



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

THIS IS THE END OF MUR # 1815

Date Filmed 1/2/85 Camera No. --- 2

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

MUR 1815

ROUTING SLIPS; OBJECTION MEMOS; MEMO FROM
DOCKET RE: NAME & ADDRESS OF COMPLAINANT
& RESPONDENT; MUR ASSIGNMENT FORM.

The above-described material was removed from this file pursuant to the following exemption provided in the Freedom of Information Act; 5 U.S.C. Section 552(b):

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> (1) Classified Information | <input type="checkbox"/> (6) Personal privacy |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (2) Internal rules and practices | <input type="checkbox"/> (7) Investigatory files |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (3) Exempted by other statute | <input type="checkbox"/> (8) Banking Information |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (4) Trade secrets and commercial or financial information | <input type="checkbox"/> (9) Well Information (geographic or geophysical) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (5) Internal Documents | |

Signed

date

Stephen L. Smith
12-27-88

FEC 9-21-77

Tan 11/2/85

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

December 21, 1984

John T. Dolan
Chairman
National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1001 Prince Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Re: MUR 1815

Dear Mr. Dolan:

The Federal Election Commission has reviewed the allegations of your complaint dated September 28, 1984 and determined that on the basis of the information provided in your complaint and information provided by the Respondent, there is no reason to believe that a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), has been committed. Accordingly, the Commission has decided to close the file in this matter. The Federal Election Campaign Act allows a complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8).

Should additional information come to your attention which you believe establishes a violation of the Act, you may file a complaint pursuant to the requirements set forth in 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1) and 11 C.F.R. § 111.4.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: 
Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure
General Counsel's Report

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

December 21, 1984

Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director
Citizens for Constitutional
Concerns, Inc.
1424 16th Street, N.W.
Suite 601
Washington, D.C. 20036

Re: MUR 1815
(Citizens for Constitutional
Concerns, Inc.)

Dear Mr. Podesta:

On October 12, 1984, the Commission notified you of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

The Commission, on December 18, 1984, determined that on the basis of the information in the complaint and information provided by you, there is no reason to believe that a violation of any statute within its jurisdiction has been committed. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter. This matter will become a part of the public record within 30 days.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: 
Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure
General Counsel's Report

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
Citizens for Constitutional) MUR 1815
Concerns, Inc.)
Anthony T. Podesta,)
Executive Director)

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, recording secretary for the
Federal Election Commission executive session of
December 18, 1984, do hereby certify that the Commission
decided by a vote of 6-0 to take the following actions in
MUR 1815:

1. Find no reason to believe that Citizens
for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated
2 U.S.C. § 441d.
2. Find no reason to believe that Citizens
for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated
11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(4).
3. Find no reason to believe that Citizens
for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated
11 C.F.R. § 104.6.
4. Find no reason to believe that Citizens for
Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated
11 C.F.R. § 114.3 (a)(1).

(continued)

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Federal Election Commission
Certification for MUR 1815
December 18, 1984

Page 2

5. Find no reason to believe that Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated 11 C.F.R. § 114.3(c).
6. Find no reason to believe that Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).
7. Approve the letters attached to the General Counsel's report dated December 5, 1984.
8. CLOSE THE FILE.

Commissioners Aikens, Elliott, Harris, McDonald, McGarry, and Reiche voted affirmatively for the decision.

Attest:

12-20-84

Date

Marjorie W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary of the Commission

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

John T. Dolan
Chairman
National Conservative Political
Action Committee
1001 Prince Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Re: MUR 1815

Dear Mr. Dolan:

The Federal Election Commission has reviewed the allegations of your complaint dated September 28, 1984 and determined that on the basis of the information provided in your complaint and information provided by the Respondent, there is no reason to believe that a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), has been committed. Accordingly, the Commission has decided to close the file in this matter. The Federal Election Campaign Act allows a complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8).

Should additional information come to your attention which you believe establishes a violation of the Act, you may file a complaint pursuant to the requirements set forth in 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1) and 11 C.F.R. § 111.4.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure
General Counsel's Report

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director
Citizens for Constitutional
Concerns, Inc.
1424 16th Street, N.W.
Suite 601
Washington, D.C. 20036

Re: MUR 1815
(Citizens for Constitutional
Concerns, Inc.)

Dear Mr. Podesta:

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The Commission, on , 1984, determined that on the basis of the information in the complaint and information provided by you, there is no reason to believe that a violation of any statute within its jurisdiction has been committed. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter. This matter will become a part of the public record within 30 days.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure
General Counsel's Report

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM

TO: Office of the Commission Secretary
FROM: Office of General Counsel *gcl*
DATE: December 5, 1984
SUBJECT: MUR 1815 - 1st GC's Rpt

The attached is submitted as an Agenda document
for the Commission Meeting of _____

Open Session _____
Closed Session _____

CIRCULATIONS

48 Hour Tally Vote [x]
Sensitive [x]
Non-Sensitive []

24 Hour No Objection []
Sensitive []
Non-Sensitive []

Information []
Sensitive []
Non-Sensitive []

Other []

DISTRIBUTION

Compliance [x]
Audit Matters []

Litigation []
Closed MUR Letters []

Status Sheets []
Advisory Opinions []

Other (see distribution below) []

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RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

84 DEC 5 P 4: 42
FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

SENSITIVE

DATE AND TIME OF TRANSMITTAL
BY OGC TO THE COMMISSION 12/5/84
4:45pm

MUR # 1815
DATE OF COMPLAINT RECEIVED
BY OGC: 10/09/84
DATE OF NOTIFICATION TO
RESPONDENT: 10/12/84
STAFF MEMBER: Stephen Levin

COMPLAINANT'S NAME: National Conservative Political Action
Committee
John T. Dolan, Chairman

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc.
Anthony T. Podesta, Executive Director

RELEVANT STATUTES: 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)(i)
2 U.S.C. § 441b(a)
2 U.S.C. § 441d
2 U.S.C. § 441d(a)(3)

11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(4)
11 C.F.R. § 104.6
11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(2)
11 C.F.R. § 114.3(a)(1)
11 C.F.R. § 114.3(c)

RELEVANT ADVISORY
OPINIONS:

A.O. 1984-14
A.O. 1984-17

SUMMARY OF ALLEGATIONS

On October 9, 1984, the National Conservative Political Action Committee (hereinafter "NCPAC") filed a complaint with the Commission against Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. ("CCC") in reference to CCC's "People for the American Way" project. The complaint alleges that CCC, a licensed non-profit corporation under the laws of the District of Columbia, violated the provisions of 2 U.S.C. § 441d by making expenditures for the purpose of financing communications which expressly advocate the defeat of Ronald Reagan without including the necessary

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disclaimer in those communications. The communications were in the form of direct mailings conducted by CCC to both its members and to the general public. The complaint further alleges that the communications which were sent to CCC's members failed to conform with the requirements of 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.8(b)(4), 104.6, 114.3(a)(1), and 114.3(c). The complaint also suggests a possible violation by CCC of 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), which prohibits corporations from making any contributions or expenditures in connection with a federal election.

FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

The subject of this complaint by NCPAC is direct mailings conducted by CCC and its "People for the American Way" project to both members of the organization and to the general public. These mailings attempted to raise money and attract new members to CCC by calling attention to the viewpoints and activities of various conservative groups with which CCC is in disagreement regarding issues of national interest.

NCPAC's allegation that CCC violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d in the course of these mailings rests on the conclusion that such communications required the inclusion of a disclaimer. According to that section, anytime anyone makes an expenditure with the intention of financing communications which expressly advocate the defeat, in this case, of a candidate who is clearly identified; or anytime anyone solicits a contribution through any direct mailing, that communication, if it is "not authorized by a candidate, an authorized political committee of a candidate, or

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its agents," must include a disclaimer which clearly indicates "the name of the person who paid for the communication" and that "the communication is not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee." 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a)(3). It is true that no such disclaimer appeared in these mailings. However, upon review of the mailings in question, this Office concludes that no such disclaimer was necessary.

As listed above, there are two possible situations which would require disclaimers when such communications are not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee, as is the case here; first, when there is express advocacy of the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate; and second, when there is a solicitation for contributions, through direct mail. Neither of those situations is analogous to the matter at hand.

Of primary importance is the fact that there is no express advocacy included within the communications in question in this case. In Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1975), the Supreme Court held that in order for such communications to be considered express advocacy they must be "unambiguously related to the campaign of a particular federal candidate." Buckley, 424 U.S. at 80. The Court provided an illustrative list of terms which, if used, would be considered examples of express advocacy (words like "vote for," "vote against," "elect," and "defeat"); a list which was codified in regulations promulgated by the Commission in adopting the definition of express advocacy used in Buckley. 11 C.F.R. § 109.1(b)(2). In this matter, the communications

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did not reach those standards in that the mailings were confined to discussions of issues, not elections or candidates. That point is more clearly made by reviewing the way Ronald Reagan's name and the topic of the presidential election were discussed in the context of CCC's mailings. Following are several typical examples:

But unless you and I reject the nuclear freeze and accept without question President Reagan's military budget, nuclear arms policies, and foreign policy decisions, we are denounced to all as not being "patriotic" or "God-fearing."

On a recent TV show, Falwell chastised a fellow minister who dared to challenge Reagan's policies. Astonishingly, Reverend Falwell claims that Reagan is the Biblical King of America, and he tells his audience to "respect and honor the king" and "obey the powers that be, because they are ordained of God." In Falwell's national travels he tells his audiences that to disagree with the Administration is to violate the Bible.

By working together now, we can make sure that the political intimidation so prevalent in the 1980 elections is not repeated again in 1984.

(For additional examples, see the complete text of CCC's mailings, included as Attachment I.)

The second situation under which a disclaimer would be required is one where the direct mailing solicits a contribution. A contribution is anything of value provided by someone for the purpose of influencing a Federal election. 2 U.S.C.

§ 431(8)(A)(i). Since, as previously established, nothing in these communications could be read as constituting any sort of electioneering, such solicitations, although they did request money for the organization, could not be said to have been for the purpose of influencing a Federal election. In fact, the last

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of these communications was mailed on January 13, 1984, well before the start of the actual campaign for the election they allegedly influenced. Therefore, these solicitations are not considered contributions for purposes of 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a)(3) and, as such, did not require the inclusion of disclaimers. Accordingly, this Office recommends the Commission find that there is no reason to believe that CCC violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d(a)(3) by not including disclaimers in their direct mailings.

The complaint further alleges that CCC's mailings violated 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.8(b)(4), 104.6, 114.3(a)(1) and 114.3(c). This Office recommends the Commission find that there is no reason to believe that CCC violated any of the regulations cited above for the following reasons.

Section 100.8(b)(4) permits corporations to incur costs for communications to their members/stockholders (a restricted class) without having those costs considered expenditures for the purposes of the Federal Election Campaign Act ("FECA" or the "Act") so long as the corporation is not organized primarily for the purpose of influencing a Federal election. Upon reviewing CCC's mailings, it is quite evident that such is not the primary purpose for which the corporation was organized. It has already been established that CCC is an issues oriented, not election oriented, group.

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Section 100.8(b)(4) does contain an exception specifying that when such communication costs incurred by a corporation exceed \$2,000 per election, they must be reported to the Commission. That exception only applies, however, to communications which are "primarily devoted" to "expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate." Such a reporting requirement is inapplicable to communications which are "primarily devoted to subjects other than the express advocacy of the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate." As previously established, there is no evidence whatsoever of any express advocacy in CCC's mailings. Clearly then, both because these mailings were devoid of any express advocacy and because these mailings were devoted to subjects other than express advocacy of any candidate, these mailings were free of any violation of 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(4).

Accordingly, CCC's mailings were also not in violation of 11 C.F.R. § 104.6 as alleged. Section 104.6 governs the reporting requirements of corporations which must file reports pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(4), as outlined above. Since CCC does not fall within the category of those corporations with such reporting responsibilities, it follows that CCC's mailings cannot therefore be in violation of 11 C.F.R. § 104.6.

The complaint also alleges violations of 11 C.F.R. § 114.3(a)(1) and § 114.3(c). The pertinent part of the former section prohibits a corporation from making "contributions or expenditures for partisan communications" to people outside of

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the corporation's restricted class, i.e., its members/
stockholders, thus prohibiting such communications to the general
public "in connection with a federal election." While it is true
that CCC's mailings were distributed beyond the corporation's
restricted class, i.e., to the general public, the allegation
nevertheless fails on several grounds. First, in order to be
considered a contribution or expenditure for the purposes of the
Act, such contribution or expenditure must be made "for the
purpose of influencing" a Federal election. As was established
in a prior section of this report, CCC's mailings were made for
the purpose of informing people about issues, not for the purpose
of influencing an election. As such, they cannot be considered
expenditures or contributions for the purpose of the Act and
therefore CCC's mailings were not violative of 11 C.F.R.
§ 114.3(a)(1) on those grounds.

Furthermore, in order for such communications to violate
that section, they must be made "in connection with a federal
election." As has been previously established, CCC's mailings do
not relate in any way to any election. The United States Court
of Appeals for the Third Circuit required that in order for a
contribution or expenditure to be regarded as being in connection
with a federal election, a nexus must be established between the
alleged contribution or expenditure and the federal election in
question. Miller v. AT&T, 507 F.2d 759, 764 (1974).

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In the matter at hand, no such nexus has been established. All the communications in question concern themselves with issues and do not mention or discuss elections or candidates in an electoral posture. Their mention of Ronald Reagan, for example, is only related to his disagreement with CCC on various issues. He is not described in any way which could be construed as active electioneering by CCC. Thus, these communications cannot be considered to be "in connection with a federal election" and therefore do not fall within the purview of 11 C.F.R. § 114.3(a)(1).

