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ROA NATIONAL SECURITY REPORT



The National Security Newsletter of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States. Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1983

Nuclear Deterrence Requires Capable Forces and National Resolve

By General B.J. Davis, USAF

The real significance of the report issued by the bipartisan Presidential Commission on Strategic Forces is that it presents a comprehensive view of our nation's security requirements. Even though it has been popularly labeled the MX Report, because of its recommendations for ICBM modernization, it is clearly much more.

The report focuses our attention once again on the fact that the President's strategic modernization program must be viewed in its entirety to understand its overall contribution to deterrence and its value as a meaningful incentive for the Soviets to seriously pursue arms reductions with the United States.

As the commission pointed out, deterrence is a function of perception. A viable deterrent force must be perceived to be capable, credible and stable. When taken as a whole, the president's program provides us with all three of these elements not only for the near-term but well into the 1990s and beyond.

To deter the Soviet Union from attempting a nuclear attack, we must make it clear that we have both the stra-



tegic force capability for effective retaliation and the will to use that capability if necessary. These two elements—capable forces and national resolve—must exist simultaneously in order to make our deterrent credible.

The contribution of nuclear weapons to our national security is derived from their ability to influence the behavior of potential adversaries, so the occasion for using them will never arise either from a misperception or miscalculation. To achieve this goal, both the U.S. and the Soviets must perceive the strategic equation as stable; one in which neither side will gain any advantage from initiating a nuclear war.

A key element in the U.S. approach to maintaining this type of stability is to pursue equitable and verifiable arms

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Moral Man in a Modern Nuclear Dilemma

By Admiral James D. Watkins, USN

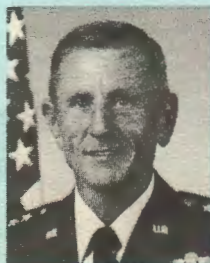
National defense and the morality of nuclear warfare are topics that seldom lend themselves to simplistic "either/or" decisions.

Each area is complex and decisions in the making are less between the absolutes of entirely good and 100 percent correct or entirely evil and dead wrong, than they are between the subtle nuances which make up the best possible course of action considering world realities.

Personally, I find the need to deal in nuclear weapons distasteful. I also find disproportionate use of force objectionable—whether thermonuclear or switchblade.

Do these findings make me a pacifist? No, they do not. For I also believe pro-

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General B. J. Davis, Commander-in-Chief of the Strategic Air Command, prepared these comments for the ROA National Security Report.

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National Security Report Wrap-up

Four months ago the pilot edition of this newsletter was published. A number of readers responded to the invitation to send in their constructive criticism. These were weighed by the Defense Education Committee and the result is this issue, the first regularly scheduled edition of the report.

The most obvious change is in the name. The pilot edition was called the "ROA Washington Report" for want of any better suggestion at the time. The new name, "ROA National Security Report" has been adopted as being more descriptive of what this is all about, both the contents of the newsletter and the mission of the publisher, the Reserve Officers Association of the United States.

Otherwise, reaction to the pilot edition was favorable. It attracted a number of comments from members and from senior leaders in the military, the Congress, and government. Excerpts were reprinted, some with credit, some without, by a number of publications, including the Congressional Record.

And many articles or article ideas were submitted. That is one reason that this issue is four pages larger than planned. Many of these articles were author-initiated and they were so timely and significant that immediate publication seemed warranted.

Some readers have asked about writing for the newsletter. For the moment the plan is to emphasize articles by experts on their areas of expertise. On occasion consideration will be given to pieces written by researchers on their research subjects, but priority will be given to the experts.

The newsletter's mission will be to inform both the membership and the national governmental policy makers of ROA's positions on matters of national security. Generally, all articles will reflect the official positions already taken by ROA. As to whether attempts will be made to air contrary views, the answer is no. There already are plenty of platforms available to the opposition and they need not look to ROA to subsidize their arguments.

On occasion, dual articles may appear to give differing views of a subject on which ROA has yet to take a position. This will be done in order to

President Calls for Patience in Preserving Peace

By Ronald Reagan

Some voices have been calling for the United States to slow down its defense program just when we are on the verge of realizing the defense posture our security requires and deterrence demands. During the decade of the seventies, those voices were listened to and

"We must have a defense program that will deter war by assuring a stable military balance."

it led to a significant erosion of our defense capabilities.

The result is the military imbalance that we are trying to overcome right now.

The Reserve Officers Association recognizes that peace and strength are bound together—that only a strong nation can deter those who would threaten the peace. We must have a defense program that will deter war by

produce a more informed membership preliminary to adoption of ROA's stand. When that type of coverage appears, it will be clearly labelled for what it is, and as not necessarily reflecting an official ROA position.

As with the pilot edition, distribution will continue to be made to policy leaders in the White House, on Capitol Hill, and in the Pentagon. They will receive this newsletter as a separate publication, independent of "The Officer" magazine.

