

# Tavistock's 'anticipatory democracy' in action: Newtzi's GOPAC

by Suzanne Rose and Mark Sonnenblick

In May 1994, the Federal Election Commission (FEC) filed a lawsuit against GOPAC, a federally registered political action committee devoted to electing a gaggle of New Age and Conservative Revolution ideologues and brainwashed dupes into the U. S. Congress. Since 1986, GOPAC has been run as the personal fiefdom of the self-described "New Age Reaganite," Newt Gingrich.

The lawsuit covers the period from 1989-90, when GOPAC was not yet registered to participate in congressional and other federal elections, but when, according to the FEC suit, it illegally poured money into the 1990 congressional campaigns of a number of Republicans, including members of its own "farm team" of candidates-in-training. By GOPAC's own account, 13 Republican freshmen were elected to the U. S. Congress in 1990 thanks to GOPAC's largesse. And according to the FEC suit, piles of money went directly into the re-election campaign of the group's general chairman, Newt Gingrich. Gingrich barely won that 1990 re-election campaign, and it is not unreasonable to presume that, without the illegal funds and services provided by GOPAC, "Chairman Newt" would have been out of a job in January 1991.

On Nov. 30, 1995, the FEC released over 3,000 pages of internal GOPAC documents under the Freedom of Information Act. Through a separate FOIA lawsuit filed by the *Wall Street Journal*, several thousand additional GOPAC papers have also been made public. Further evidence of GOPAC's illegal manipulation of the electoral process is expected to surface during the course of a special prosecutor's probe of Speaker Gingrich, which was recently launched by the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. Although chaired by a Gingrich-GOPAC ally, Rep. Nancy Johnson (R-Conn.), the House ethics panel could no longer ignore the public evidence of corrupt fundraising practices by Gingrich, through GOPAC and a string of tax exempt foundations and GOPAC-allied media corporations, and in December 1995, the panel unanimously voted to hire an independent counsel to probe the charges.

The story that unfolds from a careful review of the GOPAC documents is not simply one of a sleazy political action committee run amok, bending and breaking the law to place its handpicked candidates into the U.S. Congress. Laws were, in fact, bent and broken. But the real GOPAC

scandal, like the real story of Newt Gingrich's political odyssey, is much more ominous.

## Psychological warfare

GOPAC—at least from 1986, when former Delaware Gov. Pierre "Pete" du Pont turned the reins of power over to Gingrich—has been an instrument for a psychological-warfare experiment aimed at wrecking the American constitutional system of representative self-government. It has worked in league with a string of illegally interconnected tax exempt foundations, well-heeled lobbying groups, and New Age and Mont Pelerin Society-spawned radical free market think-tanks. At least one of the agencies involved directly in this effort, the Mont Pelerin Society, is an arm of the British intelligence services under the control of the House of Windsor.

The GOPAC project reached its zenith in January 1995, when 73 newly elected Republican congressmen marched, zombie-style, from the headquarters of the British intelligence-created Heritage Foundation to the Capitol Hill rotunda, and proclaimed their loyalty to the new Speaker of the House, Gingrich, and his "Contract with America," a fascist austerity blueprint that, if implemented, will thoroughly destroy what is left of the U.S. economy, and vastly increase the federal government debt.

The stunning GOP victory in the 1994 mid-term congressional elections, which gave the Republicans their first simultaneous majority in the House and Senate since 1948, was the fruit of an eight-year campaign, in which GOPAC, along with such other Newtzi fronts as the Conservative Opportunity Society and the Progress and Freedom Foundation, sought out, profiled, and manufactured a slate of "non-political" candidates, who were perfect empty vessels for GOPAC's slick Madison Avenue double-speak campaign. According to the GOPAC documents, the "farm team" of prospective congressmen and congresswomen was drawn from the 30-40% of the American electorate, ages 18-40, who were dropouts from the electoral process because they were too cynical to vote. These were people who could be manipulated on the basis of their cynicism and by crass appeals to their self-interest. Whether nominally liberal or conservative, these were people who, in most instances, had passed through the drug-rock-sex counterculture, devoted to the belief in "me first."

GOPAC used every Tavistock Institute "anticipatory de-

mocracy" technique in the book to pull off the Great Election Heist of 1994. Voters were profiled by teams of pollsters and social engineers trained in the Tavistock method. A lexicon of "good" and "bad" words was assembled—all based on focus groups, public opinion surveys, and similar techniques, aimed at drawing out voter rage, prejudice, and cynicism. Candidates were themselves screened through elaborate profiling methods, then put through behavior modification sessions, and outfitted with slogans and campaign literature aimed at drawing out the rage and frustration of their constituents. Via GOPAC and a string of political action committees, tax-exempt foundations, and corporations, the candidates were amply bankrolled, often pouring millions of dollars into finely tuned, 11th-hour media blitzes, like the \$1.8 million one-week advertising campaign that won Enid Waldholtz the congressional seat from Salt Lake City, Utah, and that now may land her and her husband in federal prison. In the final hours of the 1994 election campaign, funds flowed fast and loose, and the House ethics panel, the FEC, and federal grand juries are just beginning to play catch-up on these shenanigans.

GOPAC's efforts not only focussed on profiling the rage-vulnerabilities of the American voter, and matching them with local "candidates" who would use packaged buzzwords to elicit their temporary, election day support. The candidates were all the while being closeted in "training sessions" where they were indoctrinated by such Conservative Revolution gurus as Paul Weyrich, one of Gingrich's political mentors from 1975; Ed Feulner of the Mont Pelerin Society and the Heritage Foundation; and the crew of post-industrial "Third Wave" ideologues who had initially snatched Gingrich off the college campus in the mid-1960s. GOPAC documents show that by no later than 1989, all of the rudiments of the "100 day offensive" to pass the Contract with America (then known as "The Agenda Worth Voting For") had been worked out in a series of GOPAC "shirt-sleeve sessions" and executive board retreats.

