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LEHMAN, J

HEINEMAN, E

SUBJECT: AGENCIES RESPONSE TO CLARK 26 APR MEMO RE NUCLEAR FREEZE & RELATED
ARMS CONTROL & DEFENSE ISSUES

return to BM

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR CLARK

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<i>Kraemer</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>5/28</i>	<i>Add-on/Recd State Discussion</i>	<i>Same</i>
		<i>paper</i>		

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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UNCLASSIFIED

May 27, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Nuclear Issues Discussion Paper

Attached, as you requested, is a discussion paper on nuclear issues. The paper reflects the comments of all interested agencies. After the paper has been edited, we would recommend an additional final review at the IG level.


L. Paul Bremer III
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated.

UNCLASSIFIED

Nuclear Weapons, Deterrence and Arms Control

Introduction

A strong and cohesive national security policy depends on the support of those whose welfare it seeks to ensure -- the American people. That support derives from informed debate and discussion of critical security issues. In recent months the concerns of many Americans have been fixed on nuclear weapons and the enormous hazards they pose for the well-being of this and future generations. The Administration is listening, and listening carefully, to these expressions of concern.

It would be folly to minimize the risks associated with nuclear weapons. Yet those weapons are a reality, and have been for 37 years. We cannot wish them away. This Administration has shaped defense and arms control policies, which, it believes, will guarantee the safety of this nation and its allies, and ensure that nuclear weapons are never used either in anger or in error.

The President has no more important goal than to reduce the risk of nuclear war. He has said, "America must seek fair, equitable and verifiable arms control agreements which reduce nuclear arms to the point where the U.S. and the Soviet Union no longer pose a threat to each other's existence."

This paper is offered as a contribution to the public discussion of nuclear weapons and arms control issues. It outlines basic American national security objectives and the role of nuclear weapons in serving these objectives, above all in deterring conflict. It sets forth the US government's policies for the modernization of U.S. strategic forces and arms control.

National Security Objectives

The primary responsibility of this, or any, Administration must be to maintain the peace and ensure that the American people, their freedoms and their way of life cannot be threatened by anyone. To fulfill this responsibility we must maintain military capabilities which are sufficient to deter threats or actions against us, our Allies, or our other national interests. It demands also that we correct those military deficiencies which have been allowed to grow over the past years and which could invite the very challenges we seek to avoid.

Military power is one instrument among others we use to serve our overall national security objective; promotion of a stable world order based on mutual respect and toleration of peaceful change which will obviate the need for the use of force or the threat of its use. To attain this objective, we have made a number of policy commitments.

We are committed to maintaining our security commitments and extending cooperation with allies and friends, and to deepening these ties through consultations, which guarantee understanding and respect for varying national interests. It is only through such processes that national interests can be harmonized, and through dialogue and compromise that national differences can be reconciled. We will bring American influence to bear to shape such a process.

We recognize that a stable world order depends also on encouraging political and economic progress in the developing countries through peaceful change. Where we can facilitate this process, we will do so. This country has no expansionist goals; it will use its influence to frustrate the expansionist objectives of others, and to maintain the peace so that national energies in the developing countries can be channeled toward peaceful growth.

We are committed to seek a relationship with the Soviet Union marked by mutual restraint and reciprocity. In the 1970s, we failed to restrain adequately Soviet expansionism or to secure Soviet respect for our rights and interests, and those of our friends and allies. Despite a decade of extensive arms control negotiations, the Soviet military buildup has continued unabated. Today's Soviet military machine far exceeds the requirements of defense.

The Soviet achievement of global military power, justified as parity with the West, exceeds it in several categories. The Soviet Union continues to promote violent change, including change in areas of vital interest to the West. If these trends are allowed to continue, the balance of power on which we and our Allies depend could be undermined and the peace of the world threatened.

We seek a more stable military balance, in part by encouraging the Soviet Union to exercise respect for the independence and territorial integrity of other sovereign nations and to abide by their reciprocal obligations such as those undertaken in the Helsinki Final Act -- these standards are no more than we expect of any state and no less than required by the United Nations Charter and international law.

These commitments to our Allies, to peaceful change in the Third World and to establishing a relationship of reciprocity and restraint with the Soviet Union underlie broad U.S. political, economic and military policy, a policy designed to avoid conflict and to reduce the chances that conflict will occur. It rests upon the solid foundation of America's democratic values, sense of toleration, appreciation for diversity, and willingness to help other nations help themselves. It also rests on creating and preserving the global military balance, and on the maintenance of deterrence.

Deterrence and the Role of Nuclear Weapons

The first and most critical function of our nuclear forces is to deter attacks against ourselves, our Allies and our friends. To be effective, our deterrent must be credible. Credibility, in turn, depends upon the capabilities of our nuclear forces, as well as upon our readiness to use them if required. It depends upon having forces which are flexible enough to be able to respond to a broad spectrum of threats so that whatever the circumstances and whatever the level of conflict, a potential aggressor would be aware of the full consequences of a nuclear attack or other aggression against the U.S., its Allies or its vital interests.

Thus, the basis of effective deterrence is the requirement that the risk of engaging in a nuclear attack or other aggression must be made to outweigh any possible benefits. The potential attacker must realize that the costs of aggression cannot be limited and that nuclear war could have catastrophic consequences for all mankind.

Because the success of deterrence is crucial, it must work not just in time of peace and moments of calm. Deterrence faces its true test at the time of maximum tension. Such deterrence does not rest simply upon a static comparison of numbers or sizes of nuclear weapons. Rather, deterrence depends upon a complex interaction of force

capabilities, vulnerabilities and perceptions -- factors important to the design of both our forces and our arms control policies.

The second important function of nuclear forces is their role in a crisis. The nuclear balance and the viability of our deterrent forces inevitably affect the political and psychological environment within which international crises unfold. The state of the nuclear balance influences the way friends and adversaries will behave in a crisis. Doubts about our strategic nuclear deterrent can only increase the chance that our interests will be challenged and our political will tested.

Third, the image of U.S. strength and the perception of U.S. commitment is evident in every region in the world. It affects other countries' actions, attitudes, cooperativeness, and willingness to support U.S. policies. The nuclear balance is a crucial, if unstated, factor shaping the attitudes of all those countries who seek stable security arrangements with us.

For example, for more than 30 years the fates of the United States and its European allies have been inseparable. By correcting the perceptions -- and reality -- of emerging imbalances in nuclear forces, we will underscore our commitment to NATO and reaffirm the credibility of the "nuclear umbrella" that we extend over our Allies.

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The West European members of NATO are separated from the U.S. and Canada by as much as 3,000 miles of ocean. In order to defend this wide expanse of territory and to deter aggression against it at any point, NATO has come to rely on three interrelated types of forces. The role of these forces is to meet any aggression at the level it occurs, and, if possible, to force the enemy to cease his aggression and withdraw. At one end of the spectrum are NATO's conventional forces. At the other end of the spectrum are America's strategic nuclear forces, the ultimate guarantee of Western security. Between the two are the Alliance's nuclear weapons in Europe, which link U.S. strategic nuclear forces to the defense of Europe.

The presence of nuclear systems in Europe helps to ensure that the deterrent value of America's strategic forces fully underwrites the defense of Europe. The presence of these weapons emphasizes to the USSR that there are no circumstances in which it could attempt to gain a victory over NATO's conventional forces without running the risk of nuclear escalation.

Thus nuclear weapons play a role well beyond the deterrence of an all-out attack against the U.S. They also play an important role in deterring attacks -- at all levels -- against our Allies. We do not maintain our forces to fight a nuclear war. Our aim is to prevent a war of any kind.

The three functions of nuclear weapons -- deterrence, crisis control, and support of day-to-day diplomacy -- are enduring. The fundamental goals for our forces have not changed. What has changed is the level and character of the Soviet threat -- the number and quality of their nuclear and other weapons and their effect on the military balance.

The Strategic Nuclear Balance

The nuclear balance has many dimensions, and experts sometimes disagree on the relative importance of a particular factor. However, one fundamental point is clear -- most of the changes in the nuclear balance over the past two decades have favored the Soviet Union.

Twenty years ago, at the time of the Cuban missile crisis, the U.S. not only had a quantitative and qualitative advantage in nuclear weapons, but also clear superiority in strategic delivery capability. During the 1960s, the U.S. deliberately slowed its strategic deployments considerably. At the same time, the USSR launched an ambitious buildup of its own forces. U.S. policy makers expected that once the Soviets achieved strategic parity they would also curtail their efforts and that a stable nuclear balance could be maintained at a level at which neither side would have an incentive to strike first.

By 1972, when the SALT I Agreements were signed, the USSR had roughly the same aggregate number of missiles and

bombers as the U.S., with more than enough strategic capability to ensure Soviet security. However, the expected Soviet slowdown in strategic forces did not occur. The Soviet Union's overall buildup has continued significantly beyond the total number of U.S. missiles and bombers, which during this period declined overall. Presently, the Soviets lead the U.S. in almost every indicator commonly used to measure strategic strength -- in total numbers of strategic delivery systems, total numbers of ballistic missiles, total missile throw-weight and prompt capability to destroy hard targets. Nor is there any sign whatever that the Soviets now plan to cease their buildup. They have many new weapons under development.

While the U.S. once had an advantage in the number of strategic nuclear warheads, here, too, the Soviet buildup has taken its toll; the sides are now about at the same level in missile warheads. Although the U.S. retains a lead in bomber weapons, the U.S. bomber force is aging and the Soviets maintain extensive defenses against manned bombers. In the absence of U.S. increases or effective arms control constraints, the USSR could soon equal and surpass the U.S. in the overall number of strategic nuclear warheads. Soviet military technology has also made great advances in ICBM warhead accuracy, to the point where the most modern Soviet systems now have capabilities comparable to ours in this area.

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The bulk of Soviet strategic power is in its force of almost 1400 ICBMs. Over half of these missiles are much larger and more destructive than U.S. ICBMs. In addition, they carry numerous very large, accurate nuclear warheads, each capable of attacking a separate target. This gives the USSR the capability, using only a portion of the forces at its disposal, to destroy nearly all of the current U.S. ICBM force and many of our bombers on land and submarines in port in a first strike. In a period of crisis, this capability could provide the USSR with an incentive to strike first. Thus, the capability embodied in the modern Soviet fixed ICBM force not only increases the vulnerability of U.S. deterrent forces, it also lessens incentives for Soviet restraint.

Of course, the U.S. still retains a powerful strategic force and the ability to retaliate in response to a first strike. The deterrent posture which has kept the world from nuclear catastrophe for nearly four decades continues to work. The fundamental point is that it is crucial that Soviet leaders never reach the conclusion that they could gain an advantage through initiating a first strike. Whether such a conclusion were militarily correct or based upon misperceptions would be equally disastrous for the world. Therefore, the paramount task of this Administration is to assure that deterrence is sustained. This requires that destabilizing imbalances which could undermine deterrence be corrected. It requires that unfavorable trends which have developed in recent years

be reversed. Both prudent U.S. modernization programs and effective arms control agreements can help us achieve this goal.

U.S. Strategic Modernization Program

In October of 1981, the President announced a comprehensive modernization program designed to rectify the vulnerabilities in our strategic forces. Together, these measures would restore the nuclear balance and reduce the risk of war. They would also provide an incentive for the Soviets to negotiate arms control agreements. That the Soviets will negotiate if we provide them with realistic incentives was illustrated by their willingness to negotiate anti-ballistic missile (ABM) limitations once it became clear that the United States would proceed with ABM deployments. The U.S. strategic modernization program should provide realistic incentives for the Soviets to negotiate strategic arms reductions.

The decision to deploy the MX missile, for example, demonstrates that we understand the importance of a survivable land-based force in a strong and credible deterrent. MX deployment reaffirms our commitment to maintain the diverse capabilities of the strategic triad and to protect it against an evolving Soviet threat.

The Trident II missile will provide improvements in the quality of the sea-based triad leg. Trident II is important for the long term viability of our relatively invulnerable submarine deterrent, and for enhancing the overall effectiveness of the triad.

The President's program also recognizes that a secure strategic reserve -- that is, forces which can endure even in the event of a large or extended nuclear conflict -- can be a critical element in enhancing nuclear deterrence. He therefore has decided to deploy sea-based cruise missiles to improve the resilience and effectiveness of our strategic reserve.

The decision to build the B-1B bomber reflects both the near-term necessity to correct the growing imbalance in strategic forces and recognition of the long-term importance of bombers for strategic and conventional missions. It will meet our requirements for a modernized penetrating bomber until aircraft using Stealth technology become available and, thereafter, will continue to perform essential nuclear and conventional roles just as B-52s have performed useful missions for more than a generation.

The new emphasis on command and control is an essential element in the overall modernization plan. It has long been neglected. Yet even small improvements in command and control can result in major improvements in the effectiveness of our strategic weapons and our ability to control escalation.

NATO Nuclear Modernization

Although the Soviets over the last decade have enhanced their military capabilities across the board, they have

accorded high priority to the buildup of their nuclear forces threatening Europe. The deployment of the mobile SS-20 with MIRVs (multiple independently-targetable reentry vehicles) gives the Soviet Union a capability to strike, accurately and in great number, targets located anywhere in Western Europe from locations deep within the Soviet Union, far beyond the range of current European-based systems.

The Soviets currently have deployed some 300 SS-20 missiles carrying 900 warheads, in addition to 300 older SS-4 and SS-5 missiles, for a total of 1200 warheads. At the same time, they have undertaken a comprehensive program of improvements and modernization of their shorter range missiles threatening Europe, including the SS-12/22, and -23 and of modern aircraft with nuclear capability such as the Backfire, Fencer and Fitter.

In order to sustain its deterrent strategy in the face of the Soviet buildup, NATO decided in December 1979 to modernize its intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) by deploying 464 ground-launched cruise missiles and replacing 108 Pershing ballistic missiles with Pershing II, a model of greater range, while at the same time offering US-Soviet arms control negotiations on INF.