The ROA membership is receiving this issue as a supplement to "The Officer" for only one reason: money. Just to mail the issue independently by bulk mail would run \$7,500 an issue. That's just about equal to the whole printing and production costs of an issue. The Defense Education Fund is not in the position to handle these dual expenses at the present time.

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assuring a stable military balance. The essential counterpart to a credible deterrent posture is an unshakable commitment to seek meaningful, equitable, and verifiable arms reductions.

These two pillars of my national security program offer the promise of a safer, less threatening world.

But we need the gift of patience. Peace and security are goals, not policy. We must recognize that rebuilding our defense posture will take time and considerable resources. The search for meaningful arms reductions requires tough negotiations.

We are serious about the current negotiations and continue to believe that if the Soviet leadership will negotiate with us in that spirit, the prospects for agreement are good. We will continue to do everything possible to move this difficult and complex process forward.

We have made tremendous strides during the past two years, and are working to restore our security to the level where deterrence can be ensured and peace can be preserved. We are, however, only on the road to recovery. There is still much to be done. The key to success hinges on our ability as a nation to sustain the effort.

Our last period of neglect to defense brought into question our reliability as an ally, made the Soviet Union more brazen and willing to take risks, endangered the deterrent posture of our nuclear defenses, and did not provide any incentives for the Soviet Union to sit down and negotiate meaningful arms reductions.

We must now summon the will to regain the ground that was lost. □



President Reagan provided these comments within a letter praising the pilot issue of this ROA Report.



Reserve Components Significant to Army's Missions, Readiness

By General John A. Wickham, Jr., USA

The Defense Guidance assigns the Army with the responsibility to respond worldwide to a variety of contingencies. In order to accomplish this, the role of the Army National Guard and the U.S. Army Reserve in the Total Force has increased continually since 1973.

The reserve components provide 33 per cent of the Army's combat divisions, 65 per cent of the Army's combat service support, and 46 per cent of the Army's total strength. Reserve component readiness has continued an upward trend since 1973 and the Army currently has numerous projects and efforts in progress to continue this trend.

The Army's Reserve command structure, particularly the Army Readiness and Mobilization Region (ARMR) headquarters, has been criticized in the past from a variety of sources as being overly layered and duplicative. The Deputy Secretary of Defense has now approved an Army plan for the reorganization of the reserve component command structure. This plan will eliminate the nine ARMRs and establish two additional Continental United States Army (CONUSA) headquarters.

The reorganization plan is a solid step in strengthening U.S. Army Reserve chain of command and capitalizes on the substantial progress previously made in strengthening the reserve components' chain of command, as well as on training and mobilization improvements.

This reorganization plan will also provide for rapid force expansion, easier transition to war and coordination between the Army and the Federal



Florida Reservists from the USAR's 11th Special Forces Group train for chilly missions at Northern New York's Fort Drum.

Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) by better aligning CONUSA and FEMA boundaries. An important aspect will involve increased reserve component chain of command responsibilities for training and mobilization.

The implementation plan is in the initial stages. Planning is on schedule and we have set October 1, 1983 and October 1, 1985 as milestones for beginning and completing the reorganization. The reorganization will be accomplished in a manner to minimize turbulence.

Another Army effort, the Full Time Manning (FTM) program, which started in 1980, is proceeding on schedule. By the end of FY83 the Army is authorized 1,554 active component and 7,986 reserve component FTM personnel. We expect the reserve portion of the program to increase to at least 21, 991 in FY88.

We believe the current active component authorization is adequate and no plans currently exist to increase its

portion of the program above the existing authorization.

Occasionally critics charge that reserve component units, compared to their active counterparts, receive older, outdated equipment. While there may have been some truth to this in the past, the fact is that the Total Army is equipped with a mix of old and new equipment.

Equipment is distributed to all Army components according to unit mission requirements on a "First to Fight is First Equipped" policy. Equipment for the Army is programmed, purchased, and distributed for the Total Army, not for separate components. The Army is programming approximately \$800 million per year of new equipment for distribution to the reserve components.

The Total Army requirement for an equipment item is based on the Army Acquisition Objective which is derived from the Total Army structure of active and reserve components. Modernization items are distributed according to specific distribution plans which are based on readiness and support considerations. Routine distribution for non-modernization items is accomplished according to priorities contained in the Department of the Army Master Priority List.

Our reserve component roundout units are assigned the same priority as their active component gaining unit to insure compatibility of equipment. Reserve units are currently receiving M60A3 tanks, AH-1S and UH-60 helicopters, and the improved TOW Vehicle (Mod). M1 tanks will be issued to a National Guard unit later this year.

These and similar Army efforts will continue to be directed toward improving readiness of the reserve components as part of the Total Force. This year of 1983 is the Year of Excellence for the United States Army.