According to the GOPAC documents, 13 freshmen Republicans were elected in 1990 on the basis of GOPAC's unregistered and illegal actions. In 1992, GOPAC was registered as a federal political action committee, and it claimed that 41 of the 48 newly elected Republican representatives were from the GOPAC "farm team." In the 1994 elections, 25 of the 73 freshman Republicans were recruited from GOPAC's farm team, but all 73 elected freshmen were controlled by GOPAC.

All the while, GOPAC's other main activity, according to the documents released by the FEC, was "reinventing Newt." Slick advertising teams, backed by armies of pollsters, kept a constant tab on what needed to be done to keep Gingrich in the news, and "on the side of the American people."

Over the next 11 months, in the run-up to the 1996 elections, Gingrich and GOPAC will undoubtedly be at the center

of attention. For one thing, GOPAC will be under ethics panel, FEC, and perhaps U.S. Justice Department scrutiny. To help our readers follow the ins and outs of this process, we present below a thumbnail sketch of GOPAC, based in large part on the FEC files, and our own cross-gridding of the GOPAC apparatus with our previously published database on the Conservative Revolution.

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## The GOPAC dossier

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**Name of group:** GOPAC (not an acronym).

**Headquarters:** 440 First Street NW, Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20001; Phone: 202-484-2282; Fax: 202-783-3306.

**Founded:** In 1979, at the initiative of then-Gov. Pierre du Pont of Delaware.

**Location of operations:** GOPAC carries out "grass-roots" operations in most states, has conducted "focus group" profiling sessions in six regions; holds leadership strategy sessions and retreats at North Pole Basin, Mount Crested Butte, Colorado.

**Membership:** Charter Members "buy into" GOPAC for \$10,000 per year. There were 100 in 1984 and 169 in 1990. Current number is unknown.

**History:** GOPAC was founded in 1979 by then-Delaware Gov. Pierre du Pont to provide funding and training for young Republicans running for state office. Although du Pont has remained an active supporter and still chairs the GOPAC policy advisory board, in 1986, he turned over control of the organization to Rep. Newt Gingrich, when du Pont decided to run against George Bush for the 1988 GOP Presidential nomination. Gingrich transformed GOPAC into an "anticipatory democracy" front group, using Tavistock "group dynamics" methods to profile, recruit, and modify the behavior of a collection of future candidates for the U.S. Congress.

In July 1986, Gingrich convened a meeting of GOPAC officials and Charter Members (financiers) in Denver, Colorado to launch a campaign against the U.S. Congress as a "corrupt, imperial" institution dominated by "the Left." His own campaign to drive Speaker of the House Jim Wright (D-Tex.) out of the Congress on grossly exaggerated, manufactured "corruption" charges, capped this first phase of the "new" GOPAC profile.

In 1987, Gingrich focussed GOPAC on devising "the agenda" for winning control of the Congress. At a speech in Grand Rapids, Michigan, before the secretive Council for National Policy, Gingrich called for Republicans to campaign on behalf of "The Agenda Worth Voting For," an early version of the Contract with America. In 1988, GOPAC focussed on detailing and propagandizing this agenda. Despite this overwhelming focus on capturing control of the U.S. Congress, GOPAC was still years away from registering with the FEC as a federal political action committee.



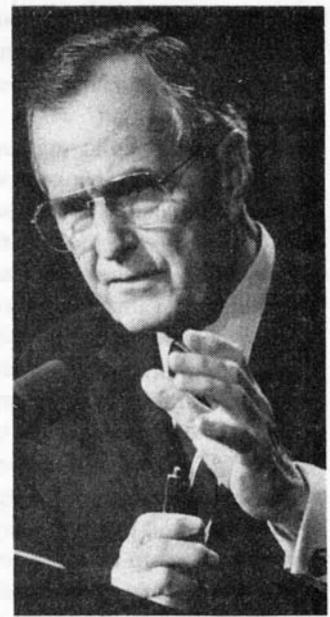
Alvin Toffler



Paul Weyrich



Sen. Connie Mack (Fla.)



George Bush

Also in 1988, GOPAC produced a series of videotapes, set up training seminars all over the country, and began to recruit and deploy an army of candidates for federal office. Ultimately, they claim, 5-10,000 activists received training tapes monthly. Videos employed sophisticated brainwashing methods, described in GOPAC literature: "repetition of concepts, utilizing certain themes and cues. . . . As the program reached increasing numbers of people, the themes and phrases would be reinforced through more frequent use, until they became part of the regular language." Thus, terms like "balanced budget," "defeat the bureaucratic welfare State," and "opportunity society" (replacing the idea of an increasing standard of living) became mantras for the "new" Republicans.

In February 1989, GOPAC sponsored a series of meetings at the University Club in New York City, bringing in Mont Pelerin Society and Heritage Foundation ideologues Ed Feulner, Paul Weyrich, and Burton Pines to help win support from the Republican Party national leadership for Gingrich's "Third Wave" program and scheme to take over Congress.

At an inner-circle planning meeting at North Pole Basin, Colorado in August 1989, Gingrich and the GOPAC leadership planned out a racist campaign against inner-city "welfare bums" and against federal entitlements programs. GOPAC literature featured extensive, favorable coverage of the works of Charles Murray, the racist sociologist and author of *The Bell Curve*, who gained notice in the early 1980s after being bankrolled by the Manhattan Institute.

