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NCPAC

NCPAC ACTIVITIES TRANSFORM THE AMERICAN POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

1980 was a banner year for the National Conservative Political Action Committee. Its unequaled variety of programs, especially in support of Congressional challengers, achieved the highest success ratio in the organization's five-year history.

And through the steadfast generosity and support of its more than 400,000 contributors, it became the largest political action committee in America.

In December 1980 the Federal Election Commission reported that NCPAC raised \$5,400,000, more money than any other political action committee has ever raised.

NCPAC spent more money on political activities (direct contributions to candidates plus Independent Expenditure programs) than did the Democratic National Committee, making NCPAC the second largest contributing organization in America throughout 1980.

NCPAC enters 1981 with a success record that many observers, especially those in the media, believe has transformed the American political landscape. NCPAC's activities and programs carried out in 1979 and 1980 are a harbinger of the new style of American politics which will be with us for many years to come.

"TARGET '80" A STUNNING SUCCESS

NCPAC initiated its "Target '80" program in 1979 in order to help defeat deeply entrenched, well-financed, liberal leaders in the U.S. Senate. Those targeted for defeat were: George McGovern of South Dakota, Birch Bayh of Indiana, Allan Cranston of California, Frank Church of Idaho, John Culver of Iowa, and later Thomas Eagleton of Missouri.

NCPAC attracted great national support for "Target '80" and raised \$7,523,177 for this program during 1979 and 1980.

On Election night 1980, four of those six liberal leaders were defeated and replaced by strong conservatives giving Republicans control of the U.S. Senate for the first time since 1952.

Sixty-six years of liberal incumbency evaporated on that night. Many political observers believed that these leading liberals could not be defeated.

The essence of NCPAC's "Target '80" strategy was to inform the electorates of the various states involved about the liberal voting records of the incumbents, through newspapers, radio, television, and direct mail.

In 1979 NCPAC was alone in the "Target '80" states. By 1980 over 30 other groups had joined NCPAC in its efforts to defeat the liberals.

NCPAC is now watching the records of over a dozen liberal incumbents in the Senate in 1981 and will refine the "Target '80" process for use late in 1981 and 1982 to elect even more conservatives to the Senate and House of Representatives.

Needless to say, the "Target '80" program, never attempted before by any other group, was incredibly successful and set a standard for the future.

NCPAC INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE PROGRAM AIDS REAGAN CAMPAIGN

NCPAC Chairman John T. Dolan announced the formation of the Ronald Reagan Victory Fund at the Republican National Convention in Detroit in July, and presented the television commercials NCPAC would show throughout the campaign to the media and to the convention delegates.

The ad spots were designed to reach those voters who were either undecided or favorable to Jimmy Carter

because of his Southern origins. NCPAC's Ronald Reagan Victory Fund was a television campaign to help the Reagan campaign in areas which could have proved crucial in a close election.

Key areas and states were marked for saturation advertising. These included Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, the Florida panhandle, Illinois, and Texas.

It was believed that if the message that Jimmy Carter, even as a southerner, had failed as President and had followed policies which were liberal and out of character for any Southerner, the South would no longer be solid for Carter.

Taken together, NCPAC's Ronald Reagan Victory Fund gave southern voters the reasons they should not reelect Carter, and why they should elect Reagan.

A one-half hour film was also produced for nationwide viewing audiences on prearranged stations with emphasis ranging from defense to economic questions.

While the ads were regionally targeted, the one-half hour film was not. It was shown in nearly 50 media markets on local television stations.

The Ronald Reagan Victory Fund campaign proved a great success and a real asset to the campaign of the Governor. Carter lost every state NCPAC entered, and those key states proved to be among the closest in the election.

Many Reagan leaders in the South credit Reagan's victory in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi to NCPAC.

In the final analysis, of course, Ronald Reagan won his own election on November 4th. He succeeded in capturing the spirit of America and the hope of Americans to restore our great nation as the light for free men and women everywhere.

NCPAC'S SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN'S CAMPAIGN

Major statewide efforts were mounted in:

Alabama
Florida

Illinois

Louisiana
Mississippi

NCPAC also showed the specially produced one-half hour Ronald Reagan film and other commercials in selected markets in the following States during the latter part of the Presidential campaign:

Arizona
California

Illinois
New Mexico
Ohio

Pennsylvania
Texas

Total expenditures through December 31, 1980
\$1,929,000.00

U.S. SENATORS SUPPORTED AND ENDORSED BY NCPAC

NCPAC gave critical and often decisive support to the following candidates to the United States Senate. In some cases, NCPAC just endorsed the conservative incumbent and helped acquire financial aid for him.

Abdnor, James (S.D.)	Hatch, Orrin (Utah)	Pressler, Larry (S.D.)
Andrews, Mark (N.D.)	Hayakawa, Sam (Calif.)	Quayle, Dan (Ind.)
Armstrong William (Colo.)	Helms, Jesse (N.C.)	Roth, William (Dela.)
Boschwitz, Rudy (Minn.)	Humphrey, Gordon (N.H.)	Rudman, Warren (N.H.)
Byrd, Harry F., Jr. (Va.)	Jépsen, Roger (Iowa)	Schmitt, Harrison (N.M.)
D'Amato, Alfonse (N.Y.)	Kassenbaum, Nancy L. (Kansas)	Simpson, Alan (Wyoming)
Denton, Jeremiah (Ala.)	Kasten, Robert (Wis.)	Spector, Arlen (Pa.)
Dole, Robert (Kansas)	Laxalt, Paul (Nev.)	Symms, Steven (Idaho)
Durenberger, David (Minn.)	Lugar, Richard (Ind.)	Thurmond, Strom (S.C.)
East, John (N.C.)	McClure, James (Idaho)	Tower, John (Texas)
Garn, Jake (Utah)	Mattingly, Mack (Georgia)	Wallop, Malcolm (Wyoming)
Goldwater, Barry (Ariz.)	Murkowski, Frank (Alaska)	Warner, John W. (Va.)
Grassley, Charles (Iowa)	Nickles, Don (Okla.)	

Summary of 1980 NCPAC Political Activities in Races for the U.S. House of Representatives

NCPAC gave critical and often decisive support to the following candidates to the House of Representatives. In some cases, NCPAC endorsed the conservative incumbent and helped acquire financial aid for them.