The Army's goal is to produce through leadership, effective training and individual achievement, the finest Soldiers in the world. □



General John A. Wickham, Jr., becomes Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army on July 1, 1983. He submitted this article directly to this newsletter.



Marine Corps Reserve Meets Challenge of the '80s

By General P.X. Kelley, USMC

Marking its 67th anniversary on August 29, the Marine Corps Reserve exists for the express purpose of augmenting and reinforcing the active forces with well-trained units and highly qualified individuals.

Personnel readiness and quality are of paramount concern as our reserve moves to meet a new era of growing commitments. By the same token, materiel readiness in our ground and aviation components is essential to our ability to execute our mission.

The Marine Corps Reserve consists of both active and retired categories. The 93,351-man active reserve, along with its assigned support personnel, contains the Selected Marine Corps Reserve, Individual Ready Reserve, and standby reserve, as well as active duty support personnel.

To fully appreciate the role of the Marine Corps Reserve, it should be viewed within the context of the Total Force policy. The Marine Corps Reserve provides one-third of the corps' total wartime manpower capability and one-fourth of the total corps' structure available upon mobilization.

The ready reserve is the primary source of reserve manpower. It consists of the Selected Marine Corps Reserve and the Individual Ready Reserve. The preponderance of selected reserve personnel form the 4th Marine Division, 4th Marine Aircraft Wing, and 4th Force Service Support Group.

The remainder of the ready reservists are either preassigned specific mobilization billets or form a readily accessible

manpower pool which can be drawn upon to fill personnel shortages in the active or reserve forces.

It is Marine Corps policy that Reserve units be maintained to support the assigned missions of the Marine Corps.

In keeping with that policy, the selected reserve is tasked with being prepared to mobilize trained units to selectively augment or reinforce the active forces, provide a Marine Amphibious Brigade, or field a 4th Division/Wing Team in support of various worldwide active force contingency missions.



These roles represent options for employment rather than employment priorities. With these options, the Fleet Marine Forces can be provided with the level and type of combat, combat support, and combat service support required to achieve full wartime capability.

The readiness of the Selected Marine Corps Reserve has increased significantly as evidenced by the attainment of 105 per cent of planned end-strength last year. We ended the year with a total paid strength of 40,461, and, in addition, a record high 88.5 per cent high school graduates among non-prior service recruits.



Over the past four years, our Total Force policy has taken positive shape. For regular and reserve forces alike, manpower quality goals have been raised and met across the board. Force structure and modernization programs are going forward together. Training programs and materiel needs have been more clearly defined and coordinated.

Another major reason for our optimism is the public's perception of the military in general as "improved," and there has been a corresponding improvement in the attitude toward and within the reserve.

Overall, our Marine Corps Reserve rests on a solid foundation, one on which we have every intention of continuing to build, to achieve our readiness goal.

I do not consider readiness simply a military prerogative. It is a commitment. The Marine Corps intends to ensure that every Marine and every Marine unit, regular or reserve, has the materiel, the training, and the support to meet that commitment.

In the final analysis, it is a commitment between the Marines and the people of America. □

General P. X. Kelley prepared this article specifically for this newsletter. He becomes Commandant of the Marine Corps on July 1, 1983. His experience with the Marine Reserve includes a tour as commanding general of its reserve division, the 4th Marine Division.





Reservists Critical to Frigate Anti-Submarine Program

By Vice Admiral Harry S. Schrader, Jr., USN

The Naval Reserve Force Antisubmarine Warfare Frigate Program has attracted a great deal of attention ever since its inception, and rightfully so.

More than 80 percent of all Naval reservists are in surface programs. The 24 modern frigates planned to transfer to the Naval Reserve Force are tangible evidence of the renewed commitment of the Navy to the revitalization of the surface Naval Reserve and the implementation of the One Navy policy.

Not only is the reserve getting new and highly capable combatants but they are playing significantly expanded roles throughout the program. The Chief of Naval Reserve is involved to a far greater extent in scheduling operations, training selected reservists, and executing ship maintenance.