In the spring of this year NATO reconfirmed its determination to counter the Soviet buildup by deploying its own intermediate-range nuclear missiles in the absence of a full arms control agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces.

The new systems will be mobile and capable of being dispersed in times of crisis, thus enhancing the survivability of NATO nuclear forces and reducing the dangers of a Soviet preemptive attack. Their deployment will make an aggressor far more hesitant to attack Europe, since these systems can reach into the Soviet Union and will make Soviet territory vulnerable to attack by NATO systems. The Soviet leaders will not perceive that they can maintain Soviet territory as a sanctuary from which to threaten Western Europe. Finally, these weapons, like other NATO nuclear systems, will be based in a number of member countries. Thus, they reflect the concepts of shared risk, shared effort, and shared security upon which the Western Alliance is based.

Critics of NATO's December 1979 decision allege that it will move the Alliance away from its strategy of flexible response, that the deployment was thrust upon an unwilling Europe and that it will increase reliance by NATO on nuclear weapons. Let us examine each of these arguments separately.

The deployment of the Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missile to Europe does not move NATO away from its existing strategy of deterrence and flexible response.

Rather, the INF decision is essential to sustaining NATO strategy in that it is designed to counter a significant INF missile capability possessed only by the USSR.

This deployment was not thrust by the United States upon the Europeans. Rather it represents a considered response by NATO members to a widely felt European need for an evolutionary adjustment of NATO's capabilities to take account of strategic parity and the massive and continuing buildup of Soviet intermediate-range nuclear forces, such as the SS-20.

This deployment does not increase the Alliance's reliance upon nuclear weapons. Rather, in providing NATO a more balanced nuclear force, this planned deployment has already permitted a significant reduction by allowing the removal from Europe of 1000 older nuclear weapons.

America's Long History of Arms Control

Our strategic modernization program and NATO's decision to upgrade its forces are vital to assuring deterrence and maintaining the strategic balance. If arms control negotiations result in equitable and verifiable agreements, they can supplement our efforts to maintain the balance by reducing both sides' forces to lower levels.

President Reagan believes that deterrence can be maintained at lower levels of arms. He is firmly committed to negotiating reductions in nuclear weapons.

"Twice in my lifetime," he has said, "I've seen the world plunge blindly into global war that inflicted untold suffering upon millions of innocent people. I share the determination of today's young people that such a tragedy, which would be rendered even more terrible by the monstrous inhumane weapons in the world's nuclear arsenals, must never happen again. My goal is to reduce nuclear weapons dramatically, assuring lasting peace and security."

This goal is consistent with the goals of every American President since the end of World War II. That war left the United States in a preeminent position in world affairs. With the U.S. industrial base intact, powerful armed forces at our disposal and in sole possession of nuclear weapons, the United States, nonetheless, chose not to take military advantage of this unique situation, but rather to devote its resources to economic reconstruction and the establishment of a lasting peace. To this end, we have over the years participated in a series of arms control talks.

In 1946, in an effort to keep nuclear weapons out of the hands of sovereign states, the U.S. presented the "Baruch Plan" to the United Nations. The plan called for the creation of a supranational authority to take control of all phases of the development and use of atomic energy. The United States

would have surrendered control of its nuclear capabilities to international authorities. The plan foundered on the opposition of the Soviet Union.

In 1953, the Eisenhower Administration announced its "Atoms for Peace" initiative, which called upon the nuclear powers to contribute nuclear materials to an international body devoted to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. This proposal led to the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which provides technical assistance in the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear technology and safeguards nuclear materials from diversion to weapons purposes.

In 1955, President Eisenhower announced his "Open Skies" proposal, a suggestion that the U.S. and USSR permit unlimited aerial reconnaissance of their territories to guard against surprise attack. The USSR rejected the proposal.

In the early 1960s, the United States began to pursue less sweeping approaches to arms control, concentrating on specific areas where progress seemed possible. This process has continued to the present day. While the results have been disappointing and have not brought the nuclear arms competition under control, there have been important and lasting accomplishments such as the Limited Test Ban Treaty and the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The SALT I Agreements and SALT II negotiations established a precedent for attempts to achieve US-Soviet strategic arms reductions.

* * * * *

Major Arms Control Agreements

- 1963 - The Limited Test Ban Treaty: prohibited nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

- 1963 - The Direct Communications Link ("the hot line"): for use by the U.S. and USSR during international crises. The link was improved as a result of a subsequent agreement in 1971.

- 1967 - The Outer Space Treaty: banned nuclear weapons from earth orbit and celestial bodies.

- 1968 - The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT): purpose is to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. Article VI of the NPT also obliged all parties "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament"

- 1971 - The Seabed Arms Control Treaty: prohibited the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the seabed and on the ocean floor.

- 1971 - The Accidents Agreement: sets forth U.S.-USSR measures to reduce the likelihood of accidental nuclear war.

- 1972 - The SALT I Agreements: the ABM Treaty imposed limitations on defense against ballistic missile weapons (limitations were tightened further in a 1974 Protocol). The Interim Agreement on Strategic Offensive Arms froze the number of strategic ballistic missile launchers on either side.

* * * * *

One of President Reagan's first acts in office was to order an intense review of arms control policy, to learn the lessons of the past in the hope of achieving more lasting progress for the future. We must recognize that the task of control is enormously complex. It must be related to the nation's security needs and perspectives. Above all, arms

control policy must be seen in the light of international realities and the implications for our security. While this Administration has inherited a strategic balance less favorable than that presented to earlier Administrations, it also has the benefit of lessons that we have learned about what works -- and what does not work -- in arms control.

Four principles underlie the US approach to arms control. We seek agreements that:

- 1) achieve significant reductions in the arsenals of both sides;
- 2) result in equal levels of arms on both sides, since an unequal agreement, like an unequal balance of forces, can encourage coercion or aggression;
- 3) are verifiable, because when our national security is at stake, agreements cannot be based on trust alone; and
- 4) enhance U.S. and Allied security and reduce the risk of war, because arms control is not an end in itself but an important means of securing peace and international stability.

The Administration is working to put these principles into practice:

- On November 18, 1981, President Reagan offered to cancel the deployment of the Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missile if the USSR would eliminate its SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 missiles. The U.S. is currently negotiating toward this end with the USSR in Geneva and has tabled a draft treaty embodying this proposal.

- The U.S. is participating actively within the Committee on Disarmament to find means to ban chemical weapon stockpiles.

- Also in the Committee on Disarmament, the U.S. is participating in discussions of verification and compliance issues related to nuclear weapons testing.

- In negotiations on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) in Central Europe, the U.S. and its Allies are seeking an agreement which would eliminate the disparity between Warsaw Pact and NATO forces in the area -- equalizing forces at lower levels than at present -- and which would establish a system of measures designed to build confidence and enhance verification.

Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START)

Our major concern is the strategic nuclear balance. In this area, the Administration has devised a bold, equitable and verifiable approach that will help us restore the balance, maintain deterrence and increase international stability. As the President has said, "I want an agreement on strategic nuclear weapons that reduces the risk of war, lowers the level of armaments and enhances global security. We can accept no less."

These are objectives that the SALT II Treaty, signed by the U.S. and USSR in Vienna in 1979, clearly failed to meet. Among the Treaty's flaws was its failure to reverse the Soviet buildup of destabilizing weapons, particularly the large ballistic missiles threatening the survivability of the

U.S. ICBM force. The SALT II Treaty also did not resolve adequately a number of other important issues including the threat posed by the new Soviet Backfire bomber. As a result, the Administration has judged the SALT II Treaty to be contrary to U.S. interests.

In the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), the U.S. will seek a stable strategic balance at significantly reduced levels. We will seek reductions in the most destabilizing nuclear systems -- ballistic missiles, and especially intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). We propose a practical phased reduction plan. In the first phase, strategic ballistic missile warheads would be reduced to equal ceilings at least one-third below current levels. To enhance stability, no more than one-half of these warheads would be land-based. Significant reductions in the number of deployed missiles themselves would also be part of the agreement.

In the second phase, in addition to further reductions in ballistic missiles and their warheads, we will seek equal ceilings on other elements of strategic nuclear forces, including further reductions on ballistic missile throw-weight to less than current U.S. levels. Effective verification procedures would, of course, have to be agreed to assure strict compliance with the terms of the agreement.

The United States is proposing nothing less than a complete reversal of the results of many years of wasteful and potentially dangerous competition. We are under no illusions that the task will be an easy one. Much depends on whether the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate seriously and in good faith.

The United States will naturally be prepared to give serious consideration to Soviet views and proposals. It is clear that we need to provide incentives for the Soviets to seek an equitable and stabilizing agreement. Such incentives will depend, in part, upon their assessment of the military and political environment in the absence of an agreement. Thus, a demonstrated US willingness to preserve allied security through unilateral efforts, if necessary, will be essential to successful efforts in START as well as other arms control negotiations.

Nuclear Freeze

In recent months, proposals for a U.S.-Soviet freeze on nuclear testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems have attracted widespread attention. While the U.S. government shares the genuine and deeply felt convictions that have given rise to the freeze proposals, we believe that this approach does not constitute sound national security policy or an effective means to achieve meaningful arms control. It would undermine both

our attempts to rectify unfavorable military trends and our ability to achieve meaningful reductions in nuclear forces.

A freeze would prevent the U.S. from correcting dangerous deficiencies in the nuclear balance caused by the massive and sustained Soviet buildup. A freeze would include important elements that could not be verified. Furthermore, proponents of a freeze assume that our aim is to maintain or increase the overall level of deployed weapons. In fact, we want to achieve significant reductions that will lead to a stable military balance. Finally, undertaking a separate freeze negotiation would provide an incentive for the Soviets to resist negotiating a more substantive agreement.

Summary

President Reagan is pursuing a policy based upon achievement of stability in the world order through peaceful change. This policy implies the avoidance of military conflict, and particularly of nuclear war.

The essential element of this strategy is the U.S. commitment to deterrence. We believe it to be the only rational military strategy in our modern age and the primary role of our nuclear forces. For this strategy to be credible and effective we must have modern, survivable nuclear forces. U.S. restraint, coupled with the Soviet military buildup of recent

years, has produced certain imbalances and deficiencies in U.S. forces. The President has approved prudent military modernization programs to help correct these problems.

The President is equally committed to arms control as an integral part of his defense program. In the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces in Geneva, the U.S. has offered to forego the deployment of Pershing II and the BGM-109G, a ground-launched cruise missile, if the USSR will eliminate its SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 missiles. In the Strategic Arms Reductions Talks, the U.S. will seek a strategic balance at the lowest possible levels through significant reductions in the forces of both sides.

The President has made reducing both the number of nuclear weapons and the threat of their use one of the highest goals of his Administration. On April 12, 1982, he made this appeal:

"We'll make every effort to reach an agreement that will reduce the possibility of nuclear war. If we can do this, perhaps one day we can achieve a relationship with the Soviet Union which doesn't depend upon nuclear deterrence to secure Soviet restraint.

"I invite the Soviet Union to take such a step with us. And I ask you, the American people, to support our efforts at negotiating an end to this threat of doomsday which hangs over the world."

Nucl. Freeze

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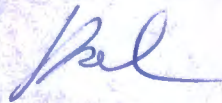
Department of Physics
University of California
Santa Barbara, CA. 93106

October 13, 1982

Dear Jay:

Since I know full well that you must have time on your hands, given the magnificent state of the world, I enclose for your reading pleasure a draft of an antifreeze article Physics Today asked me to write.

Cheers,



Hal Lewis

Written with joy on an Apple.

The Freeze - Deep or Shallow?

H. W. Lewis

The trouble with trite and banal sayings is that they are sometimes painfully to the point. In this case, the one that comes to mind is the observation that to every complex problem there exists a solution which is simple, appealing, and wrong. Wrong may be too strong a term for the freeze proposal - it is wrong only in the sense that it is wrong to give laetrile to a cancer patient. In both cases there is little intrinsic harm done, unless the patient really believes the treatment will contribute to the cure of his disease.

And the disease is all too real. Sakharov was right when he said that the prevention of nuclear war is the central problem for mankind, yet it is equally true that no one wants it. That is the dilemma - how to forestall the occurrence of something no one wishes to occur. Some of the freeze advocates seem to think that there is a back-burner constituency for nuclear war, that there is a military-industrial complex that lusts after destruction, and that all that is necessary is to "send them a message" that we feel differently. Would that it were so - that would be an easy problem. Any serious discussion of these issues has to begin with the recognition that nuclear war is dreaded by everyone - hawks and doves, Russians and Americans, French and British, Japanese and Germans, etc. - and is yet possible.

What on Earth has this to do with the Freeze? Simply that the connection between a freeze on nuclear weapons (not a reduction to zero, which *would* help, but would probably make conventional war more likely) and the prevention of nuclear war is tenuous indeed. It appears to rest on the assumption that it is somehow the availability of weapons that leads to war, rather than international conflict over national interests, perceived as important by at least one side to the dispute. To prevent wars, we need to have a peaceful means to resolve genuine and difficult international questions, including questions that are regarded as threatening the existence or integrity of a nation. We are inching our way toward such a capability through international organization, but it is whimsical to believe that we are yet there. The inventory of nuclear weapons has nothing to do with that. In fact, distasteful though the thought may be to some, these appalling weapons have probably contributed mightily to preserving the peace among the great powers for the last thirty-five years.

In fact, as I listen to arguments for the Freeze, the common theme that I find is revulsion against nuclear weapons *per*

②

se, with a strong undercurrent of anti-technology sentiment. Rarely is there anything resembling a considered effort to assess the probable impact of a freeze on the prospects for world peace. It is not too unlike the arguments against nuclear power (indeed, many of the same people are among the leaders of the freeze movement), which are often derived from an emotional and Luddite base, not from any expert assessment of whether nuclear power is or is not the cleanest, safest, and cheapest way we know to make electricity. In both cases we find ourselves dealing with issues of symbolism, where the substance has become subordinated to the "message". Is that a good way to run a country?