Archer, Bill (Tex)	Grisham, W. (Cal)	Nelligan, J. L. (Pa)
Ashbrook, J. M. (Ohio)	Gunderson, S. (Wis)	Parris, Stan (Va)
Badham, R. E. (Cal)	Hagedorn, T. (Minn)	Pashayan, C., Jr. (Cal)
Bafalis, L. A. (Fla)	Hall, R. M. (Tex)	Paul, Ron (Tex)
Bailey, Wendall (Mo)	Hall, Sam (Tex)	Petri, T. E. (Wis)
Beard, Robin L. (Tenn)	Hance, Kent (Tex)	Porter, J. E. (Ill)
Benedict, C. (WV)	Hansen, G. (Idaho)	Rhodes, J. J. (Ariz)
Bereuter, D. K. (Neb)	Hansen, J. V. (Utah)	Ritter, Don (Pa)
Bethune, Ed (Ark)	Hartnett, T. F. (SC)	Roberts, Clint (SD)
Bliley, T. J., Jr. (Va)	Hendon, Bill (NC)	Roberts, Pat (Kans)
Brown, Hank (Col)	Hiler, John (Ind)	Rogers, Harold (Ky)
Campbell, C. A., Jr. (SC)	Holt, M. S. (Md)	Roth, Toby (Wis)
Carman, G. W. (NY)	Hopkins, L. J. (Ky)	Rousselot, J. H. (Cal)
Carney, Wm. (NY)	Huckaby, J. (La)	Rudd, Eldon (Ariz)
Chappie, Gene (Cal)	Hunter, D. (Cal)	Schulze, R. T. (Pa)
Cheney, R. B. (Wyo)	Hyde, H. J. (Ill)	Sensenbrenner, F. J., Jr. (Wis)
Clausen, D. H. (Cal)	Jeffries, J. (Kans)	Shaw, E. C., Jr. (Fla)
Coats, Dan (Ind)	Johnston, E. (NC)	Shumway, N. D. (Cal)
Collins, J. M. (Tex)	Kemp, J. F. (NY)	Shuster, Bud (Pa)
Corcoran, Tom (Ill)	Kindness, T. N. (Ohio)	Skeen, Joe (NM)
Courter, J. A. (NJ)	Kramer, Ken (Colo)	Smith, A. L., Jr. (Ala)
Coyne, J. K. (Pa)	Latta, D. L. (Ohio)	Smith, C. H. (NJ)
Craig, L. E. (Idaho)	Leath, M. (Tex)	Smith, Denny (Oreg)
Crane, D. B. (Ill)	LeBoutillier, J. (NY)	Solomon, G. B. H. (NY)
Crane, P. M. (Ill)	Lewis, J. (Cal)	Stangeland, A. (Minn)
Daniel, R. W., Jr. (Va)	Livingston, B. (La)	Staton, D. M. (WVa)
Daniel, Dan (Va)	Loeffler, T. (Tex)	Stenholm, C. W. (Tex)
Dannemeyer, W. E. (Cal)	Lott, T. (Miss)	Stockman, Dave (Mich)
Daub, Hal (Nebr)	Lowery, Bill (Cal)	Stump, Bob (Ariz)
Deckard, H. J. (Ind)	Lujan, M., Jr. (NM)	Tauke, T. J. (Iowa)
Dornan, R. K. (Cal)	Lungren, D. (Cal)	Trible, P. S., Jr. (Va)
Dreier, D. (Cal)	McCollum, B. (Fla)	Vander Jagt, G. (Mich)
Dunn, Jim (Mich)	McDonald, L. (Ga)	Walker, R. S. (Pa)
Edwards, M. (Okla)	McEwen, B. (Ohio)	Weber, Ed (Ohio)
Emerson, B. (Mo)	McGrath, R. J. (NY)	Weber, Vin (Minn)
Erdahl, A. (Minn)	Marlenee, R. (Mont)	Whittaker, R. (Kans)
Evans, T. B., Jr. (Del)	Marriott, D. (Utah)	Winn, L., Jr. (Kans)
Fiedler, B. (Cal)	Martin, D. O'B. (NY)	Wolf, F. R. (Va)
Fields, J. (Tex)	Michel, R. H. (Ill)	Wortley, G. C. (NY)
Gingrich, N. (Ga)	Molinari, G. V. (NY)	Young, Don (Alaska)
Goldwater, B. M., Jr. (Cal)	Montgomery, G. V. (Miss)	Young, C. W. Bill (Fla)
Gramm, Phil (Tex)	Morrison, Sid (Wash)	
Gregg, Judd (NH)	Napier, J. L. (SC)	

THE VARIETY OF NCPAC PROGRAMS

NCPAC worked with many transition teams to place strong conservatives in important positions within the Reagan Administration.

NCPAC has undertaken a nationwide television effort (\$300,000-\$500,000) to support President Reagan's Economic Recovery Program and to insure its passage through the Congress in the shortest possible time.

NCPAC is targeting liberal Senators and Members of the House of Representatives for defeat who obstruct the goals of the Reagan Administration. More than \$1,000,000 is budgeted.

NCPAC believes that once conservatives are in office, the last thing we should do is forget them.

NCPAC works with Members of Congress on a day-to-day basis, advising on legislation and the strategy to get it passed. NCPAC has helped place key conservatives on Congressional staffs.

NCPAC is currently helping establish pro free enterprise political action committees throughout the Nation.

NCPAC sponsored legislative alerts and lobbying efforts that were instrumental in stopping taxpayer financing of Congressional elections and instant voter registration.

NCPAC maintains a program to assist incumbent conservatives with fund raising and other projects to see that they are re-elected.

NCPAC sponsors regional training seminars all over America to recruit competent candidates and campaign staff. NCPAC aids candidates in running the most professional campaigns possible.

NCPAC sponsors orientation seminars for new conservative Members of the Congress briefing them on how to be most effective.

NCPAC has established a program that works solely to elect Governors. As America undergoes redistricting in 1982, NCPAC will be able to blunt the drive of liberals who tend to draw Congressional lines favorable to themselves—unfavorable to conservative candidates.



About the National Chairman

For the last four years, John T. (Terry) Dolan has been the National Chairman of the fastest growing, most successful, and largest political action committee in America. NCPAC raised \$5,400,000, a record, in 1980.

He is the originator of the "Target '80" program which attracted national attention in 1979 and 1980 from all of the national media. NCPAC raised more than \$1,000,000 for this effort.

He is one of the co-founders of the National Conservative Foundation, the Washington Legal Foundation, and Americans for Nuclear Energy, and was graduated from Georgetown Law School in 1979. He is 30 years old.

NCPAC'S IMPACT

"NCPAC is our best bet to stop the liberals from seizing total control of Congress."



"NCPAC the giant killer . . . the richest of political action committees . . . is also the most adroit at 'independent spending'." **Newsweek**

"NCPAC does the work that needs to be done in primary and general campaigns to elect conservatives to change America."



John T. (Terry) Dolan
National Chairman
N.C.P.A.C.

CONGRESSIONAL ENDORSEMENTS OF NCPAC'S EFFECTIVENESS

"I am taking a moment to express my thanks to NCPAC for your outstanding support of my candidacy . . . your advice, counsel, guidance, and goodwill have been valued assets."

Senator Orrin Hatch (Utah)

"I have worked with NCPAC . . . and am most impressed with this organization."

Senator Robert Dole (Kans.)

"I will always be appreciative for NCPAC's role in making possible a constructive and successful campaign."

Senator Richard Lugar (Ind.)

"Upon learning we were going to announce, NCPAC came forth with assistance in a way that brought us some early funds. And, frankly, that made the difference."

Senator Roger Jepsen (Iowa)

"My election was an upset victory and a very close one at that. The support of political action groups, such as NCPAC, made the crucial difference."

Congressman Paul Tribble (Va.)

"I would not have had four years serving my country on the Hill without NCPAC."

Congressman Robert Dornan (Calif.)

"If it were not for NCPAC and the expert advice (of its) professional staff, I surely would not be in Congress today."

Congressman Dan Marriott (Utah)

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National Chairman*

June 1, 1981

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O-815-284-2222

James Shirk
Shirk Products
102 N. Robinson Street
Bloomington, IL 61701

O-309-827-8580

G. Whitney Snyder
Vice President
The Shenango Furnace Company
One Oliver Plaza
Pittsburgh, PA 15222

O-412-741-4847

Furman South, III
927 Valleyview Road
Pittsburgh, PA 15243

O-412-923-1892

Jack Stack
P.O. Box 1023
Meridian, MS 39301

O-601-693-6545

Donald Stoltenberg
419 North Ashland
Park Ridge, IL 60068

H-312-825-0227
O-312-956-8070

Walter J. Sutherland
12 Primrose Lane
Westport, CT 06880

O-800-221-3228
O-212-558-2450

Elliot R. (Ray) Taylor
526 King Road, N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30342

H-404-237-3062
H-404-256-3295

Mrs. Jaquelin E. Taylor
Meadow Farm
Route 2, Box 36
Orange, VA 22960 H-804-672-2875

B. V. Thompson, Jr. (President)
Texas Educational Association
3601 Hulen Street, Suite 103
Ft. Worth, TX 76107 0-817-923-4611

John A. Trocher
87 Derick Drive
Fishkill, NY 12524 0-212-891-9800

Honorable Fred Tygart
1012 Blackstone Building
Jacksonville, FL 32202 H-904-389-2794
0-904-359-0010