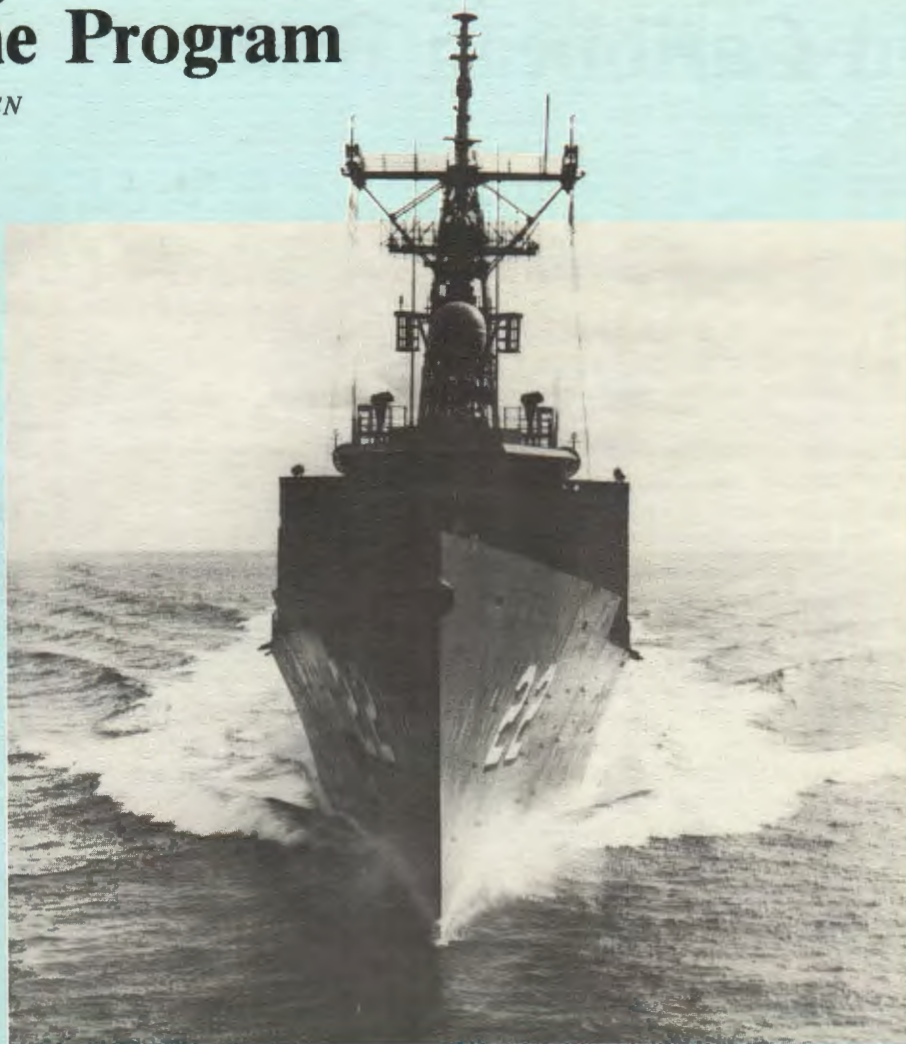
Selected reservists are to comprise 50 per cent and 40 per cent of the FF-1052 and FFG-7 Class frigate crews respectively. Even most of the active duty billets are being filled by reservists through a major expansion of the enlisted TAR program.

In addition to manning the new frigates, reservists are fixing them too. Shore Intermediate Maintenance Activity/Naval Reserve Maintenance Facilities are being established in the homeports designated for the NRF frigates. These facilities are also manned preponderately by reservists through active TAR assignment and selected reserve drill-site and active duty for training performance.

The co-location of ships and repair facilities provides a unique association for continuous, dedicated maintenance



Vice Admiral Harry C. Schrader is the Commander, Naval Surface Force, U.S. Pacific Fleet. He submitted this article to this newsletter.



USS Fahrion (FFG-22) will join the Naval Reserve Fleet in January, 1988.

support. Due to major reductions in active duty shipboard personnel, the frigates benefit from organizational as well as intermediate maintenance activity level support from "their" maintenance facilities on an ongoing basis.

The interface of the frigates and the facilities also provides a natural sea/shore rotation opportunity for the career development of the active duty TAR personnel as well as the inactive selected reserves.

As the type commander for the reserve frigates in the Pacific, I can attest to the highly successful transition already achieved by USS Lang (FF-1060) and USS Gray (FF-1054) since joining the force in 1982.

The ships have supported every reserve drill weekend and annual active duty for training requirement with challenging training. Maximum utilization of trainers and submarine services and specially tailored refresher training and anti-submarine warfare exercises have honed thoroughly integrated and exceptionally capable crews. Readiness levels have remained high, and in some instances even increased, during the first year in the reserve force.

This program is dynamic, and it is working. The Naval Reserve manning challenge will call for unprecedented commitment as more modern frigates transfer into the reserve force in larger numbers during the next few years. I am confident that the initial successes already achieved will lead to a strong and viable One Navy. □



Soviets Threaten U.S. Security in Caribbean Basin

By General John W. Vessey, Jr., USA

It has been made clear by President Reagan that Central America is a vital interest to the United States, closely linked to our security and well-being, and vital precisely because how people live and work there is a matter which affects every one of our citizens.

The region is important because of its proximity to our shores. It is important because of our economic ties, and it is important because of its strategic location.

But there is another and more fundamental reason that this area is important. The region is comprised of independent and proud people who share with the people of the United States a love of freedom, a trust in democracy, and a hope for peace.

The President has established these goals for U.S. policy in the area:

- We will support democracy and human freedom.
- We will support economic freedom. By a margin of three to one, U.S. aid is economic. We recognize that military assistance is complementary to other essential national development programs.
- We will support the security of the region's threatened democracies.
- We will support dialogue and negotiations, both among the countries of the region and within each country.