Finally, in order for communications to constitute violations of 11 C.F.R. § 114.3(a)(1) and § 114.3(c), as alleged, such communications must be considered partisan. Throughout these regulations, the word "partisan" is used to connote support of or connection with a particular candidate or party. The communications in question here are not election oriented in any way. As such they can hardly be considered partisan communications within the meaning of 11 C.F.R. § 114.3(a)(1) and § 114.3(c) and, as such, represents another reason why CCC cannot be held to have violated those regulations.

In its final allegation, NCPAC, by referring to AO 1984-14, suggests that CCC violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a), under which it is unlawful for any corporation "to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election." AO 1984-14 involved a situation where voting guides (containing voting records) were distributed, which characterized certain answers or

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certain issues as right and wrong and as such were determined to be violative of 2 U.S.C. § 441b. However, a situation more analogous to the one at hand existed in AO 1984-17, which distinguished election or candidate oriented communications which would be considered contributions or expenditures in connection with an election and, as such, would be unlawful (such at those cited in AO 1984-14), from issue oriented communications which would not be considered contributions or expenditures in connection with an election and therefore would be permissible (such as those cited in AO 1984-17).

The communications in question here clearly fall within the latter category. They do not do any "electioneering," i.e., they do not refer to anyone as a candidate and they do not mention the subject of voting in any election. They are strictly issue oriented and they do not make any connection between the issues raised and any election. As such, this Office recommends the Commission find that there is no reason to believe that CCC violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Find no reason to believe that Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d.
2. Find no reason to believe that Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(4).
3. Find no reason to believe that Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated 11 C.F.R. § 104.6.
4. Find no reason to believe that Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated 11 C.F.R. § 114.3(a)(1).

5. Find no reason to believe that Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated 11 C.F.R. § 114.3(c).
6. Find no reason to believe that Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).
7. Approve attached letters.
8. Close the file.

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Dec. 5, 1984

Date

By:

Kenneth A. Gross
Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Attachments

Attachment I (Copy of CCC mailings)
Letter to Complainant
Letter to Respondent

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**RUSH: NUCLEAR FREEZE
T.V. SPOT CAMPAIGN**



BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 13307 WASHINGTON, D.C.

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

People for the American Way
P.O. Box 19500
Washington, D.C. 20036

NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES



ATTACHMENT I

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People for the American Way
1424 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

NONPROFIT ORG

TELE-GRAM

TO: ALL MEMBERS

FROM: ANTHONY PODESTA
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

URGENT THAT I RECEIVE YOUR MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL RIGHT AWAY. HERE'S WHY.

AT THIS VERY MOMENT FAR RIGHT GROUPS, ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES AND ELECTRONIC EVANGELISTS ARE ESCALATING THEIR NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN TO REGULATE YOUR LIFE AND RESTRICT YOUR FREEDOMS.

REMEMBER THAT IN 1980 THEY WERE SO SUCCESSFUL BECAUSE NO CITIZENS' GROUP WAS WORKING THEN TO CHALLENGE THEM. BUT THANKS TO YOU AND 100,000 OTHER PEOPLE FOR MEMBERS, WE HAVE NOW ESTABLISHED AN EFFECTIVE COUNTERFORCE TO FAR RIGHT EXTREMISM BY ALERTING MILLIONS OF AMERICANS TO THIS THREAT THROUGH OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION AND MASS MEDIA PROGRAMS.

BUT WE DARE NOT CURTAIL OUR EFFORTS OR NAIVELY CONCLUDE THAT THE EXTREMIST THREAT IS PAST. FAR FROM IT.

RIGHT NOW, THE MORAL MAJORITY, THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS AND DOZENS OF OTHER FAR RIGHT GROUPS ARE LAUNCHING MASSIVE RECRUITMENT AND FUNDRAISING-DRIVES TO FURTHER EXPAND THEIR ALREADY HUGE MEMBERSHIPS AND THEIR MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR LOBBYING CAMPAIGNS.

THE MORAL MAJORITY JUST FORMED A NEW POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE AND PLANS TO RAISE OVER \$4 MILLION TO USE AGAINST CANDIDATES IN THE '84 ELECTIONS.

MORAL MAJORITY'S PAC AND OTHERS LIKE IT WILL DESTROY AND DIVIDE THE PUBLIC ON ONE ISSUE AFTER ANOTHER. THEY WILL DO IT BY ASSERTING THAT THEY "KNOW" WHAT POLITICAL POSITIONS ARE THE ONLY MORAL, PRO-FAMILY, PRO-BIBLICAL VIEWS.

YOU AND I CANNOT AFFORD TO STAND BY AND LET THE MORAL MAJORITY AND OTHER FAR RIGHT GROUPS GO UNCHALLENGED IN THEIR CLAIMS THAT VOTING FOR FEDERAL SUPPORT OF CHILD AND SPOUSE ABUSE CENTERS IS ANTI-FAMILY.

NOR CAN WE LET THEM GO UNCHALLENGED WITH THE NOTION THAT CITIZEN OPPOSITION TO INCREASES IN DEFENSE SPENDING IS CONTRARY TO SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY!

YOUR IMMEDIATE RENEWAL OF YOUR ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP WILL HELP US TO ACT QUICKLY BEFORE MORE OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IS TAKEN IN BY THE MASS MEDIA WIZARDRY AND FLAG WAVING OF THE FAR RIGHT EXTREMISTS.

DURING THIS LAST YEAR, WE'VE SHOWN OUR ABILITY TO USE MASS MEDIA WITH TELLING IMPACT. OUR DOCUMENTARY FILM FOR TV, OUR GRASSROOTS

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(4)

CAMPAIGNS IN MANY STATES, OUR LEADERSHIP IN WINNING OUT OVER THE CENSORS IN TEXAS, AND OUR NEWSPAPER AD CAMPAIGNS ALERTED MILLIONS OF AMERICANS OF THE NEED TO RESIST FAR RIGHT INTRUSION INTO THE MOST PERSONAL ASPECTS OF THEIR LIVES.

BUT WE MUST NOT LET UP FOR ONE MINUTE. OUR FIGHT IS NOT YET WON. IN FACT, JERRY FALWELL WOULD BE VERY HAPPY IF YOU DECIDED NOT TO RENEW YOUR MEMBERSHIP IN PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY. AND JESSE HELMS WOULD BE TICKLED PINK IF YOU DROPPED OUT.

THEY AND OTHER FAR RIGHT LEADERS WOULD LIKE NOTHING BETTER THAN TO SEE US LOSE ACTIVE, COMMITTED, OPEN-MINDED MEMBERS LIKE YOU AND CLOSE UP SHOP. FAR RIGHT LEADERS WANT US TO GIVE UP THE FIGHT AND LEAVE THE FUTURE OF AMERICA IN THEIR "ALL-KNOWING" HANDS.

SO YOUR DECISION TO RENEW YOUR MEMBERSHIP NOW IS THE BEST WAY OF NOT QUITTING, AND NOT TURNING OVER THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION TO THE FAR RIGHT.. WE MUST CARRY OUR FIGHT FORWARD UNTIL IT'S WON AND WON CONCLUSIVELY.

YOUR DECISION TODAY TO RENEW YOUR PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY MEMBERSHIP WILL ENABLE US TO USE OUR MEDIA EXPERTISE EVEN MORE EFFECTIVELY. YOU'LL BE HELPING US EXPOSE THE FAR RIGHT AND COMPETE EVEN MORE STRONGLY WITH THEM ON TELEVISION.

OUR MASS MEDIA COUNTEROFFENSIVE WILL BEGIN WITH A NEW TELEVISION DOCUMENTARY EXPOSING THE INTRUSIVE AND DANGEROUS AGENDA OF THE SO-CALLED PRO-FAMILY MOVEMENT.

WE WILL SHOW MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHY THE GOALS OF THE PRO-FAMILY MOVEMENT WILL ULTIMATELY DAMAGE THE AMERICAN FAMILY AND LEAD TO MORE FAMILY INSTABILITY.

WHILE WE CONTINUE TO TAKE ON FAR RIGHT COALITIONS AND ALERT MORE AMERICANS ABOUT THE ROLE OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM, WE MUST CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THE RESOURCES, INFORMATION, AND ORGANIZING SKILLS NEEDED BY CITIZEN GROUPS AROUND THE COUNTRY. NOW THAT WE'VE HAD SOME MAJOR VICTORIES AND ARE KNOWN AS THE NATION'S LEADING COUNTERFORCE TO THE FAR RIGHT, MORE AND MORE PEOPLE ARE TURNING TO US FOR HELP.

SO OUR JOB IS BIGGER THAN EVER. WE REALLY NEED YOU TO HELP US NOW. WE ARE STILL HEAVILY OUTSPENT AND OUTNUMBERED BY OUR FAR RIGHT OPPONENTS. BUT WE'RE NOT ABOUT TO GIVE UP THIS FIGHT.

WE MUST BE ABLE TO COUNT ON ONE PERSON TODAY --- YOU.

PLEASE STAND WITH US AND AGAINST THE INTIMIDATING FORCES OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL EXTREMISM. PLEASE REVIEW YOUR MEMBERSHIP SUPPORT TODAY.

PLEASE MAIL YOUR MEMBERSHIP DUES FOR \$20, \$25, \$35, OR MORE IF YOU CAN BACK TO ME BY RETURN MAIL. THANK YOU FOR STAYING WITH US.

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We the People

Handwritten text, mostly illegible, appearing to be a list or series of notes.

"The specific guarantees of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights include the right to exercise religion as we see fit without governmental retribution, the right to define our own political beliefs and act upon them without anyone calling into question our patriotism or our right to belong here in America."



Be Wary of a 'Christianized' America

By Barry Hager
Senior Guest Columnist

If you like your religion straight, with no commercial or political frills, you may want to avoid watching the television evangelists now frequently on the air. The major frustration of watching them regularly is waiting for them to say something primarily about moral or spiritual issues.

Instead, a steady stream of commercials for gold "co-founders' rings," Bicentennial Bibles and other paraphernalia makes clear the TV preachers' real evangelical fervor is for contributions. Second to the commercial appeal is the political pitch. In mainstream churches, politicians are seldom mentioned, but the televangelists do not hesitate to talk about the mechanics and the players of politics. The status of legislation and the welfare of their favorite politicians are much on their minds.

The Rev. Jerry Falwell is particularly hard to let a sermon go by without mentioning the importance to him of Sen. Jesse Helms in the U.S. Congress. Last month Rev. Falwell took that concern one step further, barnstorming North Carolina with Sen. Helms on a voter registration drive by the Moral Majority organization. Their campaign is aimed explicitly at "Christian" voters.

Certainly, there is nothing wrong with any citizen — minister or lay person — being fully engaged in our political process. The American way of government depends on citizens actively exercising individual rights. And holding strongly to moral or religious values quite properly leads to a desire to support public policies that reflect those values.

Yet what is troubling about the television evangelists is that their particular mix of religion, sales pitches and politics demeans religion and adds one more corrupting element to politics. The plain fact is that they are using religion — its evocative symbols, the names and ideals for which people have great reverence — to further their own agenda. And that agenda is a mix of money, ultra-fundamentalist religious and political goals and personal ego.

Their use of religion has been quite successful. The fame and money-raising ability of the televangelists has grown rapidly over the past few years. Such temporal clout rather than any spiritual leadership explains their political power. Politicians understand empires of money and armies of followers. Politicians are apt to listen to anyone who has either.

What the politicians are hearing from the televangelists and their followers is that America should be "Christianized." Regrettably, what they mean by that excludes a large number of Americans with a wide range of religious faiths and diverse individual political beliefs. Where the Statue of Liberty and other great symbols of this country hold open arms to all people "yearning to be free," the televangelists' America is only for "Christians," as they narrowly define the term. Their America doesn't have room for "freeze-dorks" or others who disagree with the televangelists on military policy, nor does it have room for feminists or those who believe in equal rights for women, let alone homosexuals and others with different views on personal and family morality. Even

public school teachers are regularly castigated as being "un-Godly" and a threat to America.

People for the American Way is committed to the belief that there is room in America for people of many political and religious persuasions. The great promise of American democracy is that we can all live in the same country and respect one another's viewpoints even though we do have differing personal beliefs. The specific guarantees of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights include the right to exercise religion as we see fit without governmental retribution, and the right to define our own political beliefs and act upon them without anyone calling into question our patriotism or our right to belong here in America.

It is sometimes easy to forget how precious those fundamental intellectual and religious freedoms are. People for the American Way spends its energies as an organization working to remind people of the importance of those Bill of Rights freedoms. Through television documentaries, publications and speeches before groups all over the country, we encourage our 100,000 members and other citizens to strengthen those freedoms by exercising them. Americans who believe in religious freedom and separation of church and state should speak out and make their views known to educators and politicians. Americans who want their children to have the benefit of a broad education, unlettered by the narrow views of those who want to ban books and bar intellectual inquiry must help protect the public school system from attacks by censors. Americans who differ with what they hear and see in broadcasts

should speak out, exercising their own First Amendment rights by calling and writing to television stations and to newspapers to express their views.

This country faces many very complex challenges today. As a nation, we need to debate and decide how to improve the quality of our schools, how to increase the capacity of our economy to generate jobs, how to take care of the basic health and nutritional needs of our people, and most of all, how to traverse the next few years in peace. To make the best decision for us all, we need a healthy and open debate on all those issues. Each of us needs to respect the right of those who disagree with us to hold their own views.

Unfortunately, Rev. Falwell and other televangelists are in the habit of labeling their views as Christian and Godly, while they question the moral and religious values — as well as the patriotism — of those who oppose them on these difficult and complex political issues. Those tactics show most clearly how religion is being exploited.

