisan Christian Voice. Earlier this year it raised hackles by rating all the members of Congress on how they voted on what it described as "fourteen key moral issues"—ranging from prayer in the schools to the security of Taiwan. On the basis of the ratings, it issued a "hit list" of 36 senators and congressmen, each of whom it accused of having a poor "moral voting record." Though lobbying groups do this sort of thing all the time,

(Continued on page 36)

**POLITICS:
A CHRISTIAN
VIEWPOINT**

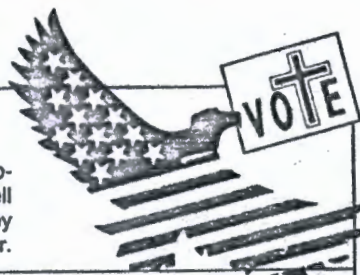


Mike Keza—Gamma-Liaison



McAteer, Weyrich, Phillips: The movers and shakers are political pros, not preachers

Photos © Bruce Hoertel



HOW FAR RIGHT?

Despite the conservative message of many evangelical political leaders, a new Gallup poll finds the President well ahead among born-again Christians registered to vote; they are not very far to the right except on abortion and prayer.

If the Presidential elections were being held today, which candidate would you vote for?			
	CARTER	REAGAN	ANDERSON
EVANGELICALS	52%	31%	6%
ALL VOTERS	39%	38%	13%

Which category best describes your own political position?			
	Left of center	Middle of the road	Right of center
EVANGELICALS	20%	31%	37%
ALL VOTERS	22%	37%	31%

HOW THEY DIFFER ON ISSUES	EVANGELICALS	ALL VOTERS
Favor death penalty for persons convicted of murder	51%	52%
Favor government programs to deal with social problems	54%	53%
Favor increased spending for defense	78%	70%
Favor banning all abortions	41%	31%
Favor requiring prayer in public schools	81%	59%

Alexander Ha—NEWSWEEK

(Continued from page 32)

Christian Voice's ratings drew heavy fire. For one thing, four ordained clergymen in Congress received among the lowest marks—while Rep. Richard Kelly, one of the Abscam bribery defendants, was given a perfect, 100 per cent rating. For another, the group's equation of Christian morality with political conservatism outraged preachers and pols alike. Even Sen. Jesse Helms, the influential conservative who agrees wholeheartedly with Christian Voice's politics, found the rating system questionable. "I could never take the position that anyone who disagreed with me was less a Christian," he says. "Hubert Humphrey and I didn't agree 90 per cent of the time. Does that mean he was more immoral?"

Flood: Unfazed by the criticism, Christian Voice is now gearing up for a massive effort in behalf of Ronald Reagan, including plans to flood the Midwest and the South with 5 million pieces of pro-Reagan literature between now and the election. "The South is reputed to be Jimmy Carter's base," says strategist Donner, "but remember, it's the Bible belt. Our message that Ronald Reagan is the Christian candidate of 1980 may sufficiently weaken Carter in the one solid base he still has."

The Reagan campaign takes such analyses seriously, and has been assiduously wooing the evangelicals all year—in the process, hiring Billings away from Moral Majority to become Reagan's liaison with the born-again community. The courtship

began in earnest at the GOP convention, to which both Falwell and his Liberty Baptist College choir were invited. Perhaps more important, Falwell and his fellow evangelical politicians got a good crack at shaping the Republican platform.

'Out of the Closet': Reagan further solidified his hold on the evangelical pols by being the only major Presidential candidate to appear at the Religious Roundtable's National Affairs Briefing, a revival meeting cum political rally held in Dallas three weeks ago. More than 15,000 of the faithful turned out for two days of speechmaking and organizing. "It's time for God's people to come out of the closet and the churches—and change America," thundered James Robison, the fire-and-brimstone Ft. Worth evangelist whose weekly TV show is syndicated to 100 stations. Said Reagan: "I know you can't endorse me. But . . . I want you to know that I endorse you."

Not everyone there shared Reagan's enthusiasm. Preacher Pat Robertson, for one, argues that "active partisan politics" is the wrong path for true evangelicals. "Here's a better way," he says: "Fasting and praying . . . appealing, in essence, to a higher power." That feeling is shared by many in the evangelical community who are uneasy over the fact that, as the Rev. Jimmy Allen of Ft. Worth puts it, what is supposed to be "a nonpartisan movement for Jesus . . . always seems to turn into a Republican rally." A sincere concern for traditional values clearly motivates many in the movement, but critics point to an apparent lack

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

of concern for minorities and the poor. "There are more than 300 verses in the Bible on the commitment to the poor, to justice and righteousness, but they are silent on that," complains the Rev. Tom Skinner, a born-again black activist.

What seems to trouble such critics the most is the movement's inexorable reduction of religious and moral values into crude political options. "I would hate for evangelical Christianity to become a spiritual version of the National Rifle Association," says Dr. David Hubbard of the Fuller Theological Seminary, who worries about the possible exploitation of politically naive evangelicals. And whatever it does to evangelicals themselves, the effect on the rest of society could be devastating. "If in order to be faithful you have to support a certain stand regarding Russia, what's the next step?" asks the Rev. Theodore Edquist of the First Congregational Church of Boise, Idaho. "It strikes at the very heart of the whole notion of religious pluralism and religious and political freedom."

'Mad as Hell': The movement's leaders insist that such worries are wildly overblown. "We're not religious fanatics who have in mind a Khomeini-type religious crusade to take over the government," says Falwell. "We support the separation of church and state . . . we want influence, not control." For the activist liberal theologians who have been in politics for years—fighting for poverty programs, urban aid and an end to the Vietnam War—that argument is hard to dispute. "This is a populist reaction of resentment," says Worldview's Neuhaus. "These are very ordinary Americans and they are mad as hell. It's arrogant and self-defeating for those of us whom they are mad at to pretend they will just go away."

The challenge of the New Christian Right may stir more activism among liberals. But attention will have to be paid to born-again sensibilities. "No group on a crusade is willing to moderate its demands until it feels secure of its place, until it feels recognized as a power to be dealt with," says Neuhaus, adding that many of the liberals who propound the separation of church and state have gone beyond that to the separation of moral judgment from public policy. "They are the ones who have driven us into this current dilemma by trying to purge American life of religion and values—by creating a 'naked public square' where anything goes." What is clear on both the philosophical level—and in the rough-and-tumble arena of politics—is that the Falwells of the nation and their increasingly militant and devoted flock are a phenomenon that can no longer be dismissed or ignored.

ALLAN J. MAYER with JOHN J. LINDSAY and HOWARD FINEMAN in Washington, STRYKER McGUIRE in Houston, JONATHAN KIRSCH in Los Angeles, MICHAEL REESE in San Francisco and bureau reports

CONSERVATISM IN AMERICA

A small circle of friends

by L. J. Davis

WITH THE Republicans standing an excellent chance of capturing the White House again—thanks largely to Mr. Carter, his weird ineptitude, and his outlandish family—it has become popular to speak of a conservative tide rising in the country. Maybe there is, although it's hard to see what the abolition of the 55 mph speed limit has to do with the philosophies of such thinkers of the Right as Hume and Rusher. In truth, if Mr. Reagan does indeed triumph at the hustings this November, it will be a victory for Mr. Reagan and a defeat for Mr. Carter, and not the brawling triumph of phantom armies that have clashed by night; America doesn't work that way, at least not yet. Mr. Reagan is a genial man, given to homilies and occasionally accurate home truths, and he may well discover that this very geniality is not exactly an asset with the hard core of his supporters on the far Right who previously abandoned Congressman Philip Crane when Crane discovered that one of the tasks of a president is to govern the country. This is not exactly what the far Right and the New Right have in mind. They have something else in mind instead. Although, like the endless editions of the New Nixon that used to be seen, it keeps on changing its haberdashery, its purity of purpose has never wavered. It is

loud in its protestations of love for this country, but from the available evidence it seems that it really doesn't even like this country very much. What it has in mind instead is a kind of Paraguay.

To the far Right, the enemy is always internal. The struggle is always fierce. The issue is always in doubt. First it was the "mob," the unlettered masses who proved so unwilling to place their destiny in the hands of their betters. Later it was the papists and the Irish. Later still, the populists detected the foe in the bankers and the Jews. After the first world war, Attorney General Palmer added the Bolsheviks to the list and actually deported some of them, or thought he did; they were mostly foreigners, too, Russian immigrants and the usual Jews and whatnot, gnawing at the heart of the commonwealth. The resurgent Ku Klux Klan carried on from there, retained the papists, and added the blacks. During the Depression, Father Coughlin subtracted the Catholics and substituted the Democrats. Unusual clarity was achieved by Sen. Joseph McCarthy, who not only threw open the door of the secular church of paranoia to certain blacks and Jews, but made a conclusive identification of the enemy within: not the immigrants, not the agents of the pope

L. J. Davis is a novelist, critic, and investigative reporter.

(as Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, had so fervently believed), but all those eastern intellectuals with their prep schools and universities, who fronted for the Soviet Union. Joseph Welch, who ironically cast his John Birch Society in the image of the Communist party, carried on the great tradition by encouraging his followers to attend pseudo-academic seminars where, they were promised, they would become as smart and glib as those who were selling the country down the river. It was magical thinking, of course, and a little before its time. But now we have it coming on full force, with the New Right, and Christ's remnant, and the forces of Satan.

Like the old Right, the New Right consists of a small, tight-knit group of true believers. It is so tight-knit, in fact, that any diagram of its organization looks like an octopus trying to shake hands with itself, so completely interlocked are the directorates of its various components. Basically, however, the movement can almost be understood by a glance at its unofficial politboro, which consists of four men and a couple of computers. The four are Paul Weyrich, Howard Phillips, Terry Dolan, and Richard Viguerie. The computers are located in Falls Church, Virginia.

"Viguerie calls it his 'network,'" says Wes McCune of Group Research,

a professional Right-watching organization with headquarters in an old townhouse within sight of the Capitol dome. "They plot and plan, just like liberals do." Indeed, unlike many conservatives, the generals of the New Right give every indication of enjoying politics—almost as much as their opponents do. One wonders when they sleep. Plotting and planning, they meet regularly in Viguerie's office in Falls Church. They maintain good relations with the more garden-variety conservatives of the American Conservative Union—joining them, for example, in putting together a million-dollar truth squad that toured the country to campaign against the Panama Canal Treaty. They run a large business and three organizations along with at least two foundations. They organize conferences, put out magazines and newsletters, consult with like-minded individuals, and meet almost weekly with the so-called Kingston Group, an informal coordinating body whose cocktail parties are sometimes held in the Capitol itself.

While all this activity is no doubt very commendable, it has a little problem. The Right, historic and contemporary, is a reactive force. Disliking the art of democratic government almost by definition, and harking back to a moment of perfection somewhere around 1850, the movement has been a trifle strapped when it comes to taking the initiative. While the New Right is praised even by its bitterest enemies for its new-found sophistication, it, like Tolkien's Sauron, cannot create. It can only imitate. And because of its rigid assumptions, it imitates badly.

NOWHERE IN the New Right's extensive lexicon can one find the faintest grasp of the fact that American politics is a consensual process dedicated to seeking the best of a bad bargain. The New Right isn't in the least interested in consensus. Somewhat dimly aware that the second Roosevelt built the modern Democratic party by putting together some kind of coalition, it has launched a coalition movement of its own by seeking, ironically, the narrowest and most divisive single-issue pressure groups in the country, with the Christian fundamentalists and the anti-abortion peo-

ple as its keystone. Respecting the clout of liberal academic organizations while despising their goals, it has established foundations and institutes that operate in near-total ignorance of intellectual discipline and scholarly integrity. Envyng liberal and labor action groups without understanding that there are many kinds of trees in the forest of liberalism, they have copied the most effective of these organizations while dispensing with their contentious diversity. For all this, the New Right remains a stranger to the democratic process; they often seem to be motivated less by a coherent program than by a mindless adolescent destructiveness, a pure unholy joy in making life miserable for their perceived enemies.



Richard Viguerie

Richard Viguerie, 47, writes the letters and pays the bills. Indeed, there are many who go so far as to say that the New Right is nothing *but* Viguerie and his computers out in the Virginia suburbs, that without Viguerie's hardware and miraculous fund-raising abilities, the movement would weigh no more than its reflection in the nearest mirror. There may be some truth in this. According to the estimates of the United Auto Workers' Community Action Program, Viguerie has the capacity to generate as much money as the entire American labor movement—about \$14.5 million a year—and that kind of money makes possible a multitude of sins.

In an ironic reversal of their usual roles, the Democrats have become the party of the large contributor and the Republicans have come to depend on many small donations generated by

direct mail. It is not a new method. "Jefferson built his political organization on letter writing," says George McGovern, a prime New Right target and himself no slouch when it comes to postal appeals. (In his 1972 run for the presidency, he raised \$32 million, \$20 million of it by direct mail.) "It's the liberals' fault that they've let the right wing take over the technique, just because of the sluggishness of the Democratic National Committee and because they're too disorganized to use it." The GOP discovered the power of the small contributor in 1964, when the fat cats deserted the party in droves. And it was from the files of the Goldwater campaign that young Richard Viguerie began to assemble the money machine that made the New Right possible.

A ferociously competitive Catholic of Louisiana French extraction—he sponsors golf tournaments at which he gives himself trophies—Viguerie came to politics through the Young Americans for Freedom; he was its first executive secretary. He bases his political beliefs, in part, on the reincarnation theories of Edgar Cayce. Viguerie combines his mysticism with an admiration for clout—"the people," he says, "love strength"—and a pronounced if somewhat specialized practical bent. Starting with a room on Capitol Hill and the names of 12,000 Goldwater contributors that, legend has it, he laboriously copied by hand from the master list in the office of the clerk of the House, he has done well by doing good. Viguerie has not only become the paymaster of the New Right, he has become a millionaire.

BY NOW there may be as many as 20 million names in the two big computers in the movement's nerve center at Falls Church. Three of the four key New Right organizations—Viguerie's mail operation, Howard Phillips's Conservative Caucus, and Terry Dolan's National Conservative Political Action Committee—are located in suburbs. Cities, with their bewildering complexity, have a way of enforcing an appreciation for the finer points of human ambiguity. (Cities are also filled with poor people, and the New Right doesn't understand poor people at all.) Of these 20 million names,

between 4 and 4.5 million represent the mother lode, in the form of potentially solid contributors. If the language of Viguerie's letters is somewhat fevered and his allegations preposterous, this is apparently what is called for; the money keeps rolling in. Viguerie shares ownership of any new list he generates on his clients' behalf, and he reserves the right to rent it out to others. A Viguerie-solicited contributor to the war chest of, say, Sen. Jesse Helms can therefore relax in the confident expectation that he will not lack for future mail alerting him to fresh dangers to the republic. (And fresh saviors of it.)

Viguerie's letters are nothing if not entertaining; they not only preach blood and battle, but they express a keen appreciation of the recipient's worth. For example, a missive written over the signature of Sen. Gordon Humphrey, the former airline copilot from New Hampshire, contains a special "numbered report" that is "for your eyes only." The recipient is, of course, one of a "limited number of leading conservatives across the country"; in addition to the special report, he gets a sticker to peel off and affix to a return-reply memo that assures Senator Humphrey that the information has not fallen into the wrong hands. The letter, a mild one by Viguerie standards, goes on to describe Senators Church, McGovern, and Culver as dangerous radicals, Senator Bayh as an extremist, and Senator Cranston as a staunch ally of demonic Big Labor. (Big Labor is always capitalized in these undertakings. Big business is never mentioned at all.) In the interest of verisimilitude, Viguerie has installed a machine that puts the stamps on crooked, as though a person had done it by hand.

While Viguerie's efficiency is a byword, there exists a scintilla of doubt whether his clients always get what they bargained for. Viguerie takes the prospecting risk himself; he, rather than the client's staff, goes out and gets the names. In any such solicitation, a 2 percent return is considered golden; it pays the cost of the mailing. It is then time to start mining for some real money, hitting up the same 2 percent for further contributions, and it is here that Viguerie works his creative gimmicks. His pitch now becomes fine tuned, based on the acute

perception that much of the white rage in the country stems from the feeling that middle-class white people are not important anymore. He asks his donors for \$12 and change to pay the candidate's poster bill. He invites him to join a campaign committee, forward his recommendations and—incidentally—kick in with another check. In short, he makes the donor feel wanted for his own sake. And it works, sort of. It raises a certain amount of money, but it costs. Of the stupendous \$7 million Viguerie raised to ensure the continued tenure of Jesse Helms against modest opposition, more than \$4 million went to pay Viguerie's salary and expenses, leaving the senator with something less than \$3 million with which to carry the fight to the enemy. And if the client doesn't happen to have Senator Helms's magic name, a Viguerie operation can come to resemble a losing race on a treadmill. In the Iowa Republican primary in 1978, Roger Jepsen found himself paying Viguerie \$303,000 for a gross of \$310,000, which meant that the nomination cost Jepsen more than any other primary victor in Iowa history and the effort netted him a grand total of \$7000.

Viguerie's performance sometimes fails to meet his clients' expectations, but he defends his methods by arguing that direct mail is not merely or even primarily a fund-raising device. In his view, its value is as advertising, and the advantage is that the same letter can thump many tubs in addition to raising cash; it can also recruit campaign workers and keep the pot boiling by alerting the recipient to the dark schemes of the liberals. Like all purists, he has been known to go to some lengths, justifying (and confusing) ends with means. He has occasionally used the names of congressmen without bothering to ask their permission, and his mailings are sometimes disguised to make them appear to have been written in congressional offices. He even claims that there are times when he doesn't mind losing—most recently, on the Panama Canal—if his movement identifies new supporters. While this novel attitude drives other professional fund-raisers up the wall, it is not without its dividends. Every new supporter is another name on his list, another name to rent and rent again, another coin in his pocket. Rich-

ard Viguerie did not become a millionaire by passing up dimes in the street.

MONEY, AS they say, is the name of Viguerie's game. Although his role as paymaster places him at the center of events, his style remains that of a successful, if slightly detached, advertising executive. The boldest initiatives of the movement originate elsewhere, in the minds of Weyrich, Dolan, and, to a lesser extent, Howard Phillips.

Weyrich, 37, heads up the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, an organization modeled on the liberal Committee for an Effective Congress. The CFSFC acts as a support



Howard Phillips

unit and funding conduit for congenial candidates; in 1978, it donated upwards of \$400,000 in cash and professional services to the ideologically correct. Weyrich is also a founder of the Heritage Foundation, the New Right's own think tank, which passes its scholarly credentials, a spokeswoman solemnly assured me, on the claim that its resident academics won't try to prove anything that's *really* crazy. Weyrich's principal role, however, is that of a strategist.

An Eastern Rite Catholic who has been known to pray in public restaurants, he initially served as an aide to Sen. Gordon Alliot and later to Carl Curtis, but he came home to the New Right when he found himself unable to understand why the Republican National Committee gave money to the likes of Jacob Javits. Weyrich thinks big. Unlike Viguerie, who would be

lost without liberals to outrage, he dreams of a day of judgment, when there will be no liberals at all. With considerable prescience, he has steered his new colleagues in the direction of the so-called family issues, adding abortion, homosexuality, pornography, and Christian virtue to such reliable standbys as the garrison state, *laissez faire* economics, the national debt, and Red-baiting as staples in the New Right's none-too-capacious larder. He encouraged the movement to expand by taking up the cause of a number of segregated southern Christian schools just as the Internal Revenue Service began belatedly to move against them. By doing so, he hoped to open up a line to the unexplored territory of the nation's religious fundamentalists, and his efforts were immediately successful. The result, in February, 1979, was the formation of a coalition of evangelical ministers called Christian Voice, with Weyrich's close associate, David Troxler, installed as its legislative consultant. The congressional advisory committee originally included Senators Humphrey and Jepsen; James A. McClure, Frank Church's very conservative colleague from Idaho; and Orrin Hatch of Utah.

Christian Voice is an ambitious undertaking. Among other things, it proposes to form a political action committee and raise a million dollars for the candidates of its choice. It plans to compile a Christian voting record of each legislator (including the Jewish ones) based on such issues as abortion, busing, and aid to the Rhodesian missions. The resulting compilation will be trumpeted from the participating pulpits, which will also be used to rally the communicants—called "Christ's remnant"—to the hustings. To ensure that its message reaches the maximum number of receptive ears, Christian Voice also plans to bring its message to the 40 or 50 million viewers of the Christian Broadcasting Network. "We will not stand idly by as the last vestiges of Christian morality are purged from our nation," founding director Robert Gordon Grant told the press. "We will no longer look the other way as opportunistic, shortsighted politicians cater to small radical interests and in the process destroy both our economic freedom and our political freedom."

Political freedom is, of course, some-

thing that exists in the eye of the beholder. A hint of how the beholders of Christian Voice define it can be found in Senator Hatch's statement to the *Des Moines Register*, to the effect that the organization's goal was a theocracy much like that of the Ayatollah Khomeini. A further hint can be discovered in the opening words of the organization's hair-raising Statement of Purpose.

We believe [says this document] that America, the last stronghold of faith on this planet, has come under increasing attack from Satan's forces in recent years . . . , that the standards of Christian morality (long the protection and strength of the nation), the sanctity of our families, the innocence of our young, are now under the onslaught . . . launched by the "rulers of darkness of this world" and insidiously sustained under the ever more liberal ethic.

Liberalism, says Grant, is "inconsistent with Christianity."

But more work needed to be done. To perfect the media connection, Weyrich, with the assistance of Phillips, went on to establish a group called Moral Majority. Central to this phase are Pat Robertson of the Christian Broadcasting Network's 700 Club and the Reverend Jerry Falwell of the "Old Time Gospel Hour" and pastor of the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, the largest in the country. (See *Harper's*, August 1980.) Moral Majority is Weyrich's window on the world, but like most New Right organizations, it strikes wherever it sees an opportunity, and it recently took over the Alaska Republican party. Before he left to join the Reagan campaign, Moral Majority's executive director was the Reverend Robert Billings, who doubled as Weyrich's deputy at CFSFC.

THE PULPIT and the tube are only two legs of the tripod of Weyrich's grand alliance. To perfect his design, an umbrella organization was needed, and for that he needed Howard Phillips.

Phillips, 39, is the movement's loyal sidekick, its tame Jewish Democrat. His Conservative Caucus, a muddy copy of Common Cause, claims coordinators in all 50 states, but its power

is more apparent than real; Phillips's principal value to the New Right consists of his religion and his party affiliation. Viguerie, Weyrich, and Dolan—Christian all and (no matter what they claim) Republicans—lose no opportunity to wave him around like a flag captured in a children's game. He is a trophy, proof that the New Right is a broad-based movement. Like Viguerie, he came up through YAF, and he later dismantled the Office of Economic Opportunity for Richard Nixon. The latter experience brought him disillusionment, as an unprincipled Congress made his life miserable by insisting on enforcing the laws it had made. He changed his party affiliation to qualify for the Democratic senatorial primary in Massachusetts, which he lost badly, possibly because he was not a Democrat.

As for Phillips's Jewishness, its principal outward expression these days is his enthusiasm for Weyrich's plan to mobilize the nation's seventy-five million evangelical Christians into a force of theopolitical repression. Ed McAteer, his field director, helped give Moral Majority its start when he introduced Phillips to Jerry Falwell.

With Phillips's blessing, McAteer then went on to set up Religious Roundtable. In addition to representatives of the evangelical groups already recruited, the Roundtable's two-day organizational session in September, 1979, was attended by Phyllis Schlafly, the glib leader of STOP-ERA; Gary Potter of Catholics for Political Action; Edward Rowe of Anita Bryant's crusade to save homosexuals; Clay Claiborne, the founder of Black Silent Majority; Bob Dugan from the moderate and mostly unpolitical National Association of Evangelicals; Dr. George Benson from Harding College in Searcy, Arkansas, long a source of venomous rightist propaganda; Peter Gemma, Jr., of the National Pro-Life Political Action Committee; and John Fisher, president of the American Security Council, a military-industrial group whose vision of America is identical with an aerial photograph of Fort Benning. Nobody had ever brought them all together before.

Conspicuously absent from this love feast were the Mormons, and they were sorely missed. The New Right has not been idle on this score, however. The task of bringing them in is

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the special province of the movement's field operator, Terry Dolan. And his chosen instrument is Frank Church.

A small, sandy man of 29 who gives the impression that he has never gotten over the thrill of being the house iconoclast in his college fraternity, Dolan heads the National Conservative Political Action Committee. While he spends much of his time preaching on the treason of the Supreme Court and other subjects of consuming interest to journalists, it soon becomes apparent that while Weyrich and Phillips are planning for the long haul and Viguerie is preoccupied with the money, Dolan has already manned the front lines.

Political action committees—PACs for short—are a recent phenomenon. Originally given color of law to enable corporations and professional groups to establish political task forces just as unions had always done, the number of PACs has grown to over 2,000, all but about 700 of them with corporate and professional ties and the majority of them conservative.

Under the law, individuals are limited to contributions of \$1000 to any individual candidate in the primary and another \$1000 in the general election; PACs can spend \$5000 and \$5000. There is, however, a loophole; a PAC can spend all the money it can lay hands on so long as it campaigns against a candidate without supporting his opponent. Exploiting this device, the NCPAC has committed in excess of \$1 million to the destruction of four liberal senators—McGovern, Cranston, Culver, and Bayh—and one centrist, Frank Church. A million dollars may not seem like a lot of money when compared to the vast sums expended on behalf of Senator Helms, but the NCPAC has devised certain economies of scale. Radio listeners in Idaho, California, and Indiana can eavesdrop as a Mrs. Verna Smith of Boise, Sacramento, and Indianapolis finds herself shocked by the appalling voting records of her three senators, Church, Cranston, and Bayh. Elsewhere, the constituents of Culver and McGovern are being treated to a TV spot in which a very black athlete in shorts and sweat socks toys with a basketball the size of a pebble while a very white announcer deplores the globe-trotting proclivities of the errant politicians. Subtlety has never been one of the New

Right's strong points.