Unhappily, some countries in Central America are torn by violence or



beset by terrorism. To economic problems and the stress of modernization has been added the specter of Marxist totalitarianism.

Foreign military power is being thrust upon the region by the Soviet Union and its puppets in Cuba, Libya, and the Warsaw Pact. These governments seek to spread totalitarianism by exploiting instability in the region. They give arms and training to misguided extremists who seek to gain by violence what they have failed to gain by democratic process.

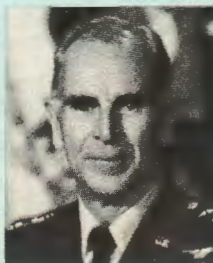
Consider the freely-elected govern-

ment of El Salvador. There are 7,000 armed insurgents trying to shoot their way into the government. The Leftist guerillas have responded in a predictable manner to the call for democracy, reform, and human freedom.

Last year when it was time for the elections, the guerrilla motto, spread throughout the country to the people, was, "Vote and die." The people ignored that and voted anyway.

This year, when it's time to plant, the farmers in El Salvador are being warned, "Plant and die." Clearly the Leftists were repudiated in last year's

Also a contributor to the pilot edition of this newsletter, General John W. Vessey's comments here reflect speeches made in New Orleans and the Canal Zone this spring. He is the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.





“The entire region is facing a crisis, with needed social and economic change aggravated by subversion in many of the countries.”

election, yet, they continue to ransack the country.

On May 8 they seized Cinquera, a small town protected by 40 civil defense members with 7 rifles and an outpost of about 40 soldiers. And 16 of the town's defenders had their thumbs tied behind their backs and were executed.

Members of the population—men, women and children—were murdered. Of the 60 men in the town, only 16 survived. These facts certainly belie the Leftist boast that they are the popularly-supported liberators.

I don't contend that there isn't violence, cruel violence, on both sides. And I don't excuse unnecessary violence by any government. But certainly violence breeds violence, and we need to provide our help in providing stability there.

No member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, nor the civilian leaders in the Department of Defense, advocate introducing U.S. combat forces to try to implement an American military solution to the problems of Central America. We don't want that to happen, and the governments down there that are trying to get our help don't want it to happen.

But military assistance and training assistance are urgently needed. Insurgencies such as those in El Salvador must be handled by a combination of political, economic, military and social efforts. We already have too many Soviet-supported communist governments in this hemisphere and we don't need any more.

President Reagan has reminded us that Central America's economic and military importance to the United States is often understated.

For example, 44 percent of all foreign tonnage that comes into this country and 45 percent of all our crude oil imports come through the Caribbean.



The Caribbean Basin is also our fourth largest market for exports.

Although many Americans are well aware of our close ties to our European allies, few recognize that half of our NATO support would come through the Caribbean. We live in this hemisphere. It's clear that we have vital interests in Central America and the Caribbean and we have to look very seriously at our legitimate security concerns.

Around Easter time, photographs were published of Navy F-14 fighters escorting Soviet Bear bombers off the

East Coast and down into the Caribbean to their bases in Cuba. Those Soviet aircraft serve as a reminder of the growing influence of foreign presence here in the hemisphere. Soviet influence and presence in Cuba has grown dramatically in recent years.

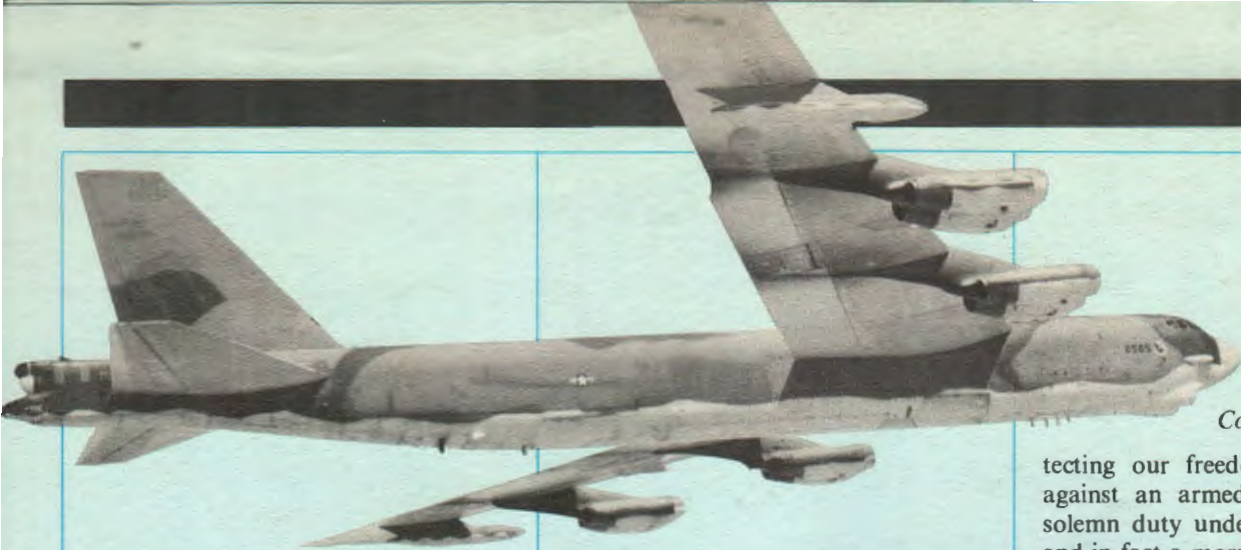
In the decade between 1970 and 1980, there was thirteenfold increase in Soviet naval activity in the Caribbean. The stream of Soviet military assistance to Cuba and to its southern allies in Central America has been incessant. Last year more than a billion dollars in security assistance was provided to Cuba alone.