There is of course no question that they have the right to say all those things. That is what the First Amendment and the American concept of freedom of speech are all about. But we in the audience have a duty as citizens to examine these claims that theirs is the only moral position. And most of all, we have the right to disagree with them on political issues like education and defense policy without being labeled as un-Godly or evil folks.

(Hager is the North Carolina director for People for the American Way.)

Reprinted from The Sentinel, August 1, 1983.

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TELE-GRAM

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL

I WANT TO RENEW MY ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP. MY TAX-DEDUCTIBLE CHECK IS ENCLOSED FOR:

() \$25

() \$40

() \$50

() OTHER \$___

☐ PLEASE CHARGE MY MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL. SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR CREDIT INFORMATION.

Please make checks payable to People for the American Way, and return with this form to: 1015 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

22305DLA1P5111S9 6 0683

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☐ Please charge my membership to my:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

Account #

Bank # (MasterCard)

Expire Date

Your authorizing signature

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People for the American Way
P.O. Box 19500
Washington, D.C. 20036



9

People For The American Way

Dear Member,

A few days ago our membership coordinator tried to reach you by phone. Since we were not able to reach you, I'm writing to let you know how much we appreciate your past membership support -- and how important it is that you stay with us for the coming year.

THANKS TO YOU ... our Texas Textbook Project triumphed over very strong censorship forces in Texas. New laws and textbook review procedures we advocated have been adopted by the state textbook committee and the state legislature. We now have the right to make sure our side is heard from when decisions that will guide textbook content throughout the country are made in Texas.

THANKS TO YOU ... our documentary film, Life and Liberty For All Who Believe, has now aired in more than 200 cities and towns, warning millions of our fellow citizens about the growing dangers of religious and political extremism.

But we didn't stop there. PFAW also broadcast TV spot messages to over 100 million Americans on more than 200 TV stations. Members of our Speakers Bureau traveled to hundreds of cities and towns, speaking before college audiences, national conferences, and local community groups, alerting people to the attempts by the "Pro-Family" movement to pass laws mandating one acceptable lifestyle and standard of morality.

And what's more, we also face a stronger and better financed opposition. The membership of the Moral Majority, for example, has more than tripled since its inception in 1980, and Falwell says monthly contributions reached nearly \$1 million from about 6 million people.

I believe an informed and alert citizenry is our best defense against powerful right-wing extremism. The only way we can stop the censors and the forces of intolerance is to step up the pace of our vital Public Education and Outreach Program. The extremists have not stopped pressing their agenda -- and so we have no choice but to continue to counter

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them and to keep citizens, journalists, librarians, educators, and the news media up to date on their activity.

The very best way to strengthen PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY for the battles and tests we must face this coming year is to reactivate your annual membership support today.

Please help us continue our work for the coming year by making your membership contribution for as large an amount as you can give at this time.

Sincerely,



Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director

P.S. Thank you for your past support. And thanks even more
for staying with us for another year.

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REINSTATEMENT INVOICE



I want to reinstate my membership in People For The American Way. My membership contribution is enclosed for:

☐ \$20 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$35 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$75 ☐ Other \$ _____

Please make your check payable to *People For The American Way* and mail with this invoice to P.O. Box 19500, Washington, D.C. 20036. Thank you.

People For The American Way is a project of Citizens For Constitutional Concerns, Inc.

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**People For The
American Way**
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Washington, D.C. 20036



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People For The American Way

Anthony T. Podesta
Office of the Director

Dear Friend,

Recently Jerry Falwell proudly announced that he is launching "the most massive campaign in the history of the Moral Majority." Its sole objective: to block any possibility of a nuclear freeze.

After reviewing some of the initial programs in this campaign, I consider it one of the most shameful exploitations of the media for the purpose of mass intimidation ever conceived.

Intimidation is never a very nice tactic to employ to win arguments. And in the hands of a zealous orator like Falwell, who reaches millions upon millions of Americans via TV each week, it becomes a frightening weapon.

And I want you to help me do something about it. As executive director of PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, I personally urge you to join me in an extraordinary media campaign to counter with facts and reason the fear-mongering and intimidation of Reverend Falwell.

Jerry-Falwell and the Moral Majority seek to intimidate Americans into conforming to their beliefs and accepting every political decision of President Reagan. Their extravagant campaign includes full-page print ads in every major newspaper and hundreds of smaller ones, prime-time "Peace Through Strength" TV specials every month of this year, and a new book, Nuclear War and the Second Coming of Christ (which invokes scriptural authority to prove that the world will continue for another 1,000 years regardless of nuclear arms escalation).

Unfortunately all these efforts are directly encouraged by the Reagan Administration

According to Reverend Falwell, the President urged him to launch his national "Peace Through Strength" campaign. You may be shocked to learn that ~~as part of his now monthly White House meetings, Reverend Falwell is the~~ only religious leader to have received a private briefing from the National Security Council.

The President, perhaps unwittingly, has even adopted some of Jerry Falwell's religious fervor.

When President Reagan seeks support for his arms policies, for example, he demands that the nation's ministers help him fight a "holy war" against our "enemies." To those, both clergy and laity, who speak out in disagreement and ask for a nuclear freeze, President Reagan replies: "There is sin

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and evil in the world, and we are enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might!"

We all have a right to our beliefs -- on the nuclear freeze, military spending, or any other subject. Just as Reverend Falwell has a right to his own personal beliefs. That is the American way.

BUT ... when Jerry Falwell launches a multimillion-dollar media blitz to blatantly intimidate Americans into conforming to his political beliefs, it's time to act.

Here's how you can help us counter the Far Right's high-powered campaign of political intimidation. Norman Lear, co-founder of People for the American Way, has written and produced a TV spot for television. And I've enclosed a draft plan of our TV spot campaign designed to counter Jerry Falwell.

This TV spot drives home the point that all Americans have a right to their own beliefs regarding the nuclear freeze and all political issues. And no one -- Jerry Falwell or anyone else, including President Reagan -- should try to intimidate us if we disagree with their views.

Open debate on an issue as critical to our very future and that of the entire earth as nuclear arms control must not -- cannot! -- be stifled by anyone!

But unfortunately, due to their enormous spending and the recent Korean airline tragedy, their side now appears to be monopolizing the public debate.

Falwell is cleverly exploiting the current outrage over this inexcusable airline massacre. He is playing on the public anger over this incident to prove that most Americans don't want to consider the options of nuclear arms reductions or changes in American defense spending.

We believe the Korean airline tragedy very sharply points up how dangerous the world really is, and how crucial it is to discuss the chronic tensions between Russia and America that can lead to explosive, unpredictable acts of violence.

You and I cannot allow right-wing extremist leaders and movements to go unchallenged. They manipulate public anger and outrage for their own selfish purposes. And we cannot afford to let Far Right forces further monopolize the debate over American foreign policy and the nuclear weapons issue.

Your help in placing our critical message on television is especially important right now! National debate on the nuclear arms race and defense spending is being adversely affected by the intimidation campaign of Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority.

Senators and representatives in Congress will be voting soon on nuclear

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arms, the defense budget, and other key military issues. And when they do, they will rely on the voices and opinions of their constituents. But the fear-instilling rhetoric of Jerry Falwell intimidates all too many citizens, keeping them from speaking their own minds.

We need your help urgently. Your generous contribution to People for the American Way will help us put our message before millions of Americans. To demonstrate dramatically that no one is less patriotic, less an American because he or she wants to stand up and be counted as being for a nuclear freeze, for a smaller defense budget, or against multibillion-dollar waste at the Pentagon.

Open expression of alternative viewpoints on all issues is essential to our democratic form of government. It must not be stifled.

But unless you and I reject the nuclear freeze and accept without question President Reagan's military budget, nuclear arms policies, and foreign policy decisions, we are denounced to all as not being "patriotic" or "God-fearing."

It is indeed frightening to watch Falwell unleash his fervor, branding as "robots manipulated by Moscow" anyone who happens to believe that a nuclear freeze or a smaller defense budget is a sane step toward avoiding a nuclear holocaust in the future.

And should we belong to any religious group that happens to question the defense budget or challenge the largest military escalation in our history -- and most Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups have -- Reverend Falwell demands we denounce them and leave!

In Falwell's own words, anyone who supports a nuclear freeze is a "freezenik," an unthinking pawn of the Kremlin.

Jerry Falwell is without doubt the best general Mr. Reagan could enlist to fight his "holy war." Falwell is the person who urged Reagan to give his "Star Wars" speech on national television. And Falwell uses scriptural "authority" time and time again to pressure dissenting citizens into stronger compliance with the policies of the Reagan Administration.

On a recent TV show, Falwell chastised a fellow minister who dared to challenge Reagan's policies. Astonishingly, Reverend Falwell claims that Reagan is the Biblical king of America, and he tells his audience to "respect and honor the king" and "obey the powers that be, because they are ordained of God." In Falwell's national travels he tells his audiences that to disagree with the Administration is to violate the Bible.

With such statements, any who dare disagree with the proliferation of nuclear weapons, are branded openly as being on the side of Satan! And only those who support his positions are true Americans and true believers in God!

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That is frightening!

Some of our members are actively involved in supporting a freeze, some are unsure about whether a freeze resolution now will help the cause of peace, and a number of others are passionately against the freeze. While People for the American Way takes no position on the Nuclear Freeze Resolution, we are, however, sure that the overwhelming majority of Americans share our desire for free and open debate on this issue so critical to our future and our children's future.

I hope you've heard enough about this Reagan-Falwell alliance of intimidation to help us today. Your special TV spot campaign contribution to People for the American Way is the very best way I know to defend freedom for all Americans and strengthen the rights of the individual.

Wherever and whenever the Far Right extremists assert that there is only one moral or pro-American position on nuclear arms, the family, women's rights, education, or any other issue, you can be sure People for the American Way will be there -- to preserve our precious individual freedoms and to reaffirm the right of every American to hold any opinion without fear of intimidation.

Be there with us.

Sincerely,



Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director

P.S. Our goal is to begin running our TV spots in October. To make sure we can distribute the spots to many local stations, I need to hear from you in the next 10 days.

By working together now, we can make sure that the political intimidation so prevalent in the 1980 elections is not repeated again in 1984.

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ITEM	COST
- Preproduction includes script development and scene selection	\$ 15,425
- Photography	\$ 29,655
- Actors' fees	\$ 9,898
- Narration	\$ 4,121
- Editing and Finishing	\$ 16,121
- Duplication and Distribution	\$ 31,507
TOTAL	\$ 106,727

TOTAL

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I will not be intimidated!

**T.V. SPOT
AD CAMPAIGN**

Nor will I allow the Far Right to intimidate millions of Americans into believing that because they are for a nuclear freeze or a smaller defense budget they are un-American and un-patriotic!

That's why I am helping People for the American Way's T.V. Spot Ad Campaign to affirm every America's right to open debate on every issue. After all, that is the American way!

My special media contribution is enclosed for:

☐ \$25

☐ \$40

☐ \$50

☐ \$ _____

Please make your tax-deductible check payable to People for the American Way and mail with this form to P.O. Box 19500, Washington, D.C. 20036.

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People For The
American Way

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People For The American Way

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 President and Chief Operating Officer

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Dear Friend,

Recently Jerry Falwell proudly announced
 that he is launching "the most massive cam-
 paign in the history of the Moral Majority."
 Its sole objective: to block any possibility
 of a nuclear freeze.

After reviewing some of the initial
 programs in this campaign, I consider it one
 of the most shameful exploitations of the
media for the purpose of mass intimidation
ever conceived.

Intimidation is never a very nice tactic
 to employ to win arguments. And in the
 hands of a zealous orator like Falwell, who
 reaches millions upon millions of Americans
 via TV each week, it becomes a frightening
 weapon.

It is indeed frightening to watch
 Falwell unleash his fervor, branding as
 "robots manipulated by Moscow" anyone who
 happens to believe that a nuclear freeze or
 a smaller defense budget is a sane step
 toward avoiding a nuclear holocaust in the
 future.

But unless you and I reject the nuclear
 freeze and accept without question President
 Reagan's military budget, nuclear arms poli-
 cies, and foreign policy decisions, we are
 denounced as not being "patriotic" or "God-
 fearing."

And should we belong to any religious
 group that happens to question the defense
 budget or challenge the largest military
 escalation in our history -- and most
 Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups
 have -- Reverend Falwell demands we denounce
 them and leave!

In Falwell's own words, anyone who
 supports a nuclear freeze is a "freezenik,"

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an unthinking "pawn" of the Kremlin.

Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority have launched a multimillion-dollar media blitz to intimidate Americans into conforming to their beliefs and accepting every political decision of President Reagan. Their extravagant campaign includes full-page print ads in every major and hundreds of small newspapers, prime-time "Peace through Strength" TV specials every month this year, and a new book, Nuclear War and the Second Coming of Christ.

Falwell's book argues against the need for any nuclear arms control by invoking scriptural authority that the world will continue for another 1,000 years regardless of nuclear arms escalation.

Unfortunately all these efforts are directly encouraged by the Reagan White House

According to the Reverend Falwell himself, the President urged him to launch his national "Peace Through Strength" campaign. As part of his periodic White House meetings, Reverend Falwell is the only religious leader who receives regular private briefings from the National Security Council.

The President, perhaps unwittingly, has even adopted some of Jerry Falwell's religious fervor.

For example, when President Reagan seeks support for his arms policies, he demands that the nation's ministers help him fight a "holy war" against our "enemies." To those, both clergy and laity, who speak out in disagreement and ask for a nuclear freeze, President Reagan replies: "There is sin and evil in the world, and we are enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might!"

Jerry Falwell is without doubt the best general Mr. Reagan could enlist to fight his "holy war." Falwell claims that he is the person who convinced Reagan to give his "Star Wars" speech on national television. And Falwell uses scriptural "authority" time and time again to pressure dissenting citizens into a more obedient compliance with the policies of President Reagan.