These ads are merely the frosting on the cake, however. So, in a way, are the old issues of defense, welfare, and government regulation; these burning questions have been around so long that they tend to get talked about in a kind of shorthand. Not so abortion. With Right-to-Life groups exhibiting the monolithic determination dear to the rightist heart—and, more importantly, producing a small but disciplined swing vote in states like New York—abortion clearly strikes Dolan and the others as an issue whose time has come. The evangelical coalition is still in its formative stages; abortion is a way of keeping the churches in a state of pleasing turmoil while demonstrating appropriate New



Paul M. Weyrich

Right correctness on the great issue of the day. It is also a golden opportunity for organizational cross-pollination and an ideal way to hook in the Mormons. Senator Hatch, a Mormon, has recorded an anti-abortion radio spot. Stop the Baby Killers has identified the same four senators and called for a \$250,000 war chest to defeat them. Stop the Baby Killers is a project of Americans for Life, whose honorary chairman is Congressman George Hansen of Idaho—another Mormon and a bitter enemy of Frank Church—and one of whose lawyers is a certain J. Curtis Herge. J. Curtis Herge is the secretary of the NCPAC. "I personally believe Frank Church is a baby killer," says Dolan, as though describing the sky as blue. Dolan is unusually interested in Church, although he knows little about him. There are a lot of Mormons in Idaho.

UNTIL, THE prospect of 75 million evangelicals joining with the Right-to-Lifers, the anti-ERA people, the busing lobby, the fans of the garrison state, and the 4.5 million hardcore names on Viguerie's computers is not exactly a laughing matter, even allowing for considerable duplication. Fundamentalists and single-issue groups do not pay much attention to comical bungling; they live for matters of faith and morals, and on faith and morals the New Right is as solid as Weyrich can make it. But although the New Right's capacity for mischief is greater than at any time since the last Red Scare, it is not a monolithic or a cohesive force, and it has a persistent tendency to come unstuck as the going gets good. As Bishop James Rausch recently told the readers of the *Catholic Mirror*, the New Right may be sound on abortion, but it also happens to believe in a lot of other ideas that might not make the Catholic voter best pleased. As long as they enjoy the luxury of irresponsible dissent, there isn't much reason for the evangelicals and the single-issue people to examine all the other doctrines of the ideologues who pull the strings; until his leaders gain some power, the single-issue fanatic enjoys the enviable privilege of the hedgehog who knows one big thing, and the world is a wonderfully simple place. But Weyrich and the others happen to have a lot of funny ideas about a lot of subjects—not merely the sins of Jews and Episcopalians and Democrats, but the minimum wage. They are not great fans of the unions to which many of their followers belong, nor of the social legislation that sustains them in hard times, illness, and old age—the common soldiery of the New Right may be devoted to single issues, but the New Right's leadership most definitely is not. Faith and morals are one thing: fooling around with a man's paycheck is another, which is the very point that Bishop Rausch was trying to make. The New Right has some interesting plans for its followers, which its followers aren't going to like. Weyrich's initiatives have temporarily obscured this time-honored hidden agenda, but it always reemerges, usually in the first flush of victory. And when it does, the coalition begins to fall apart. □

HARPER'S/OCTOBER 1980

How 'pro-family' people built a powerhouse

By Joyce Lynn
Special to The Sun-Times

WASHINGTON—Last year, leaders of six conservative groups met in Washington to talk about forming a loose coalition.

Barely a year and a half later, their effort is prospering as the "pro-family" movement and has chalked up success after success. For instance:

News analysis

• They stacked the platform committee at the Republican convention, dumped the party's 40-year commitment to the Equal Rights Amendment and won a strong anti-abortion plank.

• They have played a role in similar victories against the ERA and abortion in Congress and state legislatures.

• They have launched massive advertising campaigns to defeat liberal, "anti-family" members of Congress and to elect Ronald Reagan president.

• They have turned little-known political figures such as Senators Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.) into luminaries, because of their "pro-family" efforts.

• Their protests last summer around the White House Conference on Families, an event the media otherwise might have ignored, received massive press coverage and generated more enthusiasts to their cause.

When the handful of leaders met in Washington last year, they had one primary goal: to pool their resources into a multimillion-member coalition. Each leader represented a religious or social-issues group of 20,000 or 30,000 members. Their hope was to attract members of other such groups.

They succeeded.

Today, their unity parallels the liberals' disarray. They have put together a working network of leaders and groups while traditional liberal coalitions are splitting apart, confused over leadership and philosophy.

The movement is made up of some 20 single-issue interest groups opposing abortion,

the ERA, gay rights and the like—religious moralists, ultraconservative members of Congress and political action committees. Their effort was pulled together by political wizards, fund-raising technicians and public relations men. They have seized the "pro" label—"pro-family," "pro-life" and have left social welfare, civil rights and feminist groups with

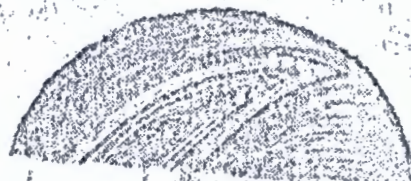
"anti" tags like "abortionists."

The strategists have cast the movement as religious—to moralize America—but it is a political movement that uses emotional issues as organizing tools.

Its goals:

• Moral: To "restore traditional American values."
Turn to Page 71

Wieboldt's



How the 'pro-family' groups built power

Continued from Page 16

family values"—a legally married man and woman and their blood-related children—with the man as breadwinner and the woman as keeper of the home.

• **Political:** To gain control of the House and Senate, not necessarily with Democrats or Republicans, but with conservatives and to put a "pro-family" president in the White House. Reagan, who made traditional family values a cornerstone of his acceptance speech at the GOP convention, ranks highest on their issues. But some pro-family leaders are skeptical of a Reagan-Bush ticket.

• **Legislative:** To defeat "humanist" social policies, the ERA, abortion, homosexual rights, government funding in areas of the family such as child care—policies and programs they say are corrupting America and American families. They say "humanist" policies put self-satisfaction above service to God, waste tax money and only perpetuate humanists' self-interests.

The leaders use these emotional "family" issues to raise money, organize the troops for letter-writing campaigns and possibly move of Congress, equating a zero or low rating with being anti-family or anti-God or immoral or all three. They distribute the voting indexes and political education guides in churches and set up voter registration booths there, too.

The movement's appeals are aimed at two groups—blue-collar workers and unregistered, conservative voters.

THE MOVEMENT VIEWS the blue-collar people, normally part of the liberal Democratic coalition, as especially hard-pressed by economic conditions and unhappy with what they see as a decline in traditional family values.

Unregistered conservative voters are likely to outnumber unregistered liberals by a ratio of 3:2, say the movement's polls. Among the unregistered voters who expressed a religious preference in one poll, 30 percent were highly religious and likely to be born-again Christians who have eschewed politics in the past.

The movement's ultimate goal is to replace the Roosevelt New Deal liberal coalition of labor unions, civil rights and other special interest groups that have governed for the last 50 years with their own conservative counterparts.

PAUL WEYRICH, the principal strategist, says the movement is only reacting to "anti-family" forces. People who back the "anti-family" lifestyle, he says, "are not content with freedom of choice. They want federal money. They want taxpayers to pay for it."

Citing one of the movement's targets, Weyrich said, "Homosexuals do not just want special privileges: they want homosexuality glorified and locked into the Constitution and protected. The Constitution only protects race, color and creed.

"There is a lot of difference between godly behavior and ungodly behavior. The attempt to equate the two is outrageous. Gays are not persons who only want their rights. They're vicious. They have a political vengeance that has never been seen in this country.

"If they are going to behave like that, they can't expect anything but strong reaction by those with other beliefs. They have a political situation created by their own initiatives—they have created the political climate.

"We need to show people [angry with these lifestyles] how to channel their discontent and energy in constructive ways."

Weyrich founded the conservative research group the Heritage Foundation in 1973 and now is executive director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, a political action committee that works to elect conservatives to Congress, and its research and technical assistance arm, the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation.

In addition to Weyrich, the movement's Washington leaders include:

• **Bill Billings**, executive director of the Na-

tional Christian Action Coalition, whose members are ministers, Christian school administrators and lay individuals.

• **Howard Phillips**, the movement's Jewish luminary, chairman of the Conservative Caucus and director of the Office of Economic Opportunity during the Nixon administration's efforts to dismantle the agency.

• **Karl Moor**, political activities director of Moral Majority, the religious group headed by evangelist Jerry Falwell.

• **Connie Marshner**, director of the family policy division of Weyrich's Free Congress Foundation.

Leaders of single-issue, grass-roots groups include umbrella groups on women and family issues:

• **Phyllis Schlafly**, head of Stop-ERA and Eagle Forum, Alton, Ill.

• **Lottie Beth Hobbs**, president of the Pro-Family Forum, formerly the Four W's—Women Who Want to be Women, Ft. Worth, Texas.

• **Jude Brown**, pro-life, Stafford, Va.

• **The Rev. Morton Hill**, anti-pornography, New York City.

• **Norma Gabler**, better textbooks, Longview, Texas.

The best-known of the evangelists to combine politics and the Bible is Falwell, pastor of the 16,000-member Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Va. His televised "Old Time Gospel Hour" is said to reach 15 million people weekly.

"Pro-family" leaders in Congress include Senators Jake Garn (R-Utah), Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), Helms (R-N.C.), Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.) and Representatives John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio), Philip M. Crane (R-Ill.) and Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.).

Political action committees, powerful fundraising vehicles in this year's political races, are an important adjunct of the movement. Movement-connected PACs range from the mammoth National Conservative Political Ac-

Gays are not persons who only want their rights. They're vicious. They have a political vengeance. If they are going to behave like that, they can't expect anything but strong reaction by those with other beliefs.

tion Committee, which has spent at least \$600,000 in its attempt to unseat six liberal, "anti-family" senators and a couple of million dollars more trying to elect Ronald Reagan, to the small Christian Voters Victory Fund, which will spend \$30,000 to \$40,000 in selected congressional races.

A DISCLOSURE STATEMENT of Weyrich's Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress shows who is giving to "pro-family" causes and candidates. Mostly, they are retired people or small-business owners from small Southern towns who give small amounts of money.

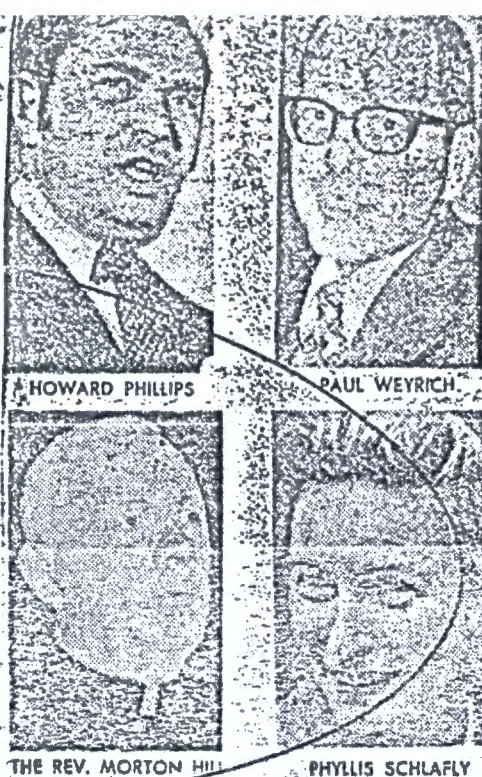
The movement's reliance on buzz words—abortion, prayer, homosexuality—is intentional. The strategy: Attract enough new people to the cause to tip the scales in close elections.

Bill Billings points to the victory of Sen. John W. Warner (R-Va.) in 1978 to show how a few thousand votes can make the difference. Warner won by less than 5,000 votes in a state with 13 congressional districts, Billings said.

Billings has no qualms about using single issues to exploit emotions. "We would be fools not to use an issue if we want to bring people to the polls," he said.

If the movement is successful at the polls, the kind of legislation they would work to enact is typified by the Family Protection Act introduced by Laxalt. The bill would:

• Withhold federal education funds from states that prohibit voluntary prayer in public schools.



HOWARD PHILLIPS

PAUL WEYRICH

THE REV. MORTON HILL

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

- Deny federal funds to public schools that require teachers to join a union.
- Give states the right to determine teacher qualifications "free from the influence of federal regulations."
- Prevent Legal Services Corp. funds from being used in litigation involving abortions, school desegregations, divorce or homosexual rights.
- Write into law that discrimination against homosexuals would not be an "unlawful employment practice."

Not unexpectedly, the "pro-family" movement has raised concerns about its tactics. "Oh, you mean the Nazis?" Rick Paul remarked offhandedly. Paul is press secretary to Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), one of the senators the movement opposes. Explaining his remark, Paul said, "Take the anti-abortion forces. They are a fanatical single-interest group. To them, you're all one way on an issue or you're anti-family."

"When I was in the commodities business, there was a salesman who was a member of the John Birch Society. Along with his soybeans and corn, he tried to sell his political views. We used to call him 'the Nazi' because of his fanatical views."

Bayh rated a zero on one "family" voting index, and his opponent, 100. Of the voters index, Paul said, "I'm not so sure a vote on the Panama Canal means you're moral. Look at [Richard] Kelly [the Florida Republican congressman indicted in Abscam]. He also has a perfect score. So, if he's among the most moral members of Congress, I'll eat my hat."

"IT'S RIDICULOUS to say if you disagree on a particular issue, you're anti-God or anti-family. It's a gross misuse of religion, let alone an individual's record.

"Are they more interested in spreading religious and moral values or the conservative doctrine? I think it's the latter.

"It's a dangerous situation when a guy like Falwell speaks for God. If you disagree with him, you disagree with him. It does not mean you're denying God. But for him to say his political views are the views of God is dangerous. I'm not sure God has any political views."

Bill Rhatigan, a "pro-family" public relations man, said Weyrich "has convinced others that family-related issues are the issues of the 1980s, as Vietnam was the issue of the 1960s."

The spring issue of Richard Viguerie's Conservative Digest also called family issues the issue of the 1980s.

Asked about this, Rhatigan, who does public relations for both Weyrich and Viguerie, said, "Viguerie reads the same tea leaves as Paul."

"Are they reading the same tea leaves or are they arranging them?"

That's the question the "pro-family" movement raises. The answer may determine whether the "pro-family" effort is only a well-organized election year hype or a real movement.

Family rights son's disease

Continued from Page 4

time Timmy was 2 or 2½. It was finally diagnosed as NF."

Instead of watching a World Series game last week, Evans went to see the movie in which Hurt plays Merrick, a Victorian side-show freak whose horribly bloated head and body are covered with grotesque tumors.

"THE THING that came out in the movie was that there's a human being inside the body," Evans said. "We seem to put so much stock in appearances."

Timmy is enrolled in a special needs program, and teachers say he is an extremely bright student. But the disease has always haunted him.

"He's ashamed of himself," said his mother, Susan. "He tells people that he ran into a tree.

"The hardest thing is that Timmy believes that he's done some wrong and he's being punished."

The greatest burden for the Evans family is the cruelty of other children.

Mrs. Evans recalls an incident in a toy store last Christmas. Two youngsters saw Timmy's eye and jumped back.

"I GOT TERRIBLY angry, pulled the cap off of Timmy's head and pointed to his eye," she said. "'See! See!' shouted at the kids. 'What's the matter. Can't your parents teach you any manners?'"

Timmy has had 15 operations for health and cosmetic reasons and piled up hospital bills of more than \$100,000. The expense is covered by insurance, but, as Evans says, "It's tough on a kid. Real tough."

His wife says it's also been tough on Evans, a seven-year Red Sox veteran who is often jeered by fans who expect a better showing at the plate.

"Many, many times I've went out to the ballpark just as Timmy was going in or coming out of surgery," she said. "The fans would call him 'dummy' or 'stupid' and he wouldn't say a word. That's just the way he is."

Lottery replay

As a service for those who might not have seen last week's winning lottery numbers, or who wish to double-check their tickets, The Sun-Times is reprinting the winning numbers. The reverse side of your ticket explains how you can win.

Pot of Gold				
722032	\$103,200			
Prize (eliminated)				
B	I	N	G	O
07	29	44	51	63

For tickets dated 9/23/80

Claim centers

Lottery winners of \$25 or less can collect cash prizes at any lottery sales agency. Winners of more than \$25 should take tickets to any of the following addresses:

Main lobby, 160 N. La Salle, Harlem Irving Plaza, 4104 N. Harlem, and 3319 W. 55th, 31 in Chicago; 770 Lee St., Des Plaines; 4004 W. 111th St., Oak Lawn; 1940 W. Roosevelt, Broadview; 9730 S. Western, Evergreen Park; 837 S. Westmore, Lombard; 8700 Waukegan Rd., Morris Grove; 245 W. Roosevelt Rd., West Chicago; 12217 W. Grand, Waukegan; 3304 S. Barrington, Wauconda; Jay's Treasure Island, U.S. 31 and Illinois 173, Zion; Jerry's Service, U.S. 45 and Illinois 173; International House of Wine & Cheese, 11002 W. Route 12, Richmond, or Dawn Town News, 169 E. Chicago, Elgin.

DAILY LOTTERY WINNERS

For your convenience, here are the winning numbers in the daily lottery for last Monday through Friday. Winners of up to \$599 may collect their prizes from any agent who has a daily lottery game computer terminal. Winner of more than that amount may file for their prize with any daily lottery agent and will be sent a check.

Oct. 20	632	Oct. 22	359	Oct. 24	973
Oct. 21	319	Oct. 23	153		

State man leads

By FREDERICK L. BERNIS

News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Think of Paul Weyrich as more than just a conservative.

Think of him, rather, as one of the foremost movers and shakers in the "far right" political movement. Newsweek has called him one of the "movement's political gurus."

The former Kenosha radio broadcaster sees himself as a "radical working to overturn the present power structure in this country." He wants to rid Washington of its liberalism, to move government to the right and keep it there.

The effort is not his, alone.

He is backed by a three-phase organization which he founded and directs. Put those parts together and you have a total contributor "membership" of about 135,000, a total annual budget of about \$1.8 million, and a political action committee-lobby group-think tank devoted to the cause of conservatism.

"We think the national government has gotten away from our beliefs," the portly, bespectacled Weyrich remarked in an interview in his cramped Capitol Hill office. "We want to do what we can do to move the country in (our) direction."

By Weyrich's account, that would be in the direction of "limited government, free enterprise, strong national defense and traditional moral values." And, he adds, it would be in a direction AWAY from federally financed abortions, busing, the Equal Rights Amendment and decriminalization of marijuana.

Weyrich, 38, insists his views are no different now that he heads the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC) than when he was broadcasting on Kenosha's WLIP and WAXO (predecessor of WKZN-FM) in the early 1960s.

"My views are essentially those of my parents who brought me up and the (Catholic) church that helped to educate me," Weyrich recalls. "I think they are simply good moral principles."

Weyrich, a Racine native and a graduate of St. Catherine's High School there, regrets not having finished at the University of Wisconsin, which he attended in the late-1950s. He came to Kenosha and a two-year stint in WLIP's news department. In 1962, Weyrich became program director at a fledgling FM station in Racine, WFNY. After a brief stay there, he returned to Kenosha as program director of the then-new WAXO, where he was the "morning man" disc jockey.

He later worked for a Milwaukee



PAUL WEYRICH
... far right guru

television station, a daily newspaper and for a Wisconsin-based conservative radio commentator. Weyrich then moved to Colorado and another radio broadcasting job at a Denver-area station. It was a launching pad for Weyrich's political career, begun as a press secretary to then-Sen. Gordon Allott (R-Colo). Once in Washington, Weyrich laid the groundwork for the network of conservative groups over which he now presides.

He became wise to the ways of Capitol Hill and to the ways of the lobbyists who work on it, and he established, first, the Heritage Foundation, a conservative research group that is still active here, and then, in 1974, the CSFC.

Weyrich's office, overlooking an alley behind a Capitol Hill church, is something of an operations center of conservative thought.

You walk into a room cluttered with copying machines, boxes and volunteers sorting hundreds of pages of news releases and pamphlets, most of them to be mailed out to friends and supporters nationwide.

This outer office serves as the publicity distribution point for the CSFC's political action committee, a group dedicated to the election of conservative Congressional members, and for another CSFC group which is responsible for lobbying for specific pieces of legislation.

Upstairs, a third unit, the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, does research on what Weyrich calls "political theory and family issues."

Weyrich's organization is respon-

Once a Kenosha broadcaster

OPINION

The editorial page of the KENOSHIA NEWS

Tuesday, October 28, 1980

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s with his right

sible for, among other things, operating a Washington "training school" for conservative candidates and a clearinghouse for more than 30 evangelical and pro-family groups.

Seated behind his desk, wearing a white shirt, gray pants, suspenders and a black and white tie, Weyrich recently said he's well aware of — and unbothered by — charges by liberal adversaries that he's a right-winger whose views are rooted in the political dark ages.

"Beauty is in the eyes of the beholders," he responds with a smile. "It really doesn't matter what they call me, because if being for the right to life, if being for parents' rights, if being for individual liberty, if being against government bureaucracy, if being for a strong national defense, if being against the destruction of our school system — if all that is being right-wing, then so be it. I'm right wing."

Weyrich's organization assists the evangelical lobby groups that have surfaced this election year, and he is credited with creating the term "Moral Majority."

"I suggested the term to Jerry Falwell in a meeting in February of 1979, and he liked it and picked it up and used it," Weyrich pointed out. "It refers to the fact that there is still a majority of people who agree that the Ten Commandments are the underlying basis for morality in this country."

Weyrich's own words aren't always expressed in the most moral manner. Riding in an elevator once with Sen. Robert Packwood (R-

Ore.), a moderate with whom he frequently disagrees, Weyrich said he would "believe in abortion" if it could be "retroactive" in Packwood's case.

Writing in the *Conservative Digest*, Weyrich rapped Packwood for not offering more support to conservative candidates.

Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo.), a fellow-conservative, took Weyrich to task for castigating an incumbent Republican, saying he was "a damn fool to be talking that way."

Weyrich attracted considerable attention here when he spoke out after Rep. Bob Bauman (R-Md.), a noted Congressional conservative, admitted having had homosexual relations with a 16-year-old boy.

"I took the unusual step of asking him to resign, a step for which I have gotten more flack than for anything else I have done in 20 years of active political life," Weyrich said.

Weyrich has been inundated with calls from conservatives charging that he was "disloyal" to the cause and threatening to boycott activities that he organizes.

"Those conservatives have what I call the 'good ole boy Washington syndrome' — anything's to be tolerated as long as you're part of the club," Weyrich noted. "Mr. Bauman brought dishonor to the cause that he represents, and he can no longer speak for the cause."

Paul Weyrich believes that HE can speak for that cause — and he intends to do so for a long time to come.

Weyrich on Wisconsin:

Wisconsin has the reputation of being a very liberal state. That's primarily because the social issue conservatives, mainly in the southeastern part of the state and up in the valley area near Appleton and Green Bay have voted for Democratic rather than Republican candidates. I think that's changing because the conservatives who have been tied to the union movement now feel estranged from the ultra-left wing of the Democratic Party that supports gay rights and the abortion cause.

The irony is that I'm from a neighborhood in the south side of Racine where there were a good deal of the ethnics when I was growing up. People were Slavic and Ukrainian and Polish and were, if anything, more con-

servative than my father and mother. But they always voted for the Democratic ticket, because the Democrats paid attention to them and courted their vote. The Republicans never came down to our part of town, and just took for granted that we'd never be interested in voting their way. Most of the Republican candidates could have cared less about the so-called wrong side of the tracks.

The people in our neighborhood were the real conservatives because they worked hard, brought up their kids right, paid taxes and were good citizens. It has been my objective to try and get the people to support candidates who more correctly reflect their views.



The Plain Dealer/David I. Anderson

*'And if God is sovereign, he is
sovereign in the public schools.'*

— Paul Wevrich

The gospel according to the Christian new right

Story follows →

By Richard G.
Zimmerman
Plain Dealer bureau

WASHINGTON — The Rev. Jerry Falwell may be the thundering voice of the Moral Majority, but a soft-spoken, cherubic-appearing zealot is the movement's nuts-and-bolts political pro.

Hidden away in a cluttered, alley-court office behind the Library of Congress, Paul Weyrich, 37, plans for a revolution on the right, a moralistic, hellfire-and-brimstone political crusade he believes has the potential to "change the entire Congress and even the presidency itself."

If not this year, then maybe next time.

It was Weyrich who gave Moral Majority, one of the most effective of the Christian new right movements, its name. He was among those who approached and recruited Falwell, an already successful and well-financed Lynchburg, Va., television evangelist, with the proposition that ballots and Bibles could make a powerful mix.

Weyrich has labored in the vineyards of the far right since 1974, when, after a career as a journalist and legislative aide, he founded the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress.

The purpose of his committee was to counteract the liberal National Committee for an Effective Congress. His goal was to supply money, technical help, advice and in-kind services to ultraconservative congressional candidates. He established and still runs a professionally respected training program to help candidates — and now evangelists — organize from the precinct level on up.

He is part of a core group of self-proclaimed "radical" conservatives which includes Howard Phillips, organizer of a lobbying group called the Conservative Caucus, and Ed McAteer, a friend of many fundamentalist ministers who formed a group of them and new right politicians into the Religious Roundtable.

Evangelicals, pro-family and anti-abortion activists routinely plan strategy for the entire movement as part of the Library Court Group, named for the location of Weyrich's cramped, two-story converted carriage house office building. Chairman of this group is Connaught Coyne Marshner, a Weyrich employe who also serves as chairman of the National Pro-Family Coalition.

With Marshner sitting in, Weyrich

was interviewed last week. Unless otherwise noted, the answers are Weyrich's.

Q. How was the Moral Majority formed?

A. Ed McAteer brought Howard Phillips and me down to see Jerry Falwell in 1979 and at that time we outlined the problem. Jerry was already very much aware of the problem (the lack of Christian influence in politics). He wanted to do something about it and he wanted to seek our advice as to what kind of organization could be formed, what its impact could be. We gave him that advice, along with the name Moral Majority.