But let's get back to what the various freeze initiatives say, and what they would really do if they were to pass. They vary somewhat among themselves, but the common theme (for example, in the California initiative and in the Senate Joint Resolution introduced by Senator Kennedy) is to call on the United States Government to propose to the Soviets a mutually verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and further deployment of nuclear "warheads, missiles, and other delivery systems". They do not call for any of these actions to be taken unilaterally (though there seems to be an underlying assumption that we are the impediments to progress), but view a freeze as a step toward halting "nuclear madness". (I have to express a particular resentment here about the tendency to brand anyone who may hold a different view as "mad". It makes a reasoned debate difficult.) The objective is solid - the two major nuclear

*Two can play at that game. In an article in Business Week a year or so ago, a respected practicing psychiatrist assessed some public attitudes toward nuclear power as having the classic clinical features of a phobia. According to Webster, a phobia is an "irrational, persistent fear".

powers do have in their arsenals enough firepower to destroy each other many times over, in part at least because each wants to have enough reserve to provide a credible deterrent in the event of an attack by the other. We (the U. S.) have actually not increased our firepower in many years, though the same can not be said of the Soviets. We are frozen at a little over a thousand land-based missiles, somewhat over five hundred sea-based missiles, and some aircraft of debatable penetration capability. We have, on the other hand, been converting to multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles. To the extent that one MIRVs a missile, the number of warheads goes up while the total firepower goes down, and the destructive capability is a relatively complicated function of those two, and of the missile accuracy and reliability. It is, in particular, *not* true that we have been madly building missiles. The Soviets *have* been increasing their arsenal, for reasons I have yet to understand - maybe their military-industrial complex is

(3) 30

responsible, or whatever. It is true that, whatever the reason, they spend nearly twice as large a fraction of their substance on defense as we. To negotiate a "mutual and verifiable" freeze, we have to deal with that.

We also have to deal with the last point - verifiability - which has been a persistent roadblock for decades of negotiations about arms control and nuclear testing. The SALT negotiations finessed that question by agreeing that each nation was free to use its own intelligence resources (the so-called "national technical means") to verify compliance with the agreements, while each side undertook not to deliberately interfere with the process. This has come to mean satellite and other forms of remote surveillance, which are reasonably comprehensive with respect to deployment and testing (except for low-yield underground testing) of nuclear weapons. Production is another matter.

Presumably the intent of a freeze (in this case a ban) on testing of nuclear weapons is to prevent a technology "breakthrough" that might disturb the rough parity that now exists between the Soviets and us. It is, in fact, hard to imagine either country depending upon untested weapons, so that a testing freeze is indeed very likely a technology freeze, and stabilizing. However, a ban on testing already exists, with the exception of low-yield underground testing, and the exception is there precisely because the verification problem has turned out to be technically very difficult in that regime. I don't want to sound too pessimistic on this point, but one can always conduct a test too small to be detected by any system, and the real question is whether the threshold for detection can be made low enough to make the rewards (for the violator) unequal to the risk. Perhaps the freeze advocates know how. Failing that, the only solution is relatively unconstrained on-site inspection, something we have offered and the Soviets have consistently rejected for decades. The leader of the California freeze movement, a real estate developer, was quoted recently as having said that he expects the Soviets to eventually change their minds on this point, but he didn't explain why "sending a message" to *our* Government, or "changing *our* political climate" (his words) will accomplish this. Other than this low-yield underground testing, neither we nor the Soviets have done any nuclear testing in years, so this is all the proposed testing ban refers to.

From all the above, it would probably be possible to conclude that I am opposed to the so-called freeze initiatives, but that is not so. Nor am I in favor. Nor do I feel that I have to take sides on an issue that is so disjoint from the prospects for the avoidance of nuclear war, which I regard as paramount. (Of course there are far too many nuclear weapons in the world, but they are the symptom of the disease, not the disease itself. The use of one-tenth the number in a nuclear war would mean the end of western civilization, as we know it.) To be sure, the

freeze movement is likely to provide somewhat more incentive for the negotiators in our Government, and that is good. It is unlikely to provide any guidance in a formal sense, since a "mutual, verifiable freeze" is just one of many possible objectives for arms control negotiations, and, while the desire for arms control and reduction is a proper subject for political influence, the form of any putative agreement is not a matter for bumper sticker politics. Finally, one can ask whether political pressure on our government by dissenting people on our side is likely to increase the Soviet incentive to strike a mutually satisfactory bargain.

It may not be fair, but it is common, to ask the question "What would you do?" First and foremost, I would like to prevent nuclear war, which I believe is far more likely to occur through the inexorable proliferation of nuclear weapons to parties less responsible than either we or the Soviets. I applaud the Israeli bombing of the Iraqi reactor, and believe we could and should put a great deal more effort and attention into controlling the proliferation of nuclear weapons. I believe we should do this by encouraging, and participating in, the international development of nuclear power, not by rejecting one of the few weapons we have against the oil sheiks. Next, given that, I would recognize that a much lower level of nuclear weaponry is possible, while maintaining a rough parity between us and the Soviets, *provided* that the security of the deterrent against preemptive attack is assured. I believe that this can be accomplished (on our side) by non-nuclear defense of a subset of the Minuteman silos, which is technically feasible. (Ballistic missile defense got a bad name some years ago, when people were discussing the defense of cities, which is both technically infeasible and destabilizing. Non-nuclear hard-point defense is not easy, but it is feasible.) This is, incidentally, an alternate track for resolving the MX siting problem. With reasonable security of the deterrent, the road is then open to reduction in nuclear weaponry, not because it would save money or provide symbolism, but because the excess numbers would no longer make a substantial contribution to either nation's security. The cart would then be behind the horse.

Many good songs end by repeating the refrain. I can't think of a better final paragraph for this article than the first. Please reread it.

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Nuclear Freeze: THE BIG LIE

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Jim Watt Says U.S.
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Peace Through Strength

By Robert E. Baldwin

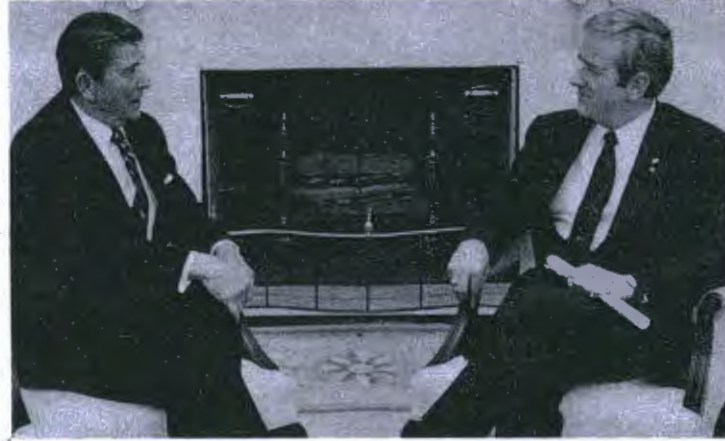
The raging debate over the nuclear freeze movement in one that should concern all of us. No one wants nuclear war; the debate, however, revolves around how best to prevent it. Is the nuclear freeze movement the best way to avoid the dangers of such a war? This author thinks not.

The freeze movement is based upon certain assumptions: That a nuclear war is not survivable; that both the United States and the Soviet Union are roughly equal in nuclear capability; that the Soviet Union is as concerned about the arms race as America and is willing to seriously negotiate a mutually acceptable and verifiable agreement.

If all of these assumptions are correct then perhaps the freeze is something that should be tried. However, if even one is found to be in error, a freeze would be a serious mistake in judgment that could lead to the very horror that honest freeze advocates are trying to avoid. This article will show that not one, but all of these assumptions is in error.

It has long been thought that a nuclear war would have no winner. This is a very dangerous assumption unless it is universally held. In an article in November, 1982 *Reader's Digest* entitled "Dangerous Myths About Nuclear Arms", Dr. Edward Teller, physicist; contributor to the development of the H-Bomb and currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University exposes this myth.

Teller states that Soviet civil defense plans have been tested at the U.S. Oak Ridge National Laboratory and found to be quite good. They include proce-



dures for protecting the common people as well as the country's leaders. He contends that the Soviets could protect "... all but about 5 to 10 percent of its people from a full retaliatory strike." This could be less than the 20 million Soviets killed in World War II. He further contends that death and injuries from fallout or other after effects would be minimal compared to what the American people have been led to believe. According to Teller, the countryside, food, water, plant and animal life outside the immediate blast areas would return to normal within a short time. He further contends that life would continue in a relatively normal fashion.

The evidence clearly shows that the Soviets believe that a nuclear war is not only survivable but winnable. Soviet fear of nuclear war, then, is not as great as fear among American and European freeze advocates. To the Soviets a loss of only 20 million people is not unaccep-

table as a means to world domination.

Freeze advocates also contend that the United States and the Soviet Union are roughly equal in nuclear armaments. This is gross misrepresentation of the facts.

In weapons capable of reaching each other's territory, the Soviet Union is superior to the U.S. in size, numbers of launchers, and warheads. The United States has 1052 Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM's); the Soviets have 1398. The United States has 520 Sea Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBM's) on 32 submarines while the Soviets have 950 on 62 submarines and 420 nuclear Lipped cruise missiles on 22 other submarines. The United States bomber force numbers 376 planes, 316 of which were built before 1963, while the Soviet bomber force has 400 planes, 250 of which have been built since 1974.

According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Warsaw Pact has 4124 nuclear missiles aimed at Europe. NATO has only 1644 nuclear missiles and most of these have ranges that will not even reach the Soviet Union from West Germany. The NATO force that can hit the Soviet Union consists of 192 SLBM's (32 of these already counted above) and some French Medium Range Ballistic Missiles.

These figures alone are frightening but considering the first strike capabilities of each side the balance shifts even more favorably to the Soviets. ICBM's are the only weapons stable enough to have first strike capability, that is, one can

knock out the enemy's retaliatory strike force before it can be launched. The Soviet Union's ICBM's carry 6240 independently targeted warheads. The United States ICBM's carry only 2153 warheads. Defense experts believe that two warheads are needed to assure knocking out an ICBM. Using only 220 of the Soviet SS-18 missiles (each with 10 warheads) the Soviets can knock out each of the U.S. ICBM's, while the U.S. could not be assured of covering the Soviet silos with all available U.S. ICBM's.

The Soviet weapons are also much larger in terms of destructive power. The United States ICBM warhead averages less than 350 kilotons, while the Soviet warhead averages between 800 kilotons and 1 megaton.

It is clear that the Soviet Union has more missiles, more warheads, and more megatonage than does the United States and that they are continuing to build more. The United States' retaliatory strike force is predicated upon enough U.S. missiles surviving a Soviet first strike that the U.S. response could then inflict unacceptable damage upon the Soviet Union. If that retaliatory force were eliminated, the number of weapons the U.S. had prior to the attack would be meaningless. If the Soviets reach a point where they think that a first strike can eliminate the United States' retaliatory strike force, it will not matter if the United States has 50,000 warheads, if they cannot be delivered, they may as well not exist.

The rapid buildup of Soviet arms can in no way be explained in terms of defensive purposes. A nuclear freeze now would place the United States in a very vulnerable position, one that might tempt the Soviets to launch a first strike.

Freeze advocates presume that the Soviet Union wants to control the arms race as much as America does. Yet the history of the arms race and the action of the Soviet Union tell a different story.

Since the late 1960's, the Soviet Union has been outspending the United States in military preparedness by enormous amounts. The United States is spending about 5.9 percent of its Gross National Product; the Soviet Union is spending between 12 and 14. The United States has not built any new missile silos since

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Peace

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1967 when they reached 1054 silos. Since that time the Soviet Union has come from behind to the current 1198 silos.

Since the SALT I Treaty in 1972, the United States has deployed only one new strategic weapon system; the Trident submarine. The Soviets on the other hand have developed three new super ICBM's; the SS-17, SS-18, SS-19. In



addition they have developed the intermediate range SS-20, the new Backfire Bomber, and a new class of missile-carrying submarine. While the United States has shown restraint, the Soviets have been going all out.

History reveals that the Soviet Union has never shown much concern for keeping treaties. The Senate Judiciary Committee in 1972 analyzed the 25 treaties that the Soviets had signed with the U.S. since 1917 and found that they had broken all but one. Melvin Laird, Secretary of Defense in the Nixon Administration—when SALT I was signed—contends that the Soviets have already violated that agreement in five areas.

The SALT II Treaty negotiated by the Carter Administration was rejected by the Democratic Senate because it was unfairly slanted toward the Soviets. Although the U.S. did not ratify the Treaty, it abides by the content. The Soviets while contending that they follow its provisions, nevertheless are violating this treaty as well. Under the SALT II treaty each side is allowed to test only one new missile. The U.S. has tested and developed the MX; the Soviets tested a new 10 warhead ICBM in October and a 4 warhead ICBM in February. In addi-

tion the Soviet Union has coded the telemetry data on their tests in direct violation of the treaty.

An arms control treaty of any kind must be verifiable. The Soviets have always refused on-site verification of treaties; current methods of off-site verification leave a great deal to be desired.

It is clear that the Soviets negotiate only when it is in their best interests, that they will break their treaties when it suits their need, and that the Soviets seek an absolute superiority, not parity.

Freeze advocates do not seem to realize that it would take two or three years to negotiate a freeze. All the while the Soviets would continue to deploy new weapons and new systems. Freeze advocates, however, expect the U.S. to stop immediately deploying any new weapons in anticipation of the freeze. The momentum of the Soviet build up alone during those two or three years would probably be all the Soviet Union would need to be assured of a first strike capability.

A study of history will show that the way to peace has never been through appeasement. As long as man has a sinful nature he will try to dominate others. Today we are closer to nuclear war than ever before, not because the U.S. has more nuclear weapons but rather because the balance of power is rapidly slipping in favor of the Soviet Union.