By 1990, GOPAC, still not registered as a federal PAC, was holding "focus groups" in every part of the country, to profile the population's "rage" points, to fine-tune key

"words and themes." A GOPAC "Civics Primer" from this period asks prospective candidates: "Do you use liberal welfare state words to describe conservative, opportunity-oriented solutions? Or do you use our words to describe what we want to do? Words are everything. They can soothe or inflame. They can excite or pacify. When carefully crafted into great ideas, they can and have changed history. . . . Repetition is vital in breaking through the clutter. You must repeat and repeat and repeat and repeat and repeat and repeat! Words really are everything."

The main focus of GOPAC as it moved into illegal support for federal candidates in the 1990 elections, was to manipulate and provoke public "rage by proving there is a corrupt liberal welfare state sustained and protected by a selfish, entrenched Democratic machine." National television interactive conferences took place involving 550 locations, preparatory to launching ACTV, to be aired on the Family Channel.

In August 1990, at a North Pole Basin insiders planning session, a detailed Tavistockian social engineering strategy was elaborated by Gingrich and GOP consultant and leading Gingrich adviser Eddie Mahe: "The world environment and the proximity of the choice between these fundamentally different philosophies [the reemergence and primacy of the individual and the reduction of government intervention and control, versus continuance of the welfare state] define 1996 as a critical election. It is likely that a rapid societal 'freeze' will occur after the year 2000, and the governing philosophy and individuals in place at that time will exercise an inordinate amount of influence."

In open defiance of federal election laws, GOPAC targeted 170 congressional districts for active intervention. GOPAC Charter Members were instructed to set up their own



Dwayne Andreas



Rep. John Kasich (Ohio)



Rep. Dick Armey (Texas)



Jack Kemp

political action committees to expand the amount of funding disbursed to federal candidates through GOPAC. Additionally, GOPAC agents were urged to use their tax exempt foundations to sponsor “research” for the GOPAC-sponsored candidates—all so that GOPAC could evade filing with the FEC as a registered (and, therefore, scrutinized) PAC. During the 1990 election cycle, GOPAC directly trained 2,800 candidates and volunteers, at 61 seminars in 32 states, and through 36,000 copies of instructional tapes distributed to “farm team” candidates. Among the techniques adopted by GOPAC (later in evidence with the Contract with America), was to demand that candidates sign “loyalty” oaths to Chairman Gingrich and to specific programs, as a requirement for receiving GOPAC backing.

**Allied groups:** Progress and Freedom Foundation (Gingrich run, tax-exempt); Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation (Gingrich run, tax-exempt); Monday PAC (Gingrich); Christian Coalition (Ralph Reed); National Taxpayers Union (James Dale Davidson); Americans for Tax Reform (Grover Norquist); American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC); American Association of Christian Schools (Connie Blanton); Free Congress Foundation (Paul Weyrich); *National Review* (William F. Buckley); National Federation of Independent Business; National Vietnam Veterans Coalition; Republican Congressional Campaign Committee; Republican National Committee; House Republican Policy Committee; House Republican Conference; National Republican Congressional Committee (including the Congressional Forum—150 corporations and PACs enrolled at \$15-20,000 apiece—and the House Council—225 members giving \$5,000 apiece—each offering private access sessions with House leadership at the Capital Hill Club); U.S. Chamber of Com-

merce; United States Business and Industry Council; Citizens Against Government Waste; Citizens for America; American Freedom Coalition; Organization of Chinese Americans; The Conservative Network; New York Conservative Party; Free America; Commonwealth Foundation; CORPAC; Global Freedom Foundation; Veterans for Life; Hill and Knowlton; American Campaign Academy; Partnership for Success; Council for National Policy; Future Congressmen Club; Republican Study Committee.

**Affiliated think-tanks:** Hudson Institute; Heritage Foundation; Cato Institute; American Enterprise Institute; Hoover Institute; Mont Pelerin Society; Conservative Opportunity Society; Manhattan Institute; Atlas Economic Research Foundation.

**Controllers, theoreticians:**

Dr. Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.: president 1977-, Heritage Foundation. Treasurer, Mont Pelerin Society; member, U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, chairman 1982-91; member, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London; former director, House Republican Study Committee; Board of Trustees, Manhattan Institute; B.S., Regis College; M.B.A., University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton School; Ph.D., University of Edinburgh. Author, *Conservatives Stalk the House—The Republican Study Committee 1970-1982*. Feulner, together with Paul Weyrich, helped to set up the Republican Study Committee (RSC), an insurgent group of House conservatives set up to function outside of the official committee structure and Republican Party structure. Feulner was at that time an aide to Rep. Phil Crane (R-Ill.). The idea was to build a faction within the Republican Party, and elect candidates, around a “conservative” agenda which would take over Congress. Orientation sessions were held in

**WORDS AND THEMES**

Words matter in context. A simple truth that candidates sometimes overlook. How you say something is often it is you are saying.

Do you use liberal welfare state words to describe conservative, opportunity-oriented solutions? Or do you describe what we want to do?

Some words for you to consider while you formulate your message.

Bad	Better	Best
Status Quo	Change	Reform
Old	New	A better alternative
Political Insider	Political Outsider	Non-political
Liberal	Conservative	Pragmatic
Elitist	Open-minded	
Exclusive	Reinvented	
Bigger Government	Independent	
Partisan Politics	Positive Cam	
Negative Campaigning	Empowerment	
Government	In Touch	
Out of Touch	Speaking With	
Speaking TO	Family Values	
Dismissing Values	Victim's Rights	
Criminal's Rights	Middle Class	
Wealthy	Sport Coat	
Suit-and-tie		

Some GOPAC propaganda, taking a leaf from the Red Book of Mao. The flyer on "Words and Themes" reads, "To continue to be successful in both political and policy debates, we must continue to expand on our rhetorical foothold."