Q. This group that approached Falwell was made up of political pros, pols so to speak, not people connected with religious groups. It's been charged that you people are using politically naive ministers like Falwell for your own ends, that you are slyly manipulating them, using their fund-raising potential.

A. Although we were active in the political process, we all had strong religious convictions. I was active in the right-to-life movement before the Supreme Court (abortion) decision in 1973. The suggestion that we don't have any convictions of our own is completely erroneous. I for one have long had a vision of getting different Christian groups together which were natural allies and ought to be cooperating but haven't for historical and denominational reasons.

As for Falwell, he is a very strong personality. No one manipulates him. It is true he is seeking our advice. But if our advice is contrary to his moral conviction, he won't take it.

Q. What is your own religious training and background?

A. I don't have any seminary education, if that's what you mean. I was educated in Catholic schools and my father was very strong in his religious convictions.

Q. Speaking of television preachers such as Falwell, doesn't it bother you that many of them seem to have done very well by doing good? That is, they seem to enjoy pretty lavish life-styles.

A. Falwell lives in a home donated to the church. He's on the road so much I don't think he has time to enjoy the swimming pool in his backyard.

I don't think you can charge the pope is any less committed because he lives in a palace in Rome.

I'm not concerned unless I see this life-style is influencing the man's moral convictions and his willingness to go out and work for a cause.

Q. Much of your movement is pro-family oriented and blames

ERA and the pro-abortion movements for the alleged breakup of the family. But aren't such causes as mobility and urbanization much more important in changing family life-styles?

A. (Marshner) The fact that families move a lot is no justification for why society should suddenly take up killing babies. And the fact that most people work outside the home doesn't mean drugs should become moral.

A. Religious doctrine, moral truth is for all time.

Q: Why is the pro-family movement so interested in having an instrument of the state — the public schools — become involved in morning prayers, which should be essentially a family rite?

A. (Marshner) The issue is whether the state, through the public schools, is going to support the teaching that should be, and in many cases is, being done in the home. If children are taught at home there is a God and we should pray to a God, and if they go to school and the idea is ridiculed and laughed at, the school is working counter to the parents.

Q: You aren't suggesting that by ignoring prayer that the schools are ridiculing it?

A. Yes, I think it definitely undermines the parents in this regard. Either we believe God is sovereign in the country or we don't. And if God is sovereign, he is sovereign in the public schools.

Q: Well, if the schools have the obligation to back up parents in the area of prayer, what's wrong with the schools backing up the parents with sex education?

A. (Marshner) The plumbing (the

biology of sex) you can get in about half an hour and that's it. To that extent, parents don't mind that kind of stuff. But when you have those special kind of family life classes which get into how do you feel about this, and do you love him, and how do you decide whether you're going to do it, and all that kind of nonsense, that's what is undermining parental values.

A. In many sex education classes, homosexuality is presented in a neutral, if not slightly favorable light. That runs contrary to very specific condemnation in the Holy Scripture. We cannot tolerate this kind of contradiction and support it with public funds.

Q: Given your Catholic background, aren't there public policy areas that you and fundamentalist Protestants disagree over, such as birth control?

A. Not entirely. There's a surprising receptivity on the part of a lot of evangelicals to this point of view (on birth control) because they're beginning to recognize the intrinsic connection between the contraceptive mentality and the whole subject of abortion.

The point is that on matters of public policy the areas of agreement are much wider than the differences.

Q. On the issue of the ERA, it's been reported that you believe that feminists seek to dominate men and that this contradicts the biblically ordained nature of the family, with the mother subject to the father's ultimate authority.

A. It is quite clear that the father is to be the head of the household, and in terms of moral decisions that affect the salvation of his wife

and children, he is to make those judgments.

Q. But what if the father is immoral and the mother moral?

A. I'm talking about what we seek as an ideal, and what we want to see taught is the ideal.

Q. But there are many theologians, Catholic and Baptist included, who are men of good will, I'm sure you'll agree, and who would disagree with you on this point and a good many others. What makes you think you're so right?

A. I accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior and I accept the Bible as the word of God. A lot of so-called theologians we have today accept neither. I won't be in contest with these people and I don't accept them as men of good will. They are seeking to undermine the foundation of the faith.

Q. Gov. Reagan has said that a person can be pro-ERA, pro-abortion, and pro-homosexual rights and still be a good Christian. Do you agree?

A. No. And I don't think Reagan is an authority on who can be a good Christian.

Q. In answer to a question, Reagan has expressed some doubts about the theory of evolution. Do you think it's really important that we know a presidential candidate's views on evolution?

A. It's becoming more relevant. Reagan's position, and mine as well, is that if you're going to teach evolution, you should teach creationism alongside it. I think you'll see some federal legislation along this line.

Q: Some regular, old-line conservatives have charged your movement with being unrealisti-

cally unbending, unwilling to compromise. Sen. McGovern agrees, saying you "have no respect for differences of opinion, you are either with them or against them."

A. When it comes to moral issues, I'm proud to be unbending. There are babies being murdered every day and I wonder which ones Mr. McGovern would like for me to compromise on?

Q. While most in your movement support Reagan, you've said his election would pose a danger for your movement. What do you mean?

A. All our hope is in God and not in men. I see the tendency on the part of some to make Reagan not into a political figure who agrees with us on a lot of issues, but into a semi-Messiah who's going to solve all the nation's problems. Anyone who thinks he's going to change things drastically without us doing an awful lot of work is in for a terrible shock and disappointment.

Q. You've also said that those supporting you who expect a revolution at the next election will be disappointed.

A. Many of our folks are just now getting into the political process. They don't yet have the mechanism yet to communicate who the bad guys and who the good guys are. And to identify the vote and turn it out. We are going to have some changes (this year), but only time will tell if we can hold together.

But potentially speaking, we have the largest group of people who, if they are involved in these moral issues, could eventually change the entire Congress and even the presidency itself.

Paul Weyrich the political pro behind Moral Majority

BY RICHARD G. ZIMMERMAN
©1980, Newhouse News Service

WASHINGTON — The Rev. Jerry Falwell may be the thundering voice of the Moral Majority, but a soft-spoken, cherubic-appearing zealot is the movement's nuts-and-bolts political pro.

Hidden away in a cluttered, alley-court office behind the Library of Congress here, Paul Weyrich, 37, plans for a revolution of the right, a moralistic, hellfire-and-brimstone political crusade he believes has the potential to change the entire Congress and even the presidency itself.

If not this year, then maybe next time. It was Weyrich who gave Moral Majority, one of the most effective of the New Christian Right movements, its name. He was among those who approached and recruited Falwell, an already successful and well-financed Lynchburg, Va., television evangelist, with the proposition that ballots and Bibles could make a powerful mix.

Weyrich has labored in the vineyards of the far right since 1974, when after a career as a journalist and legislative aide he founded the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress.

The purpose of his committee was to counteract the liberal National Committee for an Effective Congress. His goal was to supply money, technical help, advice and in-kind services to ultraconservative congressional candidates. He established and still runs a professionally respected training program to help candidates — and now evangelists — organize from the precinct level on up.

He is part of a core group of self-proclaimed radical conservatives that includes Howard Phillips, organizer of a lobbying group called the Conservative Caucus, and Ed McAteer, a friend of many fundamentalist ministers who formed a group of them and New Right politicians into the Religious Roundtable.

Evangelicals, pro-family and anti-abortion activists routinely plan strategy for the entire movement as part of the Library Court Group, named for the location of Weyrich's cramped, two-story converted carriage house office building. Chairman of this group is Connaught Coyne Marshner, a Weyrich employee who also serves as chairman of the National Pro-Family Coalition.

With Marshner sitting in, Weyrich was interviewed about the movement. Unless otherwise noted, the answers are Weyrich's.

Question: How was the Moral Majority formed?

Answer: Ed McAteer brought Howard Phillips and me down to see Jerry Falwell in 1979 and at that time we outlined the problem. Jerry was already very much aware of the problem (the lack of Christian influence in politics). He wanted to do something about it and he wanted to seek our advice as to what kind of organization could be formed, what its impact could be. We gave him that advice, along with the name Moral Majority.

Q: This group that approached Falwell was made up of political pros, pols so to speak, not people connected with religious groups. It's been charged that you people are using politically naive ministers like Falwell for your own ends, that you

are slyly manipulating them, using their fund-raising potential.

A: Although we were active in the political process, we all had strong religious convictions. I was active in the right-to-life movement before the Supreme Court (abortion) decision in 1973. The suggestion that we don't have any convictions of our own is completely erroneous. I for one have long had a vision of getting different Christian groups together which were natural allies and ought to be cooperating but haven't for historical and denominational reasons.

As for Falwell, he is a very strong personality. No one manipulates him. It is true he is seeking our advice. But if our advice is contrary to his moral conviction, he won't take it.

Q: What is your own religious training and background?

A: I don't have any seminary education, if that's what you mean. I was educated in Catholic schools and my father was very strong in his religious convictions.

Q: Speaking of television preachers such as Falwell, doesn't it bother you that many of them seem to have done very well by doing good? That is, they seem to enjoy pretty lavish life-styles.

A: Falwell lives in a home donated to the church. He's on the road so much I don't think he has time to enjoy the swimming pool in his back yard.

I don't think you can charge the Pope is any less committed because he lives in a palace in Rome.

I'm not concerned unless I see this lifestyle is influencing the man's moral convictions and his

willingness to go out and work for a cause.

Q: Why is the pro-family movement so interested in having an instrument of the state — the public schools — become involved in morning prayers, which should be essentially a family rite?

A: (Marshner) The issue is whether the state, through the public schools, is going to support the teaching that should be, and in many cases is, being done in the home. If children are taught at home there is a God and we should pray to a God, and if they go to school and the idea is ridiculed and laughed at, the school is working counter to the parents.

Q: You aren't suggesting that by ignoring prayer that the schools are ridiculing it?

A: Yes, I think it definitely undermines the parents in this regard. Either we believe God is sovereign in the country or we don't. And if God is sovereign, he is sovereign in the public schools.

Q: Well, if the schools have the obligation to back up parents in the area of prayer, what's wrong with the schools backing up the parents with sex education?

A: (Marshner) The plumbing (the biology of sex) you can get in about half an hour and that's it. To that extent, parents don't mind that kind of stuff. But when you have those special kind of family life classes which get into how do you feel about this, and do you love him and how do you decide whether you're going to do it and all that kind of nonsense, that's what is undermining parental values.

A: In many sex education classes, homosexual-

ity is presented in a neutral, if not slightly favorable light. That runs contrary to very specific condemnation in the Holy Scripture. We cannot tolerate this kind of contradiction and support it with public funds.

Q: On the issue of the ERA, it's been reported that you believe that feminists seek to dominate men and that this contradicts the biblically ordained nature of the family, with the mother subject to the father's ultimate authority.

A: It is quite clear that the father is to be the head of the household and in terms of moral decisions that affect the salvation of his wife and children, he is to make those judgments.

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(See WEYRICH, Page 2)

Weyrich aims at mix of ballots, Bibles

(From Page 1)

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Q: Some regular, old line conservatives have charged your movement with being unrealistically unbending, unwilling to

compromise. Senator McGovern agrees, saying you have no respect for differences of opinion, you are either with them or against them.

A: When it comes to moral issues, I'm proud to be unbending. There are babies being murdered every day and I wonder which ones Mr. McGovern would like for me to compromise on.

Q: While most in your movement support Reagan, you've said his election would pose a danger for your movement. What do you mean?

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Rev. Robert J. Billings

Mixing Christian Zeal, Politics

By CHARLIE GREEN

News-Sentinel Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — Rev. Robert J. Billings had just finished delivering a campaign speech in northern Indiana when he overheard a comment from an onlooker: "That guy's a real turkey."

The remark bothered Billings then. But looking back on it, he says the critic may have been right.

In the four years since Billings was an unsuccessful congressional candidate in the Gary area, he feels he has learned how to join his fundamentalist Christian zeal with his conservative political leanings. In the process, the 54-year-old Billings has become a leader in galvanizing the political activism of the Christian Right.

"He was the first one to get active in Washington," said Paul Weyrich, one of the gurus of the New Right. "He has been tremendously important in the movement."

And now he is Ronald Reagan's liaison with church groups, urging them to work and vote for the Republican presidential candidate. His job is not always serene.

One flap he had to deal with recently was the comment by Bailey Smith, president of the Southern

Baptist Convention, that God does not hear the prayers of Jews. Reagan was there when Smith said it.

"Now that was a stupid thing to say," Billings said, "even if you believe it."

Billings is trying to soften the blunt edge of the fundamentalist movement in his new post. As a Reagan aide, he deals not only with evangelical Christians but with more established Jewish, Roman Catholic and Protestant groups.

He believes that Reagan will corral the majority of the so-called "Christian vote" on Nov. 4, largely because of strong support from fundamentalists who share Reagan's views on such issues as abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment.

Reagan will not do as well with the more politically diverse "main line" religions, Billings said, which tend to view political issues with less moral certainty than the fundamentalists.

"The fundamentalists look at politics with emotion," he said. "The mainliners look at it more rationally. I think you need both. You have to use your head and your heart."

Billings also looks askance at the "morality ratings" of congressmen issued by Christian Voice, a conservative lobbying group. "Sometimes

the line between moral and amoral is fuzzy," he said. "You have to strain to say that the Panama Canal is a moral issue."

Billings plans to spend most of the next month promoting the Reagan candidacy to church groups and conventions in seven key states — Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, Florida, Louisiana and Mississippi.

It is a role that comes easily for the 54-year-old. He is a familiar face on the fundamentalist circuit.

Between 1967 and 1977, Billings and his family traveled the Bible belt with a trailer in tow, setting up fundamentalist elementary and secondary schools. As a former public school teacher, Billings said he shares the concerns of many parents who feel the public schools have failed to teach spirituality and discipline.

After his unsuccessful bid for Congress in 1976, Weyrich enticed Billings to move to Washington, where he became a lobbyist for conservative Christian causes and the publisher of a newsletter for about 1,500 fundamentalist schools across the country.

Billings was instrumental in organizing opposition two years ago to proposed Internal Revenue Service

regulations that challenged the tax-exempt status of some private schools. He later helped form Moral Majority, a Christian lobbying groups that has come under attack for its heavy-handed tactics in opposing moderate and liberal congressman.

Reagan aides recruited Billings from Moral Majority last summer, to the dismay of some critics of the Christian right.

"It makes sense politically that Reagan would have somebody on the inside who knows those people," said Tom Getman, an aide to Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Ore. The liberal Hatfield is a target of the Christian right despite his own evangelical beliefs.

"It's kind of too bad because some of these people are pretty short-sighted about things," Getman said. "The movement has been divisive and lacked compassion. Its Achilles' heel has been the lack of love it's conveyed."

Billings, however, is confident the movement will mature politically, just as he says he has done in the last four years.

"Our people may be right, but they're not always smart," Billings said. "We're novices in politics. Give us a chance."

CSFC

TTC

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 14, 1981

The Honorable Jesse Helms
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Jesse:

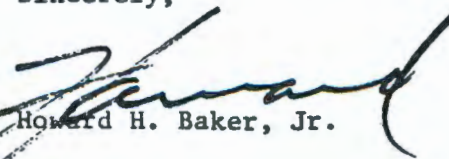
I am writing this letter as a follow-up to our conversation on Friday, December 11, 1981, concerning the Administration's block grant initiative. You will recall that earlier in the session I met with you, Senator Laxalt, Senator Domenici, Senator McClure, and representatives of outside groups interested in this particular issue. The result of our meeting was a commitment, by myself and those Senators present, to proceed as quickly as possible, on the Senate floor, with a proposal that would help the Administration achieve its announced block grant goals.

As you know, we had originally intended to meet this commitment during the 1st session, by amending S. 807, the Federal Assistance Reform Act. With the short time remaining in this session, however, it has become clear that amending S. 807 may not be the most effective method of accomplishing this. After discussions with you and the other members, I have decided subsequently to delay until next session our efforts with regard to block grants.

One note of interest on this subject is that the Administration will be including the remainder of its block grant proposal in the 1983 budget submission which will be considered early in the 2nd session. I would hope that much of what we want to achieve can be accomplished during the consideration of this proposal.

I look forward to working with you on this matter next session.

Sincerely,



Howard H. Baker, Jr.

HHBJr:mko

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 14, 1981

JTC

Mr. Paul Weyrich
Free Congress Foundation
721 2nd Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

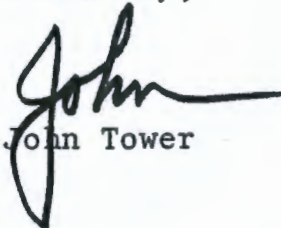
Dear Paul:

Mr. Richard Ford of Coordinated Consulting, Inc. in Dallas has recently requested my assistance in connection with a fundraising dinner to be held in Dallas for the benefit of the Free Congress Foundation and the Washington Legal Foundation.

I would be pleased to be of whatever assistance I can in connection with this event. In this regard, I would appreciate your contacting Mr. Brad O'Leary and discussing with him the plans and arrangements for this occasion. While, as you know, the Senate's schedule for next year is still not certain, I am very pleased to know of your plans to schedule such a dinner in my state.

With best wishes and warmest regards.

Sincerely,


John Tower

JGT/wlb

cc: Mr. Richard A. Ford
Mr. Brad O'Leary

PM/mc

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
December 11, 1981

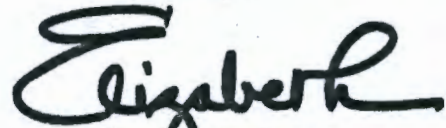
Dear Mr. Weyrich:

Thank you so much for sending me a copy of
A Blueprint for Judicial Reform.

I was delighted to receive a copy for my
personal library and know I will refer to
it often.

Again, many thanks and all best wishes to
you and your family for a happy and blessed
holiday season.

Sincerely,



Elizabeth H. Dole
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Mr. Paul M. Weyrich
President
Free Congress Research and
Education Foundation
721 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Paul - I was happy to
participate! Hope to see
you soon. E.

RM/TTC



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Mark D. Siljander
Fourth District
Michigan

December 16, 1981

Dear Paul,

I'd like to inform you that I accept, with great pleasure, your invitation to join the Congressional Advisory Board.

I look forward to working with you and other members of the Advisory Board.

I anticipate hearing from you soon, and if I can be of service to you in anyway please feel free to call upon me.

Sincerely,

Mark D. Siljander
Member of Congress

Mr. Paul M. Weyrich
Executive Director
Committee for the Survival
of a Free Congress
721 Second St., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

MDS/mlb

TTC BY CHRIS HELPER



TTC
(I made him on the occasion of his retirement.)
- Paul

Committee on Political Education

LANE KIRKLAND, Chairman

THOMAS R. DONAHUE, Secretary-Treasurer

ALEXANDER E. BARKAN, National Director

815 16TH STREET, N. W. ★ WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 ★ (202) 637-5101

December 30, 1981

Mr. Paul M. Weyrich, Director
The Committee for the Survival of a
Free Congress
721 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Mr. Weyrich:

It was good of you to write, and I appreciate your gracious words. Such testimony from a political opponent is assurance that I've earned my stripes.

As you know, I've spent a lifetime fighting most of the positions espoused by "new right" leaders like yourself, but I've always viewed the struggle as political, not personal, and certainly your letter was welcome.

Again, my thanks.

Sincerely,

Alexander E. Barkan
National Director

AB:rt
opeiu #2
afl-cio



TTC
(I wrote him on the occasion of his retirement.)
-PW

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Again, my thanks.

Sincerely,

Alexander E. Barkan
National Director

AB:rt
opeiu #2
afl-cio



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

MICK STATON
THIRD DISTRICT
WEST VIRGINIA

Dear Paul,

Lynn and I wish to express our appreciation for your support for my re-election. The confidence you have shown means much to us. I hope we will always be worthy of your trust.

Thank you so very much.

Sincerely,
Mick

CR / JTC

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
452 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

December 31, 1981

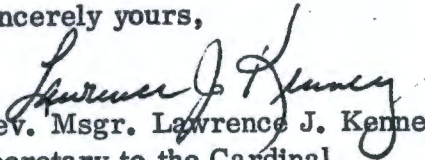
Dear Mr. Weyrich:

After the Midnight Mass of Christmas in Saint Patrick's Cathedral, His Eminence Cardinal Cooke began his annual pastoral visit to the members of our nation's military family overseas.

In his absence and on his behalf, I write to acknowledge receipt of your letter written in reference to the Cardinal's message of December 7th to the Chaplains who serve the men and women of the military services and the Veterans Administration.

With prayerful best wishes for a New Year filled with joy and peace, I am

Sincerely yours,


Rev. Msgr. Lawrence J. Kenney
Secretary to the Cardinal

Mr. Paul M. Weyrich, President
Free Congress Research and Education Foundation
271 Second Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

Enclosure



FEDERAL EXECUTIVE INSTITUTE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

Post Office Box 304 • McLean, Virginia • 22101

December 28, 1981

Pat B. McGuigan
Director, Judicial Reform Project
Free Congress Foundation
721 - Second St., NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Mr. McGuigan:

On behalf of the Board of Directors of the Federal Executive Institute Alumni Association; Robert Delaney, Program Facilitator; and myself, I would like to thank you for taking time away from your busy schedule to address the federal executives from the Department of Transportation, at the Capitol Hill Club on Tuesday, December 8th. Written feedback from the program participants attest to the worth of your presentation.

Quality contributions such as yours play an integral part in the growth and prestige of not only our Association, but the executive community as a whole. Again, thank you for your fine presentation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Alan L. Freed".

Alan L. Freed
Director of Programs

ALF:bs

1 - 2
TTC
Contact:

Phyllis Schlafly
618-462-5415

OR

Contact:

John Lofton, Jr.
703-893-1411
301-490-0104

CONSERVATIVES STRONGLY URGE PRESIDENT TO SHELVE
JUSTICE DEPARTMENT'S SURPRISING, SHOCKING DECISION TO
APPEAL FEDERAL COURT RULING ON EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

A coalition of 24 conservative leaders has expressed "surprise" and "shock" that the Justice Department plans to appeal a Federal court ruling that Congress violated the Constitution when it extended the deadline for states to ratify the proposed Equal Rights Amendment.

In a telegram to Ronald Reagan, the President is strongly urged to instruct the Justice Department to shelve its plans to appeal. This letter reads, in part:

"The Justice Department is under no obligation whatsoever to defend the unfair ERA time extension which was lobbied through Congress by the Carter Administration. If the Reagan Administration truly believes in states rights, then states should be allowed to decide for themselves how they are to be counted on approval or disapproval of a constitutional amendment....

"We strongly urge you to instruct the Justice Department to shelve plans to appeal this case. The Supreme Court would then be able to consider both sides of the argument without bias or interference from the Justice Department."

The full text of the letter to the President is attached as well as a list of the names of the conservatives signing the letter.

Dear Mr. President:

On December 23rd, the U.S. District Court ruled that the time extension granted to the Equal Rights Amendment was unconstitutional, and, further, that states have the constitutional right to rescind their previous ratifications. The judge's 80-page decision is powerful, persuasive, and, we believe, eminently correct.

On December 30th, the leading radical feminist organization, the National Organization for Women, announced that it is appealing this decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, which N.O.W. has a right to do since it is a defendant-intervenor in the case.

We were surprised and shocked to hear today that the Justice Department plans to appeal the case, thereby joining N.O.W. in its attempt to get the Supreme Court to rule that the states of Nebraska, Tennessee, Kentucky, Idaho and South Dakota must be counted as voting YES on ERA even though their legislatures have passed resolutions stating that they want to be counted as voting NO.

The Justice Department is under no obligation whatsoever to defend the unfair ERA time extension which was lobbied through Congress by the Carter Administration. If the Reagan Administration truly believes in states rights, then states should be allowed to decide for themselves how they are to be counted on approval or disapproval of a constitutional amendment.

A high White House official was recently quoted as saying that the Justice Department is "out of control". Any decision to join N.O.W. in appealing the ERA extension-recision ruling would be evidence that this is true.

We strongly urge you to instruct the Justice Department to shelve plans to appeal this case. The Supreme Court would then be able to consider both sides of the argument without bias or interference from the Justice Department.

Bill Billings, National Christian Action Coalition
Neal Blair, Free the Eagle
Judie Brown, American Life Lobby
Paul Brown, Life Amendment Political Action Committee
Terry Dolan, NCPAC
Hon. Mickey Edwards, U.S. House of Representatives
Rev. Jerry Falwell, Moral Majority
Rev. Charles Fiore O.P., National Pro-Life PAC
Peter Gemma, National Pro-Life PAC
Ron Godwin, Moral Majority
Gary Jarmin, Christian Voice
Woody Jenkins, Council for National Policy
Rev. James Kennedy, Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church
Rev. Tim LaHaye, Council for National Policy
Beverly LaHaye, Concerned Women for America
John Lofton, Conservative Digest
Ed McAteer, Religious Roundtable
Howard Phillips, Conservative Caucus
Hon. Bill Richardson, California State Senate
Ron Robinson, Young America's Foundation
James Robison, Evangelist
Phyllis Schlafly, Eagle Forum
Richard Viguerie, The Viguerie Company
Paul Weyrich, Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress
Tom Winter, Washington D.C.

WILLIAM L. ARMSTRONG
COLORADO

77c

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Paul -
FOR YOUR
INFO. REGARDS -
Paul

December 21, 1981

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am very much concerned to learn that you are being advised to postpone balancing the federal budget beyond your stated goal of 1984 or to disavow completely balancing the budget as a major objective of your Administration.

I strongly recommend that you reject such advice.

Since an economic upturn is expected early next year, in any event, it might appear that postponing needed fiscal discipline would do little harm. But long-range damage to the economy is inevitable, as you have often pointed out. Federal budget deficits of the magnitude now forecast will eventually lead to renewed inflation, unacceptable interest rates, investment stagnation and joblessness.