On a Washington TV show recently, Falwell cited Romans:13 to a fellow minister who dared to challenge Reagan's policies. Astonishingly, Reverend Falwell claims that Reagan is the biblical king of America and he tells his audiences to "respect and honor the king" and "obey the powers that be, because they are ordained of God." In Falwell's national travels he tells his audiences that to disagree with the Administration is to violate the Bible.

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With such statements, any who dare disagree with the dangerous proliferation of nuclear weapons, are branded openly as being on the side of Satan! And only those who support his positions are true Americans and true believers in God!

That is frightening!

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY was founded in 1980 to promote and defend citizens' constitutional freedoms and traditional American values. We are nonprofit and nonpartisan, with over 100,000 members nationwide. PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY has developed a unique ability to popularize democratic values and principles through national and community-based public education projects and the skillful use of mass media campaigns.

Some of our members are actively involved in supporting a freeze, some are unsure about whether a freeze resolution now will help the cause of peace, and a number of others are passionately against the freeze. While PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY takes no position on the Nuclear Freeze Resolution, we are, however, sure that the overwhelming majority of Americans share the desire for free and open debate on this issue so critical to our future and our childrens' future.

We all have a right to our beliefs -- on the nuclear freeze, military spending, or any other subject. Just as Reverend Falwell has a right to his own personal beliefs. That is the American way.

BUT ... when Jerry Falwell launches a multimillion-dollar media blitz to blatantly intimidate Americans into conforming to his political beliefs, then it's time to act. When the President of our country directly encourages Falwell's tactics, strengthening the force of such intimidation by aligning himself with the Moral Majority, then it's time to act.

As Executive Director of PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, I personally urge you to join me and our other members in an extraordinary media campaign to counter with facts and reason the fearmongering intimidation of Reverend Falwell.

Here's how you can help us do it --

Norman Lear, founding chairman of PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, has written and produced a TV spot for commercial television. This TV spot drives home the point that all Americans have a right to their own beliefs regarding the nuclear freeze and all political issues. And that no one -- Jerry Falwell or anyone else, including President Reagan -- should try to intimidate us if we disagree with their views.

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Open debate on an issue as critical to our very future and that of the entire earth as nuclear arms control must not -- cannot -- be stifled by anyone!

Your help in placing this critical message on television is especially important right now! National debate on the nuclear arms race and defense spending is being affected by the intimidation campaign of Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority.

Senators and representatives in Congress will be voting soon on nuclear arms, the defense budget, and other key military issues. And when they do, they will rely on the voices and opinions of their constituents. But Jerry Falwell's rhetoric instills fear, intimidating all too many citizens, keeping them from speaking their own minds.

Therefore, we need your help urgently. Your contribution to PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY of \$10, \$15, or more, will help us put our message before millions of Americans. To demonstrate dramatically that no American is less patriotic, less an American, because he or she wants to express an opinion on issues like a nuclear freeze or the proper level of defense spending.

Open expression of alternative viewpoints on all issues is essential to our democratic form of government. It must not be stifled.

When you join PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, you'll be helping to do a lot more than simply keep the debate open on the nuclear freeze issue. You'll be joining with more than 100,000 members of PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY who are having a tremendous impact on the outcome of many national issues by exposing the intolerance and political demagoguery of the Far Right movements in America.

Our TV spot about the debate on the nuclear freeze is just one of many effective programs now under way to stop intimidation.

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY took on the textbook censors in Texas and won a major victory for freedom of speech and thought. Thanks to our intensive media and education efforts, the laws and textbook selection procedures in Texas have been revised and rewritten by the Texas State Board of Education and the Texas state legislature to break the monopoly of censors Mel and Norma Gabler.

Because Texas is the largest single purchaser of school textbooks in the nation, what happens in Texas determines the content of many school textbooks used across the nation. By

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winning the first round of our censorship fight in Texas, we have helped to protect the right of schoolchildren to read all the facts about American history, biology, evolution, and many other subjects.

Our hard-hitting documentary film for television -- Life and Liberty For All Who Believe -- was aired in more than 200 cities and towns, warning millions of our fellow citizens about the growing dangers of religious and political extremism.

But we didn't stop there. We also broadcast TV spots to over 100 million Americans on more than 300 TV stations during the last two years. Members of our Speakers Bureau traveled to hundreds of cities and towns, speaking before college audiences, national conferences, and local community groups.

We helped to alert our fellow citizens to the "pro-family" movement's efforts to weaken child abuse and spouse abuse laws, and impose "one acceptable lifestyle and standard of morality on all American families."

And through our Media Fairness Project, we helped citizens gain access to their local TV stations -- on which they aired thoughtful rebuttals to the intimidating political attacks made by so many ultra-right-wing TV evangelists.

Your membership support will help to expand the growing network of concerned, involved citizens who work as PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY volunteers alongside our staff members. These thousands of "citizen volunteers" travel on behalf of our Speakers Bureau, they testify at hearings, they organize groups in their own community -- they vividly demonstrate the power of citizen activism.

When you join PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, you'll be helping us expand all of these successful efforts against political and religious intimidation. But more importantly, you'll be making sure that no American is overwhelmed by extremists -- be they political or religious. And you'll be helping to make certain that more citizens regain their own sense of worth and influence in our democratic form of government.

✓ By working together now, we can make sure that the political intimidation so prevalent in the 1980 elections is not repeated in 1984.

Your membership contribution of \$10, \$15, \$20, or more to PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY is the very best way I know to defend freedom for all Americans and strengthen the rights of the individual.

Wherever and whenever the Far Right asserts that there is

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only one moral or pro-American position on nuclear arms, the family, women's rights, education, or any other topic, you can be sure PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY will be there -- to preserve our precious individual freedoms and to reaffirm the right of every American to hold any opinion without fear of intimidation.

Be there with us.

Sincerely,



Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director

P.S. As a new member, you'll receive our nationally acclaimed Quarterly Report, keeping you up to date on the actions of the Far Right and suggesting how you can challenge their attacks on the democratic traditions we hold dear.

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**RUSH: NUCLEAR FREEZE
T.V. SPOT CAMPAIGN**



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I will not be intimidated!

Nor will I allow the Far Right to intimidate millions of Americans into believing that because they are for a nuclear freeze or a smaller defense budget they are un-American and un-patriotic!

That's why I am joining People for the American Way in their unique campaign to affirm every American's right to open debate on every issue. After all, that is the American Way!

My membership contribution is enclosed for:

☐ \$10 ☐ \$15 ☐ \$20 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$35 ☐ \$50 ☐ Other \$ _____

Please make your tax-deductible check payable to People for the American Way and mail with this form to P.O. Box 19500, Washington, D.C. 20036.

People for the American Way is a project of the Citizens for Constitutional Concerns Inc., a non-profit, tax-exempt organization.

A copy of the last financial report filed with the New York Department of State may be obtained by writing to: New York State Department of State, Office of Charities Registration, Albany, New York 12231, or to PFAW.

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People For The American Way

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Dear Friend,

Recently Jerry Falwell proudly announced that he is launching "the most massive campaign in the history of the Moral Majority." Its sole objective: to block any possibility of a nuclear freeze.

After reviewing some of the initial programs in this campaign, I consider it one of the most shameful exploitations of the media for the purpose of mass intimidation ever conceived.

Intimidation is never a very nice tactic to employ to win arguments. And in the hands of a zealous orator like Falwell, who reaches millions upon millions of Americans via TV each week, it becomes a frightening weapon.

It is indeed frightening to watch Falwell unleash his fervor, branding as "robots manipulated by Moscow" anyone who happens to believe that a nuclear freeze or a smaller defense budget is a sane step toward avoiding a nuclear holocaust in the future.

But unless you and I reject the nuclear freeze and accept without question President Reagan's military budget, nuclear arms policies, and foreign policy decisions, we are denounced as not being "patriotic" or "God-fearing."

And should we belong to any religious group that happens to question the defense budget or challenge the largest military escalation in our history -- and most Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups have -- Reverend Falwell demands we denounce them and leave!

In Falwell's own words, anyone who supports a nuclear freeze is a "freezenik," an unthinking pawn of the Kremlin.

Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority have launched a multimillion-dollar media blitz to intimidate Americans into conforming to their beliefs and accepting every political decision of President Reagan. Their extravagant campaign includes full-page print ads in every major and hundreds of small newspapers, prime-time "Peace through Strength" TV specials every month this year, and a new book, Nuclear War and the Second Coming of Christ.

Falwell's book argues against the need for any nuclear arms control by invoking scriptural authority that the world will

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continue for another 1,000 years regardless of nuclear arms escalation.

Unfortunately all these efforts are directly encouraged by the Reagan White House ...

According to the Reverend Falwell himself, the President urged him to launch his national "Peace Through Strength" campaign. As part of his now monthly White House meetings, Reverend Falwell is the only religious leader who receives regular private briefings from the National Security Council.

The President, perhaps unwittingly, has even adopted some of Jerry Falwell's religious fervor.

For example, when President Reagan seeks support for his arms policies, he demands that the nation's ministers help him fight a "holy war" against our "enemies." To those of us, both clergy and laity, who speak out in disagreement and ask for a nuclear freeze, President Reagan replies: "There is sin and evil in the world, and we are enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might!"

Jerry Falwell is without doubt the best general Mr. Reagan could enlist to fight his "holy war." Falwell claims that he is the person who convinced Reagan to give his "Star Wars" speech on national television. And Falwell uses scriptural "authority" time and time again to pressure dissenting citizens into a more obedient compliance with the policies of President Reagan.

On a Washington T.V. show recently, Falwell cited Romans:13 to a fellow minister who dared to challenge Reagan's policies. Astonishingly, Reverend Falwell claims that Reagan is the Biblical king of America and he tells his audiences to "respect and honor the king" and "obey the powers that be, because they are ordained of God." In Falwell's national travels he tells his audiences that to disagree with the Administration is to violate the Bible.

With such statements, any who dare disagree with the dangerous proliferation of nuclear weapons, are branded openly as being on the side of Satan! And only those who support his positions are true Americans and true believers in God!

That is frightening!

Some of our members are actively involved in supporting a freeze, some are unsure about whether a freeze resolution now will help the cause of peace, and a number of others are passionately against the freeze. While People for the American

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Way takes no position on the Nuclear Freeze Resolution, we are, however, sure that the overwhelming majority of Americans share the desire for free and open debate on this issue so critical to our future and our childrens' future.

We all have a right to our beliefs -- on the nuclear freeze, military spending, or any other subject. Just as Reverend Falwell has a right to his own personal beliefs. That is the American way.

BUT ... when Jerry Falwell launches a multimillion-dollar media blitz to blatantly intimidate Americans into conforming to his political beliefs, then it's time to act. When the President of our country directly encourages Falwell's tactics, strengthening the force of such intimidation by aligning himself with the Moral Majority, then it's time to act.

As Executive Director of PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, I personally urge you to join me and our other members in an extraordinary media campaign to counter with facts and reason the fearmongering intimidation of Reverend Falwell.

Here's how you can help us do it --

Norman Lear, founding-chairman of People for the American Way, has written and produced a TV spot for commercial television. This TV spot drives home the point that all Americans have a right to their own beliefs regarding the nuclear freeze and all political issues. And that no one -- Jerry Falwell or anyone else, including President Reagan -- should try to intimidate us if we disagree with their views.

Open debate on an issue as critical to our very future and that of the entire earth as nuclear arms control must not -- cannot -- be stifled by anyone!

Your help in placing this critical message on television is especially important right now! National debate on the nuclear arms race and defense spending is being adversely affected by the intimidation campaign of Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority.

Senators and representatives in Congress will be voting soon on nuclear arms, the defense budget, and other key military issues. And when they do, they will rely on the voices and opinions of their constituents. But Jerry Falwell's rhetoric instills fear, intimidating all too many citizens, keeping them from speaking their own minds.

Therefore, we need your help urgently. Your contribution

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to People for the American Way of \$20, \$25, or more, will help us put our message before millions of Americans. To demonstrate dramatically that no American is less patriotic, less an American, because he or she wants to express an opinion on issues like a nuclear freeze or the proper level of defense spending.

Open expression of alternative viewpoints on all issues is essential to our democratic form of government. It must not be stifled.

When you join People for the American Way, you'll be helping to do a lot more than simply keep the debate open on the nuclear freeze issue. You'll be joining with more than 100,000 members of People for the American Way who are having a tremendous impact on the outcome of many national issues by exposing the intolerance and political demagoguery of the Far Right movements in America.

Our TV spot about the debate on the nuclear freeze is just one of many effective programs now under way to stop intimidation.

People for the American Way took on the textbook censors in Texas and won a major victory for freedom of speech and thought. Thanks to our intensive media and education efforts, the laws and textbook selection procedures in Texas have been revised and rewritten by the Texas State Board of Education and the Texas state legislature to break the monopoly of censors Mel and Norma Gabler.

Because Texas is the largest single purchaser of school textbooks in the nation, what happens in Texas determines the content of many school textbooks used across the nation. By winning the first round of our censorship fight in Texas, we have helped to protect the right of schoolchildren to read all the facts about American history, biology, evolution, and many other subjects.

Our hard-hitting documentary film for television -- Life and Liberty For All Who Believe -- was aired in more than 200 cities and towns, warning millions of our fellow citizens about the growing dangers of religious and political extremism.

But we didn't stop there. We also broadcast TV spots to over 100 million Americans on more than 300 TV stations during the last two years. Members of our Speakers Bureau traveled to hundreds of cities and towns, speaking before college audiences, national conferences, and local community groups.

We helped to alert our fellow citizens to the "pro-family"

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movement's efforts to weaken child abuse and spouse abuse laws, and impose "one acceptable lifestyle and standard of morality on all American families."