And do not forget such activity as the recent incident where Libyan airplanes were detained in Brazil, exporting violence labeled as “medical supplies.”

The struggling governments and people in the Caribbean and Central American region need our strong support, not only because of our traditional cultural and economic ties with the region, but because of the strategic imperatives that face the United States. The entire region is facing a crisis, with needed social and economic change aggravated by subversion in many of the countries. The need to sustain social, economic, and political progress is clear.

But for countries like El Salvador, there are pressing reasons why they must have military assistance in order to have the security to allow for other reforms to take place. Some have suggested that the United States should withdraw its support until social reform is more apparent. What's overlooked here is that reform cannot be achieved in the face of subversion and open aggression.

To abandon these struggling governments, as some suggest, would bring about more harmful change than we can do by staying there. □



NUCLEAR DETERRENCE

Continued from page 1

reduction agreements. It is my firm belief that the only way to convince the Soviets that an arms reduction agreement is in their best interest as well as ours is to make it clear to them they cannot and will not dominate the strategic nuclear balance.

The recommendations proposed by the Special Commission on Strategic Forces transmits this message to the Soviet Union.

Regarding the recommendation to deploy the Peacekeeper Missile in existing Minuteman III silos while we pursue research and development of a new small, single warhead ICBM, I believe this to be the most logical and militarily sound way to proceed.

It is important to realize that this is a two-track, sequential modernization program for our land based ICBMs. The Peacekeeper Missile is needed now to help restore a balance of strategic forces and to provide the Soviets the incentive to pursue arms reductions.

To forego deployment of the Peacekeeper Missile while waiting for the new small missile to be deployed in the early 1990s would send a deplorable message to the Soviets. It would signal a lack of U.S. resolve not only to the Soviet Union but to our allies as well.

As I have stated on numerous occasions before Congress, the primary reason for the Peacekeeper Missile is deterrence. As the President's Special Commission pointed out in their report, no weapon system has ever been built or is likely to be built that is completely invulnerable.

It is the complementary characteristics of the TRIAD of land based ICBMs, manned penetrating bombers and sea-launched ballistic missiles that permit individual weapon systems to be relatively more or less vulnerable than others and still offer valuable advan-

tages in the overall equation of a convincing deterrent force.

The recommendations put forth by the Special Commission on Strategic Nuclear Forces refocuses our attention on the comprehensive nature of providing for national security. The support that the special commission's report has received from the Department of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and from within the Congressional ranks, signals a strong consensus for a unified strategic program which is designed to enhance deterrence and promote stability.

I am confident that the recommendations put forth by the commission will win Congressional approval and will lead us to a safer, more secure world in the future. □



MORAL MAN

Continued from page 1

tecting our freedom and loved ones against an armed aggressor to be a solemn duty under my oath of office and in fact a moral necessity.

Does this make me a war monger? No, it does not.

But the question can still be asked: How can a moral man ever justify even the mere possession of nuclear weapons? Let me make my position very clear. There are two basic realities which I see as the foundation for my moral decisions regarding nuclear weapons.

First, nuclear weapons do exist. Wishing them away, demonstrating them away, won't make them go away. They exist as weapons in the hands of sovereign nations, friend and foe alike.

Secondly, I cannot apologize for my country having a nuclear capability. If nuclear balance is destroyed by unilateral disarmament, I believe the likelihood of nuclear use could well increase, rather than decrease.

These terrible weapons are also in the armories of the Soviet Union, a nation whose leadership is dedicated to the very antithesis of democracy and freedom.

So how do we defend ourselves in today's nuclear age? Unfortunately, it means we have no realistic choice but to be prepared to respond proportionately to deter aggression. It is my stand that the most moral choice available in today's circumstance, in an imperfect world, is to possess a deterrent nuclear strength proportionate to the nuclear threat we face.