As for the political consequences, it could take years to recover the credibility our Party would lose if we back away from so basic an article of Republican faith as the balanced budget. The Democrats are gloating because of news reports that you may reverse your commitment on either budget or tax issues. To do so would confirm what they have always contended...that it is impossible to both cut taxes and balance the budget.

They are wrong, just as they have been consistently wrong in their management of the nation's financial policies for many years. It will be difficult, but we can and must achieve a balanced budget within the framework of the lower tax rates which your leadership has already made possible. In the process of doing so, we can turn the present budget crisis into the greatest political opportunity since the advent of the New Deal.

Franklin Roosevelt demonstrated, at a time of national financial crisis, how to build and strengthen a powerful political coalition in the face of intractable economic problems. The New Deal was an economic failure but a towering political success.

Our more than 200,000 members come from every state, from all walks of life, from just about every political persuasion. The one thing they do share is an abiding belief that people united can work for their own good -- the common good. And that we can fight city hall and win!

And that is why I am asking that you join us in our COMMON CAUSE -- to make the voice of the average citizen heard in the political process that affects our daily lives and the future of our country.

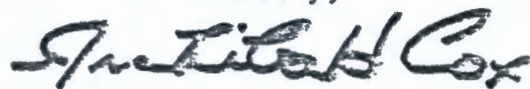
When you become a Common Cause member, you actually take not just one but several meaningful steps in the positive direction toward better government. In Common Cause magazine you will find out exactly what is going on in Washington. This exciting, informative and at times startlingly provocative members' magazine will increase your awareness of the critical issues and make you a far more informed voter when you cast your next ballot.

In addition, your name added to our roster increases our clout by yet another member. And conversely, the uniting of over 200,000 voices with yours amplifies your demands that government can work for you and for all citizens.

We don't have a minute to lose -- the New Right's blueprint for judicial reform -- the attack by the Attorney General on the independence of the courts -- the more than 30 bills introduced in Congress -- are threatening to overturn our constitutionally mandated system of checks and balances which has served to guarantee our freedom for over 200 years.

I write this letter as chairman of Common Cause. But having spent my life seeking to defend and improve our traditional American system of justice, I write it also as a personal plea. I hope you will join with us.

Sincerely,



Archibald Cox

TTC

ARCHIBALD COX
CHAIRMAN

Dear Fellow American,

Never before in my entire career have I been as concerned as I am right now about the attacks being made on the Constitution and the Supreme Court.

The New Right -- aided and abetted by groups such as the Moral Majority -- has launched a massive effort in the Congress to curtail the power of the Federal courts to protect our most basic constitutional liberties. Calling it a "blueprint for judicial reform" the New Right proposes to destroy the independence of our Federal courts. Its leaders acknowledge that with the publication of their blueprint, "the battle lines are clearly drawn."

And the New Right has been given an influential boost by a broadside attack on the Supreme Court and lower Federal courts leveled by the Attorney General of the United States, William French Smith.

If the New Right succeeds . . . they will have found a way to impose their intolerance upon all of us by changing the meaning of the Constitution without using the constitutionally mandated method of a two-thirds vote of Congress and approval by three-quarters of the states.

We at Common Cause mean to draw the battle lines and fight to preserve the constitutional liberties of all the people. We ask you to join us in the battle.

Common Cause has adopted as one of its highest priorities the defeat of nearly 30 bills before Congress which would eliminate or change the Supreme Court's jurisdiction over cases involving abortion, prayer in public schools, school busing and other matters.

In fighting for the defeat of these bills, we are not taking sides on the substance of these controversial issues. If constitutional decisions in these areas are wrong, let them be changed by time, debate or constitutional amendment approved by all the people. We are defending the function of an independent Supreme Court as the final arbiter of our constitutional freedoms.

Here is just one example. If an amendment offered by Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) passes, it would deprive the Supreme Court and all Federal courts of jurisdiction to hear school prayer cases in the future.

Today, if a public school sponsors prayers, a parent can sue in the Federal courts to enforce the Supreme Court's past decisions preventing such prayer recitation under the First Amendment. But the proposed legislation would prohibit such a suit from being brought into Federal courts. And the

Supreme Court would be prevented from hearing a state case on appeal. Thus, Congress would render the Supreme Court powerless to hear a citizen's plea for the protection of First Amendment safeguards separating church and state.

Whether you agree in this particular case is not the point. If bare majorities in Congress can take away a citizen's right to appeal to the Supreme Court in this instance, then bare majorities in Congress can just as easily withdraw Federal jurisdiction to hear claims relating to freedom of speech, or political association or the security of our homes and even our persons.

Common Cause is committed to seeing that this breakdown in our system of government does not happen.

This is not a question of party politics. Common Cause has a clear record of being uncommonly nonpartisan.

During our eleven years of existence as an organized, hard-hitting citizens' lobby, we haven't taken sides with either political party. On the very day Common Cause representatives stood proudly beside President Carter as he signed the most sweeping financial disclosure legislation in history -- legislation Common Cause fought hard to pass -- our legal team was in court filing a lawsuit against President Carter charging that he exceeded his Presidential power by making a temporary appointment to the Federal Election Commission during a Congressional recess.

Earlier, Common Cause sued both Republican and Democratic Parties for abuses of the campaign contribution laws. And when we won our long battle for public financing of Presidential elections, ridding them of huge corruption-inducing contributions, we were not concerned whether the "fat cat" contributors we helped outlaw were Republicans or Democrats.

Common Cause fought hard to bury the long entrenched House seniority system, which kept returning to positions of power the same autocratic chairmen. We didn't care to which party the ones who were ousted belonged. We wanted to reform the way Congress was run.

When we forced Congressional committees to meet in open session, we wanted to curb corruption and backroom deals, regardless of who was making them. We knew it was you and all taxpayers who were getting hurt, so we fought to put a stop to them.

Common Cause has also been a leader in the fight for tough ethics laws to stop the use of money to influence our public officials, for clean air, closing unfair tax loopholes, eliminating outdated government regulations and for a Federal budget system that works. In fact, the Christian Science Monitor wrote that, "there probably never has been a reform movement so active and with such a record of accomplishment as Common Cause."

As you can see, these efforts by Common Cause to return our government to the people respect no party lines, have no party bias. But then membership of Common Cause crosses all party lines, all economic levels, all regional boundaries.

Roosevelt blamed all of the problems of the era on the "Hoover Depression" and, at the same time, created an aura of better days to come. Roosevelt's first step was to tag Republicans as the cause of all the problems and successfully make the GOP scape-goat for all his program's failures. Thus he built the political framework that gave him the time and confidence needed to put his programs firmly in place.

In some ways, our situation today is remarkably similar to 1933. Only today, the Democrats, after years of wielding power are moving strongly to reverse the roles of the two parties. In speech after speech, Democratic leaders are attempting to rewrite the history of this economic crisis and blame it on us. They even have the temerity to posture themselves as the party of fiscal responsibility. It will be a travesty if they succeed in portraying the Reagan program as a failure before it is tried and convince the voters they should be returned to power to correct the very problems they created!

Your State of the Union address will be delivered at one of the great decisive moments of history. Because of this fact, and your undisputed ability to persuade, this speech could become a turning point of epic proportions. I therefore suggest that you can unite the Republican Party and the nation with a message containing these basic elements:

Define the magnitude of the financial mess and emphatically credit the Democrats with creating it. After a year of struggling with this legacy of mismanagement, we now can report the full dimension of the crisis which threatens the well-being of every citizen.

During a quarter century of liberal Democratic Congressional dominance, federal spending increased from \$68.5 billion to 10 times that amount -- \$660 billion. The national debt skyrocketed from \$271 billion in 1954 to nearly one trillion dollars now. This indebtedness does not include over \$1.5 trillion of unfunded obligation built into the Social Security system by the Democratic Congress. There are a myriad of other unfunded liabilities in the form of loan guarantees and other obligations that have been deliberately concealed from the American people and which should now be revealed and explained.

After years of reckless irresponsibility, inflation had skyrocketed from .5% to 12.4%, a 24-fold increase. The prime interest rates leaped from 1.6% to 21.5%. The federal government is now borrowing nearly 50% of all of the new capital that our entire economy can generate, compared to 19% in 1955. The damage to every citizen and enterprise in this land is massive.

While we acknowledge and commend the statesmanship and courage of individual Democrats who have fought for fiscal responsibility, as a party, the Democrats fully deserve to have their shocking performance labeled with a term as politically devastating as the "Hoover Depression."

Re-emphasize that the GOP program for economic recovery is primarily for middle America, the nation's working men and women and their families. The Democrats are trying, with some success, to label your Economic Recovery Tax Act as a "rich man's" tax cut and welfare for big companies. They are skillfully resurrecting slanders used against us for half a century and upon which, I regret to say, we remain vulnerable.

We must get back on the attack.

The Democrats claim to have cut taxes repeatedly in the last few years; yet the average working family's tax bill has risen dramatically. Jimmy Carter came to office promising he would never raise taxes for middle income families. Yet the median family's tax bill went up during his term. More and more families find their income, after taxes and inflation, going down year after year.

In the next few weeks, we must remind middle-income families of the failures and broken promises of the prior Administration. At the same time, I strongly urge you to re-emphasize the direct benefits of our program of personal tax reductions, indexing and business cuts to America's working men and women and their families. And warn against the coming effort to repeal these historic tax reductions.

Recommend specific reforms needed to reduce by at least half the cumulative deficits of the next three years and balance the budget in fiscal year 1984.

During the last few months, there has been so much discussion of deficits that there is real danger our senses will be overloaded and our perspective dulled. The deficits now being projected (estimates ranging from \$276 to \$476 billion in the next three years) are not merely large. These deficits are colossal, stupendous. If we treat such deficits as "manageable" or "acceptable" we invite an economic and political disaster.

Nor can we dismiss the deficit forecasts as failing to take into account effects of our supply-side tax program. On the contrary, even the most pessimistic of the various forecasts assumes solid growth in GNP and real progress in bringing down inflation and interest rates. Some people actually think expectations for the economic recovery may be too optimistic (especially in view of the tight money policy of the Fed) which only emphasizes the urgent need to match tax cuts with appropriate reductions in spending.

Economists disagree among themselves about the exact way in which federal budget deficits impact on inflation. Some argue deficits become inflationary only if monetized; others emphasize the main danger is that deficits push interest rates to abnormal levels; still others point out that deficit financing diverts savings away from urgently needed investments in private sector productivity thereby making the entire economy less and less efficient.

But on one point I find little or no disagreement. The public firmly believes that budget deficits are, in fact, a prime cause of inflation. The resulting decisions by which individuals and firms attempt to protect themselves profoundly affect patterns of investment, savings and consumption and tend to make the whole situation worse, thereby further reinforcing the original belief. This process is already well-advanced.

But there still remains a deep, ingrained faith in you and your Administration as the last, best hope for bringing budgets, and inflation, under control. If this faith is lost or compromised, the kind of private economic arrangements people will make can only produce an increasingly chaotic situation.

Even granting this premise, some of your advisers doubt it is possible to enact a program to achieve the needed results. Political considerations, they contend, require more gradual budgetary approach with less restraint and fewer "revenue enhancements." This general approach is highly reminiscent of our gradualism policy in Vietnam. It will have the same result, in my opinion.

A prominent economist neatly posed the question: "If now, the most classical, hardline conservative President in fifty years accepts indefinite deferral of a balanced budget, if he says that balancing the budget was 'only' a goal, who will any longer be inhibited by fear of deficits? In that case, what will restrain political pressures for endless expenditure increases and tax giveaways?"

In other words, how do we get even conservative Senators and Representatives to vote for restraining veterans benefits, food stamps, housing and other popular programs if we tell them there is no definite date by which balancing the budget is absolutely imperative? But it is heartening to recall the 50-47 vote on the sense of the Senate resolution during the last week of the session: "...it is the sense of the Senate that Federal outlays be reduced and the Federal budget be balanced through spending reductions in all parts of the budget, including entitlement programs, and revenue increases achieved other than through changes in the accelerated cost recovery system or the individual rate reductions recently enacted..."

To those who remain skeptical in the face of all these considerations, I can only say, as you are reported to have asked your Cabinet, "If not the Reagan Administration - who? If not now - when?"

Obviously, this is not the place to go into detail on the budget itself. But I do want to offer two general observations about the basic principles involved:

First, there can be no sacred cows if we are going to balance the budget by 1984. Even defense spending, which I am personally loath to touch, must be restrained below presently projected rates of increase.

The same is true of virtually every spending and entitlement program. Nor can we rule out some tax measures, "revenue enhancements" or whatever they may be called. I can see no way to leverage the needed restraint on the spending side without closing some tax loopholes and imposing some modest user fees and excise tax increases, along the lines you have proposed earlier this year. These tax changes would not contradict, and would actually enhance, our basic supply-side tax cuts and, not incidentally, help to blunt criticism that our tax cut favors the rich.

Second, we've got to dispel the notion that the budget is being cut. All the alarmist talk about how the budget is being cut, sliced, hacked, and in other ways dismembered is confusing the public. We must remind them that while some specific programs are being reduced (hopefully a few will even be abolished!), each year's total budget will be larger than the prior year. We are only talking about slowing the rate of increase, not actually reducing total federal spending.

Which brings me to my final recommendation...

Re-establish optimism and hope for the future.

The need for economic reforms you have long advocated -- including both tax reductions and a balanced budget -- has become increasingly evident in recent months. The economic justification for our program is mounting every day. Amazingly, however, since Congress reconvened after the August recess, we have been losing momentum. The initiative has switched to our opponents. In some quarters, a defensive mentality seems to be emerging. The leadership which this country so urgently needs cannot spring from such an attitude.

We must provide a rational basis for the people to believe in the economic and political future of this country by keeping faith with our promises. But it is also important to create a positive new image for our own programs and a new vocabulary that portrays a vision of a better future. (The "Incentive Society" is an example of an idea that is broad and appealing, as was the New Deal, but creates an opposite image from the highly taxed and regulated society we now have.) You have the unsurpassed ability to provide this vision and leadership.

In doing so, I urge you to mount a major nationwide campaign (complete with volunteer campaign organizations in every state, media blitz, etc.) in support of a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution. A number of responsible proposals have been developed and studied. Probably the most logical for you to back is the version which has been recommended for floor action by the Senate Judiciary Committee. Having been through hearings and markup, it has been reported and can be called up by the Majority Leader at any time. Moreover, it is a moderate and thoughtful proposal which enjoys broad support in the Senate and avoids the pitfalls of an unduly restrictive amendment.

The President
December 21, 1981
Page Six

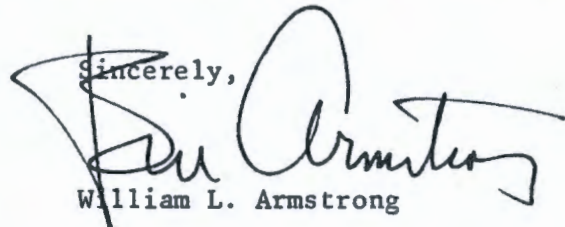
Such a constitutional amendment is unlikely to gain the needed two-thirds majority for Congressional passage in the near future. But popular support for the concept is overwhelming as evidenced by extensive polling data, scholarly writing and resolutions of support by more than thirty state legislatures.

By endorsing and actively supporting such an amendment, you will greatly enhance its possibility of ultimate passage which could become the crowning achievement of your Presidency. But even if we never succeed in passing the amendment, the fight is well worth making because doing so will provide opportunities to greatly strengthen your hand in dealing with Congress.

Submitting a thoroughly documented and supported proposal to enhance Presidential rescission authority can have a similar effect. It is a disgrace to tie the hands of the President in the manner now required by rescission and deferral procedures. Unnecessary billions have been spent during the Ford, Carter and Reagan years because of these irresponsible procedures. Virtually every state and local executive and, of course, private sector CEO's, have vastly more flexibility to manage than does the President of the United States. I therefore suggest you challenge Congress to either "fish or cut bait" on this issue...either cut back on marginal, unnecessary or wasteful spending or give the President a reasonable opportunity to do so through enhanced rescission power.

In this matter, as in others, I urge you to follow your own instincts which so often have proven correct. An equivocal program is likely to fail; a bold message will succeed.

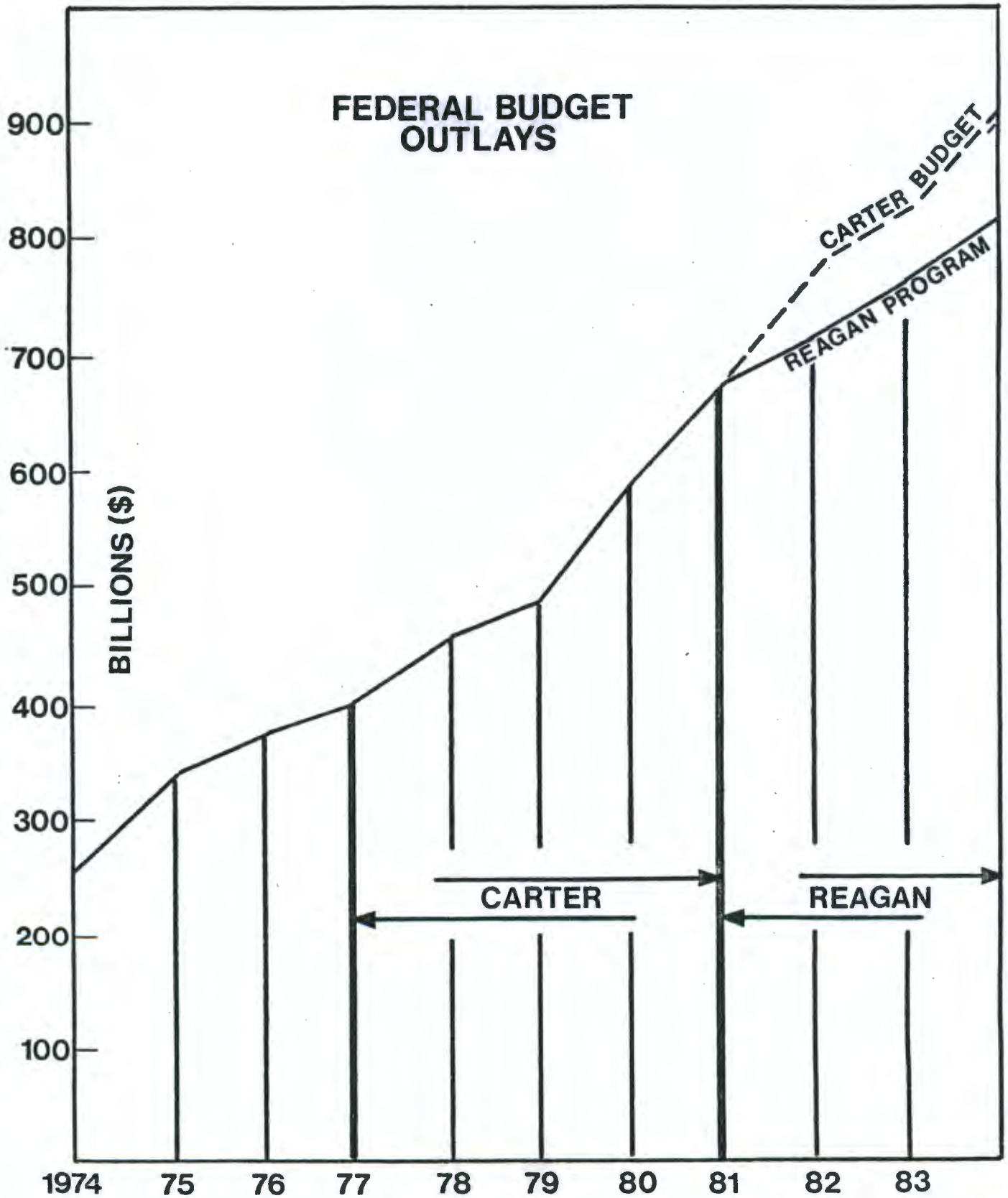
Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Armstrong", written over the typed name.

William L. Armstrong

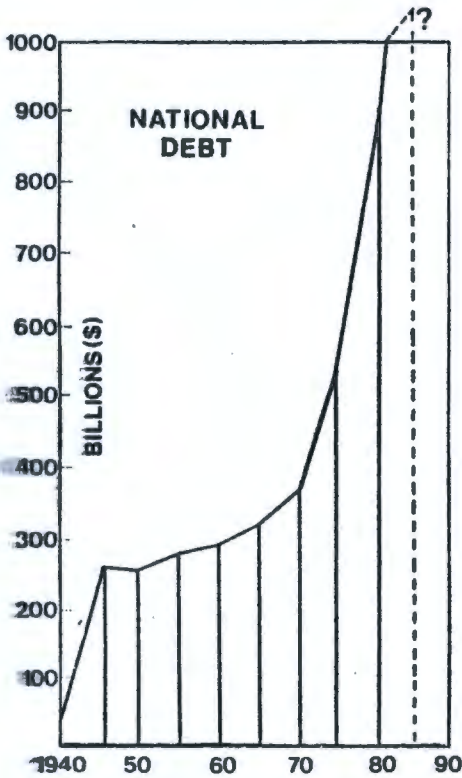
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Chart furnished courtesy of Sen. William L. Armstrong

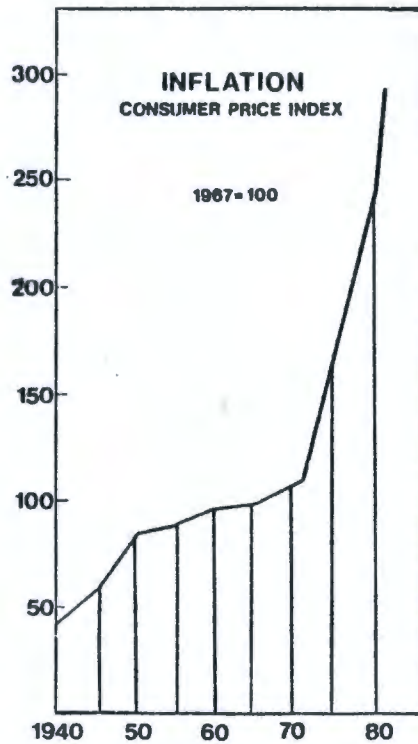


Source: Office of Management & Budget

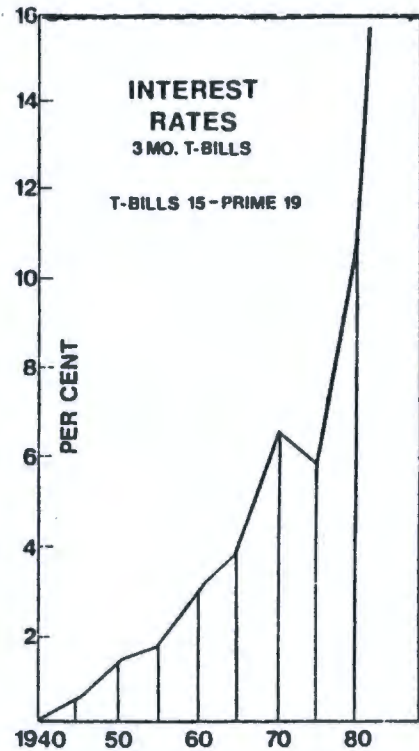
Charts furnished courtesy of Senator William L. Armstrong



Source: Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Economic Analysis



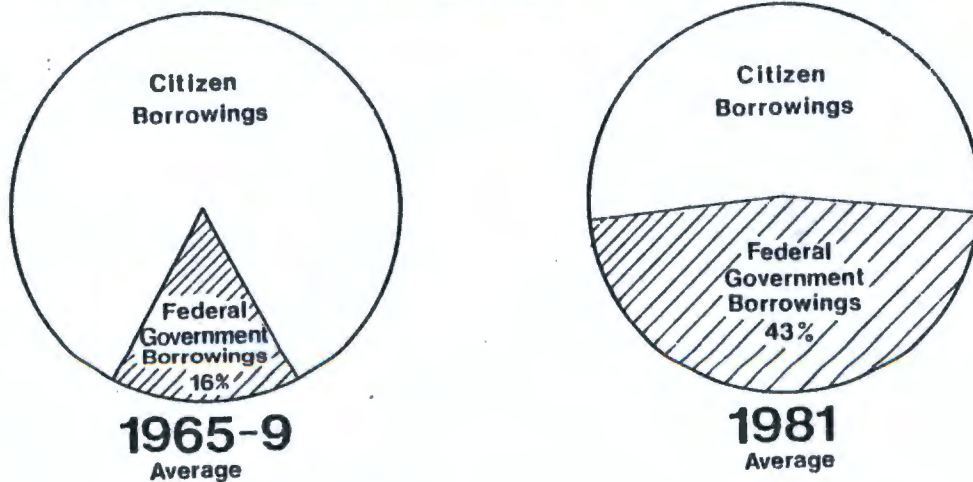
Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States



Source: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Economic Indicators

Why Interest Rates Are High

Federal Government's Increasing Share of New Capital in the Credit Markets



Total new capital available for loan by year

Source: Office of Management & Budget

COMPARISON OF DEFICIT PROJECTIONS

	<u>FCBR</u> ¹			<u>Domenici Plan</u> ¹			<u>Mark-up Base</u> ¹			<u>OMB Preliminary</u> ²			<u>CBO</u>		
	<u>FY82</u>	<u>FY83</u>	<u>FY84</u>	<u>FY82</u>	<u>FY83</u>	<u>FY84</u>	<u>FY82</u>	<u>FY83</u>	<u>FY84</u>	<u>FY82</u>	<u>FY83</u>	<u>FY84</u>	<u>FY82</u>	<u>FY83</u>	<u>FY84</u>
Revenues	658	713	775	655	710	794	655	701	756	630	662	694	625	655	695
Outlays	695	732	774	722	759	794	732	797	859	727	789	840	735	820	910
Deficit	37	19	1	67	49	0	77	96	103	97	126	146	110	165	215
Percent Change															
Revenues	9.3	8.3	8.7	8.8	8.5	11.7	8.8	7.0	7.8	4.5	5.1	4.8	3.8	4.8	6.1
Outlays	5.3	5.3	5.7	9.3	5.1	4.5	10.8	8.9	7.7	10.1	8.5	6.5	11.4	11.6	11.0

¹Assume original Administration growth figures.