And through our Media Fairness Project, we helped citizens gain access to their local TV stations -- on which they aired thoughtful rebuttals to the intimidating political attacks made by so many ultra-right-wing TV evangelists.

Your membership support will help to expand the growing network of concerned, involved citizens who work as People for the American Way volunteers alongside our staff members. These thousands of "citizen volunteers" travel on behalf of our Speakers Bureau, they testify at hearings, they organize groups in their own community -- they vividly demonstrate the power of citizen activism.

When you join People for the American Way, you'll be helping us expand all of these successful efforts against political and religious intimidation. But more importantly, you'll be making sure that no American is overwhelmed by extremists -- be they political or religious. And you'll be helping to make certain that more citizens regain their own sense of worth and influence in our democratic form of government.

By working together now, we can make sure that the political intimidation so prevalent in the 1980 elections is not repeated in 1984.

Your membership contribution of \$20, \$25, \$35, or more to People for the American Way is the very best way I know to defend freedom for all Americans and strengthen the rights of the individual.

Wherever and whenever the Far Right asserts that there is only one moral or pro-American position on nuclear arms, the family, women's rights, education or any other topic, you can be sure People for the American Way will be there -- to preserve our precious individual freedoms and to reaffirm the right of every American to hold any opinion without fear of intimidation.

Be there with us.

Sincerely,


Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director

P.S. As a new member, you'll receive our nationally acclaimed Quarterly Report, keeping you up to date on the actions of the Far Right and suggesting how you can challenge their attacks on the democratic traditions we hold dear.

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I will not be intimidated!

Nor will I allow the Far Right to Intimidate millions of Americans into believing that because they are for a nuclear freeze or a smaller defense budget they are un-American and un-patriotic!

That's why I am joining People for the American Way in their unique campaign to affirm every American's right to open debate on every issue. After all, that is the American Way!

My membership contribution is enclosed for:

☐ \$20 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$35 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$75 ☐ \$100 ☐ Other \$ _____

Please make your tax-deductible check payable to People for the American Way and mail with this form to P.O. Box 19500, Washington, D.C. 20036.

People for the American Way is a project of the Citizens for Constitutional Concerns Inc., a non-profit, tax-exempt organization.

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CITIZENS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CONCERNS
INCORPORATED

RE: MUR 1815
GCC #5275
1424 16TH STREET, NW
SUITE 601
WASHINGTON, DC 20036
(202) 462-4777

October 23, 1984

Kenneth A. Gross, Esq.
Association General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Mr. Gross:

This letter is in response to yours of October 12, 1984, informing Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. (CCC) of the complaint lodged with the Federal Election Commission by the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) regarding certain of our membership solicitations in 1983 and early 1984 in connection with our People For The American Way (PFAW) effort. This letter should be understood as a preliminary response and should not be taken as in anyway exhaustive of points that may be made or elaborated in the event this matter survives initial staff review. Essentially, I am writing to urge you to dismiss the NCPAC complaint on its face, under the preliminary procedures described in the enclosure that accompanied your letter.

The reason for this suggestion to dismiss lies with the utter absence from the complaint of any allegation that could bring CCC's actions within the coverage of the FECA. To be more specific:

1) The complaint states that People For The American Way communications to members of CCC failed somehow to comply with the provisions of 11 CFR 114.3 (a)(1) and (c), 11 CFR 100.8 (b)(4), and 104.6. The only portion of 114.3 (a)(1) that could conceivably be relevant prohibits corporations from making contributions or expenditures for partisan communications to the general public in connection with a federal election. But nothing in the CCC communications attached to the NCPAC complaint can be deemed to be "partisan" or "in connection with a federal election" without stretching the scope and meaning of these words well beyond any point the Commission has, as far as I am aware, heretofore articulated. The solicitations of money and membership renewals contained in these communications are in no sense partisan, as they might be were they to identify one political affiliation or candidate as more or less desirable or attractive. Nor can the timing of these communications be viewed as somehow suggesting an effort at federal election "influencing." None of the letters to the general public, for example, were mailed after January 13, 1984.

2) Similarly, it is difficult to discern how 114.3 (c) is relevant, since the illustrations therein offered of partisan communications, publications or other action by a corporation clearly contemplate corporate commitment or dedication of time and space to a particular candidate or particular party in particular

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GENERAL COUNSEL

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ways. The CCC communications do not endorse or purport to aid any candidate or party but are rather confined to exhortations to our members to take up or renew the fight against perceived threats to the unfettered exercise of individual freedom by our citizens.

3) Section 100.8 (b) (4) and 104.6 are similarly inapplicable inasmuch as these provisions only come to bear when an organization communicates with a restricted audience in a highly specific fashion, namely through express advocacy of the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate. Even if, by some extraordinary extension of its evident meaning, 100.8 (b) (4) could be said to apply to some portion of CCC's communications in this case, such communication would still be exempted from the coverage of these provisions because the communications taken as a whole are "primarily devoted to subjects other than the express advocacy of the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate." See AO 1978-97 and AO 1984-23.

4) NCPAC also refers in its complaint to Advisory Opinion 1984-14. That opinion had to do with the propriety of a membership organization's distribution of candidates' voting records in an election context when the distributor indicates that certain of the votes of these candidates were "right" or "wrong." Whatever the merit of AO 1984-14, it was helpfully distinguished in AO 1984-17, another voting record distribution case, where the Commission noted that the distributor, the National Right to Life Committee, did not, among other things, "suggest or urge that anyone vote in any election or consult or use the voting record in making his or her decision regarding any election," nor "explicitly suggest or urge support for any senator or representative based on that person's vote on any issue." The CCC's communications are even further within the safety zone than were those of the National Right to Life Committee whose voting record distribution was deemed permissible in AO 1984-17. The CCC materials have no specific election orientation but speak rather to issues, as was the case in AO 1984-17 where the Commission noted that the voting records in question were "issued-oriented and not election-oriented or candidate-oriented" and where "no senator or representative [was] referred to as a candidate in any federal election." There is no reference to candidates in any of the CCC communications, and of course no comparison of candidates. The scant election references are totally neutral. There is no mention of party affiliation. And there is no reference to the voting record of any member of the government on any issue whatsoever. The communications are exclusively concerned with debate and the protection of debate over issues of defense, nuclear policy, religious intolerance, censorship and the like.

5) Finally, NCPAC makes reference to its "reason to believe that all other [CCC] communications were mailed to the general public." The foregoing discussion should make plain that such communications to the general public in no way violate the Federal Election Campaign Act. Any other conclusion would imply the revival of the so-called "Common Cause" provision of the 1974 Act

(2 U.S.C Sec. 437a, since repealed), which the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit found unconstitutional in Buckley v. Valeo, 519 F.2d 821, 869-878 (1975), as an unacceptable attempt to regulate the activities and status of issue-oriented non-partisan organizations. You will recall that the government made no attempt to save Sec. 437a when Buckley later went to the United States Supreme Court.

I hope these reflections encourage you to conclude that MUR 1815 should be closed without further delay.

Sincerely



Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director

cc: John G. Murphy, Jr.
of Counsel

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MR Kenneth A. Gross, Esq.
Association General Council
Federal Election Commission
1325 'K' STREET, N.W.
7th FLOOR

1424 16th St., N.W. • Suite 601 • Wash., DC 20036



CITIZENS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CONCERNS

1424 16TH STREET, NW, SUITE 601

WASHINGTON, DC 20036



Mr. Kenneth A. Gross, Esq.
Association General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D.C. 20463



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

MEMORANDUM

TO: Office of the Commission Secretary
FROM: Office of General Counsel *Cat*
DATE: October 15, 1984
SUBJECT: MUR 1815 - Memorandum to The Commission

The attached is submitted as an Agenda document
for the Commission Meeting of _____

Open Session _____

Closed Session _____

CIRCULATIONS

48 Hour Tally Vote []
Sensitive []
Non-Sensitive []
24 Hour No Objection []
Sensitive []
Non-Sensitive []
Information []
Sensitive []
Non-Sensitive []
Other [X]

DISTRIBUTION

Compliance [X]
Audit Matters []
Litigation []
Closed MUR Letters []
Status Sheets []
Advisory Opinions []
Other (see distribution below) []

INFORMATION - SENSITIVE

EXPEDITED COMPLAINT -

CIRCULATE ON PINK PAPER



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE FEC
SECRETARY

84 OCT 15 P4:18

October 15, 1984

SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM TO: The Commission

FROM: Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

SUBJECT: MUR 1815

On October 9, 1984, the National Conservative Political Action Committee (hereinafter "NCPAC") filed a complaint against the Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. ("CCC"), the respondent, alleging that CCC violated 2 U.S.C. § 441d by "making expenditures for the purpose of financing communications which expressly advocate the defeat of Ronald Reagan." NCPAC further alleges that CCC violated 11 C.F.R. § 100.8(b)(4), § 104.6, § 114.3(a)(1) and § 114.3(c) in the course of its direct mailings both to the organization's members and to the general public.

Recommendations will be forwarded at the close of the 15 day response period or upon receipt of the responses.

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

October 12, 1984

SPECIAL DELIVERY
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Anthony Podesta
Executive Director
Citizens for Constitutional
Concerns
1424 16th Street, N.W.
Suite 601
Washington, D.C. 20036

RE: MUR 1815

Dear Mr. Podesta:

This letter is to notify you that on October 9, 1984, the Federal Election Commission received a complaint which alleges that you and Citizens for Constitutional Concerns violated certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"). A copy of the complaint is enclosed. We have numbered this matter MUR 1815. Please refer to this number in all future correspondence.

Under the Act, you have the opportunity to demonstrate in writing, that no action should be taken against you and Citizens for Constitutional Concerns in connection with this matter. You may respond to the allegations made against you within 15 days of receipt of this letter. The complaint may be dismissed by the Commission prior to receipt of the response if the alleged violations are not under the jurisdiction of the Commission or if the evidence submitted does not indicate that a violation of the Act has been committed. Should the Commission dismiss the complaint, you and Citizens for Constitutional Concerns will be notified by mailgram. If no response is filed within the 15 day statutory requirement, the Commission may take further action based on available information.

You are encouraged to respond to this notification promptly. In order to facilitate an expeditious response to this notification, we have enclosed a pre-addressed, postage paid, special delivery envelope.

Please submit any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's analysis of this matter. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath.

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This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(4)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless you notify the Commission, in writing, that you wish the matter to be made public.

If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by sending a letter of representation stating the name, address and telephone number of such counsel, and a statement authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

If you have any questions, please contact Matthew Gerson, the staff person assigned to this matter at (202) 523-4143.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

By: *Kenneth A. Gross (257)*
Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Enclosures
Complaint
Procedures
Envelope

84040493781



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

October 12, 1984

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

John T. Dolan
National Chairman
National Conservative
Political Action Committee
1001 Prince Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Mr. Dolan:

This letter is to acknowledge receipt of your complaint which we received on October 9, 1984, against Anthony Podesta and Citizens for Constitutional Concerns which alleges violations of the Federal Election Campaign laws. A staff member has been assigned to analyze your allegations. The respondent(s) will be notified of this complaint within 24 hours. You will be notified as soon as the Commission takes final action on your complaint. Should you have or receive any additional information in this matter, please forward it to this Office. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling complaints.

Please be advised that this matter shall remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(B) and § 437g(a)(12)(A) unless the respondent notifies the Commission in writing that they wish the matter to be made public.

Sincerely,

Charles N. Steele
General Counsel

Kenneth A. Gross (LJZ)
By: Kenneth A. Gross
Associate General Counsel

Enclosure

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*National Conservative
Political Action Committee*

*1001 Prince Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314*

RECEIVED AT THE FEC
GCC #5020
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*John T. Dolan
National Chairman*

September 28, 1984

(703) 684-1800

*mur
1815*

General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Sir:

This letter constitutes a complaint filed pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 437g by the National Conservative Political Action Committee ("NCPAC"), a registered independent political action committee, against Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc. ("CCC") in reference to its "People for the American Way" project, which has apparently violated the provisions of 2 U.S.C. 441d in making expenditures for the purpose of financing communications which expressly advocate the defeat of Ronald Reagan.

Attached hereto and made a part of this complaint are copies of the direct mailings produced by CCC which violate 2 U.S.C. 441d. The name and address of the recipient of the mailings have been excised; no other alterations to the mailings have been made.

NCPAC has reason to believe that the communications addressed "Dear Member" or "Member" were mailed to members of CCC without having complied with the provisions of 11 CFR 114.3(a)(1) and (c) or 11 CFR 100.8(b)(4) and 104.6.

NCPAC has reason to believe that all other communications were mailed to the general public.

NCPAC has reviewed the records of the Commission and ascertained that CCC is not a registered political action committee.

The lack of an outright admonition to vote against President Reagan in the upcoming Presidential election does not defeat the clear intent and purpose of CCC in advocating the defeat of President Reagan as set forth in the enclosed direct mailings.

Federal Election Commission
September 28, 1984
Page Two

NCPAC notes that by AO 1984-14, the Commission ruled that a membership organization which compiled voter guides may not distribute such material to the general public if they imply a right or wrong answer or a weak record. In that same advisory opinion it was noted that favoring one candidate over the other in the context of an election indicates an election-influencing purpose.

Very truly yours,

NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL
ACTION COMMITTEE

By: 
John T. Dolan, Chairman

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA)
CITY OF ALEXANDRIA) to-wit:

Sworn to before me this 15th day of ^{October}~~September~~, 1984,
by JOHN T. DOLAN, as Chairman of National Conservative Political
Action Committee, under the penalty of perjury and subject to the
provisions of section 1001 of Title 118 of the United States
Code.


Notary Public

My Commission Expires: 11/21/86

TELE-GRAM

TO: ALL MEMBERS

FROM: ANTHONY PODESTA
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

URGENT THAT I RECEIVE YOUR MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL RIGHT AWAY. HERE'S WHY.