Only the balance of power maintained the past thirty years will continue to prevent war. Americans who are rightly fearful of a nuclear holocaust can help prevent that catastrophe by supporting a strong defense. All potential enemies will know that U.S. retaliation will be greater than any strike against the United States of America.



THE BEAR TRUTH ABOUT DISARMAMENT!

Freez-niks find strong opposition

While anti-nuclear demonstrators appeared in Washington on March 7, advocates of Peace Through Strength turned out in force in the nation's capital.

And, the program brought out some of the nation's strongest leaders.

In one of the first times in Washington history, the liberals had to take a back seat in promoting their demonstrations which would lead to national military weakness and national disgrace.

Dr. Jerry Falwell, Moral Majority president, headed a coalition of pro-America leaders who appeared before Congress and throughout the capital sup-

porting Peace Through Strength.

Among those appearing in support of nuclear power, the strength of America and in opposition to the liberal philosophy were Texas Congressman Phil Gramm, New York's Rep. Jack Kemp, Virginia's W.C. (Dare) Daniel and Alabama Senator, Jeremiah A. Denton along with Dr. Falwell, Fisher and other conservative leaders.

Many Americans believe that unless there is Peace Through Strength, the United States and the free world cannot stop the Soviet-Communist threat of world domination.

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Reagan's dynamic Interior Secretary

Watt: U.S. resources plentiful

No member of the Reagan Administration has received more criticism than Secretary of the Interior James G. (Jim) Watt.

However, this tall, disciplined lover of the outdoors looks upon his position as one of commitment—Christian commitment—to provide leadership in the development and use of the resources of the United States.

Watt has not been idle in changing the course of how the federal government manages energy and mineral needs; the national park, wilderness and wildlife refuge systems; the water supply; land management; the preparation of Indian tribes and Island territories for self-sufficiency; and toward the streamlining of the Interior Department into more efficiency and effectiveness.

These may sound like bold plans but in reality, Watt has been dogged in determination to make the Interior Department responsible to the American people.

He has had to face severe criticism from Congress, from environmental groups, from demonstrators and various liberal organizations seeking his ouster.

But, Secretary Watt is undaunted by the criticism.

When the Reagan Administration assumed control of the nation, Watt said what has been echoed by every other

better condition than when you inherited it. It is exactly founded on Judeo-Christian teachings that we are committed to, and we think it is the foundation for America in all management of personal life or natural resources."

During the Carter Administration, there was a cut each year in funding to restore and take care of and maintain our national parks. "They cut funding by

Jim Watt, Secretary of the Interior: "We must speak out, we must hear, we must see, the challenges of our political liberties. We must never be guilty of what we were guilty of as a nation in the 1930s and 40s when we allowed that hatred and discrimination to be mounted by a government in Europe to kill."

official, "we inherited the leadership of a nation...which suffered from a lack of leadership."

In the Department of Interior, Watt said "we have introduced a concept of stewardship that is new to this department. It is basically a Christian commitment to stewardship—that you take care of what is your charge so that when you pass it on to the next in command, it is in

50 percent while they expanded the acreage. The first year we asked to double what Congress had appropriated in 1978. Congress didn't go with us fully but they did increase it hugely," Watt said.

Increases have come to a quarter of a billion dollars for a five-year program to commit over a billion dollars to the restoration of parks.

Watt has taken note that all "of my critics in Congress voted to cut funding to national parks."

The secretary said in two years, his department has "done more to provide the recovery of endangered species—60 percent more—than the Carter Administration did in four years. You take care of what you have. The past administration listed these endangered species and ignored them. We are trying to be stewards and take care of what we have before we go for more."

Watt is "one of those leaders" who believes America must depend on itself for energy now and in the future.

"You have to have adequate supplies of energy for military purpose. We must rearm America if we are going to live in peace. To rearm America, you've got to have energy. On the lands owned by the federal government, which are a third of America, we have enough energy to meet our needs for thousands of years—

continued to page 5



Jim Watt

(continued from page 4)

literally thousands of years. And the question comes, "are you going to make it available?"

Watt's department has leased as much land with more environmental safeguards than Carter leased in four years. "In one year, we did more than what he did in four years. President Carter in 1977 called the nation to conserve more energy and produce more energy and reduce our dependency on foreign imports. The Department of the Interior is the landlord of one-third of the nation. We responded by reducing the leasing of land to meet consumer energy needs."

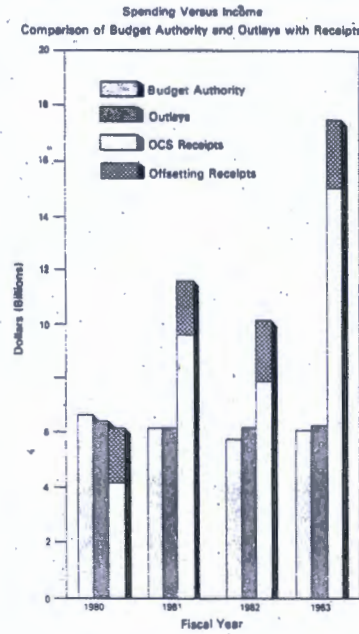
The Interior Department, according to Watt, has "done more environmental safeguards than ever before. This department is dedicated to preserving. We have moved in every front to invest in the land whether it be parks or refuges or energy for people."

Secretary Watt added:

"The critics who criticize us so much all would agree that we should reduce our dependency upon the Arab and OPEC nations. While they agree that we should reduce our dependency on the Arab and OPEC nations, there is not a time that any of us know when they have ever supported the opening of a new coal mine or the construction of an electric generating facility or the building of a nuclear power plant or a strategic facility. And yet, today, we are dependent upon the Arab and OPEC nations for a third to 40 percent of our

ing the times of criticism. He has kept away from national television programs, emphasizing Christian ideals. During interviews, he has been determined to talk about the need to change the nation's management of natural resources.

"Land ownership is one-third of the nation," he said. "The federal govern-



ment owns 750 million acres; 80 million acres are national parks, not to be mined, not to be drilled; 84 million acres of refuges, wildlife habitats. Two hundred million acres of national forest service land, 340 million acres, twice the size of Texas ore being used for multiple purposes.

In addition to that 750 million acres, there are 50 million acres of Indian land. These are not federal lands, these are not lands owned by the American people. Watt says, "they are lands owned by the Indians. The shame of America should be focused on the way the government treats the American Indian."

Secretary Watt, talking with emotion, said American Indians are forced to live under "socialism at its extreme."

He said: "The American Indian people are proud and a fine group of people. They deserve to experience freedom and political liberty that our system of government has not allowed them to have. The result is a shameful social abuse to a fine group of people... This translates into huge unemployment, huge drug problem, alcohol problem, divorce, welfare, social problems, illness, disease—everything has been exaggerated on the reservation for the Indians."

Watt said these problems facing the Indian would not be "tolerated in any other interest group—racial group—in America. The Christian community should be involved. They (Indians) need help in the worst way. There will be no help unless Congress addresses the issue. It is not something the executive branch can do much of but we are trying. Unfortunately, the House of Representatives has been unwilling to have a subsidy for any help in the last four to six years."

The secretary said, "the bleeding heart liberals support groups of people but not individuals. Whereas, a conser-

vative is concerned about the individual and is less concerned about the group."

Concerning the controversy surrounding his personality, Watt said the criticism has become "very beneficial. The controversy has never gone to competency, integrity or capability. It has gone to personality, theology and philosophy. The controversy has generated my ability to focus attention on the changes we wanted to bring."

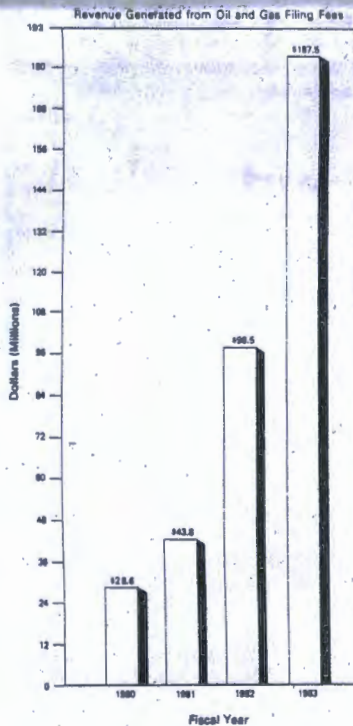
Watt noted, "No member of Congress can say, 'Gee, I don't really know what the Secretary of the Interior is doing.' Everybody knows what I am doing."

He was particularly pleased that "out in the countryside, where it really counts,

people have flocked to hear our message. The President personally understands, as do we, that with conflict comes support in about equal proportion. And it is commitment."

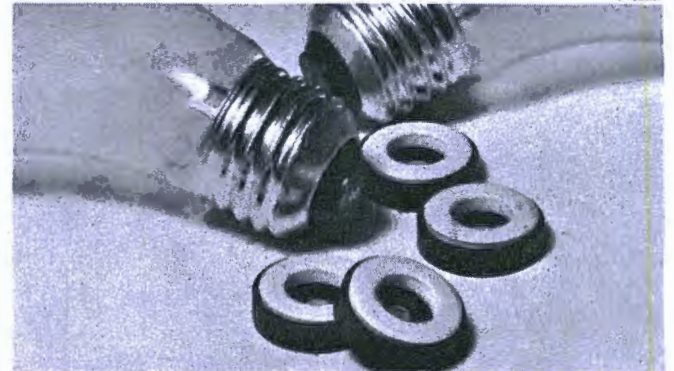
Watt, 42, is a Wyoming native, born in a tiny town named Lusk. As a youngster, he grew up in Wheatland. He served in the Interior Department under Secretary Rogers Morton as director of the land-buying bureau of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. He was in the transition team to help Walter Hickel become secretary in the Nixon Administration. In 1975, President Ford named him to a seat on the Federal Power Commission and in 1977, he headed the

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energy needs and are very dependent upon Russia. Russia and South African nations supply the majority of our strategic mineral needs. It shouldn't be that way if we would manage America for Americans and not make ourselves so dependent upon those enemy areas."

Secretary Watt has not been quiet about his personal Christian commitment. But, while serving as Interior Secretary, he has not appealed to the religious organizations for his support dur-



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Jim Watt's stand for Israel shows courage and leadership

By Ronald S. Godwin



Last August, in this paper, I wrote an article which I titled, "James Watt: Our Friend and Israel's." At the time, Secretary Watt was under a tremendous attack for writing a letter to Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arens.

You may recall that Secretary Watt's letter to Arens was supposed to have contained "veiled threats" against Israel. Democratic Senator Patrick Moynihan went so far as to label Watt's letter as "bore knuckled bigotry." The media gave these accusations unbelievable play. The B'nai B'rith organization and far too many other Jewish organizations and individuals quickly joined in that attack.

I was particularly irritated by this incident because Watt is a proven friend of Israel. Not only did his letter not contain any "veiled threats," what it did contain was a very obvious and transparent truth: the truth that the ability of the United States to be a friend of Israel depends largely upon our having sufficient energy resources to maintain our strength. I could only conclude, therefore, that the attacks on Watt at the time were either motivated by paranoia or partisan politics.

In my article, I stated that, as irritating as the incident was, I could forgive the paranoia of my Jewish friends. After all, they have been hounded and harassed for so many centuries that it is understandable they tend to see something sinister in even the most transparent message or action. But in the case of "partisan Patrick Moynihan," there is no doubt in my mind that the Senator from New York blatantly pandered to the latent fears of Jews in New York City.

There is a curious pattern to the flaps that Secretary Watt has become embroiled in over the last two years: first, Secretary Watt makes a definite statement on one subject or another; then, one or more members of the national media manage to read into that statement the very opposite of what Mr. Watt meant.

Finally, special interest groups affected by the Watt statement in some way, accept at face value the interpretation the media has placed on Secretary Watt's statement and, once again, you have a major flap revolving around Secretary of the Interior, James Watt.

In the particular incident in question, the Jewish community was the group who was manipulated by the media and, for a time who rushed to attack one of the most popular champions of conservative Christians in all America.

That was a tactical error of the first magnitude. You see, conservative Christians form a vast pool of sympathetic support for Israel. For any official of the Jewish community to publicly attack a champion of conservative Christianity without carefully checking the facts could be counter-productive, to say the least.

But, happily, it wasn't long before Jews all over America took a second look at what Secretary Watt had actually said and realized it is true that, in order for the United States to be a friend and ally of Israel, she must have sufficient energy resources to independently maintain her strength. In short, Secretary Watt was saying that the U.S. must not allow itself to continue to be dependent upon foreign oil and, possibly, vulnerable to blackmail by the Arab bloc of nations.

When Jewish leaders began to realize that Watt, a proven friend of Israel and the international Jewish community, was actually saying that America

must be invulnerable to blackmail, they reacted by supporting this loyal team member of the Reagan Administration with an outpouring of gratitude and warm support.

In our interview with Secretary Watt, he was grateful and pleased at the unprecedented outpouring of friendship and support that he had recently experienced from the Jewish community. Secretary Watt told this writer,

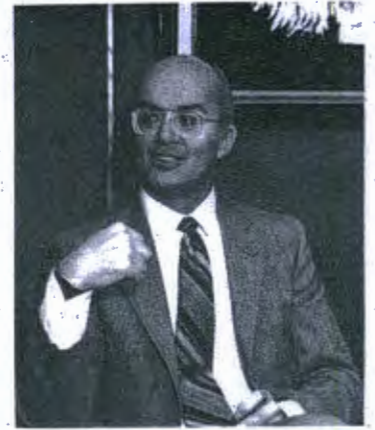
The Jewish community knows what we are doing. They understand the need to rearm America and have peace. They understand the need to rearm America to meet the commitments that were made at Camp David. They understand the need to strengthen ourselves so that we will not be subject to blackmail, whether it be blackmail from the Russians or the Arab nations or the PLO.

The Secretary went on to say that, "The Jewish community has joined with

us because of my commitments. I have been pro-Israel, and so it is easy to build such a relationship."