Robert Uhlmann
300 E. 59th Street
New York, NY 10022 0-212-586-8085

or

c/o Seacoast Music
1440 - 79th Street Causeway
Suite 301
Miami Beach, FL 33141 0-305-861-2181

Mrs. William H. Van Dusen
Route 1, Box 209
Easton, MD 21601 H-301-822-5750

Cecil Van Tuyl
2101 Arno Road
Shawnee Mission, KS 66208 0-913-432-6400

W. E. Walker, Jr.
W. E. Walker Stores, Inc.
P.O. Box 9407
Jackson, MS 39206 H-601-982-4201
0-601-981-7171

Mr. & Mrs. L. G. Warren
1029 Hardee Road
Coral Gables, FL 33146 H-305-665-9065
0-305-667-0095

Clymer Wright
Ambro, Short & Wright
7333 Harwin
Suite 115
Houston, TX 77036

0-713-780-9979

Gary S. Yesse
Business Manager
Greer Neurosurgery Clinic
408 Hall Street
Monroe, LA 71201

0-318-323-9433

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON,
December 7, 1981

NCPAC

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED FIELDING

FROM: Morton Blackwell *MB*
SUBJECT: Proposed trip on December 10, 1981

Ed Rollins has asked me to fill in for him at a speaking engagement for the National Conservative Political Action Committee on December 10th in Jackson, Mississippi.

I would like to accomodate this request.

May N.C.P.A.C. provide me with travel and accomodation expenses?

Because the time is short, I would appreciate a quick turn around on this query.

Thank you.

cc. Elizabeth H. Dole

*received OK from Diana -
Fred Fielding's Secretary -
on 12/9 at 3:30 P.M.*

National Conservative
Political Action Committee

1500 Wilson Blvd. Suite 513 Arlington, Va. 22209 (703) 522-2800

December 4, 1981

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to
the President
The White House
Room 191 OEOB
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Morton:

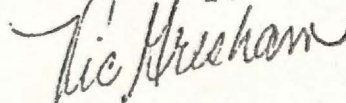
The National Conservative Political Action Committee is having a fundraiser on Thursday, December 10, 1981, at 7:30 P.M. in Jackson, Mississippi, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Dudley Hughes.

Mr. Ed Rollins was going to be our guest speaker but had to cancel because of other more pressing business.

I spoke with Michele Davis and she informed me that Mr. Rollins recommended your attendance as guest speaker. She further stated that since you are the liaison between "conservative groups" and the White House and since NCPAC is a conservative group that we at NCPAC could pay for the flight and hotel reservations.

Morton, thanks in advance for your agreement to help us with this event. Your assistance is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,



VIC GRESHAM
Political Director



THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE
OFFICIAL TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

No. 0825

(TRAVELER TO COMPLETE SECTIONS 1-8.)

Date of Request December 9, 1981

1. TRAVELER

Name: MORTON C. BLACKWELL White House Staff

Extension: 2657 Room: 191 Other _____

2. PURPOSE(S) and DATE(S):

To fill in for Ed Rollins at a speaking engagement for the National Conservative Political Action Committee on December 10th in Jackson, Mississippi

3. ITINERARY

Washington - Atlanta - Jackson, Miss. - Atlanta - Washington
(List all cities where stopover occurs.)

4. DEPARTURE:

Date: December 10
Time: leave Washington at 3:05 P.M. change planes in Atlanta and arrive Jackson at 6:35 P.M.
Mode: Delta # 325 and # 665

RETURN:

Date: December 10 and 11
Time: leave Jackson at 9:45 P.M. and arrive Atlanta at 11:50 P.M. leave Atlanta at 6:14 AM and arrive Washington at 7:45 AM
Mode: Delta # 524 and # 288

5. NATURE:

100% Official 100% Political

6. SIGNATURES:

Traveler: Morton C. Blackwell

(I have read and agree to the terms set forth on the reverse side)

Department Head

Approving Officer
(Special Assistant to the President for Administration)

7. ESTIMATED COSTS:

No. of Days Per Diem _____
Hotel Name _____
Hotel Daily Rate \$ _____
Other _____

SPECIAL EXPENSES:

Registration Fee of \$ _____
 Commercial Car Rental
 Excess Baggage
 Other _____

8. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED:

YES No Amount: \$ _____

Signature of Recipient: _____ Date: _____

REPAID: Amount _____ Date _____ Schedule _____ Balance this trip _____

9. FOR TRANSPORTATION OFFICE USE ONLY:

GTR No. _____

Amount \$ _____

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE
OFFICIAL TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

No. 0825

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Traveler: Morton C. Blackwell

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[Signature]
Department Head

Approving Officer
(Special Assistant to the President for Administration)

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Hotel Name _____
Hotel Daily Rate \$ _____
Other _____

SPECIAL EXPENSES:

Registration Fee of \$ _____
 Commercial Car Rental
 Excess Baggage
 Other _____

8. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED:

YES No Amount: \$ _____

Signature of Recipient: _____ Date: _____

REPAID: Amount _____ Date _____ Schedule _____ Balance this trip _____

9. FOR TRANSPORTATION OFFICE USE ONLY:

GTR No. _____ Amount \$ _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Morton Blackwell

Comeback copy.

DEC -7 1981

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1981

Mary

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED FIELDING

FROM: Morton Blackwell: *MB*
SUBJECT: Proposed trip on December 10, 1981

Ed Rollins has asked me to fill in for him at a speaking engagement for the National Conservative Political Action Committee on December 10th in Jackson, Mississippi.

I would like to accomodate this request.

May N.C.P.A.C. provide me with travel and accomodation expenses?

Because the time is short, I would appreciate a quick turn around on this query.

Thank you.

cc. Elizabeth H. Dole

12/9 - ok per Mary

*Relayed information to
Blackwell's office*

National Conservative Political Action Committee

1500 Wilson Blvd. Suite 513 Arlington, Va. 22209 (703) 522-2800

December 4, 1981

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to
the President
The White House
Room 191 OEOB
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Morton:

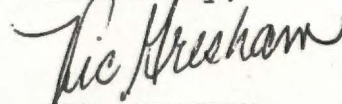
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Mr. Ed Rollins was going to be our guest speaker but had to cancel because of other more pressing business.

I spoke with Michele Davis and she informed me that Mr. Rollins recommended your attendance as guest speaker. She further stated that since you are the liaison between "conservative groups" and the White House and since NCPAC is a conservative group that we at NCPAC could pay for the flight and hotel reservations.

Morton, thanks in advance for your agreement to help us with this event. Your assistance is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,



VIC GRESHAM
Political Director

file
NCPAC

	FY 82	FY 83	FY 84
<u>Reagan Administration</u>			
Receipts (w/o revenue enhancements)	626.8	653.3	703.7
Outlays (w/o cuts)	729.4	818.4	890
Deficit	102.6	165.1	186.3
<u>CBO baseline</u>			
Receipts	631	652	701
Outlays	740	809	889
Deficit	109	157	188
<u>Alternative Budget</u>			
Freeze outlays at 1982 level adequate defense		33.6	31.9
CBO outlays		740	779*
Receipts		652	701
Deficit		121.6	78
Cuts (incl. int. savings)		82	69.5
Deficit/surplus [gold std. reduce debt 15B]		-39.6 to -12.6	-8.5 to +18.5
Administration outlays		729.4	769.6 *
Receipts		653.3	703.7
Deficit		109.7	65.9
Cuts (incl. int. savings)		80.8	69.3
Deficit/surplus [gold std. reduce debt 15B]		-28.9 to -1.9	+3.4 to +30.4

FY 1984/Freeze Cola and civil service non/defense 25B., 24B management initiatives 3.5B user fees, 3B dereg. of natural gas (83 & 84), 7.8 gold and silver coins, interest savings.

* Adjusted for freeze after FY 83 cuts--includes 1984 baseline increase.