AT THIS VERY MOMENT FAR RIGHT GROUPS, ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES AND ELECTRONIC EVANGELISTS ARE ESCALATING THEIR NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN TO REGULATE YOUR LIFE AND RESTRICT YOUR FREEDOMS.

REMEMBER THAT IN 1980 THEY WERE SO SUCCESSFUL BECAUSE NO CITIZENS' GROUP WAS WORKING THEN TO CHALLENGE THEM. BUT THANKS TO YOU AND 100,000 OTHER PEOPLE FOR MEMBERS, WE HAVE NOW ESTABLISHED AN EFFECTIVE COUNTERFORCE TO FAR RIGHT EXTREMISM BY ALERTING MILLIONS OF AMERICANS TO THIS THREAT THROUGH OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION AND MASS MEDIA PROGRAMS.

BUT WE DARE NOT CURTAIL OUR EFFORTS OR NAIVELY CONCLUDE THAT THE EXTREMIST THREAT IS PAST. FAR FROM IT.

RIGHT NOW, THE MORAL MAJORITY, THE CONSERVATIVE CAUCUS AND DOZENS OF OTHER FAR RIGHT GROUPS ARE LAUNCHING MASSIVE RECRUITMENT AND FUNDRAISING DRIVES TO FURTHER EXPAND THEIR ALREADY HUGE MEMBERSHIPS AND THEIR MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR LOBBYING CAMPAIGNS.

THE MORAL MAJORITY JUST FORMED A NEW POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE AND PLANS TO RAISE OVER \$4 MILLION TO USE AGAINST CANDIDATES IN THE '84 ELECTIONS.

MORAL MAJORITY'S PAC AND OTHERS LIKE IT WILL DESTROY AND DIVIDE THE PUBLIC ON ONE ISSUE AFTER ANOTHER. THEY WILL DO IT BY ASSERTING THAT THEY "KNOW" WHAT POLITICAL POSITIONS ARE THE ONLY MORAL, PRO-FAMILY, PRO-BIBLICAL VIEWS.

YOU AND I CANNOT AFFORD TO STAND BY AND LET THE MORAL MAJORITY AND OTHER FAR RIGHT GROUPS GO UNCHALLENGED IN THEIR CLAIMS THAT VOTING FOR FEDERAL SUPPORT OF CHILD AND SPOUSE ABUSE CENTERS IS ANTI-FAMILY.

NOR CAN WE LET THEM GO UNCHALLENGED WITH THE NOTION THAT CITIZEN OPPOSITION TO INCREASES IN DEFENSE SPENDING IS CONTRARY TO SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY!

YOUR IMMEDIATE RENEWAL OF YOUR ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP WILL HELP US TO ACT QUICKLY BEFORE MORE OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IS TAKEN IN BY THE MASS MEDIA WIZARDRY AND FLAG WAVING OF THE FAR RIGHT EXTREMISTS.

DURING THIS LAST YEAR, WE'VE SHOWN OUR ABILITY TO USE MASS MEDIA WITH TELLING IMPACT. OUR DOCUMENTARY FILM FOR TV, OUR GRASSROOTS

CAMPAIGNS IN MANY STATES, OUR LEADERSHIP IN WINNING OUT OVER THE CENSORS IN TEXAS, AND OUR NEWSPAPER AD CAMPAIGNS ALERTED MILLIONS OF AMERICANS OF THE NEED TO RESIST FAR RIGHT INTRUSION INTO THE MOST PERSONAL ASPECTS OF THEIR LIVES.

BUT WE MUST NOT LET UP FOR ONE MINUTE. OUR FIGHT IS NOT YET WON. IN FACT, JERRY FALWELL WOULD BE VERY HAPPY IF YOU DECIDED NOT TO RENEW YOUR MEMBERSHIP IN PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY. AND JESSE HELMS WOULD BE TICKLED PINK IF YOU DROPPED OUT.

THEY AND OTHER FAR RIGHT LEADERS WOULD LIKE NOTHING BETTER THAN TO SEE US LOSE ACTIVE, COMMITTED, OPEN-MINDED MEMBERS LIKE YOU AND CLOSE UP SHOP. FAR RIGHT LEADERS WANT US TO GIVE UP THE FIGHT AND LEAVE THE FUTURE OF AMERICA IN THEIR "ALL-KNOWING" HANDS.

SO YOUR DECISION TO RENEW YOUR MEMBERSHIP NOW IS THE BEST WAY OF NOT QUITTING, AND NOT TURNING OVER THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION TO THE FAR RIGHT.. WE MUST CARRY OUR FIGHT FORWARD UNTIL IT'S WON AND WON CONCLUSIVELY.

YOUR DECISION TODAY TO RENEW YOUR PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY MEMBERSHIP WILL ENABLE US TO USE OUR MEDIA EXPERTISE EVEN MORE EFFECTIVELY. YOU'LL BE HELPING US EXPOSE THE FAR RIGHT AND COMPETE EVEN MORE STRONGLY WITH THEM ON TELEVISION.

OUR MASS MEDIA COUNTEROFFENSIVE WILL BEGIN WITH A NEW TELEVISION DOCUMENTARY EXPOSING THE INTRUSIVE AND DANGEROUS AGENDA OF THE SO-CALLED PRO-FAMILY MOVEMENT.

WE WILL SHOW MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHY THE GOALS OF THE PRO-FAMILY MOVEMENT WILL ULTIMATELY DAMAGE THE AMERICAN FAMILY AND LEAD TO MORE FAMILY INSTABILITY.

WHILE WE CONTINUE TO TAKE ON FAR RIGHT COALITIONS AND ALERT MORE AMERICANS ABOUT THE ROLE OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM, WE MUST CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THE RESOURCES, INFORMATION, AND ORGANIZING SKILLS NEEDED BY CITIZEN GROUPS AROUND THE COUNTRY. NOW THAT WE'VE HAD SOME MAJOR VICTORIES AND ARE KNOWN AS THE NATION'S LEADING COUNTERFORCE TO THE FAR RIGHT, MORE AND MORE PEOPLE ARE TURNING TO US FOR HELP.

SO OUR JOB IS BIGGER THAN EVER. WE REALLY NEED YOU TO HELP US NOW. WE ARE STILL HEAVILY OUTSPENT AND OUTNUMBERED BY OUR FAR RIGHT OPPONENTS. BUT WE'RE NOT ABOUT TO GIVE UP THIS FIGHT.

WE MUST BE ABLE TO COUNT ON ONE PERSON TODAY --- YOU.

PLEASE STAND WITH US AND AGAINST THE INTIMIDATING FORCES OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL EXTREMISM. PLEASE REVIEW YOUR MEMBERSHIP SUPPORT TODAY.

PLEASE MAIL YOUR MEMBERSHIP DUES FOR \$20, \$25, \$35, OR MORE IF YOU CAN BACK TO ME BY RETURN MAIL. THANK YOU FOR STAYING WITH US.

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We the People

The specific guarantees of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights include the right to exercise religion as we see fit without governmental retribution, the right to define our own political beliefs and act upon them without anyone calling into question our patriotism or our right to belong here in America.

"The specific guarantees of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights include the right to exercise religion as we see fit without governmental retribution, the right to define our own political beliefs and act upon them without anyone calling into question our patriotism or our right to belong here in America."



Be Wary of a 'Christianized' America

By Barry Hager
National Guest Columnist

If you like your religion straight, with no commercial or political frills, you may want to avoid watching the television evangelists now frequently on the air. The major frustration of watching them regularly is waiting for them to say something primarily about moral or spiritual issues.

Instead, a steady stream of commercials for gold "co-founders' rings," Bicentennial Bibles and other paraphernalia makes clear the TV preachers' real evangelical fervor is for contributions. Second to the commercial appeal is the political pitch. In mainstream churches, politicians are seldom mentioned, but the televangelists do not hesitate to talk about the mechanics and the players of politics. The status of legislation and the welfare of their favorite politicians are much on their minds.

The Rev. Jerry Falwell in particular hardly lets a sermon go by without mentioning the importance to him of Sen. Jesse Helms in the U.S. Congress. Last month Rev. Falwell took that concern one step further, barnstorming North Carolina with Sen. Helms on a voter registration drive by the Moral Majority organization. Their campaign is aimed explicitly at "Christian" voters.

Certainly, there is nothing wrong with any citizen — minister or lay person — being fully engaged in our political process. The American way of government depends on citizens actively exercising individual rights. And holding strongly to moral or religious values quite properly leads to a desire to support public policies that reflect those values.

Yet what is troubling about the television evangelists is that their particular mix of religion, sales pitches and politics demands religion, and adds one more corrupting element to politics. The plain fact is that they are using religion — its evocative symbols, the names and ideals for which people have great reverence — to further their own agenda. And that agenda is a mix of money, ultra-fundamentalist religion and political goals and personal ego.

Their use of religion has been quite successful. The fame and money-raising ability of the televangelists has grown rapidly over the past few years. Such temporal clout rather than any spiritual leadership explains their political power. Politicians understand empires of money and armies of followers. Politicians are apt to listen to anyone who has either.

What the politicians are hearing from the televangelists and their followers is that America should be "Christianized." Regrettably, what they mean by that excludes a large number of Americans with a wide range of religious faiths and diverse individual political beliefs. Where the Statue of Liberty and other great symbols of this country hold open arms to all people "yearning to be free," the televangelists' America is only for "Christians," as they narrowly define the term. Their America doesn't have room for "freeze-dried" or others who disagree with the televangelists on military policy; nor does it have room for feminists or those who believe in equal rights for women, let alone homosexuals and others with different views on personal and family morality. Even

public school teachers are regularly castigated as being un-Godly and a threat to America.

People for the American Way is committed to the belief that there is room in America for people of many political and religious persuasions. The great promise of American democracy is that we can all live in the same country and respect one another's viewpoints even though we do have differing personal beliefs. The specific guarantees of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights include the right to exercise religion as we see fit without governmental retribution, and the right to define our own political beliefs and act upon them without anyone calling into question our patriotism or our right to belong here in America.

It is sometimes easy to forget how precious these fundamental intellectual and religious freedoms are. People for the American Way spends its energies as an organization working to remind people of the importance of those Bill of Rights freedoms. Through television documentaries, publications and speeches before groups all over the country, we encourage our 100,000 members and other citizens to strengthen those freedoms by exercising them. Americans who believe in religious freedom and separation of church and state should speak out and make their views known to educators and politicians. Americans who want their children to have the benefit of a broad education, unfettered by the narrow views of those who want to ban books and bar intellectual inquiry must help protect the public school system from attacks by censors. Americans who differ with what they hear and see in broadcasts

should speak out, exercising their own First Amendment rights by calling and writing to television stations and to newspapers to express their views.

This country faces many very complex challenges today. As a nation, we need to debate and decide how to improve the quality of our schools, how to increase the capacity of our economy to generate jobs, how to take care of the basic health and nutritional needs of our people, and most of all, how to traverse the next few years in peace. To make the best decision for us all, we need a healthy and open debate on all these issues. Each of us needs to respect the right of those who disagree with us to hold their own views.

Unfortunately, Rev. Falwell and other televangelists are in the habit of labeling their views as Christian and Godly, while they question the moral and religious values — as well as the patriotism — of those who oppose them on these difficult and complex political issues. Those tactics show most clearly how religion is being exploited.

There is of course no question that they have the right to say all these things. That is what the First Amendment and the American concept of freedom of speech are all about. But we in the audience have a duty as citizens to examine these claims that theirs is the only moral position. And most of all, we have the right to disagree with them on political issues like education and defense policy without being labeled as un-Godly or evil folks.

(Hager is the North Carolina director for People for the American Way.)

Reprinted from The Sentinel, August 5, 1963.

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TELE-GRAM

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL

I WANT TO RENEW MY ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP. MY TAX-DEDUCTIBLE CHECK IS ENCLOSED FOR:

() \$25 () \$40 () \$50 () OTHER \$____

☐ PLEASE CHARGE MY MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL. SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR CREDIT INFORMATION.

Please make checks payable to People for the American Way, and return with this form to: 1015 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

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☐ Please charge my membership to my:

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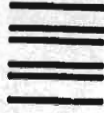
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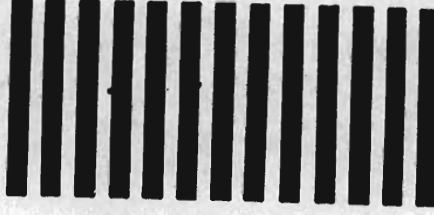
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Dear Member,

A few days ago our membership coordinator tried to reach you by phone. Since we were not able to reach you, I'm writing to let you know how much we appreciate your past membership support -- and how important it is that you stay with us for the coming year.

THANKS TO YOU ... our Texas Textbook Project triumphed over very strong censorship forces in Texas. New laws and textbook review procedures we advocated have been adopted by the state textbook committee and the state legislature. We now have the right to make sure our side is heard from when decisions that will guide textbook content throughout the country are made in Texas.

THANKS TO YOU ... our documentary film, Life and Liberty For All Who Believe, has now aired in more than 200 cities and towns, warning millions of our fellow citizens about the growing dangers of religious and political extremism.

But we didn't stop there. PFAW also broadcast TV spot messages to over 100 million Americans on more than 200 TV stations. Members of our Speakers Bureau traveled to hundreds of cities and towns, speaking before college audiences, national conferences, and local community groups, alerting people to the attempts by the "Pro-Family" movement to pass laws mandating one acceptable lifestyle and standard of morality.

And what's more, we also face a stronger and better financed opposition. The membership of the Moral Majority, for example, has more than tripled since its inception in 1980, and Falwell says monthly contributions reached nearly \$1 million from about 6 million people.