In my first article, I criticized certain elements of the American Jewish community for allowing themselves to be exploited by the national media into attacking their friend, James Watt. In this article, it gives me great pleasure to commend Jewish leaders all over the country for demonstrating their realization that Jim Watt is a true and committed friend of Israel and the international Jewish community. He is truly a good and godly man and a great credit to the Reagan Administration.

Watt consistently writes and says the truth as he sees it. And the national media continues to distort and slant his statements. The problem is that simple. Conservatives of all faiths need to resist such tactics and to recognize our obligation with leaders of conviction like our friend and Israel's, Secretary of the Interior James Watt.



Nebraska officials threaten parents with jail

Fathers of two children enrolled in Faith Christian Academy in Louisville, Neb., were facing jail sentences in late March if they kept their children enrolled in the private Christian school.

Authorities in Cass County, Neb. ordered Larry Nolte of Springfield and Ralph Liles of Louisville on Monday,

March 28 to remove their children from the school. Wives were to be fined \$5 for each day their children remained in the school. The fine was to be doubled each week thereafter, according to officials.

Action by Cass County officials was another effort to force the closing of the

Christian school which has been embattled by the State of Nebraska for several years.

Four other parents are scheduled to have hearings April 6 to force removal of their children from the school.

Jim Watt

(continued from page 5)

Mountain States Legal Foundation.

He first came to Washington working with Wyoming Senator Milward Simpson.

Today, Watt said, "when I move into a community, there is some polarization. And those who stand for a forward movement in America and progress and jobs and increased military capability, they stand up and are counted, too. I think it is time to take a stand. The problem in America for too many years is that we have not been willing to make commitments. The President is a committed man. He understands."

Jim Watt understands, too.

One of Watt's most moving speeches involves the "yearning for political liberty." Following are excerpts of his comments:

As we look through the pages of history, we see a recurring event. We see in that history that there is a yearning from the heart of mankind—a yearning for the right to live and associate and work, to be free to govern ourselves and to protect our Nation. It is a yearning that flows from the heart like a stream of life. A yearning for political liberty.

And yet in those same pages of history, we find another recurring event. We see that it is government that seeks to limit and destroy our political liberty—the heavy hand of government. Whether you call that government a dictatorship, or a king, or monarch, or czar of the Gestapo—whatever you want to call it—it is the heavy hand of excessive government that abuses this political liberty.

Parallel to that call is a cry that also flows like a stream from the heart of mankind. It is the cry that calls for spirit-

ual freedom. Freedom to worship God. The freedom to assemble with those of like precious faith—the freedom to commit our lives to a doctrine and a belief in the Supreme Being. This call for spiritual freedom flows from that heart as well.

These two streams of life—one calling for political liberty and one calling for spiritual freedom—have flowed through the ages. The history books are replete with the stories of successes and failures. But there is one glorious moment where these two streams have come together in the destiny that God provided and they have come together to form a mighty river called America.

And, yet; here in America the some enemies of political liberty and spiritual freedom continue to use government in an effort to snuff out the flow of life that comes from the heart in the search for real political liberty and spiritual freedom.

Union corruption attacked

There's a fight brewing within the union movement over a bill to strengthen the federal government's power to deal with union corruption and racketeering.

The bill sponsored by Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia would provide for immediate removal of union officials from office, upon conviction for certain crimes, rather than the present system under which they may stay in office during a lengthy appeals process. In addition, it would increase from five to ten years the time during which convicted officials would be barred from office.

AFL-CIO President Lone Kirkland, much to his credit, supports the bill, but

according to reports, several unions, particularly those in the building trades and the Teamsters, oppose the bill.

The unions which oppose the bill claim that it discriminates against unions because it does not apply equally to other citizens such as corporation officers who may remain in office while convictions are being appealed.

What these unions choose to overlook is that the federal government has a special responsibility to police the activity of unions because the unions are the direct beneficiaries of such a wide array of special privileges and legal immunities given them by the federal

continued to page 13



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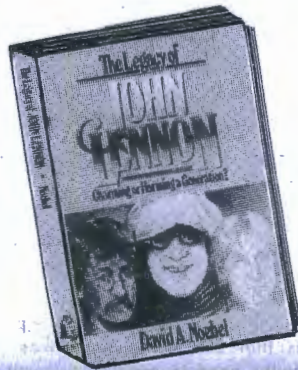
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- CHOPIN NOCTURNE (HIS THEME)
- YOU'RE MY EVERYTHING
- WHY DO I LOVE YOU
- WHEN DAY IS DONE
- IF I COULD BE WITH YOU
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- I'LL SEE YOU IN MY DREAMS
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- TIME ON MY HANDS
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How landmark case was won

By Eric E. Wiggin

A 19th century clapboard New England church overlooks miles of frozen forest on the edge of Maine's northern wilderness. Even in April ice still grips the lakes near Sebec, Maine (pop. 332), and snow blankets the landscape.

In 1969, Isqiah Hill, a welder and steamfitter with two years' Bible training at New Brunswick Bible Institute in Canada, caught a vision to open this church which had been vacant for nearly a generation.

"Pastor Ike" now has a congregation amounting to one-third the community's population. The building has been renovated, and skilled carpenters among the independent Sebec Christian Church's members have added a handsome educational wing from lumber cut by their own hands.

Daily now, 38 youngsters, Kindergarten through 12, meet at Sebec Christian Academy for Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) classes in basic education. These happy youngsters move about quietly scoring their own work or sit busily studying in their cubicles under the one-on-one tutelage of their five teachers. A random check of the school's files shows its fourth and fifth graders scoring three to four years ahead of their public school counterparts across the nation on California Achievement Tests (CAT) of basic education.

Penobscot Indian Chet Dana is Sebec Christian Academy's administrator. "I had determined in my heart that I would never teach again," he told U.S. District Court Judge Conrad K. Cyr in a Feb. 21-Mar. 2 Bangor, Maine trial which portends to be the most important yet of Christian school trials in America.

Dana had let his Maine teaching certificate expire after a career which included 10 years' teaching college science, another 10 in a public junior high, and 2-1/2 years as a member of Maine's State Board of Education.

Frustrated with declining standards and increasing discipline problems, he quit his teaching job and took employment as a supermarket carryout.

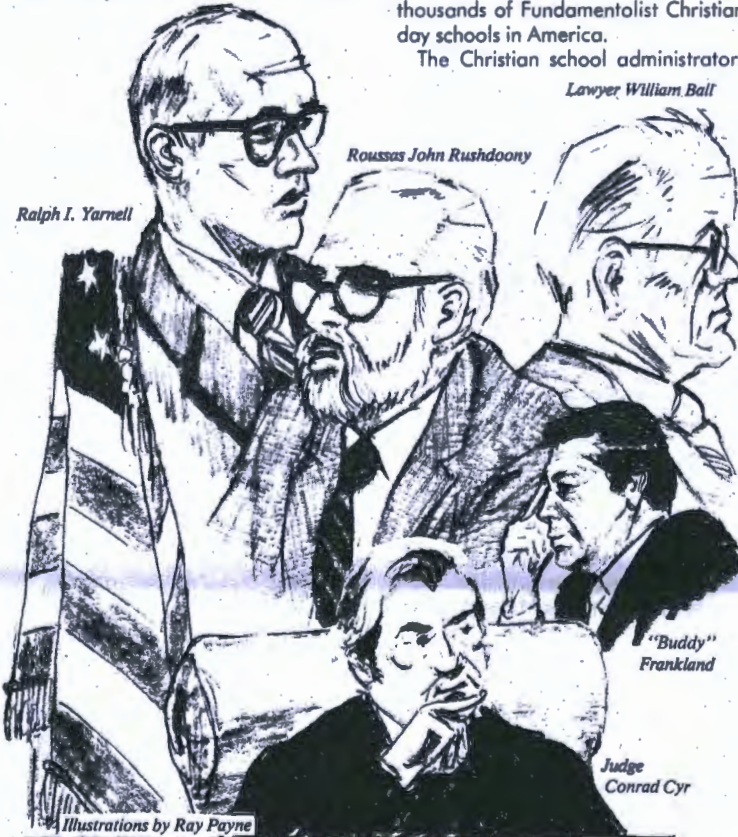
But Dana met Pastor Hill in 1980, who convinced him that he should try working in his new Christian school. Today, without a certificate, Chet Dana is directing a highly successful school in violation of Maine's education statutes. Sebec Christian Academy in one of 21

plaintiffs who filed suit against the State of Maine in Oct. 1981 when Maine's attorney general advised nine new schools in the state to "get your act together or get yourself a lawyer," says Maine Association of Christian Schools' Executive Director Ralph Yarnell.

The schools claim the 1st, 9th, and 14th Amendments as the basis for their suit. Though Yarnell feels that subsid-

edge of all-religious institutions," Constitutional lawyer William Bently Ball remarked in an interview just before the recent eight-day Christian schools trial. The Maine Association of Christian Schools now awaits a Federal court decision, expected this summer, deciding whether they may operate free from state control. Ball was MACS counsel in this court action with its implications for thousands of Fundamentalist Christian day schools in America.

The Christian school administrators



Ralph I. Yarnell

Roussas John Rushdoony

Lawyer William Ball

"Buddy" Frankland

Judge Conrad Cyr

Illustrations by Ray Payne

sion to the Lordship of Christ, rather than to the state, is the basic issue, he sees the state's nettlesome and constantly shifting codes as a burden to his member schools. For instance, state certification requirements for Christian schools were lowered by a state board "emergency" action during the trial's progress to exclude teachers of non-required courses from needing certificates. Yarnell told the court that his schools were "trying to hit a moving target" of state regulations.

"The Fundamentalists are the cutting

and pastors "are the ones who've asked the original questions," lawyer Ball added. He pointed out that both "a great possibility and a great danger" lies in resolving the issues over which Christian schools and state and Federal governments have battled since the Wisconsin vs. Yoder U.S. Supreme Court case in 1968 which he won for Amish parents and their schools. Ball expects to see the current issues nationwide resolved by legislation or the Supreme Court within the next three to five years. He is the lawyer for Bob Jones University

in their litigation with the IRS, now pending a Supreme Court decision.

The Maine Association of Christian Schools vs. the State of Maine trial is the latest confrontation in battles which have seen a pastor in Nebraska jailed and parents threatened with loss of their Christian school. Ball has won most cases which he has fought, however, most recently in a similar case in a Michigan lower court decided in favor of two Christian schools near Saginaw. In Michigan, Judge Ray Hotchkiss, himself a former public school teacher, ruled that nonpublic school laws "interfered" with the Christian schools' constitutional right to freely exercise their religion ... (and) "do not ensure even a minimum degree of quality education."

The Maine trial is expected by Rev. Herman "Buddy" Frankland, who is president of MACS and pastor of the 1,000-member Bangor Baptist Church, to be a "landmark case," because it is in Federal court. The next step, if appealed by either side, is the First Circuit Court of Appeals, Boston. After that, it could go to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Maine is one of 10 states which attempt to regulate private schools, says Ball. He commented in his opening statement to Judge Cyr that "40 states must live in darkest ignorance, because 40 states do not license private schools."

But the Maine Department of Education and Cultural Services is not operating in "darkest ignorance," and they brought two Boston University professors with national reputations in teacher certification and school testing to court to prove this point. Testing specialist Dr. George F. Madeaus and Fulbright scholar Dr. Kevin A. Ryan, a teacher educator, both affirmed to the court that Christian school teachers without degrees, or who have not received state certification, ought not be entrusted with the minds of growing children.

Asked by Ball if either had ever visited a Christian school, both "experts" admitted they had not. Neither, in fact, had even met a Christian school teacher or student prior to coming to the courtroom.

Though Sebec Christian Academy may typify Maine's rural Fundamentalist school, the schools' cause has been led by 330-student Bangor Christian School, continued to page 9



Lawyer William Ball



Roussas John Rushdoony



Ralph I. Yarnell



"Buddy" Frankland

Maine Trial

(continued from page 8)

a ministry of Bangor Baptist Church. Pastor Buddy Frankland, himself then a certified teacher, in 1970 hired a former public school teacher to head up his new venture. From the outset, Frankland insisted on certified teachers to insure "quality education" in his traditional classroom school.

But in 1976 Frankland joined a protest of several hundred preachers in Concord, New Hampshire when that state closed an ACE school. Though his convictions about the Lordship of Christ have never changed, he told the court, he commenced then to see that this Lordship concept could not permit him to continue to call Caesar "Lord" also in matters of heart and conscience, which he feels includes the education of his church's children.

By 1977 several dozen Christian schools had opened in Maine, two thirds of them ACE. Most of these refused to report their activities for state approval or hire certified teachers. Over the next three years, Frankland led several delegations to the Maine Department of Education and Cultural Services in Augusta in attempts to resolve the issues. Today, Maine has some 75 Christian schools, 43 of the ACE.

"Negotiation, then legislation, finally litigation," Frankland said, have been the careful steps to achieve freedom from state control. In late 1979, Mr. Ball wrote a legislative bill for MACS, patterned after a North Carolina law which he had helped enact. At about the same time, MACS was formed, and most of its member schools turned their five-year approval certificates back to the state. The bill would have exempted Maine private schools from state control except in fire, health, and safety codes, and it provided that the schools must annually submit achievement test scores to the Department of Education. More than 3,500 Christian school parents, students,



Judge Conrad Cyr

and teachers come to a legislative hearing on the bill in Augusta in March 1980. But the joint education committee of

both houses of Maine's legislature recommended that the bill not pass, and it was defeated.

Frankland now feels that he cannot in good conscience submit test scores to the state, since this would amount to official state approval. Interestingly, Dr. George Madeaus, state witness, brought in to refute the concept of testing in lieu of certification, argued that testing is a greater "intrusion" into the schools' rights than prior approval. Thus, though a state witness, Madeaus seemed to lend support to Frankland's present position.