²In his presentation to the Senate leadership on December 9, Stockman revised these figures:

Deficit projections:

<u>82</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>86</u>
107	148	152	167	175

This assumes no cuts beyond President's recommendations for tax changes, defense, entitlements, and appropriations.

Memorandum

TO: The Foundation

FROM: Connie Marshner

DATE: December 16, 1981

SUBJECT: Survey Research on Values of School Children

Yesterday I had a feasibility meeting with individuals from the U.S. Department of Education and the company of Research and Forecast Inc. Research and Forecast is survey research firm which prepared the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance survey which was so significant. This meeting had come about because Bob Sweet of the Department of Education had contacted the Research and Forecast people to see whether they would be interested in doing a study on public education. It turned out they were very interested in it because they had already been thinking about it in response to the interest of one of their customers--a major corporation. The purpose of this meeting was to determine what subjects ought to be included in the survey.

Research and Forecast had prepared a preliminary concept statement basically defining the purpose of the study: to examine the impact of government sponsored model programs on school children across the country. This is significant because it would be the first outside attempt to comprehensively study the role of the government as a change agent. There would have to be a classification of what types of programs aim to improve skills vs. those which attempt to help children learn values and then a comparison between students from private schools and students from public schools, teachers from both schools, etc. In our conversation we refined this concept statement a little bit to include the element of the contrast between public demand in education, i.e., what the public wants in education contrasted with what the public is getting in education.

All of this is significant because it could provide the data that would elevate the long-felt and intense concerns over education problems from the realm of conservatives only or parents only complaining in the wilderness and demonstrate to the world at large that there does exist a major national disparity on these issues. That is something that would be enormously helpful. The Research and Forecast firm is a highly reputed firm. They usually take nine to ten months to do a study because they spend several months doing literature searches and becoming familiar with the issues in depth--in fact a lot of our conversation in the two hour meeting was on issues and the ideology of the education professionals, etc. All of this they need to know before they can design that study which is very impressive. Research and Forecast has recently completed a study on Cotton Growers and has also done a major study on crime in America, a series of studies actually, which have been released as a book called Crime in America. It was interesting that while the Education Department had initially indicated to Research and Forecast that they might be able to come up with some government money for the program, Research and Forecast President John Pollack indicated a preference for private sector funding.

As we left things, Research and Forecast is going to do more research to determine whether they can do the study that they feel is necessary and would be credible.

ask all of us at the meeting to provide them with info. on the survey. Having that

If they have trouble obtaining private sector support for the project, they will get back with us and see if we can help them in that department. In the meanwhile they asked all of us at the meeting to provide them with articles, books, etc. giving them more information on the problem, and promised to get back in touch with us if they needed. I noted that the number two researcher had read Blackboard Tyranny, which suggested they have already done a good bit of homework on this issue.

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Coalitions

FROM: Connie Marshner

DATE: December 16, 1981

SUBJECT: Miscellaneous

To highlight some of my activities of the last several weeks.

—On November 12 Leora Day, under Secretary for Public Information with the Department of Agriculture, came to our Library Court meeting and asked for our assistance with combating the negative image that those of them who work in the nutrition programs have at Agriculture. Several of us at the meeting expressed to Leora our need for more information in order to be of help to them. For instance, we need horror stories documented and lists of funding abuses so that we can be helpful at combating the public relations fight. To date we have not received that information from the Agriculture Department although we have asked for it several times later.

—On November 13 I was on the Richard Hogue Today show along with Howard Phillips, Eddie McAtsee, Callen Davis, and Virginia Armstrong. As with anything involving such a diverse group of people, we talked about a wide range of subjects, but between Howie and me we managed to cover all of the current issues of the day including defunding the left, Family Protection Act, budgets, etc.

—On November 23 Gina Bessey from Senator Jepsen's office and I were guests on Jeffrey St. John's talk show on WRC Radio. The topic was the Family Protection Act.

—On November 24 I was on a one-and-a-half hour live hook-up with Radio Station KOH in Reno, Nevada, subject Family Protection Act. The other guest on the program was the President of the Board of Directors of Planned Parenthood of Northern Nevada. The show went very well. The Planned Parenthood person was inclined to be favorable about the tax provisions and even some of the education provisions in the Family Protection Act, although some of the callers were predictably mouthing the slogans of the opposition.

—On December 1 I was on a follow-up radio show on KOH covering the second group of Family Protection Act provisions we discussed. Here also the response was good.

—Also on December 1 I attended a breakfast meeting at the Department of Agriculture. It was supposed to be a breakfast, but it was more like a reception, since the only thing they served were coffee and Danish. (This is not a very good reflection on the quality of American agriculture.) Most of the New Right leaders were there: we left wondering exactly why we had been invited, but contenting ourselves to know that Secretary Block wanted to have established diplomatic relations with us.

—On December 2 Paul Weyrich and I had a meeting with Kenneth Lisenbee in New York. Lisenbee, who has been active in anti-pornography measures, is a complete self-starter who is interested in organizing former homosexuals into an organization to provide balance to the current presentation of the homosexual issue as only supportive of that life style. Lisenbee's idea is interesting and, while I do not have any great expectations, he is an individual whose commitment seems very deep, so perhaps something may come of this effort.

—On December 10 Richard Wirthlin came to Library Court to give a detailed report on the survey he has just completed for Free Congress Foundation.

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for public
broadcasting



TTC

December 18, 1981

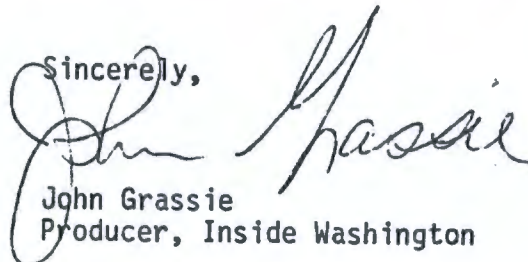
Mr. Stuart Rothenberg
Director, Political Division
Free Congress Research and Education Foundation
721 Second Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002

Dear Stuart,

Thank you, again, for the Congressional district maps of Texas. They were exactly what we needed. As I promised, the Foundation did receive an air credit at the end of the show. The program will be fed to the network on January 25th. and broadcast in Washington on the 27th and 31st. Normally we do not have an extended lead time between production and broadcast, but with the holiday schedules and preemptions, the 25th was our earliest opportunity to place the program in the schedule. I hope that you will watch not only this program, but others in the series as well.

This is certainly not the last time that we will need to check facts or locate materials for a program and I hope that we might call on you again for assistance.

Sincerely,



John Grassie
Producer, Inside Washington

owings mills, maryland 21117
301-356-5600

22 annapolis 31 hagerstown 62 frederick
28 salisbury 36 oakland 67 baltimore

Jim Rady

For Congress

TTC

120 West Grand Avenue • Escondido, CA 92025 • (714) 480-9551

December 16, 1981

Bob McAdam
CSFC
6 Library Court, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

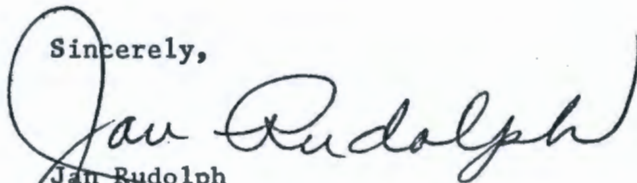
Dear Mr. McAdam,

I enjoyed our conversation yesterday. Thank you for the information on your committee and its plans. I will contact Jim Ellis this week.

Once our district lines are finalized, we will send you a district overview and results of our poll.

If there is any additional information you need on Jim Rady's background and philosophy, our campaign staff and structure, or the 43rd Congressional District, please let me know.

Sincerely,



Jan Rudolph
Finance Director

MEMO TO: The Committee

FROM: Bob McAdam

DATE: December 22, 1981

Last Friday, December 18, 1981, I had a meeting with Dick Nelson who is the AA to Cong. Skip Bafalis of Florida. Bafalis has announced his intention to run for Governor of Florida and Nelson will run for his congressional seat.

Nelson describes himself as "to the right of Bafalis" on most issues. Bafalis' voting record is fairly good, so this would indicate a substantial area of agreement between CSFC and Nelson. Nelson's main problem is low name ID. The district, after the lines change, will still favor the GOP candidate and there is one conservative St. Senator who will challenge Nelson in the GOP primary.

Nelson seemed very much interested in working with CSFC. I gave him a questionnaire and invited him to attend our next conference. Since there will probably not be a great deal of ideological difference between Nelson and his primary opponent, I told him our involvement would depend on his making a sound case for his viability, namely with a sound campaign organization and some encouraging survey data.

TTC / FILE



American Sports, Inc

Post Office Box 1127 • Havana, Florida 32333 (904) 539-6405

12/29/81

Bob McAdam, Assistant Director
The Committee for the Survival
of a Free Congress
721 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Bob:

I appreciate the time you spent with us discussing the logistics of campaigning for Congress. Your advice was helpful and we look forward to participating in the program you have scheduled for January.

The questionnaire you provided me will be completed and returned to you within a couple of weeks.

Again, thank you for your assistance. We will certainly benefit from our association with your organization, and believe you will appreciate the intensity of our effort to place another conservative voice in congress.

This country must regain the sanity that was the basic groundwork of the U.S. Constitution.

Romans 8:31-32

Ronald A. McNeil

RAM/ab

All We Sell is Fun!

SR, PW, RSA

Volume XI, Number 7
December 18, 1981

The American Political Report

Published by the American Political Research Corporation
4312 Montgomery Avenue
Bethesda, Maryland 20014
Telephone (301) 654-4990

The U.S. Senate: Democratic Incumbents Vulnerable in 1982	p. 1	Races (Part II -- Eastern, Democratic-Held Seats)	p. 3
National Politics: Reagan Approval, Congressional GOP Blamed for Economic Measures	p. 2	Update: Election 1982 (Initiatives and Referenda)	p. 5
Election 1982: U.S. Senate		Update: Election 1982 (Governorships, U.S. House, Redistricting)	p. 6

THE U.S. SENATE: DEMOCRATIC INCUMBENTS VULNERABLE IN 1982

Despite the possibility of a relatively weak economy in the 3rd quarter of 1982, roughly a dozen Democratic Senate incumbents remain at least somewhat vulnerable to Republican challenge. For the moment, the general feeling is that only 1-5 of those incumbents are likely to lose, with an approximately equal number of GOP seats toppling, causing no real change in Senate ratios. But -- and it's an important point to underscore -- if the economy does turn up strongly in the 3rd quarter, a much larger portion of the list below could be in serious trouble.

The chart below represents the views of our major political action committee/political committee panel as to the relative vulnerability of the 20 incumbent Democrats who'll be seeking re-election next year. As to methodology, eleven experts were each asked to pick the six shakiest Senators. The rank-ordering below reflects their combined totals.

Number of PACs/Committees Rating Among 6 Most Vulnerable	Number of PACs/Committees Rating Among 6 Most Vulnerable
<u>Highly Vulnerable</u>	<u>Possibly Vulnerable</u>
Mitchell (Me.) 11	Stennis (Miss.) 1
Williams (N.J.) 10	Melcher (Mont.) 1
Cannon (Nev.) 9	Moynihan (N.Y.) 1
	Chiles (Fla.) 1
<u>Vulnerable/Somewhat Vulnerable</u>	Jackson (Wash.) 1
Sasser (Tenn.) 7	<u>Apparently Safe/ Safe</u>
Byrd (W.Va.) 6	Bentsen (Tex.) 0
Riegle (Mich.) 4	Matsunaga (Hawaii) 0
Sarbanes (Md.) 4	Proxmire (Wis.) 0
Burdick (N.D.) 3	Kennedy (Mass.) 0
Metzenbaum (Ohio) 3	
DeConcini (Ariz.) 2	
Zorinsky (Neb.) 2	

The partial surprise on the list...Senate Democratic Leader Robert Byrd. The plausibility of the growing speculation that he's beatable is considered in more detail on page 3. Note two other caveats: To begin with the three highly vulnerable incumbents, it's possible at least two won't be renominated, and that they'll be replaced by much stronger Democratic nominees, thwarting GOP pick-up ambitions; second, there's no great sense, at least currently, that the six Senators at the bottom of the "vulnerable/somewhat vulnerable" list are in great jeopardy. A number of PAC experts found it easy to pick 3-4 vulnerable Democrats, but were less sanguine about the last 1-2 chosen in order to meet our request for six names. (For state-by-state details on the races of the Democratic Senate incumbents from east of the Mississippi, see pp. 3-4.)

NATIONAL POLITICS

1) Reagan Job Approval/Economic Policy Approval: No new national polls. But some interesting speculation by national pollsters...in interviews with Media General News Service (Richmond Times-Dispatch, 12/6), Reagan pollster Richard Wirthlin and Democratic surveytaker Peter Hart said the next half year will be crucial for RR: "Wirthlin has told the White House that although Reagan has three more years as president, the next six months will tell whether he's going to be a successful president or go down as another Herbert Hoover." And Democrat Hart says: "I just keep thinking: Marie Antoinette, Marie Antoinette." Per the Media General report, "Hart predicts that public opinion will crystallize against Reagan following some slip-up or blunder similar to the French queen's suggestion that the breadless peasants eat cake -- a statement that symbolized the French ruling class's indifference to the poor and put the frosting on the revolution."

2) Election 1982 Trendline: See pp. 5-8 for state-by-state details. Governorships: Paul Weyrich of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, probably the canniest New Right strategist, is identifying GOP State Senate President Bob Monier's bid for the New Hampshire governorship in 1982 as an as-yet-little-appreciated key to the GOP right retaining its hold on the party presidential nomination in 1984. A tried and true conservative coalitionist, Monier as governor -- and controlling the state GOP -- could play a major role in the pivotal early 1984 N.H. presidential primary and "could well check the nation's return of liberal Republicanism" (Conservative Digest, Dec.). U.S. Senate: 1982 election-watchers are reporting North Dakota Sen. Quentin Burdick (D) stronger than expected. New polls (see p. 8) give him a huge 40-point lead over mentioned GOP opponents. In APR's view, the escalating farm revolt probably rules out any GOP Senate or House gain in the main Farm Belt states (Kan., Neb., S.D., N.D., Minn., Wis. and Iowa). U.S. House: Chief White House political aide Lyn Nofziger and his 1982 successor, Ed Rollins, said on 12/10 that they now have little hope the GOP can win control of the House in 1982, nor do they expect the GOP to become the U.S. majority party (if there is one) during Reagan's term (Washington Post, 12/11). In the meantime, new Louis Harris polling data shows the public now critical of Congress for key 1981 economic policies/decisions and putting most of the policy blame on the GOP.

	Congress Ratings			Responsible for Action			
	Positive	Negative	Not Sure	Dems.	GOP	Both	Not Sure
Cutting federal business and personal taxes sharply	33%	63%	4%	21%	58%	6%	14%
Cutting federal spending	38	59	3	20	59	7	13
Making major farm subsidy cuts	27	58	15	28	41	4	26
Handling interest rates	18	73	9	22	49	7	21

MEMO:

RE: DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL TRAINING ACADEMY

December 5th and 6th, I attended the Democratic National Training Academy in Washington, D.C. It was the 2nd of a series of such 'campaign training schools' that the DNC will be holding regionally in preparation for 1982. I will attempt here to give a general overview and offer my observation concerning the content and quality, strategy and mindset of the Democratic Party. If more detailed notes are required for any of the topics I mention here, I will make them available. Attached you will find a list of speakers, agenda, electives, and attendees.

The first major presentation, (BASICS I), was given by Jim Friedman on Campaign Fundraising. His point?-- Ask as many people as possible, in as many ways as possible, as many times as possible, for as much money as possible. His remarks were interesting, and I'm sure his audience picked up some common-sensical notions from this.

After each major presentation, the group of some 325 broke up into discussion groups of 25 or so to share thoughts and applications regarding the lecture.

The second major presentation (BASICS II), was by Mike Burman, former campaign manager for George McGovern. He addressed Campaign Management, Planning and Budget. He was dull at best, giving little insight into the realities of day to day campaigning. He did, in all fairness, say a few things that we emphasize in our school, that being "If it's not written down, it doesn't exist." He discussed phone banks, literature drops, scheduling, calendars and newsletters only in passing, giving a broad overview. He advised pooling resources with other candidates.

BASICS III was titled Voter Contact. This was a thumbnail sketch of types of voter I.D. and Turnout, and Direct Mail, again only in general terms.

The last BASICS group was very interesting. The topic was Media Communication, and the speaker was Jill Buckley with Rostein and Buckley. She talked about press relations, T.V., radio, print and "free" media. It was your basic 'Who do I talk to, what do I say and how do I say it?'

There were numerous electives to choose from. Among these I chose How to Fight the New Right. It was a multi-media event-- a slide presentation of Weyrich, Dolan, Falwell, et al, complete with cassette tapes of New Right commercials.

They said "The right present their candidate as a worker, a family man, all-American. They use emotional hits. We can drape ourselves in motherhood too. We can use the flag and eagles on our stationery. We should talk in terms of family." They told us to pick up the themes of the New Right, to shave mustaches and attack back. The attendees were told to copy our direct mail-- short paragraphs, lots of underlining and writing in the margins. Why?, someone asked. "I don't know, but that's what they do." The way to 'fight the New Right?' adopt their tactics. "we're Americans too, let's use the flag, and present ourselves as family types."

We were told that NCPAC has a pattern. "6 to 8 weeks before the election, they begin a systematic formula of attack." The New Right specializes in "negative campaigns."

They don't understand our coalition or why we do the things we do or why we think we're right. The point was made, "You can't appeal to voters on single issues. We want to neutralize the idea that they vote for singular purposes.

The next elective I chose was Opposition Research. Dull! They simply said to look up your opponent's

voting record	office expenditures
bills sponsored	personal disclosure
committee activity	public statements
travel	F.E.C. reports
attendance	

We were told that CQ was a good place to find most of this.

PAC solicitation was another chosen elective and it too was boring. It was basic and common sensical.

The last elective was Working With Labor, presented by Chris Gersten. Candidates were told how to get the most money from labor. Basically, that entails selling yourself to the local union officials, and then press for money at all of the higher levels of all the unions in the area. Incumbents will get the labor nod over challengers and House races will get \$40,000 to \$100,000 in contributions we were told. "If a Democrat wins the primary, they will receive an endorsement."

I found it interesting that he talked about a survey done among union members, in 1980, showing that "they are hard line on social issues, for increased defense spending even if it means higher taxes by 12 to 1. It's a voting issue. They're against bussing and gays. They will bote their pocketbook if the New Right were to put together a highly organized effort to convince them what their interests are." "I wouldn't run against Kemp-Roth."

Throughout the three day seminar, groups were distributing their literature. They were, People for the American Way, National Coalition to Ban Handguns, Democrats for the 80's, and American's for Common Sense.

There was a "Political Film Festival" one evening which was a 45 minute presentation of political commercials. Some were NCPAC's, some were People for the American Way (which we were told were airing as public service announcements). It was a collection of the good ones, subtle to hard-hitting, but innovative, attention-getting commercials. This might be a good idea to give our candidates some ideas.

My impressions? Worth their effort to put on, and a step in the right direction, but they covered the basics only. There was no real in depth discussion on most topics. Discussion groups were held after each presentation, for 1 hour. Good concept, but too many and too long. They needed more meat and in-depth lectures.

They did not cover volunteer recruitment and training, college campus, job descriptions, non-professional media, survey research, campaign strategy, vote goals or coalitions. Not much was covered in the way of press relations, campaign calendars, election day process or direct mail.

Ironically, the best presentation was fundraising. I find it interesting that the Congressional Club alone has raised 3 times more than the DNC.

This seminar is something that will improve with time. They asked us to evaluate all aspects for them, and I'm sure they received some valuable feedback.

The concept and general approach is good. They don't understand coalitions. They do not apologize for the programs of the past 40 years and they are not moderating in the least. They offered no new ideas or alternate programs. 1980 apparently told them nothing about the public's persuasion and they think they deserve to govern by divine right. -(quote) They continue to call for government funding of everything, because "somebody has to watch out for the interests of the people."

They know that the only issue they have been beating us on is Social Security, and that is because we haven't framed the issue or spoken articulately with any alternative. Expect them to use just that, and to make it sound like we are taking advantage of the poor and wrecking the system.

I talked with numerous candidates, (a listing follows), and found them generally of low caliber-- no nuke, environmentalist types. However, a couple were impressive

There were no candidates from any district where we may be the most vulnerable in 1982.

DOUG

EASTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Friday, December 4, 1981

- 8:00 Registration
10:00-11:00 Plenary Session
11:15-12:45 Workshops: *IMPACT OF REAGANOMICS ON:*
A. *Social Security*
B. *Energy & Environment*
1:00- 2:30 LUNCH
2:45- 4:15 Workshops: *IMPACT OF REAGANOMICS ON:*
C. *Families*
D. *State, County & Local Government*
4:30- 6:00 Plenary Session: *Employment and Economic Development*
6:30- 7:30 ERA Fundraiser-Reception \$10.00 per person
7:30- 9:30 DINNER

Speakers and panelists will include members of Congress, Governors, Mayors and state and local legislators.

*Conference Sponsor: Eastern Regional Caucus, Sharon Pratt Dixon, Chair,
J. Wilcox Brown, Lanny Davis, Rena Baumgartner*

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL TRAINING ACADEMY

Saturday, Dec. 5, and Sunday, Dec. 6, 1981

The Democratic National Committee brings to Washington the Democratic National Training Academy: the nationally acclaimed training program for Democratic activists. Join the hundreds of candidates, campaign staffers and party workers who have participated in the DNTA to learn new campaign skills and the latest in old techniques. The DNTA curriculum includes basic courses taught by experienced political professionals; breakout sessions organized by level of interest and experience; and a wide range of electives to meet every campaign situation.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1981

- 8:00 AM Registration opens
9-10:30 AM Basics I: Management Planning & Budget
10:45-11:45 AM Breakout Session: Management Workshop
12:00- 1:30 PM Lunch & Basics II: Fundraising
1:45- 2:45 PM Breakout Session: Fundraising Workshop
3:00- 6:00 PM Electives I and II
Dinner Break—
8:00 PM Electives & Political Film Festival

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1981

- 9-10:30 AM Basics III: Voter Contact
10:45-11:45 AM Breakout Session: Voter Contact Workshop
12:00- 1:30 PM Lunch & Basics IV: Media Communication
1:45- 2:45 PM Breakout Session: Media Workshop
3:00- 4:30 PM Electives IV
Electives include:
Targeting
Direct Mail
**Opposition Research*
PAC Solicitation
**Working with Labor*
Living with the FEC
State Legislative Races
Women Candidates
**How to Fight the New Right*
Smile You're on Candid Camera

DNTA PRESENTERS

BASICS I: FUNDRAISING -- JIM FRIEDMAN

BASICS II: MANAGEMENT PLANNING & BUDGET -- MIKE BERMAN

BASICS III: VOTER CONTACT -- JOHN RENDON

BASICS IV: MEDIA COMMUNICATION -- JILL BUCKLEY

Electives:

Targeting -- Joel Bradshaw

How to Fight the New Right -- GRASSROOTS (Kandra Hahn, Jerry Loos)

Free/Low Cost Media -- Audrey Shephard

Organizing and Using Volunteers - Angie Martin

Polling - Dottie Lynch

PAC Solicitation - Bill Sweeney

Direct Mail - Bob Jones

Opposition Research - Marta David, David Rubenstein, Len Hirsh

State Legislative Races - Paul Tully

Smile, You're on Candid Camera - Bob Hirschfeld,

Working with Labor - Chris Gersten/Ruth Colombo.

Women Candidates - Roselie Whelan

Living with the FEC - Carol Darr

ELECTIVES THAT ARE BEING OFFERED AT THIS TRAINING ACADEMY ARE:

TARGETING: the analysis and use of past voting behavior in order to best relocate resources. How to select, gather and use data to locate concentrations of Democratic and persuadable voters.

HOW TO FIGHT THE NEW RIGHT: a detailing of experiences and techniques for campaign planning.

FREE/LOW COST MEDIA: ways of generating free coverage of the campaign and the preparation of media contact which does not waste campaign resources.

ORGANIZING AND USING VOLUNTEERS: recruitment, training, supervision and deployment of the most important resources. Also the basics of building a field organization.

POLLING: a panel discussion of various uses of polling techniques for campaign planning and decision making.

PAC SOLICITATION: a description of the best ways to approach PAC's and to solicit money for the campaign.

DIRECT MAIL: the basic technology in the planning and use of direct mail techniques.

OPPOSITION RESEARCH: ways of researching opponents records and using the procedures of the research as a party of strategy planning.

STATE LEGISLATIVE RACES: the basics of planning and executing campaigns for various state legislatures.

SMILE, YOU'RE ON CANDID CAMERA: for candidates -- what to do when they put a microphone under your nose and ask you a different question.

(Over)

WORKING WITH LABOR: how to develop a cooperative and helpful relationship with labor groups.

WOMEN CANDIDATES: the special dynamics involved in a campaign where the candidate is a woman. For the candidate and her staff.

LIVING WITH THE FEC: the basic requirements of the regulations and how to deal with them.

TTC

JLS

December 30, 1981

Mr. Paul Weyrich
Committee for the Survival of
a Free Congress
721 Second Street NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Paul: *Paul*

Thanks so much for taking some time from a very full schedule to visit with me during my trip to Washington. It was a pleasure for me to renew our acquaintance in person.

I'll keep you posted on Congressional developments.

Kindest regards,

John
John L. Swigert, Jr.



RTM / 1
COM FOR RMN

MEMORANDUM

Paul -
FYI -
C. Russell

TO: Political Consultants
FM: Ben Goddard
SUB: Mass Media Package

Democrats were blindsided in 1980.

Right wing "hit lists", voter frustration with what they saw as administration failures and a well-executed Republican campaign caught many Democrats by surprise.