I believe an informed and alert citizenry is our best defense against powerful right-wing extremism. The only way we can stop the censors and the forces of intolerance is to step up the pace of our vital Public Education and Outreach Program. The extremists have not stopped pressing their agenda -- and so we have no choice but to continue to counter

(over, please)

1424 16th Street, N.W. Suite 601 Washington, D.C. 20036

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them and to keep citizens, journalists, librarians, educators, and the news media up to date on their activity.

The very best way to strengthen PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY for the battles and tests we must face this coming year is to reactivate your annual membership support today.

Please help us continue our work for the coming year by making your membership contribution for as large an amount as you can give at this time.

Sincerely,



Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director

P.S. Thank you for your past support. And thanks even more
for staying with us for another year.

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REINSTATEMENT INVOICE



I want to reinstate my membership in People For The American Way. My membership contribution is enclosed for:

☐ \$20 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$35 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$75 ☐ Other \$ _____

Please make your check payable to People For The American Way and mail with this invoice to P.O. Box 19500, Washington, D.C. 20036. Thank you.

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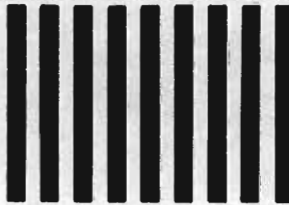
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Anthony T. Podesta
Office of the Director

Dear Friend,

Recently Jerry Falwell proudly announced that he is launching "the most massive campaign in the history of the Moral Majority." Its sole objective: to block any possibility of a nuclear freeze.

After reviewing some of the initial programs in this campaign, I consider it one of the most shameful exploitations of the media for the purpose of mass intimidation ever conceived.

Intimidation is never a very nice tactic to employ to win arguments. And in the hands of a zealous orator like Falwell, who reaches millions upon millions of Americans via TV each week, it becomes a frightening weapon.

And I want you to help me do something about it. As executive director of PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, I personally urge you to join me in an extraordinary media campaign to counter with facts and reason the fear-mongering and intimidation of Reverend Falwell.

Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority seek to intimidate Americans into conforming to their beliefs and accepting every political decision of President Reagan. Their extravagant campaign includes full-page print ads in every major newspaper and hundreds of smaller ones, prime-time "Peace Through Strength" TV specials every month of this year, and a new book, Nuclear War and the Second Coming of Christ (which invokes scriptural authority to prove that the world will continue for another 1,000 years regardless of nuclear arms escalation).

Unfortunately all these efforts are directly encouraged by the Reagan Administration

According to Reverend Falwell, the President urged him to launch his national "Peace Through Strength" campaign. You may be shocked to learn that as part of his now monthly White House meetings, Reverend Falwell is the only religious leader to have received a private briefing from the National Security Council.

The President, perhaps unwittingly, has even adopted some of Jerry Falwell's religious fervor.

When President Reagan seeks support for his arms policies, for example, he demands that the nation's ministers help him fight a "holy war" against our "enemies." To those, both clergy and laity, who speak out in disagreement and ask for a nuclear freeze, President Reagan replies: "There is sin

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and evil in the world, and we are enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might!"

We all have a right to our beliefs -- on the nuclear freeze, military spending, or any other subject. Just as Reverend Falwell has a right to his own personal beliefs. That is the American way.

BUT ... when Jerry Falwell launches a multimillion-dollar media blitz to blatantly intimidate Americans into conforming to his political beliefs, it's time to act.

Here's how you can help us counter the Far Right's high-powered campaign of political intimidation. Norman Lear, co-founder of People for the American Way, has written and produced a TV spot for television. And I've enclosed a draft plan of our TV spot campaign designed to counter Jerry Falwell.

This TV spot drives home the point that all Americans have a right to their own beliefs regarding the nuclear freeze and all political issues. And no one -- Jerry Falwell or anyone else, including President Reagan -- should try to intimidate us if we disagree with their views.

Open debate on an issue as critical to our very future and that of the entire earth as nuclear arms control must not -- cannot! -- be stifled by anyone!

But unfortunately, due to their enormous spending and the recent Korean airline tragedy, their side now appears to be monopolizing the public debate.

Falwell is cleverly exploiting the current outrage over this inexcusable airline massacre. He is playing on the public anger over this incident to prove that most Americans don't want to consider the options of nuclear arms reductions or changes in American defense spending.

We believe the Korean airline tragedy very sharply points up how dangerous the world really is, and how crucial it is to discuss the chronic tensions between Russia and America that can lead to explosive, unpredictable acts of violence.

You and I cannot allow right-wing extremist leaders and movements to go unchallenged. They manipulate public anger and outrage for their own selfish purposes. And we cannot afford to let Far Right forces further monopolize the debate over American foreign policy and the nuclear weapons issue.

Your help in placing our critical message on television is especially important right now! National debate on the nuclear arms race and defense spending is being adversely affected by the intimidation campaign of Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority.

Senators and representatives in Congress will be voting soon on nuclear

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arms, the defense budget, and other key military issues. And when they do, they will rely on the voices and opinions of their constituents. But the fear-instilling rhetoric of Jerry Falwell intimidates all too many citizens, keeping them from speaking their own minds.

We need your help urgently. Your generous contribution to People for the American Way will help us put our message before millions of Americans. To demonstrate dramatically that no one is less patriotic, less an American because he or she wants to stand up and be counted as being for a nuclear freeze, for a smaller defense budget, or against multibillion-dollar waste at the Pentagon.

Open expression of alternative viewpoints on all issues is essential to our democratic form of government. It must not be stifled.

But unless you and I reject the nuclear freeze and accept without question President Reagan's military budget, nuclear arms policies, and foreign policy decisions, we are denounced to all as not being "patriotic" or "God-fearing."

It is indeed frightening to watch Falwell unleash his fervor, branding as "robots manipulated by Moscow" anyone who happens to believe that a nuclear freeze or a smaller defense budget is a sane step toward avoiding a nuclear holocaust in the future.

And should we belong to any religious group that happens to question the defense budget or challenge the largest military escalation in our history -- and most Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups have -- Reverend Falwell demands we denounce them and leave!

In Falwell's own words, anyone who supports a nuclear freeze is a "freezenik," an unthinking pawn of the Kremlin.

Jerry Falwell is without doubt the best general Mr. Reagan could enlist to fight his "holy war." Falwell is the person who urged Reagan to give his "Star Wars" speech on national television. And Falwell uses scriptural "authority" time and time again to pressure dissenting citizens into stronger compliance with the policies of the Reagan Administration.

On a recent TV show, Falwell chastised a fellow minister who dared to challenge Reagan's policies. Astonishingly, Reverend Falwell claims that Reagan is the Biblical king of America, and he tells his audience to "respect and honor the king" and "obey the powers that be, because they are ordained of God." In Falwell's national travels he tells his audiences that to disagree with the Administration is to violate the Bible.

With such statements, any who dare disagree with the proliferation of nuclear weapons, are branded openly as being on the side of Satan! And only those who support his positions are true Americans and true believers in God!

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That is frightening!


Some of our members are actively involved in supporting a freeze, some are unsure about whether a freeze resolution now will help the cause of peace, and a number of others are passionately against the freeze. While People for the American Way takes no position on the Nuclear Freeze Resolution, we are, however, sure that the overwhelming majority of Americans share our desire for free and open debate on this issue so critical to our future and our children's future.

I hope you've heard enough about this Reagan-Falwell alliance of intimidation to help us today. Your special TV spot campaign contribution to People for the American Way is the very best way I know to defend freedom for all Americans and strengthen the rights of the individual.

Wherever and whenever the Far Right extremists assert that there is only one moral or pro-American position on nuclear arms, the family, women's rights, education, or any other issue, you can be sure People for the American Way will be there -- to preserve our precious individual freedoms and to reaffirm the right of every American to hold any opinion without fear of intimidation.

Be there with us.

Sincerely,



Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director

P.S. Our goal is to begin running our TV spots in October. To make sure we can distribute the spots to many local stations, I need to hear from you in the next 10 days.

By working together now, we can make sure that the political intimidation so prevalent in the 1980 elections is not repeated again in 1984.

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BUDGET - PFAW TV SPOT AD CAMPAIGN

				1	2	3	4
ITEM				COST			
- Preproduction includes script development and scene selection				\$ 15,425			
- Photography				\$ 29,655			
- Actors' fees				\$ 9,898			
- Narration				\$ 4,121			
- Editing and Finishing				\$ 16,121			
- Duplication and Distribution				\$ 31,507			
				<hr/>			
TOTAL				\$ 106,727			

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I will not be intimidated!

**T.V. SPOT
AD CAMPAIGN**

Nor will I allow the Far Right to intimidate millions of Americans into believing that because they are for a nuclear freeze or a smaller defense budget they are un-American and un-patriotic!

That's why I am helping People for the American Way's T.V. Spot Ad Campaign to affirm every America's right to open debate on every issue. After all, that is the American way!

My special media contribution is enclosed for:

☐ \$25

☐ \$40

☐ \$50

☐ \$ _____

Please make your tax-deductible check payable to People for the American Way and mail with this form to P.O. Box 19500, Washington, D.C. 20036.

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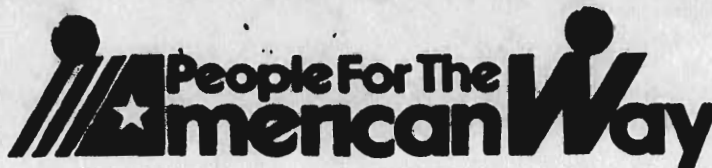


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Anthony T. Podesta
President and Chief Operating Officer

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purposes only.

Dear Friend,

Recently Jerry Falwell proudly announced that he is launching "the most massive campaign in the history of the Moral Majority." Its sole objective: to block any possibility of a nuclear freeze.

After reviewing some of the initial programs in this campaign, I consider it one of the most shameful exploitations of the media for the purpose of mass intimidation ever conceived.

Intimidation is never a very nice tactic to employ to win arguments. And in the hands of a zealous orator like Falwell, who reaches millions upon millions of Americans via TV each week, it becomes a frightening weapon.

It is indeed frightening to watch Falwell unleash his fervor, branding as "robots manipulated by Moscow" anyone who happens to believe that a nuclear freeze or a smaller defense budget is a sane step toward avoiding a nuclear holocaust in the future.

But unless you and I reject the nuclear freeze and accept without question President Reagan's military budget, nuclear arms policies, and foreign policy decisions, we are denounced as not being "patriotic" or "God-fearing."

And should we belong to any religious group that happens to question the defense budget or challenge the largest military escalation in our history -- and most Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups have -- Reverend Falwell demands we denounce them and leave!

In Falwell's own words, anyone who supports a nuclear freeze is a "freezenik,"

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an unthinking "pawn" of the Kremlin.

Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority have launched a multimillion-dollar media blitz to intimidate Americans into conforming to their beliefs and accepting every political decision of President Reagan. Their extravagant campaign includes full-page print ads in every major and hundreds of small newspapers, prime-time "Peace through Strength" TV specials every month this year, and a new book, Nuclear War and the Second Coming of Christ.

Falwell's book argues against the need for any nuclear arms control by invoking scriptural authority that the world will continue for another 1,000 years regardless of nuclear arms escalation.

Unfortunately all these efforts are directly encouraged by the Reagan White House

According to the Reverend Falwell himself, the President urged him to launch his national "Peace Through Strength" campaign. As part of his periodic White House meetings, Reverend Falwell is the only religious leader who receives regular private briefings from the National Security Council.

The President, perhaps unwittingly, has even adopted some of Jerry Falwell's religious fervor.

For example, when President Reagan seeks support for his arms policies, he demands that the nation's ministers help him fight a "holy war" against our "enemies." To those, both clergy and laity, who speak out in disagreement and ask for a nuclear freeze, President Reagan replies: "There is sin and evil in the world, and we are enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might!"

Jerry Falwell is without doubt the best general Mr. Reagan could enlist to fight his "holy war." Falwell claims that he is the person who convinced Reagan to give his "Star Wars" speech on national television. And Falwell uses scriptural "authority" time and time again to pressure dissenting citizens into a more obedient compliance with the policies of President Reagan.

On a Washington TV show recently, Falwell cited Romans:13 to a fellow minister who dared to challenge Reagan's policies. Astonishingly, Reverend Falwell claims that Reagan is the biblical king of America and he tells his audiences to "respect and honor the king" and "obey the powers that be, because they are ordained of God." In Falwell's national travels he tells his audiences that to disagree with the Administration is to violate the Bible.

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With such statements, any who dare disagree with the dangerous proliferation of nuclear weapons, are branded openly as being on the side of Satan! And only those who support his positions are true Americans and true believers in God!

That is frightening!

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY was founded in 1980 to promote and defend citizens' constitutional freedoms and traditional American values. We are nonprofit and nonpartisan, with over 100,000 members nationwide. PEOPLE FOR has developed a unique ability to popularize democratic values and principles through national and community-based public education projects and the skillful use of mass media campaigns.

Some of our members are actively involved in supporting a freeze, some are unsure about whether a freeze resolution now will help the cause of peace, and a number of others are passionately against the freeze. While PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY takes no position on the Nuclear Freeze Resolution, we are, however, sure that the overwhelming majority of Americans share the desire for free and open debate on this issue so critical to our future and our childrens' future.

We all have a right to our beliefs -- on the nuclear freeze, military spending, or any other subject. Just as Reverend Falwell has a right to his own personal beliefs. That is the American way.

BUT ... when Jerry Falwell launches a multimillion-dollar media blitz to blatantly intimidate Americans into conforming to his political beliefs, then it's time to act. When the President of our country directly encourages Falwell's tactics, strengthening the force of such intimidation by aligning himself with the Moral Majority, then it's time to act.