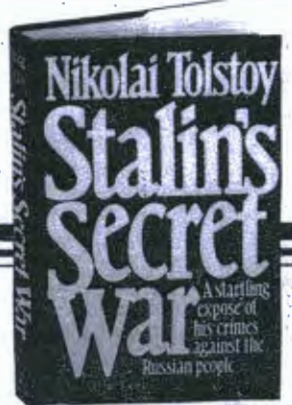
Maine Commissioner of Education, Harold Reynolds Jr., told the court that until September 1981 he still expected to resolve his Department's differences with the Christian schools. But he learned of nine new schools which had opened

without state approval or certified teachers. Using a Maine truancy law which requires youngsters ages 7-17 to be in an "approved" school, he asked the Main attorney general to prosecute. In October, MACS et al took Ball's advice and sued the state, initiating this winter's long trial—a first, since other actions across the nation have all been initiated by public school authorities.

"Everybody participates and gets to use their talents," 16-year old Kimberly DeMerchant told the court of her grade 10 class at Kennebec Valley Baptist Christian School, Waterville. She said she is not studying business math, biology, civics, English, Bible, and sewing. Poised and assured as she spoke, she was not questioned by the state's lawyers.

continued to page 12

"A STUPENDOUS BOOK" — Joseph Sobran National Review



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479 pages ■ meticulously documented with over 1,000 notes ■ endpaper maps of Soviet slave camps ■ 13-page index

Mr. Sobran's review explains why:

Liberals forever remind us that the Soviet Union lost twenty million people in World War II. Nikolai Tolstoy (grand-nephew of Leo) puts the figure even higher. But he argues that most of them were killed by Stalin himself. . . .

He was incomparably the richest man who ever lived: "Stalin virtually owned the Soviet Union in as absolute a sense as property can acquire." When a dog in the street woke him with its barking, he had dog and master shot. A series of painters who produced insufficiently flattering portraits of him — five-foot-four, scrawny, scrofular — were also shot. While the proletariat was reduced, at times to cannibalism, he had mountains of caviar specially flown to his enormous personal estate, where he watched the American gangster movies he loved. . . .

He drove one wife to suicide, obscenely abused his daughter for wanting to marry a Jew, beat and insulted a son, whom he later allowed to die unransomed in a German prison camp. He delighted in tormenting his highest confederates — including the nominal president of the USSR, Kallinin — in front of foreign dignitaries. . . .

With his own criminal example he encouraged what one trusts was by far the most brutal period of violence in human history. Even *The Gulag Archipelago* hardly

prepares one for this. One example will convey the tone: a man who would not "confess" to Trotskyist activities even after castration was forced to watch his pregnant wife beaten until she delivered a stillborn child. Such things were done thousands upon thousands of times, year after year after year. Special instruments of torture were apparently mass-produced, one for squeezing the skull, another for the testicles, and so forth, though interrogators were permitted to use broken bottles, ice picks, or whatever other conventional tools appealed to them. . . .

There was apparently only one foreign head of state Stalin really trusted. He was paralyzed with shock and incredulity when Adolf Hitler broke his word by attacking Russia. For days he could barely compose himself sufficiently to order the usual potential enemies shipped off to labor camps; but eventually he did, even when he couldn't formulate a battle plan against the Germans.

It was always the domestic enemy he feared most: the kind of wartime revolt that had toppled Kerensky. Stalin did indeed make unremitting war on his own people; he never really understood why they didn't fight back, and he was amazed at the patri-

otism that drove them to fight for Russia, despite everything, when Hitler invaded.

Instead of returning the favor, he stepped up his pre-emptive purges all the while his people were saving his skin. It is wickedness of an astounding degree. This book makes *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* seem like Restoration comedy.

Tolstoy, who is worthy to inherit the name, interprets the slaughter of the Polish officers in the Katyn Forest as one of Stalin's attempts to forestall domestic revolt: the officers might have given potential rebels in the western part of the Soviet Union the leadership they needed, igniting a general uprising.

Just before his death Stalin was contemplating an invasion of Western Europe. . . . *Stalin's Secret War* is a stupendous book.

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Reverend Jerry Falwell

An open letter from Jerry Falwell on the nuclear freeze

Fellow Americans:

War in any form is abominable. We all know that. But there is something at least as abominable, and that is life without liberty—life without the freedom to write and speak and pray.

I don't want the American people, especially our children, to be cremated in a nuclear explosion.

What I do want for them is to have the chance to love life and truth and God.

Our national task and challenge, therefore, is both to prevent a nuclear war and to insure peace with freedom.

I for one refuse to sit back and wait for the Soviets to enslave us or to destroy us in a rain of nuclear warheads.

And that is why I'm writing you this letter today. I feel that I must speak out on our alarming national defense situation.

This message is for every American who wants to make sure our country has the military strength to prevent war and keep us free.

We cannot afford to be number two in defense! But, sadly enough, that's where we are today. Number two.

And fading!

So, I urge you to cast your ballot today for Peace Through Strength and to preserve freedom.

I promise you I will publish the results of this poll all over America. Here are the questions:

1. Are you willing to trust the survival of America to a nuclear freeze agreement with the Soviet Union, a nation which rejects on-site inspection of military facilities to insure compliance?

Yes No

2. Are you for stopping those U.S. strategic weapons programs aimed at restoring nuclear parity with the Soviet Union?

Yes No

3. Do you believe our NATO partners should be outnumbered in "theater" (intermediate range) nuclear weapons?

Yes No

There they are: three burning issues. Three straightforward, uncomplicated questions.

Here are three additional issues you might think about:

1. Is the Soviet regime likely to permit freedom of thought and religion under Uri Andropov, the former head of the KGB?

2. What would happen if Moscow and Peking patched up their quarrel?

3. What would be the effect on the nuclear balance if we cancelled the MX and the B-1 programs, while the Soviets went ahead with their programs to build two new ICBMs and two heavy bombers?

And, you might also ask yourself: what would happen if the President of the United States received a call on the "hotline" some day, and the Soviet President said: "Give up or be destroyed?"

If our President said no, it could mean that more than half our people would be incinerated in a nuclear attack. If he said yes, the United States would no longer be the land of the free and home of the brave.

But right now—at this very moment—it is not too late to rebuild our defenses.

What is needed is a loud and clear call from the American people.

Now, I can predict what will happen when this letter goes out. The "anti's" and the "ultra's" will start screaming: "There goes that warmonger again. He won't be satisfied until we have a nuclear showdown."

I've endured that kind of abuse before. And I will now.

It is incredible, but those of us who believe in peace with freedom, who believe that peace can best be insured through strength—which means moral as well as military strength—have to

put up with this kind of abuse. So be it. Let's review the basic points: war in any form is abominable.

The lesson of history is that weak nations cannot "buy" peace with treaties. "Deals" with tyrants don't work.

There is only one sure formula for peace with freedom and that is through strength.

Therefore, unless the leaders of this country have military strength at least equal to that available to the Kremlin tyrants, we can in time expect either an attack or nuclear blackmail.

Do we have such strength? These are the facts:

1. The Soviets have almost a two-to-one advantage in nuclear weapons. And type for type, theirs are bigger than ours and newer.

2. The Soviets are building new strategic bombers and submarines, and testing new missiles. All we have in production is the new Trident submarine.

3. The Soviets have a nationwide civil defense program to protect their people, a massive bomber defense network, and anti-ballistic missiles to protect Moscow. We have no civil defense program to protect the American people, a tiny air-defense network, and no missile defense at all.

4. In conventional weapons, the Soviets have four times as many tanks and artillery pieces and over twice as many men in uniform ready for war.

While the Soviets have been building up during the last decade, we have:

- 1. Cut our Navy in half.
2. Cancelled the production of Minuteman missiles.

3. Delayed the Trident program.

4. Cancelled the original B-1 program.

5. Spent years debating the best way to protect MX Missiles, while building none.

So, if you fear for the safety of your children and your friends, cast your ballot today for Peace Through Strength.

All of us must rally at this critical time and make our voice heard.

We have a President who wants to build up our military strength. But he is catching it from all sides. The "freeze-niks," "ultra libs," and "unilateral disarmers" are after him.

He and the loyal members of Congress need to know that you are with them.

Do send in your ballot right away.

This letter is being printed in major newspapers and mailed to millions of Americans.

We will tabulate your ballot and thousands of others and send the results to President Reagan and the Members of Congress.

It is time for patriotic, God-fearing Americans to speak up and let the nation's leaders know where you stand on the critical issues of national defense.

No matter how you look at it, the peace of the future is going to be decided by strength. Is it going to be American strength or Soviet strength?

Vote now for Peace Through Strength. I promise you, your voice will be heard.

Sincerely,

Jerry Falwell

Reverend Jerry Falwell

Peace Through Strength Ballot

Please cast your vote on each of these questions:

1. Are you willing to trust the survival of America to a nuclear freeze agreement with the Soviet Union, a nation which rejects on-site inspection of military facilities to insure compliance?

Yes No

2. Are you for stopping those U.S. strategic weapons programs aimed at restoring nuclear parity with the Soviet Union?

Yes No

3. Do you believe our NATO partners should be outnumbered in "theater" (intermediate range) nuclear weapons?

Yes No

Dear Jerry:

Here is where I stand on the critical issues of national defense. Please carry the results of this balloting to our national leaders:

Name _____

Address _____

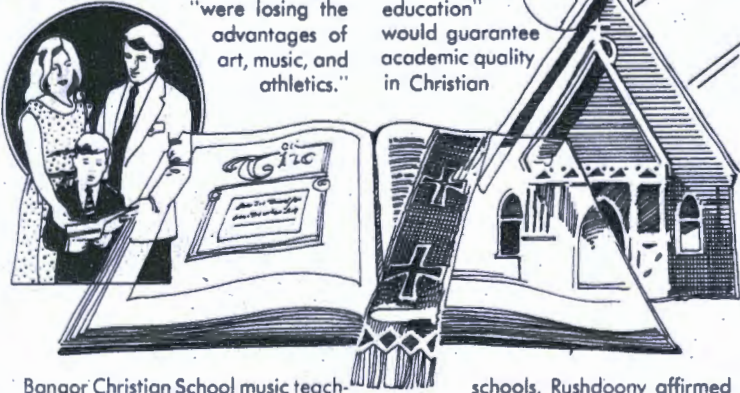
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail To: Jerry Falwell
499 South Capitol Street, Suite 101
Washington, D.C. 20003

Maine Trial (continued from page 9)

But School Administrative District Nine Superintendent Dale Doughty was very obviously embarrassed of being a witness for the Christian schools. He admitted that his district had lost state subsidy monies since several Fundamentalist schools have opened in his Farmington, Maine area. "Children are being deprived of many advantages... because of the attitudes and views of their parents," Doughty read aloud at Ball's insistence from a letter Doughty had written to Commissioner Reynolds.

"The paragraph does not reflect my attitudes," Supt. Doughty weakly explained. These Christian school students "were losing the advantages of art, music, and athletics."



Bangor Christian School music teacher Bonnie Boyington is a widow who found Christ shortly before her husband was killed in a highway accident in 1979. Mrs. Boyington then turned her back on eight years as a public school music teacher and a part-time job as a University of Maine instructor to teach in a Christian school. "God's purpose in music is for man to express praise and appreciation for God," she told the court. "The teachers in our school love those children," she said. "The learning atmosphere is one of... harmony and peace." She contrasted Bangor Christian with her final years in the public schools in which she observed "rebellion, profanity, drug problems, a less conducive learning atmosphere... (and) teachers who were more committed to education as a profession than to children."

State counsel Brown would not cross examine Mrs. Boyington. Outside the courtroom he sarcastically quipped that "she is wasting her talents and ought to be a missionary in public schools winning kids to Jesus Christ."

Four expert witnesses testified for MACS. To each of these, state counsel strenuously objected on the grounds that their testimony was "irrelevant," since they were from outside Maine or were not personally involved in the schools.

Clinical psychologist Paul F. Schmidt, Ph.D., told the court that he is the "primary-referral source for Fundamental Christian schools in Louisville, KY. Schmidt stated that "conflict" between public schools and Christian homes will often "produce anxiety," leave the child "tense," and "inhibit his curiosity out of fear of unsaved teachers." On cross examination, however, Schmidt conceded that his two children are in public school because the nearest Christian school is 30 miles away.

D. Rousses J. Rushdoony, who has a

national reputation in both church history and Christian education, testified that he has visited more than 1,000 Christian schools in 46 states. Rushdoony said that "for these schools, Jesus Christ is Lord. The state, on the other hand, has come to believe that it is sovereign."

"Fundamentalism is a new movement... just learning the implications of its faith," Rushdoony explained to a question about older religious schools that accept state control. On the other hand, "humanism is that faith which regards man or the corporate state as God walking on earth," he told.

Stating that "free market education" would guarantee academic quality in Christian

schools, Rushdoony affirmed that parents who pay \$1,000 a year in tuition will simply move their youngsters to another school if the standards decline to state levels.

Noted columnist and educator Russell Kirk, Ph.D., like Ball, is a Catholic. He has taught in more than 10 colleges, he told the court. "Parents are the judges" of these Christian schools. "Children who graduate are the judges. Who are better judges," Kirk inquired. "without Judeo-Christian moral values education is deficient," Kirk continued. "Persons with only a state education are... not good citizens... They are in a confused state all life long because they haven't taken up the ultimate questions."

State counsel Brown tried to refute Kirk by having him read aloud a "Religion" article from the February 28 Newsweek, which states, "in fact, there are not teachers" in ACE schools. But Kirk had visited an ACE school in Michigan where he saw "students scurrying about, busy, happy, with no push and shove. They were consulting reference books and books from the library... in terms of education, a kind of perpetual gain." Rather than "no teachers," said Kirk, "they make economical use of teachers" in ACE schools.