1995 ALEC Meeting Exhibition

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the heart of the British oligarchy's "Hunt Country," at the Red Fox Inn in Middleburg, Virginia. Feulner became the chairman of the new group. In 1977, he became chairman of the Heritage Foundation, an outpost for British intelligence in the United States. Feulner brought in Friedrich von Hayek, the fascist economic ideologue and Mont Pelerin Society founder, to lecture to RSC members.

Paul Weyrich: Conservative ideologue who was an early mentor to Newt Gingrich. He is a close friend of Ed Feulner, active in the Mont Pelerin Society and the Heritage Foundation. He was a founder of the Republican Study Committee, GOPAC's precursor, which planned a conservative takeover of the House. He is the president of the National Empowerment Television, which broadcasts Gingrich's college course, "Renewing American Civilization." He is also the president of the Free Congress Foundation, formed in the 1970s as the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, as a group to target "corrupt, imperial" congressmen. Weyrich attended the February 1989 GOPAC meetings at the University Club.

Alvin Toffler: Pop cult futurist and mentor to Newt Gingrich. Author of the major policy document for Gingrich's Progress and Freedom Foundation, "A Magna Carta for the Knowledge Age." Toffler was involved in the Marxist move-

ment and reportedly was an active member of a Trotskyist organization in the 1950s. Writer for *New Republic*, 1957. Later hired by *Fortune* magazine. Author of *Future Shock*, in 1970; followed by *The Third Wave* and *War and Anti-War—Survival at the Dawn of the 21st Century*. Taught at the New School for Social Research. Popularizer of the fraudulent idea that civilization has moved beyond the industrial age to a post-industrial information society, free of government regulation and large industrial corporations.

**Leading supporters, advocates:**

Pierre S. "Pete" du Pont IV: Formed GOPAC in 1979. Passed general chairmanship to Newt Gingrich in 1986 (see box, p. 34). Policy chairman with National Center for Policy Analysis (a Mont Pelerin front), playing a key role in the formulation of the "Contract with America."

Newt Gingrich: General chairman from 1986 to May 1995.

John Shadegg: Freshman GOP congressman from Phoenix, Arizona. Stephen Shadegg, his father, managed Barry Goldwater's campaigns, starting in Arizona in 1952, and wrote *How to Win an Election*, a manual for conservatives, in 1964. John founded the Goldwater Institute for Public Policy (a Mont Pelerin front), to project Mont Pelerin Society policies into Arizona. After being elected to Congress in 1994, Shadegg was placed by Gingrich on the Budget Committee. Gingrich selected Shadegg to become general chairman of GOPAC, effective Sept. 28, 1995.

Howard "Bo" Callaway: GOPAC chairman, 1986-93. His family, wealthy Georgia textile factory owners, got him into West Point and provided the inheritance which helped him win a seat in Congress in 1964 as a Goldwater Republican. By contributing to and fundraising for the Republican Party, Callaway earned top positions on the Republican National Committee and the Colorado party. He was rewarded by President Gerald Ford with a brief stint as secretary of the Army in 1974. Gingrich, who had known Callaway from Georgia, brought him in with him as GOPAC chief executive officer in 1986. Callaway doubled the number of rich contributors, and cooled constant disputes between them and the unpredictable Newt.

Gay Hart Gaines: Chairman, November 1993 to the present. She and her husband, Stanley Noyes Gaines, contributed heavily to GOPAC during Newt's general chairmanship. Her money made her first chairman of William F. Buckley's National Review Institute, and finance committee member of "Pete du Pont for President" in 1988-89. She brought Lady Margaret Thatcher in to keynote GOPAC's 1994 spring meeting.

Kay Williams Riddle: Executive director, 1989-93. Callaway brought her in from his Colorado staff to run GOPAC's day-to-day office activities.

Jeffrey Eisenach: Executive director, 1993 to early 1995. He has a Ph.D. in economics and went to work for James C. Miller III, first at the American Enterprise Institute, then in

Reagan's Office of Management and Budget. (Eisenach is now managing Miller's 1996 campaign for the Senate from Virginia.) In 1986, he became the director of research for Pete du Pont's Presidential campaign, which operated out of the GOPAC office. Eisenach served as GOPAC's director until he got caught using tax-deductible contributions and resources of Gingrich's "non-partisan" Progress and Freedom Foundation for GOPAC's highly partisan political activities. This overlap is now being investigated by a special prosecutor. Eisenach, who claims to be Gingrich's "closest intellectual adviser," makes \$150,000 a year as president of Gingrich's Progress and Freedom Foundation.

Steven Hanser: Gingrich's colleague at West Georgia State College, chairing its history department, and probably Gingrich's closest confidant over the past 25 years. An early guru for the Conservative Opportunity Society in Congress, Hanser has served as a director of GOPAC at various times.

Tom Morgan: Field director, 1987-91. Morgan was the only GOPAC staffer who actually worked with state and local candidates.

Eddie Mahe: Political strategist. In 1974, when he had worked his way up to executive director of the Republican National Committee, Mahe volunteered his advice to Gingrich's first, unsuccessful, bid for Congress. He was the key political consultant in setting up the Conservative Opportunity Society in 1984. When Newt took over GOPAC, Mahe was put on permanent retainer. He engineered the surprise 1994 victory of Utah Rep. Enid Waldholtz, with the help of over \$1 million in illegal funding. Now, he's getting paid to coordinate damage control for Mrs. Waldholtz, while also coordinating damage control for GOPAC.

Fred Steeper: Pollster. He was involved in the early 1980s in the formation of the Conservative Opportunity Society. In 1990, Steeper's Market Strategy, Inc. conducted "focus groups" for GOPAC to test, market, and improve packaging of the issues later to become the Contract with America.