The GOP tide was expected in Arizona. Ronald Reagan maintained his party's 30-year, uninterrupted control of the electoral vote. The state legislature remained Republican, making it virtually "veto proof". Incumbent Congressmen sailed to easy victory.

But Barry Goldwater, "Mr. Republican", was actually beaten November 4 by a political unknown. When the polls closed, Bill Schulz had tallied nearly 3,000 more votes than the incumbent. The next day's count of absentee ballots--cast weeks earlier, thanks to a well-oiled Republican machine--gave Goldwater a 1% victory. Bill Schulz had run 170,000, votes ahead of Jimmy Carter.

Obviously, I'd like to say our November 4 numbers held up and Bill Schulz is now in the U.S. Senate. I do believe, however, that our performance in 1980 proves that First Tuesday knows how to fight the "Right." (Schulz was given no chance to beat Goldwater when he launched his campaign.)

I have enclosed a composite that more completely describes the Schulz campaign, a copy of our First Tuesday brochure, and the First Tuesday Mass Media Package, which is, we think, one of the few real bargains left in politics. The media package is commissionable (7.5%) to recognized political consultants or advertising agencies.

If you have any further questions regarding the First Tuesday Media Package or other campaign media services, please contact either myself or Richard Mayol, Vice President of First Tuesday. We look forward to working with you for Democratic victories in 1982.

"The biggest mistake I ever made in politics was not learning to use television."

Hubert H. Humphrey

Television is the political medium of the 80's. The President uses it to rally the country and bend the Congress to his will. Challengers use it to overcome once invincible incumbents. Interest groups use it to build constituencies.

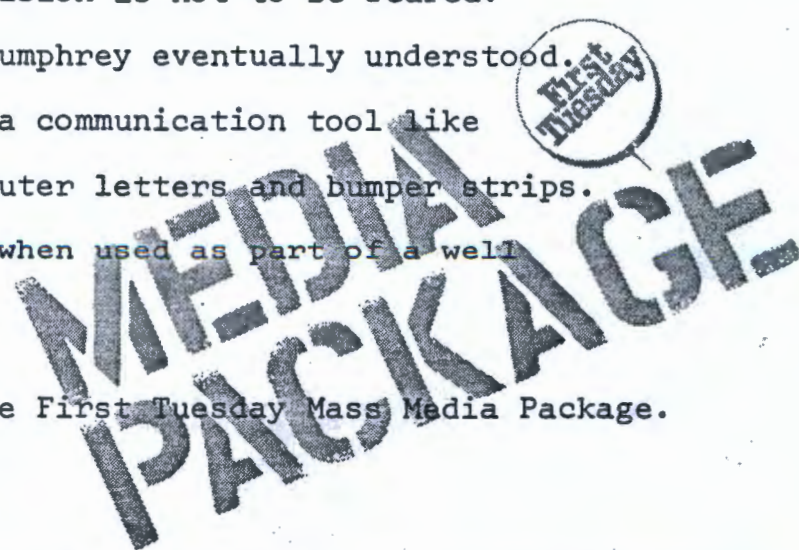
They all use television because people use television.

The tube shows us how the market's doing, what the President said, who's fighting who, the jokes going around, fashions and fads that are sweeping the world, the triumphs and tragedies of everyone important, and those not so important.

With the push of a button, we can watch the world.

Powerful as it is, television is not to be feared. It is to be used, as Hubert Humphrey eventually understood. Television is merely a tool, a communication tool like newspapers and radio and computer letters and bumper strips. Like any tool, it works best when used as part of a well conceived plan.

That's the reason for the First Tuesday Mass Media Package.



THE PACKAGE INCLUDES:

Campaign Theme.

Based on your polling data and strategy inputs we will develop a statement, theme or slogan that tells the voter what you understand the campaign to be about.

Graphic Identity.

We will develop a graphic "image" for the campaign that can, and should, be used in all media and on all materials.

Television Strategy.

We will write, direct and produce a package of television commercials that develop and enhance the campaign theme and bring it to life for the voter. This segment of the package includes a crew on location for up to four days, 8 to 10 completed commercials, or an option of a five-minute program combined with fewer commercials.

Radio Strategy.

We will write, direct and produce a package of radio commercials targeted for specific radio audiences. This segment includes 10 to 12 commercials of either 30 or 60-second length.

Newspaper Strategy.

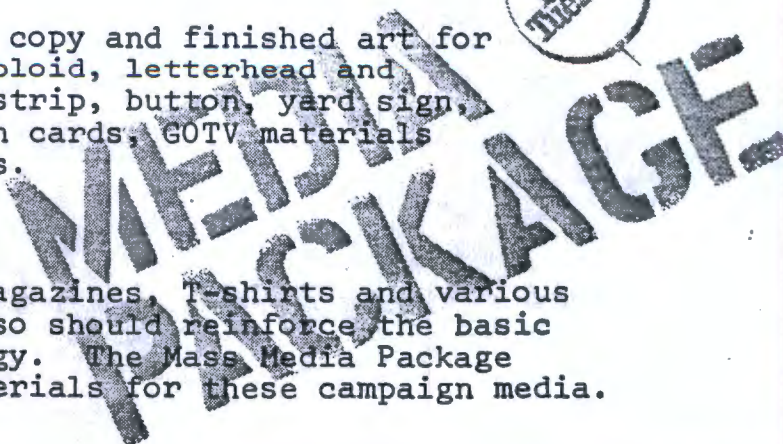
We will write, design and produce a series of newspaper advertisements which reinforce the electronic media and/or develop specialized themes for specialized audiences, usually 5 to 6 advertisements of any standard size that achieve page dominance.

Campaign Materials.

Concepts, graphic design, copy and finished art for a hand-card, brochure, tabloid, letterhead and envelope, poster, bumper strip, button, yard sign, volunteer and contribution cards, GOTV materials and position paper formats.

Other Media.

Billboards, road signs, magazines, T-shirts and various specialty print pieces also should reinforce the basic campaign theme and strategy. The Mass Media Package includes reproduction materials for these campaign media.



The most important element about our Mass Media Package, however, is what you don't get:

You don't get a lot of diverse, confusing messages cluttering up your communication with the voter.

That becomes even more important when you consider that each of us is bombarded with over 2,500 advertising messages every day of our life. No person can absorb all that information. We all use what Hemmingway called a "built-in crap detector". We screen out most of the messages aimed at us. The ones that get through are the ones that are creative, concise and consistent.

That is what the First Tuesday Media Package is: Creative, concise, consistent communication. All your media works better because all your media works together, as part of a custom-package designed especially for your campaign.



**MEDIA
PACKAGE**

HOW THE FIRST TUESDAY MASS MEDIA PACKAGE WORKS:

First Tuesday contracts with a political consulting group, an advertising agency or directly with the campaign to create, design and produce all the media package materials. Working with other professionals you may have already selected to research and plan an efficient campaign, we implement an effective media strategy.

We then produce the materials necessary and deliver reproduction materials such as mats, proofs, tapes, dubs and/or slicks to the campaign or to the appropriate media.

The package price includes all creative, conceptual and production work through printers mechanicals, the first release dub for broadcast materials, and camera-ready art for print media. Since the number of mats, slicks, dubs, tapes and so forth will vary from market to market, the package price does not include duplicate copies of reproduction materials. For similar reasons, travel from Phoenix, Arizona to the location of the campaign is not included.

WHAT THE FIRST TUESDAY MASS MEDIA PACKAGE COSTS:

The package price is \$70,000, net.

Terms are 20% on signing of the contract, the balance on a payment schedule determined by the strategic needs of the campaign and the production schedule of materials



DEC 21 1981

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 18, 1981

77c

MEMORANDUM FOR PAUL WEYRICH MB
FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL
SUBJECT: CONTRIBUTIONS TO BOTH SIDES IN HOUSE AND SENATE
RACES WHERE PARTY CONTRL SWITCHED IN 1980

We have been hearing a lot in the news media now about how those rich conservatives and Republicans bought the elections of 1980, and are planning to buy the elections again in 1982.

It ain't so. Take a look at the data from the twelve U.S. Senate seats Republicans took from Democrats last year. In 9 of 12, the Democrat outspent the Republican.

Even if you add in the NCPAC independent expenditures in their four winning Senate races, Democrats still outspent their Republican opponents in 8 of 12 races. This of course does not include immense, unreported political use of congressional office budgets which the 9 defeated Democratic Senators enjoyed.

I have also heard the suggestion that Republican domination of the Senate depends on the smaller states. Attached is a breakdown of the population by state and party representation, splitting population where the Senators are of both parties. Note that the Senate representative population figures are very close.

THE 1980 ELECTION

SENATE SHIFTS-

DEMOCRAT TO REPUBLICAN

INDIANA

* Birch Bayh	Dan Quayle
46%	54%
\$2,773,254	\$2,430,878 (Quayle Spending)
	\$141,841 (NCPAC)**
	<hr/>
	\$2,572,719 Total

NEW HAMPSHIRE

* John Durkin	Warren Rudman
48%	52%
\$676,150	\$585,926

IOWA

John Culver	* Charles Grassley
46%	53%
\$1,750,680	\$2,183,028 (Grassley Spending)
	\$149,171 (NCPAC)**
	<hr/>
	\$2,332,199 Total

SOUTH DAKOTA

* George McGovern	James Abdnor
39%	58%
\$3,237,669	\$1,675,430 (Abdnor Spending)
	\$168,218 (NCPAC)**
	<hr/>
	\$1,843,648 Total

WISCONSON

* Gaylord Nelson	Robert Kasten
49%	50%
\$897,774	\$686,758

ALASKA

* Clark Gruening	Frank Murkowski
46%	54%
\$507,445	\$496,854

IDAHO

* Frank Church
49%
\$1,931,487

Steve Symms
50%
\$1,750,777 (Symms Spending)
\$262,805 (NCPAC)**

\$2,013,582 Total

WASHINGTON

* Warren Magnuson
46%
\$1,614,999

Slade Gorton
54%
\$907,317

ALABAMA

Jim Folsom, Jr.
49%
\$356,647

* Jeremiah Denton
50%
\$855,346

FLORIDA

* Bill Gunter
48%
\$2,164,560

Paula Hawkins
52%
\$696,969

GEORGIA

* Herman Talmadge
49%
\$2,213,289

Mack Mattingly
51%
\$504,016

NORTH CAROLINA

Robert Morgan
49%
\$948,209

* John East
50%
\$1,175,875

** Independent Expenditure

Total
Democrat Spending
\$19,072,163

Total
Republican Spending
\$13,979,174 (candidate Spending)
+ \$722,035 (NCPAC)

\$14,701,209 Total

THE 1980 ELECTION

HOUSE SHIFTS-

DEMOCRAT TO REPUBLICAN

NORTHEAST

Conn. - 3

* Joe Lieberman
46%
\$302,054

Lawrence DeNardis
52%
\$185,799

AC)

N.J. - 4

* Frank Thompson
41%
169,065

Chris Smith
57%
\$79,069

N.J. - 7

Andy Maguire
47%
\$346,781

* Marge Roukema
51%
\$411,986

N.Y. - 3

Jerome Ambro
47%
\$120,061

* Greg Carmen
50%
\$1,038,125

N.Y. - 6

Lester Wolff
47%
\$110,221

* John LeBoutillier
53%
\$490,121

N.Y. - 17

* John Murphy
35%
\$303,108

Guy Molinari
48%
\$148,993

N.Y. - 32

Jeff Brooks
32%
\$15,315

* George Wortley
60%
\$170,106

Penn. - 8

Peter Kostmayer
49%
\$222,925

* James Coyne
51%
\$423,002

Penn.-11

* Ralph Musto
48%
\$298,699

James Nelligan
52%
\$120,366

R.I.-2

Ed Beard
45%
\$167,559

* Claudine Schneider
55%
289,937

MIDWEST

Ind.-3

* John Brademas
45%
\$744,068

John Hiler
55%
\$407,979

Mich.-8

Bob Carr
49%
\$146,725

* Jim Dunn
51%
\$345,127

Minn.-6

Archie Baumann
47%
\$188,181

* Vin Weber
53%
\$498,304

Mo.-8

Steve Gardner
43%
\$138,074

* Wendell Bailey
57%
\$254,341

Mo.-10

Bill Burlison
45%
\$210,444

* Bill Emerson
55%
\$282,494

Neb.-2

Richard Fellman
44%
\$153,539

* Hal Daub
53%
\$337,833

Ohio-9

Tom Ashley
40%
\$254,264

Ed Weber
56%
\$380,673

Wis.-3

Alvin Balding
49%
\$136,320.

* Steve Gunderson
51%
\$177,782

WEST

Cal.-1

* Harold Johnson
40%
\$378,764

Eugene Chappie
54%
\$375,721

Cal.-21

* James Corman
48%
\$905,231

Bobbi Fiedler
49%
\$560,492

Cal.-35

Jim Lloyd
45%
\$237,886

* David Dreier
52%
\$379,325

Cal.-42

Lionel Van Deerlin
47%
\$140,557

* Duncan Hunter
53%
\$208,596

N.M.-2

* David King
34%
\$91,964

Joe Skeen
38%
\$73,156

Oreg.-2

* Al Ullman
47%
\$670,390

Denny Smith
49%
\$663,430

Utah-1

* K. Gunn McKay
48%
\$275,313

James Hansen
52%
\$232,206

Wash.-4

Mike McCormack
43%
\$250,728

* Sid Morrison
57%
\$402,884

SOUTH

Fla. -12

Alan Becker
45%
\$117,264

* Clay Shaw
55%
\$423,603

N.C. -6

Richardson Preyer
49%
\$214,850

* Eugene Johnson
51%
\$302,263

N.C. -11

Lamar Gudger
46%
\$125,696

* William Hendon
54%
\$249,389

S.C. -1

Charles Ravenel
48%
\$179,933

* Tom Hartnett
52%
\$226,394

S.C. -6

John Jenrette
48%
\$173,059

* John Napier
52%
\$277,856

Texas-8

Bob Eckhardt
48%
\$457,630

* Jack Fields
52%
\$794,870

Virginia-3

John Mapp
33%
less than \$1,000

* Tom Bliley
52%
\$259,131

Virginia-8

Herbert Harris
48%
\$238,680

* Stanford Parris
49%
\$410,291

Virginia-10

Joe Fisher
49%
\$270,920

* Frank Wolf
51%
\$460,504

W. Virginia-2

* Pat Hamilton
44%
\$447,450

Cleveland Benedict
56%
\$231,377

W. Virginia-3

* John Hutchinson
47%
\$246,961

Mick Staton
53%
\$155,579

Total
Democrat Spending

\$9,450,882

Total
Republican Spending

\$12,729,104

Average
Democrat Spending

\$255,429

Average
Republican Spending

\$344,030

REPUBLICANS OUTSPENT DEMOCRATS IN 25 OF 37 CONTESTS

* Outspent Opponent

Note: There were no NCPAC independent expenditures in House races.

SOURCE: The Almanac of American Politics 1982

THE 1980 ELECTION

HOUSE SHIFTS-

REPUBLICAN TO DEMOCRAT

N.D.

* Jim Smykowski
43%
\$267,525

Byron Dorgan
57%
\$195,068

Ohio-12

Sam Devine
47%
\$132,072

* Bob Shamansky
53%
\$179,321

Maryland-1

* Bob Bauman
48%
\$358,926

Roy Dyson
52%
\$162,017

Cal.-11

* Bill Royer
43%
\$781,795

Tom Lantos
46%
\$554,718

Total
Republican Spending
\$1,540,318

Total
Democrat Spending
\$1,091,124

Average
Republican Spending
\$385,079

Average
Democrat Spending
\$222,931

REPUBLICANS OUTSPENT DEMOCRATS IN 3 OF 4 CONTESTS

* Outspent Opponent

SOURCE: The Almanac of American Politics 1982

U.S. SENATE REPRESENTATIVE POPULATION
DATA

<u>State</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
ALABAMA	3,890,061	1,945,030	1,945,030
ALASKA	261,536	261,536	-0-
ARIZONA	2,717,866	1,358,933	1,358,933
ARKANSAS	2,285,513	-0-	2,285,513
CALIFORNIA	23,668,562	11,834,281	11,834,281
COLORADO	2,888,834	1,444,417	1,444,417
CONNECTICUT	3,107,576	1,553,788	1,553,788
DELAWARE	595,225	297,612	297,612
FLORIDA	9,739,992	4,869,996	4,869,996
GEORGIA	5,464,265	2,732,132	2,732,132
HAWAII	965,000	-0-	965,000
IDAHO	943,935	943,435	-0-
ILLINOIS	11,418,461	5,709,230	5,709,230
INDIANA	5,490,179	5,490,179	-0-
IOWA	2,913,387	2,913,387	-0-
KANSAS	2,363,208	2,363,208	-0-
KENTUCKY	3,661,433	-0-	3,661,433
LOUISIANA	4,203,972	-0-	4,203,972
MAINE	1,124,660	562,330	562,330
MARYLAND	4,216,446	2,108,223	2,108,223
MASSACHUSETTS	5,737,037	-0-	5,737,037
MICHIGAN	9,258,334	-0-	9,258,334
MINNESOTA	4,077,148	4,077,148	-0-
MISSISSIPPI	2,520,638	1,620,319	1,620,319
MISSOURI	4,917,444	2,458,722	2,458,722
MONTANA	786,690	-0-	786,690
NEBRASKA	1,570,006	-0-	1,570,006



WINDER & ASSOCIATES

1534 Dunwoody Village Parkway
Suite 240
Dunwoody, Georgia 30338
(404) 394-8754

TTC / FILE

COMPLETE INSURANCE PROTECTION

December 15, 1981

Mr. Robert McAdam
Committee for the Survival
of a Free Congress
721 2nd Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Bob:

I want to thank you for the opportunity Jane and I had to speak with you last week regarding our campaign efforts for the 1982 congressional race. We are very excited and confident about the campaign and it is gratifying to see the encouragement we have received in Washington and at home.

Jane and I have already begun to follow up on the information you gave us and will continue to keep you informed on all aspects of the campaign. Please let us know if we can be of more assistance in any area.

Again, I appreciate the time you spent with us and hope we can look forward to the support of your organization in 1982.

Best wishes for continued success in the New Year.

Sincerely,


Richard P. Winder.

Authorized and Paid for by Winder for Congress Committee
Joe Willingham, Chairman Royce Cronquist, Treasurer

(to PW)

Taxpayers still happy with Reagan's cuts in federal spending



Washington Insider



WASHINGTON — There is "no massive revolt out in the countryside" against President Reagan's large budget cuts, says Paul M. Weyrich, president of the Free Congress and Research Foundation.

According to a poll of 1,000 voters commissioned by Weyrich, 67 percent of the voting public feels that Reagan's cuts are about right or not enough.

The poll, conducted in November by Decision Making Information, and released yesterday, also shows that nearly three-fourths of the voters believe the cost and size of government is too big; and by a 2 to 1 margin Americans prefer higher interest rates and lower inflation to lower interest rates and higher inflation.

The telephone survey also covered social issues. According to the results, over two-thirds feel families in America are much weaker now than they were several years ago. Most blamed this on increased permissiveness in society. Nearly 8 out of 10 felt that taxpayers should have a chance to review text books before they are used in public schools and three-fourths opposed allowing a teenager to have an abortion without informing her parents.

"The American public is still quite conservative on most of the issues," Weyrich said. He hopes to share his findings with President Reagan, who should be buoyed by some of the results.

COLUMBUS, OHIO
DISPATCH

mc | pm

EVENING - 199,065
SUNDAY - 330,287

NOV 27 1981

Beyond legal bounds?

SOME LEGAL scholars are proposing significant changes in the federal court system. For example, one change would give Congress — by a two-thirds vote of both the House of Representatives and the Senate — the right to reverse rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The scholars believe the federal courts have gone beyond their legal bounds. Despite our system of three distinct branches of government — legislative, executive and judicial — some federal judges have taken it upon themselves to make law and to administer programs, and the higher courts have not reversed this usurpation of power.

“Federal courts have attempted to restructure entire school systems in desegregation cases,” U.S. Atty. Gen. William French Smith said in a speech Oct. 29. “They have asserted similar control over entire prison systems and public housing projects. They have restructured employment criteria even to the extent of mandating numerical results based on race or gender.”

The scholars' recommendations are contained in *A Blueprint for Judicial Reform*, a book recently published by the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation.

We do not agree with all the decisions that come out of state and U.S. district courts and that are upheld all the way through the U.S. Supreme Court.

There is something wrong with a judicial system in which a known killer, one who has even confessed his crimes, is turned free because some police officer made a technical mistake while apprehending the killer. The officer's mistake should not be ignored but it should not outweigh murder.

Our courts should be places where true justice is sought and not just fields where attorneys compete with technicalities and clever lines.

We believe the courts have been most impractical in some decisions, forcing whole communities to spend millions of hard-to-come-by dollars on questionable remedies.

But we also believe that through the years the federal court system has served at least as well as the two other branches of government, has withstood all sorts of assaults from all quarters, and has stood honestly on its own feet.

There is undoubtedly room for improvement, for nothing is perfect, but we are not convinced Congress should have any piece of the judicial process, or that 100 senators and 435 representatives would do any better than nine learned judges.

So we endorse a scholarly, in-depth study of the federal court system but with a tread-very-carefully approach to any change.

DEC 18 1981



By JACK ANDERSON

Washington Merry-Go-Round

VISTA to be shot down just when it's most needed

By JACK ANDERSON
WASHINGTON — The White House budget brigade is secretly planning the demise of VISTA — the domestic version of the Peace Corps — at a time when its services are needed more than ever.

The deepening recession is exactly the kind of situation the VISTA program was designed to alleviate; it provides volunteers at subsistence wages to community groups that offer various kinds of help to the needy.

With the massive cut-backs in other federal social service programs, VISTA's modest government funding — \$34 million a year — would seem to be a bargain for the taxpayers and a shot in the arm for the private agencies President Reagan wants to take over more of the social work.

But the administration is determined to sink VISTA with a sneak attack. The tactic is to deny certain non-profit groups an opportunity to reapply for VISTA volunteers once their current contracts expire.

This would naturally cut down on the number of volunteers in VISTA and thus reduce the agency's funding needs. It would also, of course, cripple the affected non-profit organizations by cutting off their government-subsidized workers.

For this reason, the community groups targeted for the cutoff have been carefully selected by Tom Pauken, director of VISTA's parent agency, ACTION. Pauken was a Reagan campaign worker, with a background in military intelligence.

Pauken used his training in covert operations when he prepared the "hit list" of 39 non-profit groups that would

be denied VISTA volunteers. Then he secretly passed out the list at a secret meeting last June of four ultraconservative groups known as the Kingston Coalition (named for the Washington hotel conference room where it holds its meetings).

The four groups are: the American Legislative Exchange Council, the Washington Legal Foundation, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress and the Conservative Caucus.

The 15 persons who attended the June meeting were sworn to secrecy, particularly about Pauken's presence. "We were told not to tell what went on to anyone in the media," a source told my reporter Corky Johnson.

The source quoted Pauken as saying the 39 groups on his hit list were "pro-leftist," and explaining that "many VISTA volunteers work with pro-leftist groups that need to be eliminated."

The targeted organizations are community action programs that teach political self-help techniques to the poor, establish legal aid foundations and promote low-cost housing. Oddly, several of the organizations on the hit list no longer use VISTA volunteers.

VISTA sources say President Reagan wants to replace the agency's militant programs with less politically threatening activities — such as support of Nancy Reagan's pet project, Foster Grandparents. The new VISTA would use unpaid volunteers — thus effectively limiting them to well-to-do individuals of supposedly more conservative views.

Pauken denied passing out

a hit list at the Kingston Coalition meeting, but admitted having compiled an earlier list of 32 groups targeted for closer scrutiny before being funded again. "We are not interested in funding groups that are heavily involved in lobbying, demonstrating or in the political agenda," he said.

Meanwhile, memos sent to budget boss David Stockman under Pauken's name indicate that he expects the agency to be "phased out" by late next year or early 1983 — well before the funds already approved by Congress run out.

WHAT NEXT? — The House Committee on Education and Labor, which oversees VISTA, has warned Pauken that the elimination of any agency program without entertaining appeals from the affected groups is a violation of the law. Insiders expect a dramatic showdown.

HIGH-LEVEL POGROM?: Those Libyan death squads may not limit their targets to top government officials in this country. The State Department has felt it necessary to increase security arrangements for American diplomats overseas.

There is a particularly ugly feature of the Libyan threats to Americans abroad. "The alleged threats involved diplomats of Jewish extraction," a State Department source disclosed. Our embassies in Europe have been put in a state of alert, he said.

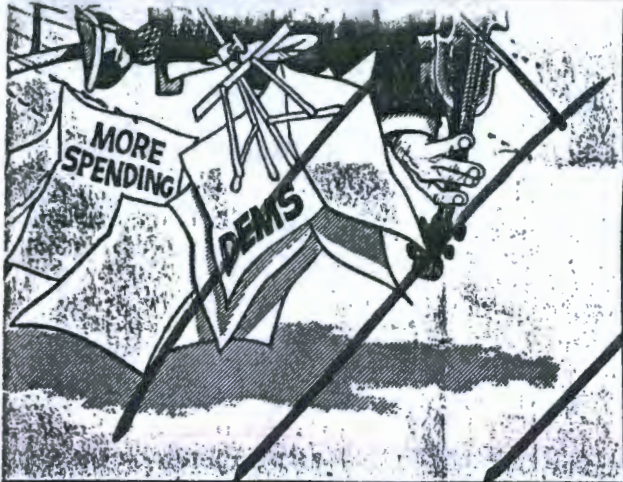
One Jewish ambassador — our envoy to Italy, Maxwell Rabb — was temporarily recalled when it was learned that credible threats had been made on his life. There are other U.S. diplomats in

Western Europe who are Jewish.

One of these is Theodore Cummings, the new ambassador to Austria. Anti-Semitic terrorism has soured the traditional Austrian *gemutlichkeit* in recent months: The head of the Austrian-Israeli Friendship Society was murdered, the Israeli Embassy was bombed and a Viennese synagogue was also attacked by terrorists.