As Executive Director of PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, I personally urge you to join me and our other members in an extraordinary media campaign to counter with facts and reason the fearmongering intimidation of Reverend Falwell.

Here's how you can help us do it --

Norman Lear, founding chairman of PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, has written and produced a TV spot for commercial television. This TV spot drives home the point that all Americans have a right to their own beliefs regarding the nuclear freeze and all political issues. And that no one -- Jerry Falwell or anyone else, including President Reagan -- should try to intimidate us if we disagree with their views.

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Open debate on an issue as critical to our very future and that of the entire earth as nuclear arms control must not -- cannot -- be stifled by anyone!

Your help in placing this critical message on television is especially important right now! National debate on the nuclear arms race and defense spending is being affected by the intimidation campaign of Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority.

Senators and representatives in Congress will be voting soon on nuclear arms, the defense budget, and other key military issues. And when they do, they will rely on the voices and opinions of their constituents. But Jerry Falwell's rhetoric instills fear, intimidating all too many citizens, keeping them from speaking their own minds.

Therefore, we need your help urgently. Your contribution to PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY of \$10, \$15, or more, will help us put our message before millions of Americans. To demonstrate dramatically that no American is less patriotic, less an American, because he or she wants to express an opinion on issues like a nuclear freeze or the proper level of defense spending.

Open expression of alternative viewpoints on all issues is essential to our democratic form of government. It must not be stifled.

When you join PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, you'll be helping to do a lot more than simply keep the debate open on the nuclear freeze issue. You'll be joining with more than 100,000 members of PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY who are having a tremendous impact on the outcome of many national issues by exposing the intolerance and political demagoguery of the Far Right movements in America.

Our TV spot about the debate on the nuclear freeze is just one of many effective programs now under way to stop intimidation.

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY took on the textbook censors in Texas and won a major victory for freedom of speech and thought. Thanks to our intensive media and education efforts, the laws and textbook selection procedures in Texas have been revised and rewritten by the Texas State Board of Education and the Texas state legislature to break the monopoly of censors Mel and Norma Gabler.

Because Texas is the largest single purchaser of school textbooks in the nation, what happens in Texas determines the content of many school textbooks used across the nation. By

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winning the first round of our censorship fight in Texas, we have helped to protect the right of schoolchildren to read all the facts about American history, biology, evolution, and many other subjects.

Our hard-hitting documentary film for television -- Life and Liberty For All Who Believe -- was aired in more than 200 cities and towns, warning millions of our fellow citizens about the growing dangers of religious and political extremism.

But we didn't stop there. We also broadcast TV spots to over 100 million Americans on more than 300 TV stations during the last two years. Members of our Speakers Bureau traveled to hundreds of cities and towns, speaking before college audiences, national conferences, and local community groups.

We helped to alert our fellow citizens to the "pro-family" movement's efforts to weaken child abuse and spouse abuse laws, and impose "one acceptable lifestyle and standard of morality on all American families."

And through our Media Fairness Project, we helped citizens gain access to their local TV stations -- on which they aired thoughtful rebuttals to the intimidating political attacks made by so many ultra-right-wing TV evangelists.

Your membership support will help to expand the growing network of concerned, involved citizens who work as PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY volunteers alongside our staff members. These thousands of "citizen volunteers" travel on behalf of our Speakers Bureau, they testify at hearings, they organize groups in their own community -- they vividly demonstrate the power of citizen activism.

When you join PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, you'll be helping us expand all of these successful efforts against political and religious intimidation. But more importantly, you'll be making sure that no American is overwhelmed by extremists -- be they political or religious. And you'll be helping to make certain that more citizens regain their own sense of worth and influence in our democratic form of government.

✓ By working together now, we can make sure that the political intimidation so prevalent in the 1980 elections is not repeated in 1984.

Your membership contribution of \$10, \$15, \$20, or more to PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY is the very best way I know to defend freedom for all Americans and strengthen the rights of the individual.

Wherever and whenever the Far Right asserts that there is

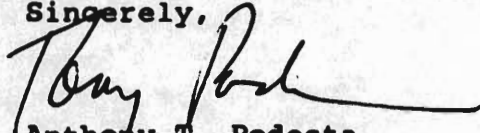
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only one moral or pro-American position on nuclear arms, the family, women's rights, education, or any other topic, you can be sure PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY will be there -- to preserve our precious individual freedoms and to reaffirm the right of every American to hold any opinion without fear of intimidation.

Be there with us.

Sincerely,


Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director

P.S. As a new member, you'll receive our nationally acclaimed Quarterly Report, keeping you up to date on the actions of the Far Right and suggesting how you can challenge their attacks on the democratic traditions we hold dear.

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**RUSH: NUCLEAR FREEZE
T.V. SPOT CAMPAIGN**



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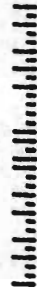
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I will not be intimidated!

Nor will I allow the Far Right to intimidate millions of Americans into believing that because they are for a nuclear freeze or a smaller defense budget they are un-American and un-patriotic!

That's why I am joining People for the American Way in their unique campaign to affirm every American's right to open debate on every issue. After all, that is the American Way!

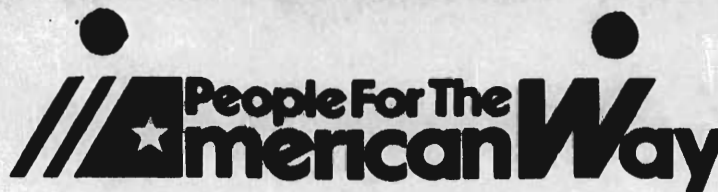
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Dear Friend,

Recently Jerry Falwell proudly announced that he is launching "the most massive campaign in the history of the Moral Majority." Its sole objective: to block any possibility of a nuclear freeze.

After reviewing some of the initial programs in this campaign, I consider it one of the most shameful exploitations of the media for the purpose of mass intimidation ever conceived.

Intimidation is never a very nice tactic to employ to win arguments. And in the hands of a zealous orator like Falwell, who reaches millions upon millions of Americans via TV each week, it becomes a frightening weapon.

It is indeed frightening to watch Falwell unleash his fervor, branding as "robots manipulated by Moscow" anyone who happens to believe that a nuclear freeze or a smaller defense budget is a sane step toward avoiding a nuclear holocaust in the future.

But unless you and I reject the nuclear freeze and accept without question President Reagan's military budget, nuclear arms policies, and foreign policy decisions, we are denounced as not being "patriotic" or "God-fearing."

And should we belong to any religious group that happens to question the defense budget or challenge the largest military escalation in our history -- and most Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups have -- Reverend Falwell demands we denounce them and leave!

In Falwell's own words, anyone who supports a nuclear freeze is a "freezenik," an unthinking pawn of the Kremlin.

Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority have launched a multimillion-dollar media blitz to intimidate Americans into conforming to their beliefs and accepting every political decision of President Reagan. Their extravagant campaign includes full-page print ads in every major and hundreds of small newspapers, prime-time "Peace through Strength" TV specials every month this year, and a new book, Nuclear War and the Second Coming of Christ.

Falwell's book argues against the need for any nuclear arms control by invoking scriptural authority that the world will

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continue for another 1,000 years regardless of nuclear arms escalation.

Unfortunately all these efforts are directly encouraged by the Reagan White House ...

According to the Reverend Falwell himself, the President urged him to launch his national "Peace Through Strength" campaign. As part of his now monthly White House meetings, Reverend Falwell is the only religious leader who receives regular private briefings from the National Security Council.

The President, perhaps unwittingly, has even adopted some of Jerry Falwell's religious fervor.

For example, when President Reagan seeks support for his arms policies, he demands that the nation's ministers help him fight a "holy war" against our "enemies." To those of us, both clergy and laity, who speak out in disagreement and ask for a nuclear freeze, President Reagan replies: "There is sin and evil in the world, and we are enjoined by Scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might!"

Jerry Falwell is without doubt the best general Mr. Reagan could enlist to fight his "holy war." Falwell claims that he is the person who convinced Reagan to give his "Star Wars" speech on national television. And Falwell uses scriptural "authority" time and time again to pressure dissenting citizens into a more obedient compliance with the policies of President Reagan.

On a Washington T.V. show recently, Falwell cited Romans:13 to a fellow minister who dared to challenge Reagan's policies. Astonishingly, Reverend Falwell claims that Reagan is the Biblical king of America and he tells his audiences to "respect and honor the king" and "obey the powers that be, because they are ordained of God." In Falwell's national travels he tells his audiences that to disagree with the Administration is to violate the Bible.

With such statements, any who dare disagree with the dangerous proliferation of nuclear weapons, are branded openly as being on the side of Satan! And only those who support his positions are true Americans and true believers in God!

That is frightening!

Some of our members are actively involved in supporting a freeze, some are unsure about whether a freeze resolution now will help the cause of peace, and a number of others are passionately against the freeze. While People for the American

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Way takes no position on the Nuclear Freeze Resolution, we are, however, sure that the overwhelming majority of Americans share the desire for free and open debate on this issue so critical to our future and our children's future.

We all have a right to our beliefs -- on the nuclear freeze, military spending, or any other subject. Just as Reverend Falwell has a right to his own personal beliefs. That is the American way.

BUT ... when Jerry Falwell launches a multimillion-dollar media blitz to blatantly intimidate Americans into conforming to his political beliefs, then it's time to act. When the President of our country directly encourages Falwell's tactics, strengthening the force of such intimidation by aligning himself with the Moral Majority, then it's time to act.

As Executive Director of PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, I personally urge you to join me and our other members in an extraordinary media campaign to counter with facts and reason the fearmongering intimidation of Reverend Falwell.

Here's how you can help us do it --

Norman Lear, founding chairman of People for the American Way, has written and produced a TV spot for commercial television. This TV spot drives home the point that all Americans have a right to their own beliefs regarding the nuclear freeze and all political issues. And that no one -- Jerry Falwell or anyone else, including President Reagan -- should try to intimidate us if we disagree with their views.

Open debate on an issue as critical to our very future and that of the entire earth as nuclear arms control must not -- cannot -- be stifled by anyone!

Your help in placing this critical message on television is especially important right now! National debate on the nuclear arms race and defense spending is being adversely affected by the intimidation campaign of Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority.

Senators and representatives in Congress will be voting soon on nuclear arms, the defense budget, and other key military issues. And when they do, they will rely on the voices and opinions of their constituents. But Jerry Falwell's rhetoric instills fear, intimidating all too many citizens, keeping them from speaking their own minds.

Therefore, we need your help urgently. Your contribution

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to People for the American Way of \$20, \$25, or more, will help us put our message before millions of Americans. To demonstrate dramatically that no American is less patriotic, less an American, because he or she wants to express an opinion on issues like a nuclear freeze or the proper level of defense spending.

Open expression of alternative viewpoints on all issues is essential to our democratic form of government. It must not be stifled.

When you join People for the American Way, you'll be helping to do a lot more than simply keep the debate open on the nuclear freeze issue. You'll be joining with more than 100,000 members of People for the American Way who are having a tremendous impact on the outcome of many national issues by exposing the intolerance and political demagoguery of the Far Right movements in America.

Our TV spot about the debate on the nuclear freeze is just one of many effective programs now under way to stop intimidation.

People for the American Way took on the textbook censors in Texas and won a major victory for freedom of speech and thought. Thanks to our intensive media and education efforts, the laws and textbook selection procedures in Texas have been revised and rewritten by the Texas State Board of Education and the Texas state legislature to break the monopoly of censors Mel and Norma Gabler.

Because Texas is the largest single purchaser of school textbooks in the nation, what happens in Texas determines the content of many school textbooks used across the nation. By winning the first round of our censorship fight in Texas, we have helped to protect the right of schoolchildren to read all the facts about American history, biology, evolution, and many other subjects.

Our hard-hitting documentary film for television -- Life and Liberty For All Who Believe -- was aired in more than 200 cities and towns, warning millions of our fellow citizens about the growing dangers of religious and political extremism.

But we didn't stop there. We also broadcast TV spots to over 100 million Americans on more than 300 TV stations during the last two years. Members of our Speakers Bureau traveled to hundreds of cities and towns, speaking before college audiences, national conferences, and local community groups.

We helped to alert our fellow citizens to the "pro-family"

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movement's efforts to weaken child abuse and spouse abuse laws, and impose "one acceptable lifestyle and standard of morality on all American families."

And through our Media Fairness Project, we helped citizens gain access to their local TV stations -- on which they aired thoughtful rebuttals to the intimidating political attacks made by so many ultra-right-wing TV evangelists.

Your membership support will help to expand the growing network of concerned, involved citizens who work as People for the American Way volunteers alongside our staff members. These thousands of "citizen volunteers" travel on behalf of our Speakers Bureau, they testify at hearings, they organize groups in their own community -- they vividly demonstrate the power of citizen activism.

When you join People for the American Way, you'll be helping us expand all of these successful efforts against political and religious intimidation. But more importantly, you'll be making sure that no American is overwhelmed by extremists -- be they political or religious. And you'll be helping to make certain that more citizens regain their own sense of worth and influence in our democratic form of government.

By working together now, we can make sure that the political intimidation so prevalent in the 1980 elections is not repeated in 1984.

Your membership contribution of \$20, \$25, \$35, or more to People for the American Way is the very best way I know to defend freedom for all Americans and strengthen the rights of the individual.

Wherever and whenever the Far Right asserts that there is only one moral or pro-American position on nuclear arms, the family, women's rights, education or any other topic, you can be sure People for the American Way will be there -- to preserve our precious individual freedoms and to reaffirm the right of every American to hold any opinion without fear of intimidation.

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**National Conservative
Political Action Committee**

1001 prince street, alexandria, va. 22314 (703) 684-1800

To:

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K Street, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

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1325 K STREET N.W.
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