Bob Teeter: George Bush's campaign chairman and Gingrich's entry point to the Bush circle after the death of Lee Atwater.

Frank Luntz: Political strategist. Gingrich picked him up as GOPAC's guru in 1993 for his adeptness at mobilizing the "post-partisan" voters (those angry at both parties), shown while Luntz was briefly running Ross Perot's and Pat Buchanan's campaigns in 1992.

**Republican Party, Bush administration, and congressional assets:** Gerald Ford—helped fundraising by being listed as honorary chairman until he asked to be removed in August 1990; Gov. Lamar Alexander (R-Tenn.)—helped recruit contributors; Gov. Tommy Thompson (R-Wisc.); and current and former officeholders including Sen. Terry Consideine (R-Colo.); Sen. Spencer Abraham (R-Mich.); Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.), co-founder of Conservative Opportunity Society; Rep. Bob Walker (R-Pa.); Rep. Steve Gunderson (R-Wisc.); Rep. Nancy Johnson (R-Conn.); Sen. Jon Kyl

(R-Ariz.), head of the Conservative Opportunity Opposition until late 1990; Rep. Jim Bunning (R-Ky.), head of COS, starting 1991; Rep. Joe Barton (R-Tex.), "farm team," big fundraiser for GOPAC; Rep. Dick Armey (R-Tex.); Rep. Andy Ireland (R-Fla.); Rep. Scott Klug (R-Wisc.).

All 73 Republican freshmen voted with Newt Gingrich at least 83% of the time, according to the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. They now count among their voting bloc six Democrats who defected over the past year. All the freshmen congressmen have ties to GOPAC, whether or not they were preselected to run from the "farm team" of state legislators. The liaison of the "freshman class" to Gingrich is Rep. Sue Myrick (R-N.C.).

Gingrich's top congressional allies are known as the Speakers Advisory Group, who operate above the official committee leadership to plan strategy and tactics with Gingrich. They are Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Tex., House Majority Whip, involved in setting up Americans for a Republican Majority PAC in 1995), Rep. Dick Armey (R-Tex., House Majority Leader, former distinguished fellow at the Fischer Institute, a Mont Pelerin front and forerunner to the National Center for Policy Analysis), Rep. John Kasich (R-Ohio, named chairman of the House Budget Committee), Rep. Robert Walker (R-Pa.), Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.), Rep. Bill Paxon (R-N.Y., 1994-95 National Republican Congressional Committee, bankrolling candidates), Sen. Connie Mack (R-Fla.), Sen. Paul Coverdell (R-Ga).

The following Republican politicians spoke at GOPAC charter meetings in 1989-91: Gov. Thomas Kean (N.J.); Rep. Duke Cunningham (Calif.); Rep. Wayne Gilchrest (Md.); Rep. Frank Riggs (Calif.); Rep. Porter Goss (Fla.); Rep. Clay Shaw (Fla.); Rep. Ben Gilman (N.Y.); Rep. Dick Armey (Tex.); Rep. Herb Bateman (Va.); Rep. Howard Coble (N.C.); Rep. Bill Emerson (Mo.); Rep. Duncan Hunter (Calif.); Rep. Mel Hancock (Mo.); Rep. Robert Lagomarsino (Calif.); Rep. Bob Livingston (La.); Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.); Rep. Jan Meyers (Kans.); Rep. Bill Paxon (N.Y.); Rep. Matt Rinaldo (N.J.); Rep. Don Ritter (Pa.); Rep. Denny Smith (Or.); Rep. Bill Thomas (Calif.); Rep. Barbara Vucanovich (Nev.); Rep. Jay Rhodes (Ariz.); Rep. Larry Coughlin (Pa.); Sen. Mitch McConnell (Ky.); Sen. Hank Brown (Co.); Sen. Connie Mack (Fla.); Sen. Trent Lott (Miss.), seminal conservative insurgent of Feuler and Weyrich grouping, prior to 1974 formalization of the House Republican Study Committee; Sen. Rick Santorum (Pa.); Sen. James Inhofe (Okla.).

Other guest speakers and activists for GOPAC include: Jack Kemp, heading Weyrich's National Empowerment Television, who did the speakers circuit for Gingrich, helped out GOPAC contributors; Allen Keyes, who was used by GOPAC as a speaker and on its videos on the inner cities; Henry Kissinger, who spoke at GOPAC meetings.

Bush administration officials who spoke at GOPAC fundraising events: HUD Secretary Jack Kemp; Education Secretary Lamar Alexander; Defense Secretary Richard Cheney;

Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady; Labor Secretary Lynn Martin; Special Trade Representative Bill Brock; and Transportation Secretary Samuel Skinner. White House officials included: National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft; White House Policy Planner Jim Pinkerton; Austen Furse; J.J. Kirkpatrick. State Department Undersecretary Elliott Abrams also did public appearances for GOPAC.

**Major funders:** Over 90% of GOPAC's funding comes from "Charter Members," those who paid \$10,000 or more annually. Charter Members get exclusive access to GOPAC planning sessions and have regular access to Gingrich and once, at least, to President Bush. Pierre S. du Pont IV launched GOPAC in 1979 with his own money and that of a group of Wall Street bankers, such as C. Douglas Dillon. Dillon gave GOPAC \$90,000 before his death.

Jeremiah Murphy of Siemens Corp. gave GOPAC \$13,000.

Du Pont recruited a Wall Street covey called the Political Club for Growth. Its sole purpose was to quietly pour millions into the coffers of politicians who would eliminate taxation on capital gains, inheritance taxes, and regulations which obstructed the looting of America's industrial base by vulture capitalists. The club's treasurer, Lisa Britton Nelson, is now executive director of GOPAC.