(Fiscal Years; in billions of dollars)

	1983
FY 1983 Revenues ¹	652.0
Freeze spending at 1982 outlays ¹	740.0
FY 1983 Deficit.....	<u>88.0</u>
Provide adequate defense:	
Increase defense spending as recommended by Reagan Adm.	<u>33.6</u>
Deficit Reductions:	
Revenue Adjustments.....	
Accelerate tax cuts by 6 months.....	-16.0
Repeal tax benefit for Members of Congress.....	.005
Mandate Universal Coverage for Social Security.....	.6
Total.....	<u>15.395</u>
Spending Adjustments.....	
Cut crop price support program and eliminate grain reserve.....	5.2
Cut food for peace (50% from 82).....	.5
Return purchase requirement for food stamps.....	
Eliminate school lunch overlap with food stamps.....	.6
Eliminate Economic Development Administration (EDA).....	.2
Eliminate Energy Research and Technology Administration general science and research.....	.5
Eliminate ERTA energy supply, research and development (incl. CRBR).....	2.3
Eliminate uranium enrichment.....	1.8
Eliminate fossil energy, R&D.....	.4
Eliminate energy conservation research.....	.1
Eliminate nuclear waste disposal.....	.2
Eliminate administrative support and energy conservation grants.....	.1
Eliminate energy information.....	.1
Block grant for education with a reduction of spending on these programs to their pre- department levels.....	3.1
National Institutes of Health (50% cut).....	1.7
Cut community development block grants 50%.....	1.7

1/ CBO Baseline estimates

Eliminate CETA.....	1.8
Eliminate OSHA.....	.2
Eliminate Trade Adjustment Assistance.....	.1
Eliminate federal revenue sharing.....	4.5
Eliminate law enforcement assistance.....	.1
Eliminate Urban Development Action Grants.....	.5
Cut Community Development Grants (40% cut).....	1.5
Eliminate National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.....	.2
Cut northeast corridor construction (50%).....	.1
Cut AMTRAK (50%).....	.37
Cut Urban Mass Transportation Adm. (50%).....	1.7
Eliminate highway beautification.....	.0005
Eliminate economic support fund.....	2.3
Cut bilateral foreign assistance (30%).....	.3
Veterans Administration.....	
1) tighter qualifications for "service connected" disability	
2) limit pensions for veterans and survivors to "service connected" cases	
3) dismantle separate VA hospital system.....	8.1
Eliminate Action.....	.1
Eliminate National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities.....	.27
Cut National Science Foundation..... (cut ½ math and physical science and all biological, behavioral, social astronomical, atmospheric, earth and ocean science.....	.55
Eliminate SBA.....	.2
Eliminate CAB.....	.1
Eliminate Corporation for Public Broadcasting...	.17
U.S. contributions to international financial institutions.....	1.2
Federal family planning.....	
Title X (PHSA).....	.1
Foreign Assistance.....	.2
Title XIX.....	.1
Title XX.....	.1
Eliminate social security benefits for non-resident aliens.....	.7
Eliminate social security minimum benefits.....	1.0
Eliminate Synfuels Corp.....	5.0
Waive Davis-Bacon Act requirements.....	.3
Eliminate Maritime subsidies and research.....	.4
Eliminate USDA Extension Service.....	.3
Cut BIA (50%).....	.4
Cut child welfare block grants.....	.1
Cut low income energy assistance.....	.45
Eliminate Legal Services.....	.25

Food stamp reforms ².....	.8
Cut child nutrition ².....	.3
Cuts in AFDC ²	2.2
Child support enforcement ².....	.7
Medicaid cuts ².....	.8
Combined welfare administration ².....	.1
State responsibility for errors in welfare ²	1.0
Brucellosis control ².....	.03
Health professions education ².....	.05
St. Elizabeth's ².....	.03
Maritime Assistance and Regulatory Reform ².....	.12
Appalachian Development Program ².....	.01
Soil and Water Conservation ².....	.1
Department of Commerce (Census, Bureau of Standards, Public Telecommunications) ².....	.02
NOAA Ocean and Weather ².....	.11
Fish and Wildlife Service ².....	.04
National Park Service (grants, land acquisition) ².....	.24
Reduced navigation maintenance ².....	.1
Minority business assistance ².....	.07
REA ².....	.27
Corps of engineers navigation user fees ².....	.2
Health planning ².....	.05
PSRV's ².....	.1
National diffusion network ².....	.009
National Education Institute (NIE) ².....	.05
Bilingual education ².....	.1
Eliminate postal subsidies.....	.7
Eliminate FEC.....	.009
Eliminate UN voluntary contributions.....	.215
Cut UN assessment.....	.4

^{2/} As recommended by Reagan Administration. See OMB publication, Major Themes and Additional Budget Details.

Budget Authority cuts

Cut Ex-Im Bank by 1/3

direct loans	(1.4)
guarantee commitments	3

Cut Callable capital IFI's	2.3
Cut AID (1/3)	1.0
Cut OPIC, Inter-Am. Fdn. Peace Corps	.3

Handwritten notes in a box:
 Confusion
 Budget
 Recession

Program changes

Deregulate Natural gas	3-30*
Sell gold coins	7.5
Sell silver coins	.3

Management initiatives

Improve debt collection	4.0
Begin program of privatization of federal lands	10.0
Reform procurement practices	.4
Management improvements	.2

Gold standard] 15]
savings on interest payments	

* Varying estimates of impact.

Conference
Waybridge
Reception

Budget Authority cuts
Cut Ex-Im Bank by 1/3
Direct loans
guarantee commitments 3
Cut Gallele capital 1/2
Cut AID 1/3
Cut OPIC, Inter-Am. Bdn.
Peace Corps 3

Program changes
Derogulate Natural
Self gold coins
Self silver coins
Management initiative
Improve debt collection
Begin program of privatization
of federal lands
Reform procurement practices
Management improvements

Robert F. Saragim
215 5212

Gold standard
savings on interest
payments
12

* Varying estimates of impact.



NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

1500 Wilson Boulevard
Suite 513
Arlington, Virginia 22209
(703) 522-2800

John T. Dolan
Chairman

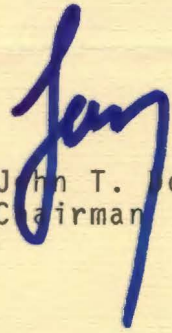
December 6, 1982

Honorable Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Morton:

I want to thank you very, very much for taking the time to participate in our NCPAC events on the 30th of November. Please know how deeply appreciative I am of all that you are doing and have done to support me and this organization.

With sincere thanks,


John T. Dolan
Chairman

JTD/ekh

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file NCPAC
Washington Post
10/6/81

PRESERVATION COPY

JACK ANDERSON

Here's NCPAC: Slick, Cynical Manipulators

The National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) is widely regarded as an organization of hot-eyed ideological fanatics determined to save the world from liberals. In fact, it is a slick, cynical group of professional manipulators who believe the voters can be gulled by expensive negative campaigns.

The depth of NCPAC's cynicism is revealed in its battle plan for next year's state and congressional elections in Texas. Polls have convinced NCPAC's chairman, Terry Dolan, that Texas and Florida are conservatism's land of opportunity in 1982.

My associate Vicki Warren obtained a copy of NCPAC's invasion plan for Texas, written by Dolan. The cover page is labeled "PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL," and on top of that, the seven inside pages are stamped "TOP SECRET."

It is a revealing document. Dolan suggests at one point that NCPAC's 1980 campaigns demonstrated that voters are fools who can't or won't look beneath the surface. As he puts it, "the reality is that people decide on image rather than substance."

Dolan also reveals the basically "anti" approach that NCPAC uses:

"Creating a negative impression is easier than a positive impression."

The legislative redistricting that has come out of the 1980 census gives NCPAC's operatives a golden opportunity, Dolan writes. Liberal incumbents "will be picking up perhaps hundreds of thousands of new voters who have no clear image of the incumbent," he explains, adding: "Therefore, we will not have to change impressions, we will be able to create them."