Perhaps the most intriguing testimony was the conflict between state witnesses Dr. Kevin Ryan of Boston University, and MACS witness, Dr. Donald Erickson, a professor of education at UCLA. The men had been "colleagues together for seven years" at the University of Chicago, both affirmed. Ryan was the state's final witness, and he questioned Erickson's qualifications as an expert in education. Erickson, who received a BA from Bob Jones University prior to his University of Chicago Ph.D., came back to the witness stand at the end of the trial in rebuttal.

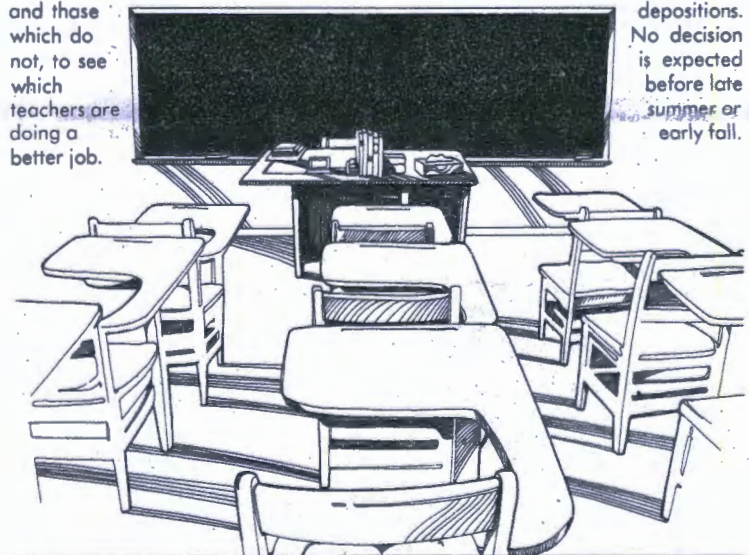
Ryan's testimony consisted largely in

listing and expanding upon his credentials, which took most of two hours, in contrast with MACS witnesses who were hampered in briefly stating their credentials by frequent state counsel objections. Lawyer Ball sat quietly through this tedious recitation of Ryan's accomplishments.

Ryan told the court that "society's children" are "our most precious natural resource." He seemed to be straining at trying to criticize ACE materials—which he did not say he'd ever seen—when he stated that "programmed instruction is the wrong solution to the problem." Then, in describing the attributes of a good teacher for "society's children," he explained that the "teacher needs to be walking around the classroom, engaged with the student, monitoring the work." Unwittingly, Dr. Ryan had just described the functions of ACE monitors and supervisors, though he admitted he had never seen them at work.

Though he told state counsel Brown that only state certified teachers should be allowed to instruct "society's children" in Maine schools, Ryan admitted to Ball that he "is not aware" of any state within the last decade that has adopted a statute licensing teachers in private schools. In this, Ryan echoed the earlier testimony of his colleague, Dr. George Madeaus, that "no comparison to my knowledge has ever been made" between states that require certification

and those which do not, to see which teachers are doing a better job.



Judge says silence illegal

A federal district court judge in New Mexico has ruled that public school students cannot be required to maintain 60 seconds of silence at the beginning of the school day.

U.S. District Judge Juan Burciago ruled on February 11 that the 1981 New Mexico state legislature law allowing a minute of silence was in violation of the students' First Amendment rights.

The Las Cruces school district began requiring the minute of silence in October 1981. Teachers were instructed to keep the students quiet for the first minute after the morning tardy bell rang.

Jerry Duffy, father of a Las Cruces city school student, sued the city school board a week after the ruling was imposed. Duffy accused the school board of pushing religion in public

Erickson, a research specialist in alternate education and school administration, had testified earlier that state certification requirements have "a chilling effect on the liberty to experiment" in schools. He spoke of the "funny tendency" among educationists "to think that any problem in schools could be solved with another course in education."

"I'm proud of the accusation that I'm outside my field," Erickson said in rebuttal. "We've become so specialized that issues fall between the cracks." He said it is "scandalous... that we've asked about everything under the sun but what is the affect of variables on student learning."

Erickson summed up his thesis by asserting that the "biggest difference between the best teachers and the worst (is) a teacher's personality." He warned that "the linkage between teacher training and students' learning is tenuous and remote. It's beyond me to see how that (tenuous linkage) can justify an intrusion upon religious liberty... Let us not legislate somebody's idea (that teachers ought to be certified) at a time when we don't know which one is right."

Both parties in the school trial will square off one last time this spring or summer to present final arguments before Judge Cyr. The judge must weigh, besides some 60 hours of testimony, 200 exhibits and several hundred pages of

depositions. No decision is expected before late summer or early fall.

school by instructing the students to use the time for prayer or meditation.

The American Civil Liberties Union has filed suit in a similar case in New Jersey. A state law there requiring a moment of silence has come under fire recently for allegedly violating the separation of church and state.

New Jersey Attorney General Irwin I. Kimmelman has vowed not to enforce the law passed by the state legislature over Gov. Thomas Kean's veto because he says it is his "duty not to defend a law that I believe to be unconstitutional."

Responding to the attorney general's intention, state senator Carmen A. Orechio said, "The attorney general is sworn to uphold the laws of New Jersey, and this is a law of New Jersey, whatever the attorney general may think of it."

Union Bill

(continued from page 7)

government.

Chief among these privileges is compulsory unionism. Under the National Labor Relations Act, it is legal for unions to enter into contracts which require membership in a union as a condition of employment. No other group in this country enjoys this privilege.

You can imagine the storm of protest the unions would raise if Congress would even consider legislation to legalize deals under which, in order to do business, a company was forced to join a Chamber of Commerce.

In addition, the NLRA gives unions legal monopolies in the form of exclusive representation. Employees, even if they oppose unionism, who are in a

bargaining unit where a union is certified, are denied the right to represent themselves or to be represented by any other organization in their relations with their employer.

No private business, other than public utilities, have such legal monopolies; and the public utilities are heavily regulated.

To cement this special privilege, unions are specifically exempt from the anti-trust laws, so they may engage in conspiracies and restraints of trade with impunity.

As a result, it is illegal for Ford, General Motors and Chrysler to conspire to fix prices, but it is not illegal for the United Auto Workers to organize the employees of these manufacturers and conspire to fix costs.

Unions are exempt from federal pro-

secution for crimes of extortion so long as the extortion is for a legitimate union goal. Imagine a corporate executive offering as a defense that the extortion was for a legitimate corporate goal.

Unions, as we know them today in America, are indeed privileged creatures of the state. It is hypocritical for union officials to demand special status and at the same time demand to be treated equally.

If they really want equal treatment, Congress could start by taking away their special privileges and legal immunities.

Mr. Denholm is president of the Public Sector Research Council, a national citizens' lobby concerned with public sector union power.

"Selective Breeding"

By Martin Mawyer

At the turn of the century, the birth control movement was off to a slow start. It was opposed by the medical profession, organized religion, government, moral reformers and public opinion.

Without Margaret Sanger, the noted feminist who successfully led the movement, we cannot be sure that birth control would receive the social acceptance it enjoys today from virtually every quarter of life.

Millions of government dollars are spent every year promoting family planning, population control, and providing contraceptives to indigent families or
continued to page 15

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There is nothing new about infrared heat. Doctors and therapists have used and recommended it for years in pain treatment. But until now, there hasn't been a compact, easy-to-use unit.



INFRALUX is easy to carry too in its handsome vinyl bag. No bigger than a small flashlight (six inches long). Plugs in any 110V outlet.

Why infrared? With ordinary methods such as heating pads and hot water bottles, much of the heat is dissipated on the skin's surface. There's no lasting effect.

But with infrared heat, the treatment goes down d-e-e-p where you need it. In fact, INFRALUX's shortwave, visible infrared heat will penetrate up to 10mm of skin tissue to reach irritated nerve endings. Your INFRALUX seeks, finds, and soothes!

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"On patients with a variety of musculoskeletal painful conditions, Infralux was demonstrated to be effective in relieving pain." V.S., MD

respected "Manual of Electro Therapy" THAT MILD INFRARED RADIATION MIGHT BE THE ONLY WAY TO RELIEVE PAIN WITHOUT THE USE OF MEDICATION.

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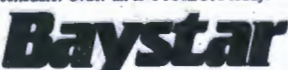
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My Feet Were Killing Me...Until I Discovered the Miracle in Germany!

It was the European trip we had always dreamed about. We had the time and money to go where we wanted—see what we wanted. But I soon learned that money and time don't mean much when your feet hurt too much to walk. After a few days of sight-seeing my feet were killing me.

Oh, my wife tried to keep me going. In Paris I limped through Notre Dame and along the Champs-Élysées. And I went up in the Eiffel Tower although I can't honestly say I remember the view. My feet were so tired and sore my whole body ached. While everybody else was having a great time, I was in my hotel room. I didn't even feel like sitting in a sidewalk cafe.

The whole trip was like that until I got to Hamburg, Germany. There, by accident, I happened to hear about an exciting breakthrough for anyone who suffers from sore, aching feet and legs.

This wonderful invention was a custom formed foot support called Flexible Featherspring.® When I got a pair and slipped them into my shoes my pain disappeared almost instantly. The flexible shock absorbing support they gave my feet was like cradling them on a cushion of air. I could walk, stand even run. The relief was truly a miracle.

And just one pair was all I needed. I learned that my wife also can wear them—even with sandals and open backed shoes. They're completely invisible.

Imagine how dumbfounded I was to discover that these miraculous devices were sold only in Europe. Right then I determined that I would share the miracle I discovered in Germany with my own countrymen.

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In the last nine years over a quarter million Americans of all ages—many with foot problems far more severe than mine—have experienced this blessed relief for themselves.

Here's why Feathersprings work for them and why they can work for you. These supports are like nothing you've ever seen before. They are custom formed and made for your feet alone! Unlike conventional devices, they actu-



ally imitate the youthful elastic support that Nature originally intended your feet to have.

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Whatever your problem—corns, calluses, pain in the balls of your feet, burning nerve ends, painful ankles, old injuries, backaches or just generally sore, aching feet, Flexible Feathersprings will bring you relief with every step you take or your money back.

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Richard B. (Dick) Dingman

A long time Capitol Hill legislative expert has joined forces with the Moral Majority in Washington.

Richard B. (Dick) Dingman recently retired from his position as Executive Director of the Republican Study Committee in the U.S. House of Representatives, a position he has held for the past six years.

In conjunction with his new private legislative and political consulting business, he will now serve as the Moral Majority's Washington legislative consultant, in an effort to upgrade Moral Majority's research and lobbying effectiveness in our nation's capital.

Dingman has served a total of 31 years in federal service in Washington, including 13 years in senior congressional staff positions and 18 years with the Department of Defense. In 1969, he was chosen to represent the Department of Defense in the prestigious Congressional Fellows Program.

Former senate staffer

Dingman joins Moral Majority as Capitol liaison

Immediately prior to his retirement, Dingman directed a team of eleven highly respected legislative research specialists who produced a wide variety of fact sheets, background papers and other resource materials for the Republican Study Committee (RSC). The RSC's primary responsibility is to articulate and promote the conservative principles of government. He worked closely with over 160 members of Congress. Over the years, he has also developed a superior working relationship with many senators and cabinet officers.

During his years of working in congress, Dingman has had a leadership role in many legislative battles on issues of importance to Moral Majority members, such as school prayer, abortion, tuition tax credits and Christian broadcasting. He has also been instrumental in matters related to the protection and promotion of the Republic of China (Taiwan).

In 1977, Dingman was chiefly responsible for a major legislative victory over President Carter's proposal for national "instant voter registration," which would have opened the electoral process to a serious threat of widespread fraudulent voting. Using phony ID cards with the names and pictures of members of congress, he graphically proved how easily fraudulent cards could be obtained and used as the basis for people registering and voting illegally. After widespread publicity about the phony ID cards, the legislation died.

During Congressional consideration of the Taiwan Relations Act in 1979, following President Carter's breaking of

diplomatic relations with Taiwan, Dingman successfully engineered an amendment to allow Taiwan to retain its embassy and chancery real estate holdings in Washington, rather than requiring that the properties be turned over to the Communist Chinese, as President Carter had requested.

Concurrent with his duties on Capitol Hill, Dingman has been the chairman for the past five years of the Kingston Group, a weekly strategy meeting of about 50 of the nation's top conservative leaders in Washington. The Kingston Group is widely acclaimed among conservative leaders as a highly effective vehicle for promoting conservative causes.

During Dingman's years with the Defense Department, he held a variety of management and technical positions, including four years on the management staff of the Army's computer procurement office. He spent two years on active duty with the Army, including a year as an Army photographer in Korea during the mid 1950s. While in Korea he was very active with several missionary programs.

Dingman began his political career in 1964 when he successfully ran for the office of Town Councilman in his suburban hometown of Vienna, Va. He served five two-year terms, and retired from office in 1974. During his municipal government days, Dingman gained valuable experience by serving on numerous local, county, regional and state municipal league boards and commissions.

Over the years, Dingman's skills and

services have been publicly recognized on several occasions. In addition to his Congressional Fellowship in 1969, he was declared Vienna's Outstanding Young Man of the Year in 1970 and has been repeatedly listed in *Who's Who In American Politics*. On April 25, he will be awarded the National Association of Pro America Award of Recognition for his contributions to better government. He was also recently featured as the cover story in *Review of the News* magazine.

Dingman is a man of deep political and Christian commitment. He has worked for years encouraging Christians and others who share traditional values to become actively involved in our political process. With his wife, Ann, and their four children, they have been recently involved in the forming of a new independent Baptist Church in Vienna, Va. The new work, Central Baptist Church, is co-pastored by Rev. Steven Reynolds, a graduate of Liberty Baptist College and Seminary and Rev. Robert Egg, also a graduate of Liberty Baptist College.

Negotiations are currently under way regarding the possibility of Dingman serving as a visiting professor next year in the Liberty Baptist College Political Science program. His own academic achievements include undergraduate study at the University of Maryland and an MBA degree from American University in Washington, D.C.

Dingman currently serves on the boards of the Council for National Policy, The Religious Roundtable and the Young America's Foundation.