The members of this Club included Richard Gilder, Jr., the ideologue who funds and directs the Manhattan Institute, a spawn of the Mont Pelerin Society's Atlas Institute; and K. Tucker Anderson. Anderson is a Libertarian who runs the \$700 million Cumberland Associates hedge fund. Another GOPAC hedge-funder is Charles C. Gates, of Hedged Investments Associates, Inc., who gave \$60,000 to GOPAC.

Gilder and Anderson, who were both very active in setting GOPAC policy, recruited investment bankers from Lazard Frères, Goldman Sachs, and Morgan Stanley into becoming GOPAC Charter Members. Goldman Sachs partner Thomas "Dusty" Rhodes and his wife also recruited in New York, Chicago, and elsewhere. The Charter Member roster includes many of the sleaziest leverage buyout, graymail, and asset-stripper types, along with rentiers living off inherited wealth, and an occasional honest conservative.

When Gingrich took over in 1986, his chairman, Bo Callaway, brought in his own network of Colorado and Georgia Republican moneybags. Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander, Wisconsin overlords Terry and Mary Kohler, Missouri shopping mall owner Miller Nichols, and Alabaman Ollie Delchamps also recruited Charter Members.

GOPAC's income rose from \$1.4 million in 1984 to over \$3 billion in 1994. Until a list of top funders was leaked to the press in 1994, GOPAC's moneybags were hidden, even from GOPAC-supported candidates running in their districts.

Richard Mellon Scaife was listed as a trusted GOPAC political operative. Scaife gave GOPAC (through mid-1993) \$30,000. He gave more than \$5 million to the Free Congress Foundation, which founded National Empowerment Televi-

sion (the Paul Weyrich-run station that airs Gingrich's college course).

Another funder is Heather Richardson, a leading member of the North Carolina Richardson family, of the H. Smith Richardson Foundation. The foundation was set up by Prescott Bush as a Bush family-dictated private slush fund which was to be utilized by Vice President George Bush, for the conduct of his Iran-Contra adventures. In the 1950s, Smith Richardson created the Foreign Policy Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania, and funded Harvard junior faculty member Henry Kissinger, enabling him to conduct a program for foreign leaders and to publish the journal *Confluence*. (FPRI advisers include Samuel Huntington, Bernard Lewis, and Richard Thornburg, with trustees Alexander Haig and ex-NATO Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupé, now a fellow at the Heritage Foundation.) The foundation had earlier

## Du Pont formed GOPAC in the service of London

Former Delaware governor Pierre S. ("Pete") du Pont IV founded GOPAC in 1979 and chaired it until 1986, when he turned over the chairmanship to Newt Gingrich, who used GOPAC to organize a congressional takeover machine. As GOPAC's permanent honorary chairman, du Pont is an intermediary between the rarefied London oligarchy, with their Wall Street branch, and the populist rabble-rousers paid by GOPAC to whip up gullible Americans.

Pete du Pont is the grand-nephew of Pierre S. du Pont II, who seized personal control of the du Pont family's gunpowder and chemical enterprise after receiving over \$100 million in loans from the British government and its banking representative, J.P. Morgan, just prior to World War I. The dominant groupings in the du Pont family were henceforth always affiliated with London. Pete is not the richest du Pont, but he is the political leader of the billionaire clan's relations to the transatlantic axis of Margaret Thatcher, George Bush, and Henry Kissinger. In 1982, du Pont was invited by British Prime Minister Thatcher to consult with her on Britain's unemployment problem.

Pete du Pont currently chairs GOPAC's Strategic Advisory Committee, which regularly meets with and advises House Speaker Gingrich. He is the policy chairman of the National Center for Policy Analysis, one of the Mont Pelerin Society's string of front groups, spun out under Friedrich von Hayek and Sir Antony Fisher. He is a board member of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, traditionally the property of the Scottish Rite

funded psychological experiments at Bridgewater Hospital in Massachusetts, where some of the CIA's MK-Ultra brainwashing tortures were performed.

Heather Richardson gave GOPAC \$15,000 through the Randolph Foundation, which she runs out of her New York City apartment. Randolph reportedly gave \$50,000 to sponsor Gingrich's college course. She has been a senior fellow at Gingrich's Progress and Freedom Foundation and has been Gingrich's co-host on his National Empowerment Network's "The Progress Report."

Carl Lindner, the Dope, Inc. financier, gave GOPAC \$55,000 after its 1994 election victory. Lindner, a Cincinnati billionaire, is chairman of American Financial Corp.

Another GOPAC Charter Member, Donald Engel, of Bear Stearns, advised Michael Milken on his looting operations and sat with Milken's family during his trial.

Terry and Mary Kohler of Windway Capital, Sheboygan, Wisconsin, are GOPAC's biggest contributors, with \$715,457. The Kohlers also gave \$9,000 to Gingrich for his last three campaigns, \$82,500 to the Republican Party before the 1994 elections, and an undisclosed amount to Gingrich's Progress and Freedom Foundation and related slush funds. No GOPAC projects are undertaken without their approval, which is usually enthusiastically given.

Robert Kriebel, a Mont Pelerin Society member, gave GOPAC \$172,624 and Gingrich's campaigns \$9,000.

Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Schwan gave \$279,905. Schwan provided \$50,000 to enable GOPAC to research and promote the privatization of public education.

J. Patrick Rooney, chairman of Golden Rule Insurance Company. A congressional investigation of Golden Rule, based on widespread abuse of state insurance regulations,

of Freemasonry.

The current GOPAC chairman is Mrs. Gay Hart Gaines, a Toronto, Canada, native who has lived in India and Australia. Mrs. Gaines was the first chairman of the National Review Institute, founded by William F. Buckley. After Mrs. Gaines, Pete du Pont became chairman of the institute, which features an annual weekend meeting with Margaret Thatcher to "probe world issues." Mrs. Gaines was on the finance committee of Pete du Pont's 1988 abortive Presidential race.