But possession of a nuclear weapon by a peaceful nation, committed to a defensive strategy, will not necessarily deter an aggressor. A deterrent force, to perform its moral function of keeping

Continued on next page



Admiral James D. Watkins is the Chief of Naval Operations. He provided this article drawn from a San Diego, Calif., speech this May.



MORAL MAN

peace, must be credible in substance and perceived national resolve to employ it in defense of our nation, if attacked.

Nuclear deterrence, through offensive weapons, is also not an end in itself. It is only a small interim step while aggressively moving toward achieving long-range goals of a defensive posture and balanced nuclear arms reduction.

Our national goal, peace through strength, is consistent with the moral philosophy I have attempted to convey so far. The other Joint Chiefs of Staff and I fully support the President's goal of ensuring that our strategic forces are sufficient to deter war while vigorously pursuing vital arms reductions. These two goals are integrally linked, inseparably entwined.

I cannot agree with those individuals who would discard deterrence in the near term or who desire peace at any price. I believe in the morality of self-sacrifice for the betterment of society as a whole, the morality of a reasonable self-defense against a threatening aggressor. The moral course is with defending and protecting our freedoms.

Until all governments decide our planet is too small to wage war, it would be immoral to disarm unilaterally—either by omission or commission.

President Reagan has acknowledged the seriousness of this national debate and the defense posture he has plotted for this nation follows a morally sound course.

He believes that by sustaining an effective nuclear deterrent posture, and simultaneously working for mutually verifiable arms reductions, we will preserve the peace without sacrificing our freedom. To sustain an effective deterrent demands the modernization program debated in depth for two years and now fully defined and once again placed before the Congress.

The Joint Chiefs unanimously support the President's nuclear modernization program. We believe it contains only the minimum essential ingredients to provide a credible and proportionate response to potential aggression—no more.

My highest moral imperative is to defend my country to the utmost of my ability. I can and will honor my twin oaths of duty. I can do this "freely, without mental reservation or purpose of evasion" because I have no moral conflict with the course set by the President. It is the right one. □

Nuclear Build-down An Answer for the Future

By Senator William S. Cohen

The tension between proponents of a nuclear arms freeze and advocates of modernization of the United States' strategic forces seems to be intensifying as increasing numbers of Americans focus on these issues. The friction is aggravated by a widespread perception that arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union are stalled and by questions about the direction and focus of programs for modernizing our strategic forces.

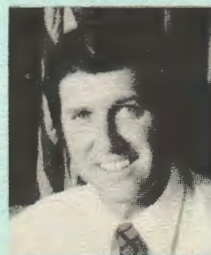
The irony in the growing domestic debate is that the "opposing" sides share basic objectives. Supporters of a freeze and advocates of modernization both seek to enhance strategic stability through equal reductions in nuclear arsenals by the Soviet Union and the United States. Both hold the view that any agreement on reductions must be mutually verifiable. Both favor negotiations with the Soviet Union aimed at significant arms control.

I am convinced that in these shared objectives lay the seeds for a broad consensus. What is needed is a formula that will accommodate the need to modernize both superpowers' systems to insure that they remain a credible deterrent while at the same time forcing a reduction in the actual numbers of nuclear weapons.

A resolution before the Senate outlines a principle that would provide a basis for a national consensus. The principle can be called a "mutual, guaranteed, nuclear arms build-down."

Adoption of this principle would place an immediate price on the deployment of new weapons systems: automatic, concomitant reductions.

Senator William S. Cohen (R.-Me.) submitted this article to the ROA National Security Report. He chairs the Senate Subcommittee on Sea Power and Force Projection and is a member of the Subcommittee on Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces.



Essentially, a superpower would be required to eliminate two older, less stabilizing nuclear warheads for each new warhead added to its force. In order to modernize, to add more-survivable and reliable weapons to its arsenal, a side would have to be willing to accept a net reduction in its total number of warheads.

The net reduction in numbers of weapons, accompanied by a net increase in the survivability and reliability of deployed systems, would reduce tensions and give less cause for turning to strategies calling for hair-trigger responses to perceived threats.

The precise elements of the formula could be devised to focus narrowly on particular groups of weapons or broadened to encompass a wide range of nuclear armaments. But, in my view, it is important to keep tactical weapons in a separate category from longer-range systems.

In general terms, the concept would include the following points:

- For each new warhead deployed, a side would be required to eliminate two older warheads.
- Each side would exercise the principle of freedom-to-mix in determining trade-offs and composition of its strategic force.
- Useful counting rules and implementation procedures from the SALT agreements could be retained.
- The superpowers would agree on verification steps, including cooperative measures as necessary, that insure confidence in compliance.

The reaction to the build-down concept has been gratifying. Thus far, 45 Senators, some who support a freeze and some who do not, have thrown their support behind the resolution. Senator Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, called it "one of the most innovative and promising arms control proposals to be presented to the Senate in many years."