No specific targets have been picked definitely yet, according to Dolan's battle plan. But he writes that "I am currently considering" five Democratic incumbents as targets worthy of a NCPAC blitz: House Majority Leader James C. Wright Jr. and Reps. James A. Mattox, Martin Frost, J.J. Pickle and Henry B. Gonzalez (whose name he misspelled).

It won't be cheap, Dolan warns. NCPAC is budgeting \$800,000 for its Texas campaigns, he writes. In addition, apparently, he envisages an equal amount for "my independent expenditure program to destabilize at least three of the incumbents cited above"—an unfortunate use of the CIA's old euphemism for fomenting revolution against targeted governments.

Dolan is not above pirating techniques from the Chinese communists. At one point, discussing the economic advantages of "piggyback-

ing" campaign commercials that tack incumbents in three congressional districts in the same market, he writes:

"We might even consider using term 'Gang of 3' and advertising all three districts using all three names."

Instead of picking an ideologically "pure" candidate to run in a targeted district, Dolan would first establish what kind of constituency was there by district-wide polling. "Once we have the correct political profile for a district, we can immediately look for the correct candidate and go ahead with that candidate," he explains.

Dolan's battle plan for Texas has a carpathagger aroma to it. Though NCPAC "is willing to establish a Texas Department which will serve the needs of all the candidates," he makes it clear that his out-of-state people will be running things. He refers, for example, to "the detailed information we will need to identify a candidate . . . to define the issues . . . and to direct the debate which ensues."

NCPAC will also provide schooling for candidates, campaign managers and finance chairmen. All the Texas conservatives will have to do is sit back and let NCPAC take over.

Footnote: NCPAC refused to talk with me or my staff because it was obviously referred to the group as "ultraconservative" and they would prefer "ultraconservative."

DENNIS THE MENACE

Handwritten notes in left margin:
NCPAC
TOP SECRET
111

Handwritten notes in bottom right corner:
what was the reason for this?
you're against the group
you're not a member

NCPAC

file
**National Conservative
Political Action Committee**

1500 wilson blvd. • arlington, va. • 22209

Friday Morning, 1981

Dear Conservative:

Will you do me a personal favor?

Will you help me decide if NCPAC should target TED KENNEDY
for defeat in 1982?

Please fill out the enclosed "1982 Liberal Target Survey"
and send it back to me immediately.

You see, I need your advice on what could be the toughest
question Conservatives have ever faced -- SHOULD WE DEVOTE OUR
RESOURCES TO DEFEAT TED KENNEDY IN 1982?

Before I go on, let me tell you about NCPAC, the biggest and
most effective political group in America today...

Pure and simple, NCPAC works day and night to defeat
liberals and elect good Conservatives to local, state and federal
offices.

And we've supported 100's of good Conservatives, too --
President Ronald Reagan, Senators Orrin Hatch, Jesse Helms,
Gordon Humphrey, and men like Congressman Phil Crane just to name
a few.

And we're experts at what we do.

NCPAC doesn't just throw money at campaigns, sit back and
hope for the best. We provide expert analyses and campaign
guidance which has proven the moving force in many important
political races.

And most Conservative candidates agree that NCPAC provides
the best professional campaign assistance available today --
the best pollsters, the best television consultants, the best
advertising and precinct organization leaders, and many other key
personnel.

That's why Ronald Reagan said, "NCPAC IS OUR BEST BET
TO DEFEAT THE LIBERALS".

It's also why the big liberals NCPAC defeated -- liberals
like Birch Bayh, John Culver, Frank Church, and George McGovern --

said things like, "They (NCPAC) are knocking the hell out of me".

But what really speaks well for NCPAC is all the work we did to put Ronald Reagan in the White House and turn the Senate over to the control of Conservatives.

So, what do you think?

Should NCPAC go after TED KENNEDY?

Quite honestly, I'd like to target TED KENNEDY, but only if I have your support.

Believe me, if we decide to go after him, it won't be an easy job. It will take all the support we can muster.

So, I must hear from you as soon as possible on this important matter.

I also need your advice on another problem.

There are just as many liberals running for re-election in 1982 as there were in 1980, but they aren't as well-known as McGovern, Church, or Kennedy. Believe me, they are just as dangerous, but very few people are aware of their liberal records.

So I've enclosed a FACT SHEET on the 21 liberals standing for election in 1982.

It includes their position on Conservative issues, their ratings by various liberal and conservative groups, plus other important information. I have also listed an estimate of how much money I think it will take to defeat these liberals.

YOU CAN SEE THAT FOR US TO TARGET KENNEDY and all the other liberals on the list, it will cost \$6,540,000.

That's a lot of money -- money that NCPAC doesn't have right now.

I've reviewed our budget carefully, and I believe we can target anywhere from three to six liberals and meet our financial goals...this includes KENNEDY if you think we should.

So please check the five Senators you think we should target...

Remember, 1980 proved there is no such thing as an "invulnerable" liberal. Once the voters know a liberal's record, he's in big trouble.

Wouldn't it be great if every liberal Senator standing for election in 1982 had to answer for his record the way George McGovern did in 1980? We would have liberalism on the run for the first time in the history of our country.

Now...let me be perfectly frank.

If we target three or four liberals now and begin our campaign, we'll send a shiver down the spine of every other liberal in the Senate.

They won't dare oppose us conservatives. They know that if they do, they'll have to pay the price at the polls.

If funding permits, we'll go after every one of the liberals I've listed on the NCPAC FACT SHEET.

We'll take sophisticated voter surveys to learn exactly where these liberal Senators are vulnerable.

Then we'll hire the best Conservative political consultants in America to develop a hard-hitting -- but fair -- independent advertising program to expose the voting records of these liberals.

That's what we did in the 1980 election and look what it did!

But it is critically important that we get started now!

You see, most voters don't pay too much attention to politics. And for the last five years, liberals like Kennedy have been using taxpayers' money -- in the form of newsletters, computers, fancy public relations experts, etc. -- to fool the average voter...

...of course, Kennedy and other liberals didn't mention they voted to give away our Panama Canal, or to slash America's defense budget.

It will take a lot of time to focus the voters' attention on the records of these liberals.

Right now, our polls show that this is the most important aspect of our campaign...We have to get our message out early, and repeat it over and over again.

To do this, I need \$48,500 within the next thirty days to begin our polling in four states.

We've raised enough money so far to begin a limited amount of advertising, but not enough to finish even the first wave.

So far we've targeted Maryland's liberal Senator Paul Sarbanes. As far as I'm concerned he's a "clone" of Ted Kennedy. As a matter of fact, the National Taxpayers Union shows him to be even more liberal.

Also, we've spent nearly \$200,000 exposing Sarbanes' liberal record. Now, Sarbanes only has a 4% lead over his likely Republican

opponent and that's with a year before the elections. Our results have been dramatic.

Too, NCPAC has targeted sixteen Liberals in the House who are still attacking President Reagan's Economic Recovery Program.

But now we must re-focus our attention on the Senate.

We conservatives can win at least six new seats in 1982. That would give us a sizable margin in the Senate.

We better have that because in 1984, 22 conservatives stand for election. These numbers favor liberals making gains in 1984, so we must take advantage of our edge in 1982.

So please, send in your NCPAC "1982 Liberal Target Survey" right away.

And won't you send NCPAC a contribution of \$100 or \$50 or \$25 today. If you can't send that much this time, I'll understand, and perhaps later this year you'll be able to help more. I promise you it will be one of the best investments you ever made.

Please don't give up now.

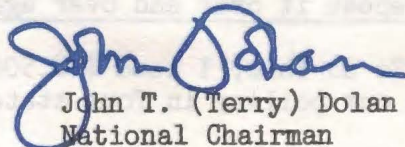
Help us build on the gains we Conservatives made in 1980 by sending your most generous gift possible. You can give up to \$5000, but no contribution is too small.