### Usury in Delaware

Gerard Colby Zilg's 1984 book, *Dupont Dynasty*, explained how Governor du Pont overhauled Delaware state laws to help the Wall Street banks usher in usury and uncontrolled speculation. Governor Pete's legislative redrafting task force consisted of Dupont Corp. chief executive Irving Shapiro and lawyers for J.P. Morgan and Chase Manhattan banks. Shapiro was simultaneously a director of Rockefeller's Citibank, and the Dupont Corp. board was interlocked with the London-controlled House of Morgan.

During the previous year, 1979, Governor du Pont had created GOPAC—and the bulk of his own re-election campaign funds, approximately \$140,000, had been raised through a single \$500-a-plate dinner featuring former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

The new Delaware laws eliminated the ceiling on interest rates and credit card fees that banks could legally charge; banks were given the right to foreclose on homes to collect credit card debt; and bank tax rates were lowered—conditions which New York State's legislature had refused to grant. The Delaware division of consumer affairs was not told of the secret redrafting, and the changes

were quietly rammed through the state legislature.

Under Pete du Pont's leadership, du Pont family members donated \$21,175 to former CIA director George Bush in his 1980 race against Ronald Reagan for the Republican nomination for President. A chief donor was Richard C. du Pont, a longtime participant in Central American covert operations that would soon be run by George Bush from the Vice President's office. Dupont Corporation Vice President Charles Harrington gave \$1,000 to Bush, and began giving what would add up to \$94,000 to GOPAC.

The new Delaware laws were used to blackmail other states to change their own usury and credit card statutes, or risk having the banks move to Delaware. Shapiro immediately resigned from Dupont Corp. and became a partner at Skadden Arps, leaders of the junk bond and mergers mania that devastated the U.S. economy in the 1980s. Control of Dupont Corp. was subsequently ceded to the Bronfman family of Canada, liquor czars and partners of the British Crown. Pete du Pont praised the Bronfman takeover as moving the company into "modern times."

The Bronfmans became a financial bulwark of Newt Gingrich's Conservative Revolution. Their Joseph E. Seagram and Sons is a principal funder of the American Legislative Exchange Council, which preceded GOPAC and served as a model for transmission of Thatcherite ideology to American political leaders on state and local levels. Seagram's vice president and chief of lobbying in Washington, William P. Roesing, is a director of Gingrich's personal political organization, the Progress and Freedom Foundation. That group's founder and president, Jeffrey Eisenach, was the director of research for Pete du Pont's 1988 Presidential campaign, which operated out of the GOPAC office.—*Anton Chaitkin*

was dropped in early 1995, when Gingrich made GOPAC fundraiser Rep. Joe Barton (R-Tex.) the chairman of the subcommittee which had been conducting hearings. Rooney gave big money to du Pont's National Center for Policy Analysis, which promulgated privatized medical savings accounts as health care "reform."

That's only one of the paybacks for the \$117,000 that Rooney and his CEO John M. Whalen had given to GOPAC, and the more than \$42,000 Golden Rule had provided for Gingrich's campaign.

Richard DeVos, the cofounder of Amway, provided \$85,000 to GOPAC, \$9,250 to Gingrich's campaigns, and close to \$3 million in Republican Party "soft" money.

Shopping mall owner Miller Nichols got Gingrich to intervene on the federal asbestos regulations which were "costing my company millions." Miller's 1991 letter lists his \$59,000 in contributions to GOPAC. He is now above \$91,000.

Textile magnates Roger and Gerrish Milliken, have given GOPAC at least \$345,000.

M.B. Ogelsby, Jr., a Washington-based lobbyist for RJR/Nabisco, gave \$50,000.

Dwayne Andreas, chairman of the Archer Daniels Midland grain cartel company, gave \$70,000. ADM gets over \$400 million per year in federal tax credits for its corn-based ethanol production.

Howard J. Phipps, of the New York Zoological Society and Wildlife Conservation Society, gave \$30,000.

#### **Major violations:**

##### *A. Violations of federal election laws*

It was not until 1994, when the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) filed a civil suit against GOPAC, that its past caught up with it. The suit forced GOPAC to provide copies of its files from that period.

Those documents show that GOPAC circumvented strict FEC limits on how much money an individual could give to influence the election of federal officials. While pretending to be only concerned with "state and local candidates," GOPAC channeled limitless sums from its Charter Members into winning control over Congress. To further leverage slush fund potentials, GOPAC operated several non-profit foundations which could do its political work while allowing individuals and corporations to take full tax deductions for their donations.

GOPAC did not register as a federal political action committee until May 1991, and even then, claimed that only 10% of its operation was involved with federal elections. Only 7% of its budget went to finance the election of state and local candidates, GOPAC's legally authorized function. A GOPAC memo speaks of the audiotapes it sends to state-level candidates as "justification" for its planning the takeover of the U.S. House. GOPAC has admitted to the FEC that in 1991 it spent approximately \$400,000 on "Project 170, a project to elect Republican candidates from 170 special congressional districts to the U. S. House of Representatives."

GOPAC was instrumental in Gingrich's own 1990 re-election effort, which he won by a mere 974 votes. On one tape of a GOPAC executive meeting, a male voice, believed to be that of Terry Kohler, asserts, "We're supplying, my guess would be, a quarter of a million dollars of Newt support per year." No one refuted him. During 1990, GOPAC funded as "research" all the expenses of Newt's top aides when they were helping him campaign in Georgia. It also shifted an extraordinary part of its "state and local" budget to his district. Thanks to the cost of what it called "Newt Support," GOPAC almost ran out of funds in late 1990.