'Holy Terror' authors run scared

Fla Conway and Jim Siegelman, the co-authors of the book *Holy Terror* (Doubleday, 1982) stormed off the set of a Canadian TV talk show rather than debate Ed Dobson and Ed Hindson, senior editors of the *Fundamentalist*



Ed Hindson

Journal. The four appeared on Morton Shulman's talk show, "The Shulman File" (taped February 10 and aired March 19 and 27, 1983) on CTRY-TV in Toronto. The program is billed as Canada's number one talk show and has been hosted by Shulman for seventeen years.

The format included the four authors, a representative of Norman Lear's People for the American Way, an Episcopal priest who prints anti-Moral Majority posters, a representative of The Way International, and Chuck Templeton, a Canadian radio personality who is a former Fundamentalist evangelist-turned Liberal-turned Agnostic. The ninety-minute format was to include a lively interchange between all the guests centering on the issue of the book *Holy Terror* which is highly critical of Fundamentalists, accusing them of waging a "holy war" on America's freedoms.

Instead, Conway and Siegelman cracked under Shulman's investigative interview and became visibly upset right on camera and angrily stormed off the set during the first commercial break rather than face Dobson and Hindson in a cross-examination. Shulman stated that this was the first time in all his years



Ed Dobson

on television that he has had a guest walk off during the show. As they left the set Templeton remarked: "If you can't stand the heat get out of the kitchen!"

The authors had previously written a

book about religious conversions entitled *Snapping*. Hindson stated on the air: "This makes one wonder who snapped!" Shulman closed the broadcast by holding up a copy of *Holy Terror* and announcing: "I've learned one thing today... the authors of this book have no guts and I suspect very little truth!"

Dobson, who is currently completing a doctorate in Higher Education at the University of Virginia challenged the credibility of the author's research methods, noting that they never defined the term "Fundamentalist" or specified what it is (and is not) a religious "cult." Conway and Siegelman alleged the Navigators Bible Memory program was a form of mind manipulation. They also accused the entire evangelical missionary movement (led by the Wycliffe Bible Translators) of being linked to a CIA plot to overthrow the governments of the world and bring about a world-wide Fundamentalist take-over. In reply, Hindson and Dobson, themselves co-authors of the *Fundamentalist Phenomenon* (Doubleday, 1981), accused them of "cultic paranoia" of the worst sort and challenged them to an open debate on the issues.

Breeding

(continued from page 13)

promiscuous girls. Americans, today, look favorably upon birth control. But few of us understand its origins or objectives. Few know that birth control has always been a tool among the eugenicists.

As we discussed in an earlier edition (Moral Majority Report/ February 1983) the eugenicists were a group of individualists devoted to creating a better human race by preventing the birth of low quality babies from unfit parents.

The early eugenicists believe every humanhood quality, good and bad, was inherited from parents—wanderlust, musical ability, poverty, inventiveness, alcoholism, laziness, jealousy...

If only unfit parents could be prevented from having children, these eugenicists argued, mankind would evolve into a more talented, capable and brilliant human race.

This simplistic logic can be found in such statements as was made by W.E.D. Stokes, the American eugenicist who said, "There is no trouble to breed any kind of man you like, 4 feet men or 7 feet men—or, for instance, all to weigh 60 or 400 pounds, just as we breed horses." Birth control, then, became the tool eugenicists used to create this more perfect human race. Margaret Sanger, founder of Planned Parenthood, led the movement.

Sanger explained, "Birth control is nothing more or less than the facilitation of the process of weeding out the unfit, or preventing the birth of defectives or those who will become defectives."

So birth control began as a movement to socially control births. Today we use the term interchangeably with the more voluntary sounding family planning.

However, originally birth control was promoted as the right of society to regulate who may have children. It wasn't until after the term birth control became

stigmatized that eugenicists began speaking of family planning.

But, we must understand, eugenicists believe that if family planning services are made affordable to the poor, they will naturally opt for fewer children, leading to fewer unfit births.

Sanger had hoped that birth control would either be practiced, or forced if necessary, among the so-called degenerate population.

She not only believed poor people were the product of their parents' low intelligence levels, but she also believed Negroes were incapable of ever becoming worthwhile citizens.

She developed a plan where black ministers were to go through the South promoting contraception among Negroes.

But she worried that her motives might become known. So she told her colleagues to be careful that such objectives were not disclosed to blacks.

In a letter to Clarence Gamble, of the Ivory Soap fortune, she wrote, "We do not want word to get out that we want to exterminate the Negro population, and the minister is the man who can straighten out that idea if it ever occurs to any of their more rebellious members."

There is little doubt that availability of free contraception is often times directed particularly at blacks.

Economist Julian Simon, who recently authored The Ultimate Resource, noted, "Furthermore, there is statistical proof that the public birth-control clinics, which were first opened in large numbers in the southern states, were positioned to reduce fertility among blacks."

Even family planning advocates, such as Charles Westoff, know that effective contraception will have its largest impact on blacks. "The growth rate of the black population," he said, "would be reduced dramatically, judging from the extent of unwanted fertility reported by black women."

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★ Thick Heads?

Why is it that some of us on the right cannot resist the temptation to appear intolerant, thick-headed, and stupid? I am referring to the two letters to the editor which appeared in the March issue which dealt with Alan Alda's picture.

Two people wrote in screaming that they were amazed the MMR would print Alda's picture because he starred in that "pornographic" M.A.S.H., and how could Moral Majority sponsor such filth, and how could MMR name him as one of the "most admired men" in America? etc., etc.

Dear reader, if you only had read the article, you would have seen that MMR was only reporting the truth, disturbing as it may be. Alda was named one of the most admired men by Good Housekeeping readers, not MMR readers, and Moral Majority has never sponsored any television series, especially not M.A.S.H.

I hope I will not succumb to being a "see no evil, hear no evil" Christian—whatever your religious beliefs, I hope that all MMR readers will take the time to become educated and learn the facts. Keep on printing those pictures, editor!

Jane Wilkerson
LYNCHBURG, VA.

★ Reinstate Prayer

Recently, the Christian Broadcasters hailed President Ronald Reagan for his efforts to place voluntary prayer in our schools again, and for tax credits for parents who have children in private schools.

I do heartily commend Mr. Reagan for his efforts to reinstate prayer in schools, but must reject that of the tax credits.

In the history of the U.S. our schools have become breeding grounds for evolutionists, and anti-moralists. The reason has been the intervention of our Government into the public school system.

Once our Government has gotten a foothold in any program, it slowly begins to take over that program. Is this what Christians want for their schools?

I urge fellow Christians to write the President and express this fear hoping that such a program will never exist.

Len Buchtel
CHESTERFIELD, MO.

★ Stop!

Stop trying to clean up TV. Let the Devil have it!

Clint Childers
LANCASTER, OHIO

★ Breakdown

The future of our country is at stake and fast becoming a Sodom and Gomorrah. The daily attacks on moral decency causes one to wonder where our country will end up. Changes need to be made in our FCC laws that will protect society from Cableporn and bedroom scenes on TV between unmarried people. Also, the teaching of sex and Humanism in public schools causes a breakdown in morality.

The flood gates would have been opened long ago were it not for Moral Majority, Morality in Media, Coalition for Morality in TV and other Christian organizations who have been trying to stem the tide. All Christians should lend their support to these organizations or as Patrick Henry once said, "Either we work together or we will hang separately."

Daniel Blanchfield
PLACERVILLE, CALIF.

★ Two Terms

I truly believe with Mr. Jim Jeffries that all elected offices, from Dog Catcher to the President should be limited to two terms. There should also be no retirement fund from those offices. They should receive just social security like

everyone else. This way we could be putting back into our country instead of taking out all of the time. We might even get more dedicated men to serve our country.

Juanita Dickinson
ARROYO GRANDE, CALIF.

★ God's Gift

From the moment of conception a life has begun. To destroy a fetus is to refuse a gift from God! God did not need help to create humanity. He loved his people and offered them the joy of love and birth.

There are many ways for a husband and wife to enjoy the company of each other without sex.

Rosemary Macbeth
HARRISON, MICH.

★ 'Gumption'

I cannot help but admire the "sanctified gumption" God seems to have given you in these days when America seems to have gone mad over sin and corruption. You are aware of the fact that our nation is bowing at the shrine of two false gods—lust and luxury.

Fight on Sir! God has raised you up as his champion for truth in these days when our nation has gone mad with corruption and crime. We of the so-called "silent-majority" (God forbid that we should be silent any longer!) will hold you up with our prayers while you do so. My contribution is not large but I send it with thanksgiving for your efforts.

Ross E. Price
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.

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Rev. Paul Lindstrom, Headmaster

Reagan's recovery is coming

By Patrick J. Buchanan

While President Reagan's old friends are still refusing, on principle, to come in from the cold, there are signs of a Reagan political recovery, as unambiguous as the signs of economic recovery.

Review, if you will, the monthly reports from Dr. Gallup. In nine consecutive surveys taken since midsummer, the President's approval rating has remained remarkably constant—between 41 and 43 percent in each poll. (Disapproval has hung between 47 and 50 percent.) This, mind you, when Mr. Reagan's fellow countrymen were traversing the longest, deepest recession in the postwar era.

Since April, Dr. Gallup has been unable to find any measurable deterioration in the President's political base, despite the cries of "incompetence" from the left and "sellout" from the right. If Mr. Reagan has a rock-solid support level of 40, or above, the editorial writers and the *New York Times* might do well to burn all the back copies of the issues containing the lovely "stench of failure" piece they collaborated on during Happy Hour a month ago.

This is not to contend that all is smooth sailing from here on, into a second term. The international crisis created by the lunatic lending policies of the big banks is as yet unresolved, and could carry us all merrily over the cliff. But, clearly, the economy is "on the mend," the crocuses of spring are everywhere appearing, the Dow-Jones has risen hundreds of points, which spreads hundreds of billions in real and paper profits across the economy with the good cheer radiating out from Wall and Broad Streets to every village and hamlet.

As the economy moves upward, the "Bah, humbug!" of Tip O'Neill, and the nightly network recitals from "Les Miserables" and "Oliver Twist" could quickly become a national turnoff. For the truth is the American people, party and ideology aside, have come to rather like Old Dutch, and eagerly wish to see him succeed; and if he appears to be turning the corner, the sniping and corping of politicians and press, with a vested interest in his failure, will be rapidly dismissed as the sour grapes of essentially sour people.

Second, despite the promise of "compromise" and "flexibility" made in the President's name by the castfrats around him, the President will be in full-scale war with Congress by midsummer. It is inevitable. For the unstated aims of the majority on the Hill are to cancel his tax cuts, repeal his military program, take his job, and run him out of town.

The President's men preaching domestic detente are utopians; they want what they cannot have; they wish to retain the fruits of victory won in the ideological struggle of 1980 and the political battle of 1981 without paying the price of victory—permanent conflict with Washington's permanent government. They wish to keep all the spoils gained from routing and humiliating the national establishment while regaining the friendship and fellowship of that embittered establishment.

As the strategic objectives of the resurgent Democrats become more ap-

parent, the President will be forced into a more belligerent posture; and, as presidents from Roosevelt to Truman to Nixon have demonstrated, there is no more appealing stance a president can take that *contra* some entrenched oligarchy on behalf of a still-populist people. The American people love a good fight. Simply because the White House staff is put off by the unpleasantness of living in the contentious world of Us vs. Them does not alter the reality of Us vs. Them.

Finally, the emergence of the liberals and ultraliberals—Gary Hart, Walter Mondale and Alan Cranston—is good news for Mr. Reagan, if not the Democratic Party. The promise of all three—I shall go to Adroprov—might intrigue

the press and enchant the freeze-niks, but they are making the same blunder as George McGovern with his offer to crawl to Hanoi and beg the Politburo for release of the POWs. The unstated assumption of the Mondale Pledge is that the real obstacle to arms control, the true impediment to peace is not the former chief of the KGB but the ex-governor of California, a position that can, not unfairly, be characterized as an un-American slander on the President of the United States.

The path ahead is horribly pitted, however. Thanks to last summer's tax "reform," the economic afterburner that would be cutting in about now—the business tax cuts—was removed and junked; and savers and small bankers, Mr. Rea-

gan's people, are clamoring for repeal of the ridiculous withholding requirement on interest and dividends. Thanks to the Social Security "compromise" his men negotiated, this spring will find the President shoulder-to-shoulder with the congressional Democrats imposing another series of taxes on Middle America. And thanks to the nickel-a-gallon gasoline tax sold to the President in the lame-duck session, Middle America gets stung this spring, and the embattled truckers feel betrayed by a friend.

In truth, most of the potholes ahead would not be there if Mr. Reagan had not stubbornly refused to listen to the one adviser whose instincts have served him best throughout his career: himself.

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From Washington Journalism Review:

Conservative magazines and journals are at the top of Reagan's reading list; including *Human Events*, *National Review*, *Commentary*, *Reader's Digest* and *Policy Review*... among others. But reporters and associates say *Human Events* was his unabashed favorite. "Reagan would always stick the latest copy into his briefcase before taking a trip," says Peter Hannaford, a longtime Reagan associate and now a speechwriter and public-relations specialist. "He'd read it on the plane, pick up some new ideas, and they would find their way into a speech."

From the Wall Street Journal:

Mr. Reagan is a voracious reader of newspapers and conservative periodicals, such as *Human Events*, the entertaining but shrill bible of right-wing Republicanism. Between campaign stops, he is seen carefully clipping and underlining *Human Events* commentaries.

What Does Mr. Reagan Himself Say?

Just two months after his inauguration, President Reagan in a speech described "a sprightly written newsweekly coming out of Washington named *Human Events* that many said would never be taken seriously, but it would become later 'must reading' not only for Capitol Hill insiders but for all of those in public life."

No fluke, that tribute. On July 9, 1980, the *Wall Street Journal* quoted Ronald Reagan in the same vein: "Not a week goes by during my campaign that I don't take time to read *Human Events* from cover to cover."

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