Please fill in the NCPAC "1982 Liberal Target Survey" and return it to me right away.

I won't be able to continue our campaign until I get your opinion. So don't set it aside, thinking you'll get to it later.

I'll be checking the mail for your letter.

Sincerely,


John T. (Terry) Dolan
National Chairman

P.S. If you send in your response right away, I'll send you the results of this Confidential Survey and let you know exactly what we are going to do.

Also, please send your most generous contribution. We cannot begin our program without your personal help.

NCPAC FACT SHEET

(FOR USE OF 1982 LIBERAL TARGET SURVEY)

	Voted to Support Busing (CO208-1979)	Voted in Favor of Abortion (CO412-1978)	Prayer in School (CO45-1979)	Increased Defense Spending (CO132-1978)	Giving Away the Panama Canal (CO8-1978)	Increasing Federal Taxes (CO47-1978)	ACU Rating ***	ASC Rating **	ADA Rating *	Proposed		
										1980	1979	1980	NCPAC Target '82 Budget
Ted KENNEDY D - Massachusetts	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	0	0	33	\$450,000		
Lloyd BENTSEN D - Texas	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	38	44	39	\$700,000		
Quentin BURDICK D - North Dakota	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	17	50	78	\$150,000		
Robert BYRD D - West Virginia	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	14	30	56	\$160,000		
Howard CANNON D - Nevada	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	33	89	33	\$90,000		
John CHAFFEE R - Rhode Island	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	25	20	72	\$140,000		
Lawton CHILES D - Florida	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	42	40	50	\$400,000		
Dennis DeCONCINI D - Arizona	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	30	60	67	\$170,000		
Henry JACKSON D - Washington	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	14	30	72	\$240,000		
Spark MATSUNAGA D - Hawaii	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	0	14	78	\$120,000		
John MELCHER D - Montana	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	21	50	50	\$110,000		
Howard METZENBAUM D - Ohio	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	10	10	83	\$400,000		
George MITCHELL D - Maine				NO			8	0	67	\$110,000		
Daniel MOYNIHAN D - New York	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	0	10	72	\$750,000		
William PROXMIRE D - Wisconsin	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	71	60	56	\$250,000		
Donald RIEGLE, Jr. D - Michigan	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	0	0	83	\$600,000		
Paul SARBANES D - Maryland	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	0	10	83	\$350,000		
Jim SASSER D - Tennessee	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	5	20	67	\$210,000		
Robert STAFFORD R - Vermont	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	25	44	61	\$120,000		
Lewell WECKER, Jr. R - Connecticut	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	20	38	72	\$220,000		
Harrison WILLIAMS, JR. D - New Jersey	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	5	10	72	\$800,000		

*** ACU Rating (American Conservative Union). An active conservative action group on Capitol Hill. Works vigorously against ill-advised liberal schemes. Their ratings are excellent.

** ASC Rating (American Security Council). One of Washington's most respected organizations working for a strong national defense. Their ratings are especially useful to show that the incumbent votes to cripple American's military preparedness.

* ADA Rating (Americans for Democratic Action). This is generally regarded as the premier liberal political organization in the United States, and its ratings reflect explicitly liberal values.

File NCPAC

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
 ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*
 ORVILLE E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, *Publisher*

A. M. ROSENTHAL, *Executive Editor*
 SEYMOUR TOPPING, *Managing Editor*
 ARTHUR GELEB, *Deputy Managing Editor*
 JAMES L. GREENFIELD, *Assistant Managing Editor*
 LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, *Assistant Managing Editor*

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 JACK ROSENTHAL, *Deputy Editorial Page Editor*
 CHARLOTTE CURTIS, *Associate Editor*

TOM WICKER, *Associate Editor*

JOHN D. POMFRET, *Exec. V.P., General Manager*
 JOHN MORTIMER, *Sr. V.P., Asst. to General Manager*
 J. A. RIGGS, JR., *Sr. V.P., Operations*
 DONALD A. NIZEN, *V.P., Consumer Marketing*
 JOHN M. O'BRIEN, *V.P., Controller*
 LANCE R. PRIMIS, *V.P., Advertising*

Nick-Pack Strikes Home

Yesterday several New York radio stations started broadcasting commercials attacking Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. The attacks are from the right: they scorn him as the Senate's most liberal member. Yet the ads are not paid for by Bruce Caputo, the former Congressman who wants the Republican Senate nomination. The sponsor is NCPAC, raising a problem of fair play.

NCPAC, or Nick-Pack, is short for the National Conservative Political Action Committee. It is the best-known example of a new political phenomenon, the independent expenditure committee, and one that needs to be even better known. Its main activity, which exploits a loophole in Federal law, comes very close to cheating the system.

The law, designed to limit the power of money in politics, says organizations supporting a candidate may not contribute more than \$5,000 per election. But the courts have so far ruled that freedom of speech forbids any such limit for independent groups that do not avowedly support a candidate.

Nick-Pack plunged through that loophole last year by spending hundreds of thousands for Republican candidates. Yet the candidates who benefited from its support were free to disclaim responsibility for anything Nick-Pack did or said. "A group like ours could lie through its teeth and the candidate it helps stays clean," said Nick-Pack's organizer, Terry Dolan.

Now Nick-Pack is cranking up for 1982, in New York and elsewhere. Why not? Why shouldn't an independent group spend freely for candidates it likes? Because it's far from clear that Nick-Pack is either independent or a group.

The organization doesn't consist of much besides Mr. Dolan, a talented fund-raiser, and a board. As for independence, New York provides a clue. Moynihan boosters point to strong overlaps between Nick-Pack and the Caputo campaign. Both employ the same political consultant. Nick-Pack has already provided \$4,400 to Mr. Caputo, apart from the much larger sums its anti-Moynihan advertising will require. Mr. Caputo may depend more on Nick-Pack than vice versa, but the effect is the same either way: the contribution limit is evaded.

Such evasion can sometimes backfire. In the case of Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland, Nick-Pack's campaign against him has galvanized his supporters and even annoyed some Republicans. In the case of Senator Moynihan, it may not be so harmful for a candidate sometimes labeled a neo-conservative also to be derided as a liberal.

Still, the problem remains: what to do about evasions of the \$5,000 spending limit and of accountability. Should radio stations refuse Nick-Pack's advertising? That smacks of censorship. Could Nick-Pack be held to the contribution law without infringing on the rights of truly independent groups? The Supreme Court hasn't yet decided. Should candidates attacked by Nick-Pack get equal time, as proposed by Fred Wertheimer of Common Cause? It's a worthy idea that Congress should consider.

In the meantime, the only obvious remedy is public scrutiny. Voters recognize cheating when they see it. Voters have a way, come Election Day, to tell what they think of it.

The Top Officials Need a Raise

In the parlance of the moment, Congress ought to get off the backs of senior Government officials. It

its own pay raises, Congress over the years contrived to link its salary scales to those of the top people in

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destroy his effectiveness. But, as Dolan gleefully points out, "no one can rationally define independence—it's a ridiculous concept." Dolan is right, and, as a consequence, he has got away with all kinds of collusive activities that the election law never intended to permit—but that the Federal Election Commission has been reluctant to stop. "By allowing [his] kind of behavior," says Moynihan of Dolan's operation, "the F.E.C. is proving itself not only gutless, but it is taking part in a new form of corrupt politics."

As a result of the F.E.C.'s laxity, which is mostly a product of its politicized membership, Dolan is, in Moynihan's words, "manifestly violating the law's intent. The connection between Dolan and Caputo is clear. To believe otherwise requires a degree of innocence unattainable in our time."

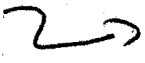
In addition to contributing \$4,400 directly to the Caputo campaign (which is perfectly legal), Nick-pack shares with Caputo the services of Arthur Finkelstein, a pollster-cum-campaign strategist. Dolan defends the Finkelstein connection in two ways. First, he says that Finkelstein is "just a pollster"—a contention that is disputed by those who know the Caputo and Nick-pack organizations and also by internal Nick-pack memorandums that reveal Finkelstein's intimate involvement in the development of the anti-Moynihan commercials that form the core of Dolan's attack.