GOPAC also illegally acted as a clearinghouse for money for individual congressional campaigns. An Aug. 29, 1990 internal memo from Political Director Tom Morgan lists four congressional and four state legislative races to which moneybags Fred Sacher should fire his "silver bullets."

##### *B. Violations of state election laws*

GOPAC had even less concern for state regulations than it did for federal. It systematically violated state restrictions on contributions and then lied on its filings. For example, U.S. Rep. Joe Barton directed \$130,000 of GOPAC money to Republican contenders for the Texas state legislature in 1990. GOPAC filed with the state of Texas that it had received no contribution over \$99, when, in fact, almost all its funds came from contributions of over \$10,000.

In Wisconsin, where it funded state candidates selected by contributors Terry Koehler and Don Jones, it filed a similar lie in its state Campaign Finance Report. When a complaint was filed, GOPAC alleged that all contributions in Wisconsin were from a separate account for small GOPAC contributors. Wisconsin authorities dismissed the complaint, fining GOPAC only for the lateness of its report. However, anyone examining the account books and the checks may see that GOPAC contributions came out of a single account.

##### *C. Ripping off the taxpayers*

GOPAC ran "non-profit foundations" to let fat cats deduct their political contributions from taxes. For example, a 1990 memo speaks of "spinning off research to ALOF." ALOF, the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, was a GOPAC-run "non-profit" front through which corporations and the super-rich could make unlimited contributions for GOPAC's political projects, while taking tax deductions for "gifts to charity." GOPAC's "Report to Charter Members, Nov. 11, 1990" reports that Gingrich's national political recruiting TV program, ACTV, "was shepherded by ALOF, a non-profit 501(c)3 organization chaired by Bo Callaway [GOPAC's chairman.] Though legally no longer a GOPAC project, ACTV did rent space and operate out of the GOPAC office." Oh, how legitimate!

In 1995 depositions, GOPAC officials cited the fact that a Vietnam veterans organization and Griffin Bell, one of Jimmy Carter's attorney generals, participated in one such "educational" project proves it was "non-partisan."

Gingrich created the Progress and Freedom Foundation

in April 1993 to facilitate such tax frauds. Its funding of the Speaker's Republican cadre-training "college course" prompted six months of hearings by the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct in 1995 and the eventual appointment of a special prosecutor.

There has been no known action by the IRS to date.

#### D. *Payback for contributions to GOPAC*

Many of GOPAC's big contributors wanted more than an end to capital gains and inheritance taxes and constitutional government dedicated "to promote the general welfare." GOPAC recruiting materials emphasized how Charter Members could gain access to Newt, other GOPAC-linked congressmen, to Bush administration officials, and even to Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle themselves. This was no fraud; almost every meeting of GOPAC Charter Members in Washington was graced by members of Bush's cabinet and his personal staff. The Wall Street crowd got working meetings with Bush's special assistant for policy development, Lawrence Lindsay.

During a 1990 planning session, strategist Mahe suggested how to change election law to make the type of things GOPAC was doing legal. He declared, much to the delight of the participants, "All you have to do is get a little exemption in the law. . . . But if you're thinking this way, you got to make sure that you have your lobbyist retained to get that half-sentence in the dead of night when they write all that stuff. That's when they write all those bills. You find some little, tiny, tiny, tiny staff person who hasn't been to the Cayman Islands for a while looking a vacation. . . . The whole thing is bought and paid for."

Once Gingrich was in control of lawmaking in the 104th Congress, GOPAC ruled the roost. No need to bribe tiny staffers. Now, congressmen would help GOPAC donors rewrite law to fit their greedy interests. Golden Rule Insurance's lobbyist, for example, was deferentially asked by a congressman at a hearing whether it were okay with him for Medical Savings Accounts to not be the *only* choice allowed current Medicare recipients.

#### E. *GOPAC lied to everybody*

GOPAC's internal memos, and especially the tapes of planning meetings at GOPAC's August retreats, reveal a gaggle of conspirators ready to lie, cheat, and steal to impose their will.

The Aug. 7, 1990 meeting tape is particularly revealing. Former Republican Party Executive Director Mahe and a few of GOPAC's biggest contributors conspired how to run an operation, behind the back of President Bush, to impose something like the "Contract with America" on the 1992 Republican Party platform. "If you started early enough, you could own the platform committee," Mahe asserted. He suggested that "all of you read Mao Tse-tung's *Guerrilla Warfare*" to learn how not to get stuck in "all that nonsense and procedural crap. . . . I would not want Newt in it prematurely. And I say this in no way disparagingly of Newt, but

at the mechanical level, I think we could design it without passing through him."

Did GOPAC commit mail fraud in its fundraising? That's what office manager Kay Riddle strongly suggested, in her sworn deposition to the FEC. She said that the content of a typical direct mail letter the FEC showed her "has no bearing on reality." She further asserted that GOPAC's pitches to contributors were based on "using a bogeyman, using a responsive device." In an internal meeting, she told fundraisers they should "make a big deal of writing down" suggestions made by prospective \$10,000 donors, in order to imply that their ideas were vital to GOPAC's policymaking.

Asked at a session with contributors why he called himself a "conservative" when he was promoting so much New Age futurism, Gingrich explained, "If you use the word 'conservatism' to describe where we're trying to go, you save yourself [tape interrupt] and I've been doing this for decades—The Conservative Opportunity Society. So, everybody who's a right-winger says, 'They make me proud. They wanted to use my word.' They then tolerate deviance [for which] they would have shot people." An aide piped up that, by not once using the term "conservative" at two meetings in New York, Newt was successful in raising big money from people who "hate the right wing."

As always, GOPAC scientifically crafted its rhetoric to tell people what they wanted to hear.



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