What makes the security problem for American diplomats even worse than usual is the great number of Arab workers and students in Western Europe. State Department security officials say that Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi doesn't limit his assassination squads to his own countrymen. He reportedly uses Palestinians and Iranians for at least some of the dirty work — calling in IOUs for his long support of their cause.

The security people have tried to divine which of our diplomats are at the top of Qaddafi's hit list. They have concluded that any ambassador is a likely target — and an ambassador of Jewish descent is an even likelier one.



pushers and the pushed.

AND THE PUSHERS with their sleek clothes, or no clothes, with their hard drugs are in control of the fast lane.

Most every TV program and print ad pushes you to conform or move over.

The citizens who built the city are pushed aside by an undisciplined tide.

OUR NATION IS PUSHED off balance by an uncontrollable avalanche of uninvited.

Even the backward nations are pushed further into backwardness because they breed more than they can feed.

The pushers and the pushed.

I'M FEELING PUSHED by television, by its distortions of values and the worst-to-come as the cable systems across the country empty their sewers into our sitting rooms.

stomach turning point" and pulled themselves back upright again.

It happened under George Fourth, under William Fourth — under the Stuarts.

Surely Britain had a foot in the grave under William, but when the people reached that "stomach turning point" they returned right business to politics — they began again to call a bum what he is — a bum — and junk what it is — junk — and dirt what it is — dirt.

AND SIN WHAT it is.

And standing on their toes and reaching for the stars, Britain, under Victoria, soared onward and upward to unprecedented peaks of power and prestige.

That is our hope. That Americans will reach the stomach-turning point. Politically we have. Socially we have not.

'Imperial judiciary' core issue of 80s

By PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY
Copley News Service

When President Reagan, in discussing the alleged differences between the legislative priorities of the social conservatives and the economic conservatives, said that "we have only one agenda," he was widely reported to be giving lip service to the social conservatives while giving the action to the economic pragmatists. Mr. Reagan's words became grist for the mill of the reporters whose stock-in-trade is driving wedges between the Reagan administration and the constituency that elected him.

It is now clear that the social conservatives and the economic conservatives among the Reagan coalition are marching together on what is probably the premiere issue of the present time. That issue is the reform of the federal judiciary, and the goal of both groups is to stop the arrogant abuse of power by the lifetime-tenured federal judges.

WITHIN A THREE-WEEK period, Attorney General William French Smith, that model spokesman of the economic conservatives, and Paul Weyrich, the spokesman for the Free Congress Foundation and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (described by the media as "the New Right"), both launched broadside attacks on the federal courts for their abuse of power during the last decade.

In a speech to the Federal Legal Council, Smith accused the federal courts of "constitutionally dubious and unwise intrusions upon the legislative domain." He said that the Justice Department will try to move the law of the land in the direction of the Reagan policies on abortion, school desegregation, sex and race quotas in jobs, environmental protection and the rights of aliens and prisoners.

Smith was specific in his accusations. He said the federal courts have engaged in "extravagant" efforts "to restructure entire school systems in desegregation cases," to take over "entire prison systems and public housing projects," and to force business and government to achieve "numerical results based upon race or gender" (the customary euphemism for quotas).

A COUPLE OF WEEKS later, Weyrich unveiled a 382-page book published by the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation called

"A Blueprint for Judicial Reform." It is a compilation of 22 scholarly studies and papers on various aspects of judicial abuse of power, along with constructive suggestions for reform.

Authors of the various papers include constitutional law professors such as Jules B. Gerard, Charles E. Rice, William A. Stanmeyer and Grover Rees III; prominent practicing constitutional lawyers such as William B. Ball; constitutional lawyers who have served on the Senate Judiciary Committee such as Sens. Sam J. Ervin Jr., John P. East, Orrin Hatch and Charles Grassley and State Attorney General John Ashcroft. Articles by two leading economic conservatives are also included: George Gilder and Thomas Sowell.

The book presents a variety of proposals for reform of many facets of the judiciary problem such as to give Congress (by a two-thirds vote) the right to reverse Supreme Court rulings or to remove federal judges from office; to require federal judges to stand for re-election by the people; to withdraw jurisdiction from the federal courts; to require judicial nominees to be more responsive to senators in their "advise and consent" function; to resurrect the viability of the 10th Amendment; to give Congress a veto over federal rule-making agencies and to provide tax credits to attorneys who voluntarily provide free legal service to the poor.

THE "BLUEPRINT FOR Judicial Reform" also includes a fresh look at the First Amendment and the religion issue by constitutional law professor James McClellan, who is now Chief Counsel of the Senate subcommittee on Separation of Powers.

The smart politicians have already sensed that what is called "the Imperial Judiciary" is the core issue of the 1980s because it touches a half-dozen sensitive issues of paramount concern to Middle America. That is why there are 31 bills now pending in Congress designed to strip the federal courts of their asserted power to rule on such issues.

These two major criticisms of the federal courts launched by Attorney General Smith and by the Free Congress Foundation provide the scholarly backup for a national debate of immense constitutional, political, social, and moral dimensions. They also prove that Ronald Reagan was right when he said his supporters "have only one agenda."

Cross Intelligence, Inc.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

Front Page	Edit Page	Other Page
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KANSAS CITY, KANSAS
KANSAN

EVENING *470*
20,246

DEC 17 1981

THE KANSAN, Thursday, December 17, 1981 5A

Fomer supporter files lawsuit

TOPEKA, Kan. (UPI) — Their months of negotiations unsuccessful, lawyers for a former top congressional and campaign aide to Kansas Rep. Jim Jeffries have filed suit against the Republican congressman for back pay and damages of \$160,000.

The suit was filed Wednesday in U.S. District Court by Topeka attorneys on behalf of Bruce Eriksen against Jeffries, serving his second term in Congress, and the Jeffries for Congress Committee. The suit alleges fraud and breach of contract.

Eriksen, a Nebraska native living in Texas, worked both on Jeffries' 1978 and 1980 campaigns, as well as on his congressional staff. He is a political consultant and has worked for the strongly conservative Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, as well as on President Reagan's 1976 and 1980 campaigns.

In the suit, Eriksen asks for \$29,448 actual damages for breach of contract, \$30,000 in actual damages for fraud and punitive damages of \$100,000.

Maurie Wenzinger, Jeffries' press secretary in Washington, said Jeffries had no comment on the lawsuit because he had not yet seen it.



JIM JEFFRIES

PETE DUNN
750 EAST CIRCLE ROAD
PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85020

TTC / [Signature]



COMMITTEES:
JUDICIARY, CHAIRMAN
BANKING & INSURANCE
TOURISM, PROFESSIONS
& OCCUPATIONS
WAYS & MEANS
—
PARLIAMENTARIAN

Arizona House of Representatives
Phoenix, Arizona 85007

December 22, 1981

Paul M. Weyrich
President
Free Contress Research and Education Foundation Inc.
721 Second Street, N.E.
Capitol Hill
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Paul:

We thought you would be interested in seeing a column which appeared on the editorial page of Phoenix's afternoon newspaper regarding the Arizona United States Senate race.

We feel very good about the progress we are making in our campaign and expect to make our formal announcement in late January or early February. To date, over 1,000 people have signed support cards for my candidacy, an unprecedented number in Arizona for this early in a campaign.

We will continue to keep you informed as to our progress.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
PETE DUNN

PD/e

Enclosures



JOHN KOLBE

Gazette Political Writer

Phoenix Gazette 12/14/81

Dean Sellers: Good intentions won't be enough to unseat DeConcini

Yet, you could almost see the strings extending from the candidate's lips in Phoenix last week as he officially announced what everyone already knew.

Just 12 minutes into the questions, campaign director Harry Pittman — an affable smoothie who had earlier introduced his fighter to the assembled newsmen with the usual gratuitous flourish — abruptly cut things off just as the questions started getting a bit sticky and the candidate a bit sweaty.

Have to rush off to the next press conference, Pittman soothingly explained. One hopes they made it from downtown Phoenix all the way to Mesa in the mere 95 minutes they had left.

He'll learn reporters are a carnivorous lot. In dealing with them, you either stay the course, or never jump in at all. To run is to invite disaster.

Lesson number two has to do with education, or the lack of it.

In the eight or 10 months Sellers has actively been beating the campaign bushes, he appears to have learned incredibly little about the nuts and bolts of the complex issues confronting anyone who fancies him-

self a member of the world's most exclusive debating society.

His answers to hard questions remain surprisingly simplistic, falling back repeatedly on two staples — support for President Reagan, and his self-made success in business, a fact we'll concede anyone willing to pony up \$250,000 of his own cash to win a \$60,662-a-year job.

Reaganomics may be "the best hope that we have," as Sellers intoned piously, but he needs more than that for questions about tax cuts and monetary policy and where the bloated federal budget needs trimming.

Nor does success in land speculation suffice in dealing with strategic arms limitations and weapons development and Social Security solvency.

To be sure, generalities are the order of the day at such campaign launchings. It's not fair to expect a candidate to lay out a detailed program the instant he enters the race, but he can't expect to raise issues — as Sellers did in his opening statement — and then hide behind the exigencies of time or a long campaign when questioned about them.

It might also be a good idea for

Sellers to figure out why he's in this race, which is likely to be a common question for a fellow who's never run for anything more significant than Republican district chairman.

We all know Sellers — like virtually every other candidate in history — is in it to assuage a hungry ego, although that's never mentioned in polite company.

Yet, last week, when asked how he was different from the incumbent, he finds it so urgent to replace, the best he could do was to allow there were "a lot of differences that will be brought out during the campaign." Further pressed by newsmen quickly tiring of such superficiality, he cited "national defense and fiscal responsibility," but didn't explain. DeConcini, presumably, opposes both.

Sellers also ought to learn how to deal with his Republican opposition with something other than the oblique sneer he now employs.

His indictment against Rep. Peter Dunn appears to contain two charges — that Dunn is an incumbent officeholder with a record to defend (he doesn't suggest it's a bad record, just that it's a record), and that he is either a lawyer or the operator of a family business.

Carried to its logical conclusion, the first charge suggests the best candidate of all would be some wino from Library Park who had never uttered a syllable on any public issue. And, of course, no one should ever run for reelection, since all incumbents have records. Sellers, however, allowed that his view about records would change once he was in office.

Sellers makes the second critique so obliquely as to be positively opaque: "The Senate has enough lawyers," he says, or on other occasions he may cite "my experience in starting my own business."

He leaves it to listeners to figure out that Dunn (a) is a lawyer, (b) took over his father's business, and (c) therefore is unqualified.

Dismissing Dunn as a "political type" is only laughable, for one wonders what Sellers aspires to become. Assuming he isn't one already.

Dean Sellers is an earnest young man brimming with energy, good intentions, money and the slick staff and slightly fuzzy TV commercials (candidate always gazing into the distance) that money will buy. Impressive though it may be, none of it will make up for a lack of substance.

REAGAN TO DRIVE FOR "FEDERALISM"

By Frank van der Linden

WASHINGTON --- Roars of protest from certain governors and mayors will not stop President Reagan from seeking further cut-backs in federal functions and spending in his second year in the White House.

He is "committed heart and soul," as he once said, to the broad principles of American federalism, and he fully intends to breathe new life into the tenth article of the Bill of Rights, one of his favorites.

The Tenth Amendment clearly states: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

"To the people:" This is a prime article of faith with Ronald Reagan. He sees the federal government as "overloaded, musclebound," having assumed more powers than it can carry out efficiently. He is demanding that the states and cities take back many of the burdens they have dumped onto Washington.

Reagan is finding that governors and mayors, who cheered the rhetoric of "states' rights," are booing now when they find out that he means for them to take over the financial load of many domestic programs, too.

Gov. Richard Snelling of Vermont, who heads the National Governors Conference, is reaping much favorable publicity by charging that the Reagan cutbacks in federal spending are going too fast and could lead the nation to "an economic Bay of Pigs."

Snelling portrays himself as a "conservative Republican," but there are men in the White House who know him better than he thinks. They recall that he cast about for anybody -- Sen. Howard Baker, former President Gerald Ford -- to stop Reagan from winning the 1980 Republican presidential nomination. Snelling wants federal spending to continue high in many areas; otherwise, the states will have to spend their own money.

-more-

Richard Williamson, the President's assistant for intergovernmental affairs, who has caught a lot of flak from the governors, said: "They've finally found out that there will be less federal money."

Williamson said, "The President has a strong stubborn streak" and won't be deterred from further domestic spending cutbacks, even though the howls come from Republicans as well as Democrats at the statehouse level.

Reagan, who is somewhat deaf in one ear, will turn "two deaf ears" to those who call for him to cancel any of the income tax reductions or other tax breaks which he pushed through Congress last summer, his assistant said.

The President is considering the idea of earmarking certain federal taxes -- for example, the excise levies on alcohol and tobacco -- and assuring that this money will go to the states in a continued revenue-sharing program.

Reagan will also renew his fight to change hundreds of federal "catagorical" grants into block grants, which the states can spend almost as they please with few strings attached. He has a boundless fund of funny stories which he likes to tell to illustrate the idiocy of some federal programs.

Once, he told the National Conference of State Legislatures, a certain city decided to raise its traffic signs from "five feet high to seven feet." The Feds stepped in with their program instead, he said: "They came in and lowered the streets two feet."

Reagan isn't joking in his determination to restore real "federalism." He believes federal taxes take entirely too large a share of the gross national product, roughly twenty-one per cent. He will drive toward his goal of chopping this down to about eighteen per cent by 1984, thus freeing more money from the government's greedy hands and allowing the people to keep it.

TTC
Special
copy to
Tim Armstrong

FRANKLIN DELANO REAGAN

By Frank van der Linden

WASHINGTON --- President Reagan is being advised to copy his former hero, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and use the present economic mess as a springboard to even greater political success.

Sen. Bill Armstrong, Colorado Republican, told the President in a letter that Roosevelt built his coalition, which kept the Democrats in power for decades, by blaming the nation's woes of the 1930's on the Republicans and the "Hoover Depression."

Reagan, who once was a liberal Roosevelt Democrat, should make his State of the Union speech in January an "epic" address clearly blaming the Democrats for the current combination of inflation and recession, Armstrong advised.

Otherwise, the Senator expressed great fear that the Democrats would get away with their attempt to pose as the party of "fiscal responsibility," and claim that Reagan's program of sharp cuts in taxes and spending is a failure.

The Democrats, Armstrong said, are "already gloating" over the prospect that Reagan will back away from his longtime goal of a balanced budget; they will claim "it is impossible both to cut taxes and balance the budget."

Reagan, he said, must "re-emphasize that the Republican program for economic recovery is primarily for middle American, the nation's working men and women and their families," and thus counteract the Democrats' charge that it favors the rich.

"We must get back on the attack," the senator advised.

He called for the President to recommend specific reforms to reduce the deficits of the next three years by about half and balance the budget in fiscal 1984. Clearly, this would mean cuts in "sacred cows," including the defense budget, and some tax increases, especially excise levies and "loophole" closings.

-more-

However, Armstrong is not pressuring Reagan to give up any of the income tax cuts which Congress approved this year. The President is digging his feet into concrete against giving up any of those.

Furthermore, Armstrong himself is the author of the most revolutionary item in the tax package: indexing.

As Reagan said recently, "starting in 1985, personal tax rates and exemptions will be indexed so that just a cost-of-living increase won't move you into a higher tax bracket. Inflation will no longer push old and young Americans into ever higher tax rates through bracket creep."

Armstrong fears that, unless the prospective "colossal" deficits can be reduced, the Democrats will make headway in their effort to repeal the "indexing" provision.

Prospective deficits ranging from \$276 billion to \$476 billion in the next three years are totally unacceptable to conservative senators. "If we treat such deficits as 'manageable' or 'acceptable,' we invite an economic and political disaster," Armstrong warned.

He called for the Chief Executive to "re-establish optimism and hope for the future," by providing the people with a bright new vision of a better America.

Armstrong proposed that Reagan, an acknowledged master of television, mount a nationwide campaign, including volunteer organizations and a "media blitz," to support a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution.

Such an amendment is unlikely to gain the necessary two-thirds majority for congressional passage soon but popular support for it is "overwhelming" as shown by resolutions of support by more than thirty state legislatures, as well as polling data, the Coloradan said.

By making this fight, he said, Reagan could greatly strengthen his own hand in dealing with Congress--and insisting that its spend-thrift members "fish or cut bait."

TTC

CRANSTON RAPS 'NEW RIGHT' AND HAYAKAWA

By Frank van der Linden

WASHINGTON --- Sen. Alan Cranston says his California colleague, Sen. S. I. Hayakawa, must be replaced in 1982 by "a forward-looking Democrat," most likely Gov. Jerry Brown, in the Democrats' drive to rescue the U.S. Senate from control by the Republicans and the New Right.

Cranston, the Senate Democrats' whip, charged in a party fund-raising letter that the Senate is already "dominated by the New Right" and now is the time to set it free by unseating such Republican Senators as Hayakawa, Orrin Hatch of Utah and Harrison Schmitt of New Mexico.

Speaking to reporters, Cranston denied having branded Hayakawa as a New Right Senator. He also toned down the rhetoric of his letter by a few decibels.

"The New Right is not totally in control of the Senate", he said, "but there is great danger that it could pick up more strength" by electing more of its kind of Republicans in 1982, as in 1980, when the Republicans shooked the Democrats by seizing control of the Senate besides placing Ronald Reagan in the White House.

In the race for Hayakawa's seat, Cranston said, "I will back the Democratic candidate. I expect it will be Jerry Brown."

In his letter, Cranston bemoaned the 1980 defeats of liberal Democratic Senators Birch Bayh of Indiana, Frank Church of Idaho, George McGovern of South Dakota and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin. It would be even more tragic, he added, "if we fell for the New Right's propaganda that those 1980 losses were just the first wave of an inevitable tide of ultra-conservatism sweeping America; and that in 1982 and 1984, the New Right would gain further seats in the Senate."

Cranston pleaded for funds to avert the possible 1982 defeats of Democratic Sens. Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts, Henry Jackson of Washington, Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio, and Paul Sarbanes of Maryland.

"Only your help right now can stop a further takeover of the Senate by the New Right," the Californian wrote.

In a preview of the Democrats' attacks, Cranston said they would zero in on such issues as "Reagan's handling of the economy, the New Right's unfair and insensible budget cuts, and Reagan's Kemp-Roth inflationary tax scheme."

He accused the Republicans of trying to "gut the Clean Air Act and rape our coastlines with indiscriminate off-shore oil drilling." He said they would "try to pass a constitutional amendment banning abortions and many forms of birth control, thereby putting the federal government in our bedrooms!"

Although he waved the bloody bogey man of "New Right" dictatorship in his letter begging money from the Democrats, Cranston told reporters that the "social issues" pushed hard by the New Right really have gone nowhere in the first year of the Reagan administration and don't have much prospect of success in 1982, either.

"The Reagan administration deferred the explosive social issues this year because they wanted to straighten out the economy first," the Californian said. "They have not straightened out the economy, so I expect that Reagan will be urging the Republican senators to play down those issues next year, too."

Far from dominating the Senate, as Cranston charged in his letter, the New Right chieftains actually are angry and frustrated over their lack of influence in the entire Republican administration. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker of Tennessee and his associates repeatedly postpone action on such issues as measures to restore prayer in the public schools and to outlaw nearly all abortions.

The Democrats can take back the Senate by making a net gain of four seats, Cranston noted. "If we don't win", he warned, the results will be terrible: "slashing of Social Security benefits, further gutting of environmental laws, the escalation of the nuclear arms race, the crippling of programs to educate the unemployed, and the further encroachment of 'Moral Majority' doctrines into our lives."

shrinking of President Reagan's ideological base.

Patrick Buchanan, the Reaganite columnist, put it best: "It has been

makes them happy to think there are only two men whose creed is entirely pure in the whole Reagan administration.

Alan Reynolds, the director of CMI is a traitor, one who consciously sold out their creed.

It must be admitted that these

Reagan. The president did not change course, despite all of Stockman's arguments. The true believer will not desert his creed, though the evidence

won that battle, as he surely expected to, the Atlantic article would have explained and supported the abrupt flip-flop in policy."

These rabid folk are fewer every day, but more determined for that fact — and, sad to say, Reagan stays within their dwindling number.

↓ TTC + P.M.

COURTS

More And More Americans Feel Judges Are Out Of Step With Justice

Kevin Phillips

King Features



activists, scholars and professors.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the "Blueprint" is its compilation of poll data showing just how enormous is the gap between U.S. public opinion and the views of judges and legal activists. Two dimensions stand out.

The first is the gap between the public and the legal profession, judges included, on key moral, economic and social issues. Early this year, the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company published some fascinating data detailing these differences. As recapitulated in "Blueprint," the gulf is threefold:

On Economics: There is a 43 point gap with regard to the proposition that the government ought to make sure that everyone has a good standard of living. While 69 percent of the public agree, only 26 percent of the

legal and judicial elites do. Likewise with Social Security. Seventy-two percent of the public believe that Social Security taxes should be increased if necessary to provide adequate incomes for older Americans, but only 40 percent of the legal-judicial leaders do. In economic matters, then, the public is considerably more "liberal."

On Cultural and Patriotic Issues: Here the gap finds the public lined up much to the right. The population at large is more convinced that the U.S. lets in too many refugees (36 points higher in such belief than the legal-judicial elites), that the courts are too concerned for the rights of criminals (29 points higher) and that the U.S. should have the strongest military force in the world, no matter what the cost (27 points higher).

On Moral Issues: This category, too,

has the public and the legal elites way out of step — with the public much, much more conservative. When the Connecticut Mutual people asked the public whether abortion, homosexuality, lesbianism and marijuana were wrong, large majorities said yes. By contrast, only small percentages of the legal elites indicated that such behavior was morally wrong. As a result, the gap on abortion was 40 points, the spread on homosexuality 41, the difference on marijuana 38. There was also an enormous difference between the high religiosity of the public and the low religious activity and belief of the elites.

The second major division of outlook profiled in "Blueprint" is the extent to which the public — not sharing the views of judges — is anxious to curb their power to remake American society and morality. A

spring 1981 Sindlinger poll taken for the Washington-based Heritage Foundation turned up public endorsement of a startling array of reforms.

In descending order of popular support, they are as follows: Eighty-six percent of Americans feel that Congress should scrutinize the rulings of federal judges; 81 percent favor the withdrawal of federal court jurisdiction over subject matter like busing; 80 percent believe that it should take a two-thirds "super-majority" for the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional; 74 percent believe that federal judges should have to submit themselves to periodic reconfirmation; 68 percent believe that federal judges should be directly elected by the people rather than appointed; 62 percent would prefer to see issues like busing, abortion or voluntary prayer decided in state courts rather than

federal courts; and 55 percent feel that Congress should be allowed to overturn rulings of the Supreme Court with a two-thirds vote.

All in all, when the Sindlinger interviewers asked their cross-section of the national population whether the federal judiciary reflects their own views, only 10 percent said it did and 77 percent indicated that it did not.

Data like that from the Connecticut Mutual and Sindlinger surveys is rather compelling. As Justice Felix Frankfurter wrote 20 years ago, the authority of the U.S. Supreme Court "ultimately rests on sustained public confidence in its moral sanction." So as the public comes to feel that the federal judiciary does not represent the views or beliefs of the average American, is it any wonder that public sentiment is moving strongly behind major reform proposals?

HOLLAND

A Land Of Anomalies Ponders An Always-Uncertain Future

Nick Thimmesch

Los Angeles Times



One consequence is that the Cabinet will postpone its decision to accept the deployment of 48 cruise missiles in the Netherlands. Another is that the Dutch idea of "all nuclear weapons out of Europe, and out of Holland first," gains credence in other alliance nations.

Have the Dutch, always a NATO stalwart, gone berserk? No, a substan-

try, relying heavily on world trade, the Dutch have always been independent, even a bit contrary.

Historically a nation of tight-fisted entrepreneurs, the Dutch now spend two-thirds of their national income on the public sector.

Social welfare benefits are very generous. Some 300,000 people receive "disability" payments. To get these,

The Netherlands closed its well-run coal mines years ago.

This is a nation bent on keeping its high standard of living, but so strong for environmentalism that the presence of a single species of bird delayed development of a huge petroleum tank field.

The Netherlands' banks are loaded with money, but the government must

even company managers are organized into unions. In good Dutch fashion, they began as Catholic, Protestant and neutral manager's associations, and evolved into bona fide unions.

To the Dutch, if something exists or occurs it is a reality, and should be allowed to function within certain bounds, but must be properly organized. Therefore, Amsterdam has a well organized, but thoroughly

zation of itinerary. They were especially impressed with the fitness of the Royal Dutch Navy, its officers and men, at Den Helder, the nation's principal naval center.

But how many times can any soul, American or whatever, bear to hear that oft-uttered litany:

"We are a small country, densely populated, and we must do what is right to survive."

DAYTON, OHIO
JOURNAL HERALD

MORNING - 100,018

DEC 15 1981 11:00 pm

Tues., December 15, 1981 JOURNAL HERALD 17

Court reforms a question of power

"Has the Supreme Court acted unconstitutionally? If this nation's highest court is the sole arbiter of whether actions legally comply with the Constitution, what prevents the court itself from acting beyond Constitutional limits?"

This old question — who will guard the guardians? — is posed anew by Patrick McGuigan and Randall Rader of the Free Congress Foundation in their new book, *A Blueprint for Judicial Reform*. The book is interesting for two reasons: First, it contains two dozen superb essays on how best to contain the rogue judiciary; and second, its contributors include four U.S. senators, a fact that should make a lot of liberal judges think twice before merrily reading their preferences into the Constitution.