"No matter," says Dolan, for his second defense. "I have an advisory opinion from the F.E.C. that states I can talk to Caputo all I want and we can both use Finkelstein as much as we want until Caputo becomes the formal Republican nominee. Right now, Caputo is just a pre-primary candidate." Not so, says the F.E.C.'s general counsel, who has clarified the advisory opinion Dolan obtained from the F.E.C. last year.

But that hasn't stopped Dolan, so the war of "independence" drags on. Moynihan and various Democratic-party groups will likely bring an action against Dolan before the F.E.C. But, if past practice is any guide, the F.E.C. won't get around to a decision until well after Dolan has done his damage.

The F.E.C., though, is not the court of last resort. There is another way to thwart Dolan's cheating. Radio and television stations do not have to accept Dolan's spots—and some have already refused to do so. Others, meanwhile, have offered Moynihan free time to reply. In both cases, though, the majority of stations have made their determinations solely on the basis of whether or not they like the Nick-pack message. To me, this is little more than blatant censorship shrouded in some highfalutin rhetoric about the First Amendment's permitting the press to do any-

Moynihan cynical
about our Society!



thing it chooses to do. "The stations shouldn't be doing that," says Dolan. "This is political comment, and the stations should permit *all* political comment, not just that with which they agree."

I think Dolan is right—but that doesn't mean he should be on the air. None of this action is going on in a vacuum. There is nothing hypothetical about it. Pat Moynihan and others are up for re-election. Nick-pack is out to get them. The agency charged with regulating campaigns has proved itself toothless, despite the fact that the intent of the law is clear. Until the loopholes are closed or the F.E.C. gets cracking, it should be the responsibility of the media to decide the independence question for itself, which is not all that difficult to do. Both the Nick-pack and Moynihan camps happily provide the press with documents supporting their positions. Any other course, like free time for Nick-pack's opponents, begs the question—and reinforces the low opinion in which the public holds the media. If the evidence of non-independence is clear—as it certainly seems to be in the case of the Nick-pack-Caputo connection—the press should face up to it and then pull the plug on Dolan's sweet gig. Government is not the repository of all wisdom, and when an agency like the F.E.C. is shirking its responsibility, that responsibility must be borne by others, in this instance by the media.

The person benefiting most from the current limbo is Bruce Caputo—who is trying to have it both ways. "Nick-pack is hurting me badly," says Caputo. "The message getting across is that I'm cheating. Well, I don't want Nick-pack here. I wish they'd just go away."

Caputo, by the way, buys the Dolan notion that the two of them can plan together until Caputo is officially designated as the Republican senatorial nominee—which is months away, and months after thousands of the anti-Moynihan spots have played to millions of New Yorkers.

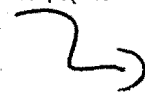
So why, I asked Caputo, if he can communicate with Dolan all he wants, doesn't he simply tell Nick-pack to get lost? "Well," said Caputo, "I'm afraid to even ask Terry the time of day for fear of being attacked for collusion."

"So you're saying that while you deplore Nick-pack's activities in your behalf and while in your view you can speak with Dolan whenever you want to, you won't speak to him in order to tell him that you want him to stop?"

"That's right," said Caputo, "but maybe I will anyway. I'll have to talk to my lawyers."

What's next? Perhaps enough pressure will force Caputo to tell Dolan to cool it. But I'd bet that if he does, Bruce Caputo will be winking.

Caputo!
The Candidate
of
decisiveness!



The National Interest/Michael Kramer

CHEAP SHOTS AT MOYNIHAN

file NCPAC F91- Peter

Those Slanted Commercials

YOU MAY NOT HAVE HEARD IT ALREADY, but you will before long. It's the first of a \$750,000 wave of radio and television spots directed against Senator Pat Moynihan, and it goes like this:

ANNOUNCER: Who was the most liberal United States senator in 1980?

WOMAN'S VOICE (somewhat hysterical): Oh, I know, uh-huh, Ted Kennedy.

ANNOUNCER: I'm sorry, that's wrong. The most liberal senator was Daniel Moynihan.

WOMAN'S VOICE: You're kidding. Who says?

ANNOUNCER: The American Conservative Union.

WOMAN'S VOICE: No, more liberal than George McGovern?

ANNOUNCER: Well, Moynihan tied McGovern for most liberal.

WOMAN'S VOICE: I don't believe it.

ANNOUNCER: Well, he voted to give away the Panama Canal, and he opposed cutting back on government spending. And, you know, he helped develop our runaway welfare system.

WOMAN'S VOICE: Moynihan shares responsibility for our welfare system?

ANNOUNCER: Yes, Daniel Moynihan must share responsibility for our runaway welfare system.

WOMAN'S VOICE: Gee, I didn't know that.

ANNOUNCER: And he voted against capital punishment, opposed the B-1 bomber; he supports increased taxes; he even voted foreign aid to Communist countries like Cuba, Cambodia, and Vietnam.

WOMAN'S VOICE: Wait, wait, enough. What would happen if the people knew this?

ANNOUNCER: He'd be defeated. Which is why New York State taxpayers are fed up with Moynihan. . . .

What's wrong with this advertisement? Plenty—including what it says and who's saying it!

"Most everything about that spot is, at least, distorted," says Pat Moynihan. "For example, there's never been a substantive vote on capital punishment—and I favor it for certain crimes. I've consistently voted to cut back government spending—not to increase it. And it's just nonsense to say that I voted foreign aid to Communist countries. I voted against direct aid to those nations. I did vote for the Panama Canal treaties. But was that a giveaway? I don't think so. And as for being responsible for the welfare system, well, there's a word for that. It's 'lie.' It's spelled l-i-e. And how anyone could say that about me, after all I've written about welfare and said about it over twenty years is beyond me. Oh, yes, I did vote against the B-1 bomber—just like my Republican opponent did when he was in the House."



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ACU 21
ASC 20



SASSER
ACU 21
ASC 20



Dr. CONCINI
ACU 38
ASC 60



BYRD
ACU 30
ASC 30



PROXN
ACU
ASC



KENNEL
ACU 2
ASC 0



RIEGL
ACU
ASC



The leader of Nick-pack: Terry Dolan stands before his Senate hit list.

Moynihan's Republican opponent is Bruce Caputo—but it wasn't Caputo who paid for the attack on Moynihan, it was a Virginia outfit called the National Conservative Political Action Committee. "Nick-pack," as it's pronounced, was founded in 1975, and already it's a genuine force in American politics. Nick-pack has become powerful by taking advantage of new campaign-finance rulings that set no limit on the amount of money an "independent" group can spend to further a candidate's fortunes.

During the 1980 presidential campaign, more than \$10 million was spent by independent organizations in support of Ronald Reagan. That was 382 times the \$27,773 spent by similar groups supporting Jimmy Carter. Of the Reagan total, almost 20 percent was spent by Nick-pack—and over a million dollars more was spent by Nick-pack to help oust liberal senators.

Going into the 1982 federal elections, Nick-pack has targeted more than a dozen U.S. senators for extinction. Most, like Pat Moynihan, have learned that the politician who ignores Nick-pack does so at his peril. George McGovern, Frank Church, and John Culver, all casualties of Nick-pack's work in 1980, prove the point.

Which is why the Moynihan re-election apparatus has just readied an anti-Nick-pack ad of its own. The Moynihan counter-ad labels Nick-pack an "extreme right-wing political hit group"

that "play[s] dirty," an organization that has already been "found guilty of campaign violations" by the Federal Election Commission.

The man behind Nick-pack is John ("Terry") Dolan, a wiry 30-year-old with close-cropped hair and a trim mustache. To Dolan, the New Right's hero, Ronald Reagan, doesn't go far enough. If Dolan had his way, it would be "99 percent for defense—keep America strong—and 1 percent on delivering the mail. That's Leave us alone." *DOLAN A SENATOR*

As for the election statute that Dolan exploits, he himself calls it a "stupid law. . . . One thing we've done," he says, "is wreck the federal election laws. And thank God for that." The result, as Dolan has admitted, is that "groups like ours are potentially very dangerous to the political process. We could be a menace. . . . Ten independent expenditure groups, for example, could amass the great amount of money and defeat the point of accountability in politics. We could say anything we want about the opponent of a Senator Smith, and the senator wouldn't have to say anything. In other words, says Dolan, who claims his work is all on the up-and-up, a group like ours could lie through its teeth, and the candidate it helps stay clean."

The key to Dolan's continued success lies in his remaining "independent" the candidate whose cause he is aiding. Prove Dolan isn't independent and you

Moynihan Patronizes the voters!

NCPAC

*National Conservative
Political Action Committee*

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

*John T. Dolan
National Chairman*

October 30, 1981

(703) 522-2800

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

Dear Jim:

Around Inauguration time this year, I had suggested to you the worth of the President meeting with the National Conservative Policy Advisory Council (my \$5,000 contributors) to thank them for all the work they did for him in the campaign. It was due to their efforts that NCPAC raised over \$1 million for the Independent Expenditures in northern Texas, central and southern Illinois, central Ohio, all of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and northern Florida. These individuals raised the million dollars for the President's campaign.

At that time you said to me that you considered it a very appropriate activity on the part of the President.

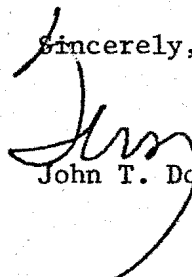
We still have not had such a meeting. You, Elizabeth Dole, Richard Williamson, Lee Atwater, and others have said to us that they supported such a meeting, but each time we have proposed a function, we have been turned down. Most recently, Mr. Newell sent a letter to me saying that the President wanted such a meeting, but still we are being turned down.

If you will look at the list of people we wish to have at such a meeting/reception, you will note that these individuals are very strong Reagan supporters. I am sure that you know many of these people personally as does the President himself. What is wrong? Surely the President would be amenable to saying "hello" to such a group of highly distinguished supporters even if it were only for 15 minutes.

I am enclosing for your review all of the literature relevant to our struggle to get a meeting with the President.

Please help us end this log jam in order that these people may have an opportunity to see the man they idolize to such a high degree.

Sincerely,


John T. Dolan

Enclosures

JTD/ekh

cc: Mrs. M. Shortley

National Conservative Political Action Committee

1500 Wilson Blvd. Suite 513 Arlington, Va. 22209 (703) 522-2800

January 18, 1982

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Old Executive Office Building 191
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Morton:

Thank you for your invitation to the Monday luncheon. As per your suggestion I have invited two people from our office who deal directly with U.S. Senate races. They are Mr. Mike Boos and Ms. Elaine Gansz. Mr. Boos coordinates NCPAC's Senatorial activities in Maryland, Montana, and Ohio. Ms. Gansz is the campaign director for the states of Connecticut, West Virginia, and New York.

Vic, myself, Elaine and Mike are looking forward to your next Monday luncheon. Thank you again for your invitation.

Sincerely,



BRAD ZERBE
Congressional Campaign
Director

P.S. Hope to see you at the Reagan Anniversary Ball. The girls in the office have been trying to improve my ballroom dancing during lunch hour without much luck.

Democrats Doubt Independence Of Conservative Money-Baggers

By Alan Emory
Special to The Washington Post

Democratic campaign strategists hope they have found a way to hamstring the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

It's called "The Finkelstein Connection."

The "connection" is named after Arthur J. Finkelstein, a New York pollster and political consultant who works for conservative Republicans.

The Finkelstein Connection has surfaced in NCPAC's early-starting campaign to defeat Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), one of the committee's most prominent targets in 1982.

Democrats hope the challenge to Moynihan will put NCPAC's future on the line. If the Democrats can prove that NCPAC is working for Bruce Caputo, a Republican former congressman who is challenging Moynihan, it could lose its status as an "independent" committee. This status enables it to spend unlimited amounts to elect or defeat candidates, which is what has made it a fearsome factor in recent elections.

Federal Election Commission rules allow independent committees—those that have no communication or coordination with a candidate or his supporters—free rein on political spending, as opposed to the \$5,000 limitation put on other political action units. NCPAC is registered as an independent committee.

Under FEC rules a violation—a determination that an independent committee has coordinated with a candidate or campaign organization—can cost the committee its independent status and a civil penalty of up to twice the amount of its illegal contribution. In the Caputo case that could come to as much as \$200,000 for NCPAC.

NCPAC insists it is trying simply to defeat liberal incumbents, with whom it lumps Moynihan, not to elect individual conservatives, such as Caputo.

But the Democrats think it is more than coincidence that Finkelstein's firm is listed as "campaign consultant" in Caputo's latest report to the FEC. Also:

- Finkelstein has been a member of the NCPAC board of directors, although a committee spokesman says he resigned two or three years ago.

- Of the \$19,500 that Caputo had spent on his fledgling campaign through July, \$12,300 went for Finkelstein's polls and political advice.

- NCPAC's August filing with the FEC showed a \$4,400 contribution to the Caputo campaign.

- Terry Dolan, NCPAC's chairman, says Finkelstein is playing an important part in the organization's activities. In a Nov. 17 press conference in New York City, he said Finkelstein was responsible for NCPAC's polling in New York as well as nationally.

- Some NCPAC ads have segments that appear to have been taken word-for-word from Caputo's formal announcement of his candidacy, and from

a fund-raising letter signed by Caputo and now being circulated in New York.

NCPAC spokesman Steve DeAngelo says NCPAC is not talking to Finkelstein "on a daily basis or even a weekly basis" and as soon as Caputo is nominated the connection will be severed.

According to DeAngelo, the FEC has ruled that an independent committee cannot be charged with working for a candidate until he has been formally nominated. Caputo has not yet won the nomination, although he has the endorsement of 50 of the 62 Republican county chairmen in the state and apparently has no opposition for what many observers consider the uncertain honor of running against Moynihan.

The Democrats contend that this FEC ruling has been modified and that the FEC now says there can be no pre-primary links between an independent political committee and a potential candidate.

The FEC says that both are wrong, and that it has only advised NCPAC that the closer an independent committee gets to a candidate the more its chances of compromising its independence.

NCPAC has budgeted \$750,000 to defeat Moynihan, with \$50,000 of that for a "first wave" of television commercials.

The Democrats, through their national, Senate and House campaign committees, are considering suing NCPAC on the ground that it is working for Republican candidates, including Caputo, and therefore is not an "independent" committee.

FEC rules state that a political expenditure is not "independent" if made by a person "receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate" or any "agent" of the candidate.

The Democrats contend that Finkelstein is clearly a Caputo "agent" and that NCPAC's moves in New York appear based on information about Caputo plans provided by Finkelstein. Such an information link is a big no-no for an "independent" political committee.

Democratic strategists call the \$4,400 NCPAC gift to Caputo a "remarkable early commitment." NCPAC, however, also gave Caputo money for his losing 1980 campaign against incumbent Jacob K. Javits for the Republican Senate nomination. The nomination went to Alfonse M. D'Amato, who was elected.

The Democrats also will focus on comments by White House political adviser Edward Rollins that he expects to be working closely with NCPAC on the 1982 campaign, which would involve electing Republicans rather than just defeating Democrats.

Ironically, the Democrats have managed to shake loose a Finkelstein poll that shows Moynihan with a 3-to-1 lead over Caputo. Of 879 persons polled, 48 percent backed Moynihan, 16 percent supported Caputo and nearly 36 percent were undecided.

Wash. Post Dec 31, 1981