Joseph Sobran

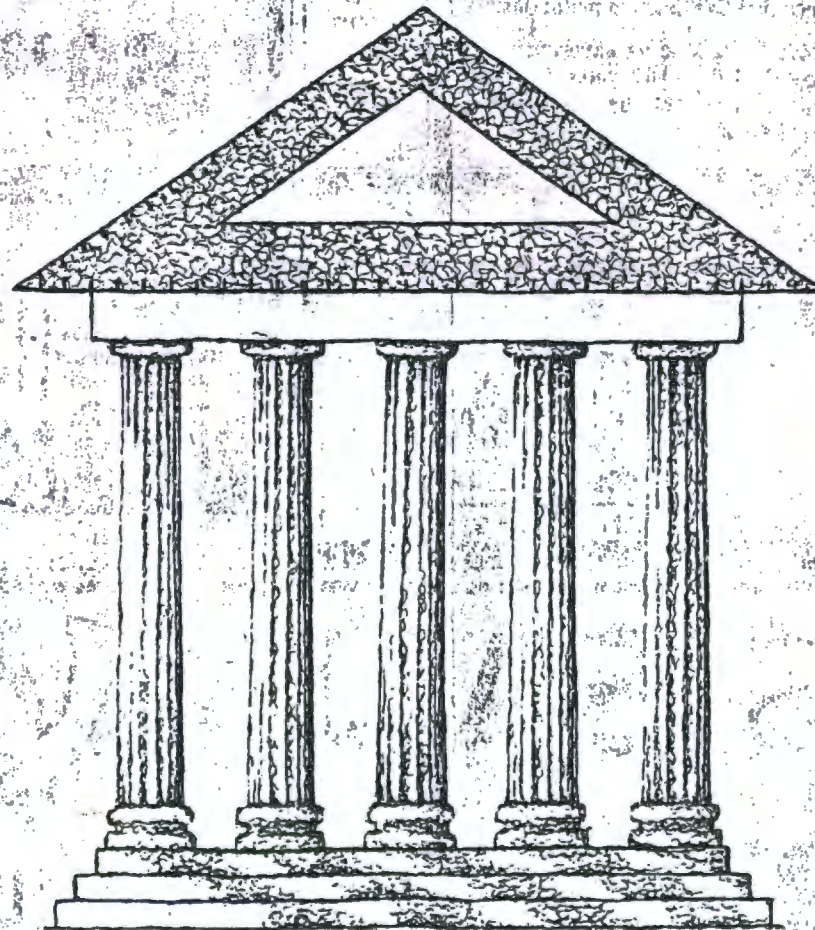


National Review
senior editor

Sen. John East, for instance, is the junior Republican senator from North Carolina (the senior one, of course, being Jesse Helms). He is confined to a wheelchair by polio, which circumstance, in combination with his tough-mindedness (he is an ex-Marine as well as a conservative philosopher), has won him the affectionate nickname "Helms on wheels."

East makes a subtle but crucial point: Judicial review is not to be confused with judicial supremacy. In John Marshall's famous argument in *Marbury vs. Madison*, we were told that when a specific act of Congress runs up against the fundamental law of the land as embodied in the Constitution, the Constitution must prevail. The logic is irrefutable.

But it does not follow that the Supreme Court must always have the last word. The matter can be stated this way: When a ruling of the Supreme Court runs up against the Constitution, the Constitution must prevail. And if the



Court is the "sole arbiter" of the Constitution's meaning, the Court will maintain a lock on the Constitution — and the power of abusing it. At that point, judicial review truly becomes judicial supremacy.

So what do we do when the court exceeds its mandate? Another contributor to the book, William Stanmeyer, points out the Supreme Court's "ultimate structural flaw; it is judge in its own case." As things now stand, the court can decide the limits (if any) of its own jurisdiction. Stanmeyer proposes a constitutional amendment allowing Congress to nullify, by a two-thirds vote of both Houses, any Supreme Court ruling it deems unconstitutional.

Jules Gerard, in the same book, proposes an extensive revision of Article III of the Constitution, to permit the removal of incompetent judges by means short of impeachment. His revision also would amplify Congress' right to set certain areas of contention outside the courts' jurisdiction. Others, like East, think Article III gives Congress all the power it needs — and that Congress should use it.

If it doesn't have that power, the Constitution was a blunder. Alexander Hamilton called the judiciary the "least dangerous" of the three branches. But if there is no way of checking the judiciary short of amending the Constitution, then the Supreme Court is in fact more powerful than either the legislative or the executive branch.

The Court has improvised so wildly on "affirmative action," for instance, that, as Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, observes: "The idea of a 'color-blind' Constitution ... now seems more remote than during even the most entrenched days of Jim Crow and Theodore Bilbo." And the idea of judicial independence has been carried so far that Sen. Charles Grassley, R-Iowa, laments that Sandra Day O'Connor protested that it would be "improper" for her to tell the Senate, during her confirmation hearing, how she might vote on constitutional questions. Then what on earth were the hearings for?

When senators begin raising their voices like this, one thing is a fairly good bet: The era of judicial supremacy is over.

STATE TIMES

12-B Baton Rouge, La., Mon. Nov. 30, 1981

Editorials

Suggested checks on federal courts

Sure to spark heated national debate are recommendations of a large group of legal scholars on the federal judiciary and its proper role in society.

The Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, a New Right group dedicated to halting trends toward liberalism, has published results of a lengthy study in a 22-chapter book (*A Blueprint For Judicial Reform*). The project reportedly has the enthusiastic backing of several key Senate Republicans.

The recommendations are new, but not the subject matter. Such a serious study was bound to come sooner or later. Volumes of complaints have been heard about the extension of federal court jurisdiction into state and local affairs, even to the taking over of schools, prison systems, local jails and sewer systems and detailing plans for private business to follow in personnel matters.

Among the recommendations of the legal scholars are:

- (1) Giving Congress, by a two-thirds vote of the House and Senate, the right to reverse Supreme Court decisions;
- (2) Amending the constitution to provide Congress and the voters with the mechanism to remove federal judges from office;
- (3) Giving Congress a veto over federal rule-making agencies;
- (4) Permitting Congress to provide tax credits for attorneys who voluntarily give free legal services to the poor.

The tenor of the recommendations was pin-pointed by Paul M. Weyrich, president of the Foundation, who said at the recent unveiling of the study, "This study was commissioned because we and a great many other Americans feel too many federal judges, including administrative law judges working for the various regulatory agencies, have quite improperly gotten into the business of making laws, rather than adhering to their constitutionally mandated jobs of resolving questions of existing law."

Weyrich is also the grey eminence behind the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, an ultra-conservative organization which claimed the political lives of a half-dozen ultra-liberal U.S. senators in the November, 1980 elections.

The sentiment expressed by Weyrich is similar to the concern of U.S. Attorney General William French Smith, who said in an October 29 speech that the federal courts "have over-stepped the proper bounds of justiciability" and need to be checked.

No one, including the president of the National Association of Attorneys General and other legal minds who drafted the recommendations, expect overnight action. Yet in a free society such as ours they have a right — and perhaps a duty — to bring the issues involved into the open where they can be debated intelligently and vigorously, giving all interested parties an opportunity to be heard.

Certainly no one wants to tie the hands of the federal judiciary to the point where it must operate within narrow, well-defined limitations. Our society is far too complex for the stricturing of a federal judiciary which has been confronted with unprecedented problems in recent years.

Even if the study and the recommendations do not cause any changes, it will at least bring into open forums organized and in-depth discussion of the issues.

This is the way it is done in a free, Democratic society where freedoms guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution can be brought into play without fear of retribution.

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

Front Page	Edit Page	Other Page
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MIAMI, FLORIDA
HERALD DEC 10 1981

MORNING - 420,400
SUNDAY - 552,426

Reactionary Right Vs. Peace Bishops

By COLMAN MCCARTHY

SNARLY reactions are coming from some conservative Catholics about the new pro-peace positions expressed by some Catholic bishops in their recent meeting here. "We must not only condemn the nuclear madness but aggressively pursue works of justice," said one prelate.

Paul Weyrich and Richard Viguierie, both Catholics and two of the staunchest preachers of the New Right gospel, told me of their disdain for the American bishops. Weyrich called them "truly ignorant" on political issues. Viguierie charged that, "The Catholic hierarchy in America is becoming synonymous with liberal politics."

Grumbles are heard from the old right, too. *The National Review*, a Curia unto itself, ran an editorial titled "Bishops Take a Dive." The magazine sermonized that the bishops' condemnation of nuclear weapons means that "in effect" they "came out for appeasement and surrender."

IT IS understandable that the Right is piqued. It wasn't so long ago that it had a powerful ally in purple, good Cardinal Spellman, the champion of military causes. Twenty-five years ago, many bishops were stridently anti-Communist, taking their lead from Pope Pius XII. In his 1956 Christmas message, Pius scoffed at the idea of even beginning a dialogue with the atheistic Reds: "What is the use of a discussion without a common language?"

If anything, the American bishops have been too slow and too tempered in fulfilling this call. Only one has asked workers at a munitions factory to think about finding new jobs. Only one bishop has suggested conscientious tax resistance.

And it was a Reagan-supporting bishop — not one of Viguierie's dreaded liberals — who persuaded his brother prelates to ask the Pen-

tagon to rename a nuclear-attack submarine that was christened last April the *Corpus Christi* (the Body of Christ).

These aren't nay-saying eccentrics suddenly babbling in new tongues. The bishops are reflective and morally schooled leaders who, properly terrified at Ronald Reagan's drive to "rearm America," are getting into the debate on peace.

Cautiously, they are forming an opposition church that gives welcome signs that it may become a peace church.

Against the politics of nuclear strength, religious leaders are right to offer what the bishops call "a positive theology of peace." Against Alexander Haig's view that "there are more important things than being at peace," Archbishop Joseph Bernardin is right to say that "there are limits to the argument that, because our adversaries are considering something, we must be prepared to do it also."

IN a climate in which few protests are heard about the rise in the military budget — \$214 billion this fiscal year, an increase of 24 percent over two years ago — a dissent from an establishment institution like the American Catholic church is a much-needed summoning of nerve.

Why not weigh the bishops' thoughts, rather than, as the reactionary Right does, stone them with useless insults? The bishops appear to be well in touch with the values found in their parishes. Two months ago, the National Council of Catholic Women — a politically moderate federation of 8,000 local groups — took the unprecedented action of approving a peace resolution: "Let us promise each other that we will work tirelessly for disarmament and the abolition of all nuclear weapons."

To ideologues, those words may sound ignorant, liberal, and reeking of appeasement and surrender. They belong to Pope John Paul II.

The Washington Post

SACRAMENTO, CAL.
UNION
MORNING - 92,530
TUESDAY - 92,523

DEC 6 1981

The Sacramento Union, Sunday, December 6, 1981

Dornan fights odds for Senate nod

By I. DONNER

UNION WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON — Who IS Robert K. Dornan and what is he up to?

"I'm a conservative, a fighter, up front," said Dornan, a Republican congressman from Santa Monica now running for the party's Senate nomination in 1982 "on the House floor, on the Today show."

On the Today show . . . television. There's the key to Dornan and his future in politics.

He's fifth, the pick of just 6 percent of California's Republicans for next June's crowded primary scramble against Sen. S.I. Hayakawa, say the polls.

"It's hard to be a front-runner these days," said Dornan, putting the best face on his position. "I expect to be No. 2 by the spring — if I get on the tube; and that's the problem."

He's done lots of things

"I just have to do on TV what I'm already doing at the candidates' nights."

Bob Dornan has done a lot of things — created the POW bracelet, been an Air Force pilot, a movie stunt man, a TV newsman and later a talk show host.

Now he is a congressman, spokesman for MIA (missing in action) groups, foe of abortions, defender of tax exemptions for private schools, and facile, rapid-fire talker.

It's the last facet that catches the eye of politicians, like him or not. It prompts many of them to guess he might have a chance of winning the GOP primary.

Dornan "causes your blood to boil," offers Rep. Vic Fazio, D-Sacramento. "But the more you get to know him, you find he's like John Briggs," a feisty, unpredictable Republican state senator. Concludes Fazio, "Dornan is not a totally unpleasant individual."

When assessing Dornan's political pluses and minuses people keep coming back to his talent as a talker.

"We are inundated with MIA, POW all the time in the caucus," said Rep. Gene Chapple, R-Roseville. "They kid me about the Dornan hour in the delegation," agreed Dornan.

He goes for the big splash

"He's got a flair for the unusual," said Rep. Norman Shumway, R-Stockton, "the wild splash technique."

Dornan's bold, abrupt language and disdain for many of the conventions that make Congress clubby make him an outsider. His rhetoric goes against the grain in the Capitol.

One Dornan splash two years ago over Chappaquiddick angered many Democrats. He paid a visit to the parents of Mary Jo Kopechne, who drowned in Sen. Edward Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick in 1969.

Returning, Dornan, his curly red hair flashing, stood on the House floor to state his doubts about Kennedy's story. Dornan recounted what he says was his effort to recreate Kennedy's swim across the channel that famous night.

Dornan said he swam the channel "as no one else in this Congress, in either body, other than I have."

Big splash events dot Dornan's career. Less than three months a congressman in 1977 when Hanafi Muslims seized hostages in downtown Washington, Dornan offered himself in trade for them. Police turned him down.

Turned congressmen livid

Arguing against a bill to allow instant voter registration, Dornan obtained legal identification cards with the names of seven other congressmen on them and displayed them on the House floor, just to show how easy it would be to cheat. It left some powerful congressmen livid.

It is the television instinct that makes politicians watch Dornan more carefully in a crowded race that has many lackluster campaigners.

Dornan has an extensive background in the field, as a television reporter, then an anchorman, later host of his own TV talk show. He has two Emmys to show for it.

Still, he is not enamored of his previous profession. Three years ago he defined the major networks as "left of center."

Now he dazzles audiences at Republican candidate nights, both as a conservative (75 per cent pro-conservative last year in his voting according to Congressional Quarterly) and an entertaining speaker.

"He's the strongest campaigner" among the leading Republicans in the Senate race, in the view of one colleague. "He's better at making news than all the others."

That is a skill GOP strategists weigh heavily as they peer ahead toward a general election battle against the likely Democratic nominee, Gov. Jerry Brown, one the state's most adroit campaigners.

Ed Rollins, the White House aide who will become President Reagan's chief political adviser soon, said he thinks "Dornan is kind of a sleeper" in the crowded field trying to take the nomination away from Hayakawa.

A native of New York City, Dornan is 48 but looks much younger. He is everyone's nominee for most energetic.

Dornan has enormous energy

"He's always leaving people in the dust," said Bryan Young, five years a Dornan aide. "He can somehow survive on three-four hours of sleep."

"God knows where I get the energy," Dornan said with a shrug. "My dad had it. It's a gift. You're a type A, and you may get an early heart attack."

One California GOP congressman who did not want his name used said of Dornan, "Ultimately, he is his own worst enemy."

What does Dornan say to the anonymous criticism?

"I say, 'F— you!' How do I know you did not make up those quotes at midnight with your deadline staring you in the face?"

"When I ripped up (former Rep. Robert) Drinan, I did it to his face!"

Still, the same anonymous colleague added that Dornan "is the kind of candidate who could give Jerry Brown fits. He's hard-hitting on the issues and won't back off. He will challenge Brown."

Many view Dornan as a maverick outside the standard GOP structure. In fact he has built a web of support within and without the party. He spent a surprising \$403,000 to win his seat in 1976 (his Democratic opponent spent \$637,000).

That was a pittance compared to the \$2 million Dornan raised last year to fight off the well-financed challenge of actor Gregory Peck's son, Carey.

Dornan was able to raise that much money by hiring Richard Viguerie, the conservative direct mail money-making king. Viguerie is doing much of Dornan's money raising again this year.

Beer money behind him

Joseph Coors, the conservative Colorado beer baron, is another source of support for Dornan. A third is some of the conservative issue groups.

The Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress is one whose head, Paul Weyrich, concedes that the California primary "is the one race in the country where, if pressed to the wall, I would not predict the outcome."

Yet Weyrich's group has endorsed Dornan in a race where few candidates have many group endorsements. Conservative Weyrich said Dornan "is the only one who has a chance to win who shares our philosophy."

Dornan also counts strength from a variety of single-interest groups whose causes he has advocated — MIAs, POWs, anti-abortion, private religious schools, cancer threat from toxic wastes, and the B-1 bomber.

The latter stems from his five years as an Air Force pilot, which made him a hawk on defense, plus the big job potential the plane holds for his district.

Dornan's interest in most of the other issues seems to stem from personal experiences — a friend, godfather to one of Dornan's children, who is an MIA; a relative who died of cancer.

Limited legislative accomplishments

Dornan's legislative accomplishments fall into a few areas — a 1978 ban on abortions from military dependents, one the next year protecting the tax-exempt status of private schools that may discriminate racially, a penalty on people who wilfully fail to report that they are exporting items of strategic value to a potential U.S. enemy.

He was one of seven congressmen, only two of them Republicans, who joined in opposing immunity for former President Nixon in a federal suit.

Dornan is a history buff, and often takes his staff on field trips to battlefields around Washington. Two months ago he rented a van and took them to the bicentennial of the Yorktown battle.

The festivities, plus six hours of animated political discussion en route, was just the kind of thing Dornan likes to keep his staff "turned on to Washington and government. I want my staff to stay in government!"

CONTINUED

Jeremiah Denton: The New Right's Riddle in the Senate

By RUDY ABRAMSON

WASHINGTON—When Jeremiah Denton arrived in Washington last January, he was more than a new senator from Alabama. He was, almost overnight, a national political curio. Capitol Hill had never seen anything quite like him before.

A much-decorated war hero, he was a man of such intensity that he sometimes seemed to lose touch with reality. He was a moralizing anti-politician who was widely—though erroneously—believed to have advocated the death penalty for adultery. He was a fervent anti-communist, an uncompromising free-enterpriser and a true believer, a passionate believer—in the Bible, the family, the flag, military strength, the domino theory and the nuclear strategic triad.

He was the most conspicuous of the new conservatives who rode the Reagan wave into the Senate. He had a constituency scattered nationwide, largely because of his autobiography, "When Hell Was in Session," and a television movie on his ordeal as a prisoner of war in Vietnam.

Worried liberals feared he would bring back the 1950s witch hunts of the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.). And Denton was not really beholden to a political party, because his election had been the work of a coalition of conservative political and religious factions. Nominally a Republican, he was really something of a power unto himself. Strategists of the New Right saw him as a Jesse Helms with aviator's wings, a New Right pied piper who would enlist fresh armies in the march against pornography, promiscuity and permissiveness wherever he found them, a man on a white horse come to reinstate Norman Rockwell's America.

But the retired rear admiral, who was brutalized for 7½ years in a North Vietnamese prison camp, has not become the major Senate force that his admirers had predicted. Instead, he has turned out to be a man of arresting complexity, a continuing mystery to most of his colleagues.

To understand Jeremiah Denton, it is necessary to understand the state of Alabama, a place where people still put their hands over their hearts when they hear the "Star-Spangled Banner."

Alabamians put a premium on manly deeds, on mettle proved in combat—whether in real war like Vietnam or play war like Legion Field in Birmingham, where University of Alabama football coach Paul (Bear) Bryant has made himself the state's most beloved citizen. They put a premium on manly words. "Stand up for America" was not just George C. Wallace's political slogan—it was Alabama's credo.

Jeremiah Denton spent most of his life far away from his hometown of Mobile. But he became an overwhelming presence in his home state in 1973 when he led the first flight of repatriated POWs off an Air Force plane in the Philippines. It had been 7½ years since he was shot out of the sky south of Hanoi. He was hollow-eyed, emaciated, drawn. He showed the effects of being starved, beaten, psychologically tortured and locked in cramped solitary confinement for more than four years.

"We are honored to have had the opportunity to serve our country under difficult circumstances," he said. "We are profoundly grateful to our commander-in-chief and to our nation for this day."

"God bless America."

To voters, the scene was still irresistible in 1980, and so historically Democratic, overwhelmingly Protestant Alabama sent Denton to the Senate, although he was both Republican and Roman Catholic and had been absent from the state all of his adult life. Among those who worked hardest for him were fundamentalist preachers who, in 1960, held forth against John F. Kennedy from their pulpits, contending Kennedy was not a "free moral agent" because he was a Roman Catholic.

"Philosophically, Jeremiah Denton is everything we could hope for," said Stuart Gaines, the executive director of the Alabama Moral Majority. "With time and a little more experience, I think he will be everything we could possibly want."

Denton moved into the Senate with missionary zeal. He told friends he had talked to God about going into politics.

The massage parlors, ponographic movies, explicit television programs and increasing acceptance of abortion that Denton saw when he returned from Vietnam had much to do with his entering politics. He was shocked by the changes that had swept society while he was away. When he arrived in Washington, he talked passionately and constantly of his belief in the traditional family as the cornerstone of society.

Denton was one of the most mistreated of all the prisoners who survived North Vietnam's POW camps, because he was one of the most belligerent—a "hard case" who battled back at his captors until he was tortured senseless. Paraded before television cameras, his eyes blinked, "Torture, torture, torture," in Morse code, giving Navy intelligence firm evidence of what it had already feared.

Always high-strung and intense, he seemed more prone to temperamental outbursts since returning from Vietnam. He was moved to outrage when he saw things flaunted that he regarded as immoral. He was sometimes brought to the verge of tears on the subject of Vietnam.

Once at an editorial board meeting of the Birmingham Post Herald, he appeared about to cry when he talked of Vietnam and former President Richard M. Nixon's efforts to get American POWs released.

He stunned a meeting of the Senate Intelligence Committee with an emotional, table thumping dissertation on the lost war.

He took the floor at a meeting of Republican senators at the White House last fall and argued in a quavering voice on behalf of the Administration's proposal to sell AWACS radar surveillance planes to Saudi Arabia. "He was speaking with such feeling that I really thought he might come unglued," a Senate colleague said. "He almost put it in the context of saying that anybody who voted against the sale was guilty of treason."

When the controversial \$8.5-billion sale was approved—Denton was credited with helping persuade a key opponent to change sides—the Alabama senator rushed up to some of his colleagues with tears in his eyes to thank them for voting for the deal.

Denton insists he is "psychologically, spiritually" the same man he was when his A-6 Intruder was shot out of the sky over North Vietnam. But he realizes, he said, that he has "more emotional push" concerning the things he believes deeply.

As far as Vietnam is concerned, he said recently, "There has been a tempering in that the more times I have had to get into it, the less emotional I have been. That whole thing has gone from where it was almost uncontrollable to where I think it is well within hand. I'm more philosophical now. If people don't see things my way and can't be persuaded, that's just life. I do feel a steady compulsion to try, and I want to be effective, but it isn't effective to be too emotional."

Denton's career in Washington has been more than anything else a fight to make himself understood about chastity, abortion, the family, welfare programs, the press, national defense, the war in Vietnam. His "steady compulsion" to persuade people is evident every day.

Denton, the only member of the Senate Judiciary Committee to oppose the nomination of Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, used her confirmation hearings as a platform to air his bitter opposition to abortion. He called it "more fundamental than the issue of slavery."

His frankness in talking about sex comes from a deep-seated conviction that social decline is an inevitable consequence of permissiveness.

After questioning representatives of Planned Parenthood at a hearing last spring, he told them: "I don't believe that the new morality you all are living with . . . is new. I think it is the old immorality that delayed the dawn of civilization for millions of years and caused its fall every time it's been tried as something new."

Denton professes satisfaction with his subcommittee's hearings on Soviet involvement in world terrorism, but the investigation did not impress the American Civil Liberties Union.

"The committee has called only friendly witnesses," said Jerry Berman, an ACLU lobbyist who has closely followed the Denton subcommittee. "In our estimation, they haven't contributed much to the public dialogue."

Still in love with flying

"The day was a knock-out!"

Dornan loves his flying days and never has gotten very far away from it. He has bailed out of two airplanes, landing so hard after one in 1956 that the compression fracture shortened him an inch.

He brags about being the only congressman to fly the test models of the B-1 and recently flew a Kafir jet with the Israeli pilot who led the bombing raid on an Iraqi nuclear reactor.

Dornan professes not to be worried about the outcome of the Senate primary.

"I have to run an effective, clean campaign and press on," he said. "If lightning strikes I'm a national factor."

"If it does not, I'm a state factor, with the biggest mailing list" from the Viguerie effort. And that would make another political race strong probability even if he is not successful this time, said Dornan, "because I maintain that a loss does not hurt me one bit!"

Nonetheless, the hearings have ended all the talk that the former admiral would be an Alabama Joe McCarthy.

Dismissal by liberals has not changed Denton's perception of himself as a politician of consequence. Neither has the admission by Paul Weyrich, one of the more influential leaders of the New Right, that he has been disappointed in Denton's impact in the Senate.

"I have been somewhat disappointed that he has not become the force I thought he would be," Weyrich said. "I think I underestimated the difficulty of entering the Senate without any prior political experience."

There have been a few raised eyebrows in Moral Majority circles as the word has gotten around that Denton talks like a sailor on occasion and enjoys a drink.

More than that, when he gets away from pro-life, pro-family issues, Denton is in many ways different from the Protestant fundamentalists who make up the backbone of his support.

Though he has made remarks that brought accusations of racism, even his bitterest political opponents concede that on racial matters he is a genuine moderate with personal feeling for minorities. Indeed, he has chided the Moral Majority for not doing more to bring in blacks and Jews.

He told The Times that he also has doubts about the propriety of the Moral Majority involving itself in political issues such as the Panama Canal treaties and the basing mode for the new MX missile system. "To me," he said, "those are areas in which they are getting out of place, and I find that unfortunate."

But Denton emphasized that, "On balance, I approve of the input the Moral Majority is trying to make. I am supportive of the general thrust of what it is all about. Reporting my criticism of them is all right with me as long as Jerry Falwell and those people can read through it and accept my explanation of what really happened."

At Spring Hill College in Mobile, where Denton served on the staff immediately after his retirement from the Navy, Father Paul Tipton waits for the real Jeremiah Denton to emerge.

"The Moral Majority adopted him," the priest said. "He didn't adopt them."

"People are going to be shocked when his voting record emerges. On many social issues, he is going to be on the opposite side."

Rudy Abramson is a Times staff writer.