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NATO's Western Europe First Line of U.S. Defense

By General Bernard W. Rogers, USA

The United States must lead in promoting political cohesion and strengthening NATO's military posture. Strong U.S. leadership, in turn, requires a consensus among American political leaders and opinion makers on political and military issues related to the security of Western Europe.

Today, that consensus, and consequently American leadership in NATO, are being undermined by several misconceptions which have unfortunately gained a hold in the minds of many of our fellow citizens.

One such notion is that after almost 40 years of U.S. postwar involvement in European defense, it is now time to leave the security of Europe to the Europeans. This view fails to recognize, first of all, that a free and independent Western Europe is a most vital American interest, the first line of defense of the United States and the values we treasure.

Second, this misconception underestimates the substantial contributions which Europeans are making today to their own defense. Many of these costs are not readily apparent, such as the human and social costs of relying on conscription to man their forces and the hidden economic costs of using European real estate without reimbursement (on a continent where real estate is scarce) for stationing and training of allied forces.

Many Americans do not realize that during the 1970's while U.S. defense spending declined in real terms, the European allies increased their defense spending by about 2 per cent per year



after inflation. Furthermore, while West European allies possess about half of the total population and Gross National Product of the Alliance, should the Warsaw Pact attack today, 90 per cent of the land forces and 75 per cent of the naval and air forces which NATO could bring to bear initially would be West European.

Some of those questioning the need to maintain the current level of U.S. commitments to Western Europe claim that other areas of the world are more likely and more vulnerable targets for Soviet aggression.

Western Europe currently is not the most likely arena for a confrontation

with the Soviets. But the Soviet Union's paramount objective continues to be to split the United States from its allies and to dominate Western Europe without firing a shot.

In devising alternatives to deal with more likely areas for Soviet confrontation, alternatives which include the withdrawal of U.S. Forces from Europe, critics of U.S. commitments to Western Europe run the risk of handing the Soviets their prime objective by shattering the NATO framework that has kept its nations free and independent.

For its own interests and those of its allies, the United States must maintain

Continued on next page

These remarks were submitted by General Bernard W. Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander Europe, based on a Pittsburgh speech this spring.





NATO'S WESTERN EUROPE

Continued from page 10

its commitments to NATO and exert strong leadership within the Alliance. Failure to do so will contribute to an erosion of European political will for continuing the sacrifices required for security and freedom. The Alliance must be strong and cohesive and the United States is the key to preserving that posture.

Regarding the debate in this country and in Europe over the moral implications of nuclear deterrence, simply denouncing nuclear weapons solves nothing; nor can they be wished away.

The legitimate path to the moral high ground can only be found by adopting a realistic view of the world in which we live. And valid moral prescriptions cannot flow from wishfully crediting a potential adversary with attributes he has never shown to date.

Certainly, all instruments of war, but especially nuclear weapons, raise moral questions. In this imperfect world, the rejection or undermining of nuclear deterrence by nations responsible for the protection of their peoples from tyranny has far more serious moral consequences than the retention of that deterrence so long as we face an amoral and aggressive regime which possesses nuclear weapons and persistently resists efforts to control and reduce them.

And for our deterrent to be credible, we must convey the impression that, as a last resort, we are willing to use nuclear weapons to defend ourselves.

Deterrence based on political cohesion and military strength is key to achieving the equitable and verifiable arms reduction accords and controls that are NATO's ultimate national security goal.

This goal is not furthered by proposals for a mutual nuclear freeze which would, in fact, undermine efforts to secure arms reductions because it would remove the incentive for the Soviets to reduce their nuclear systems which are more numerous, appropriate and modern than ours.

Furthermore, advocates of a nuclear freeze ignore that modern replacements for obsolete nuclear systems can reduce the danger of nuclear war by making those systems more stable, more reliable and less vulnerable, permitting the preservation of the same degree of deterrence with reduced sizes and numbers of nuclear warheads. □

ROA OUTLOOK ON CAPITOL HILL

By Lieutenant Bruce Spiher, USNR

A number of the issues are important to ROA's current efforts in support of National Security. Here are some.

ROA supports meaningful and mutual arms reductions. However, we oppose the concept of a nuclear freeze because it would not serve the best interests of the U.S.: it would lock the Soviet Union into a position of military advantage and remove any incentive for significant reductions of their nuclear weapons.

Production and testing of the MX missile recently was approved by both the House and Senate, which authorized \$625-million for MX basing and flight testing funds. This was the first important MX vote this year.

Aid to Latin American countries is supported by ROA. At press-time, this aid was being hotly debated. Some House members seem to be determined to end support for U.S. government activities designed to stop the growth of Soviet and Cuban influence in that region.

Defense spending proposals probably will be reduced despite the president's request for a real increase of 10 per cent to sustain his force modernization program needed after years of neglect. The House Armed Services Committee proposed a six per cent increase, while the House Budget Committee recommended a four per cent increase. On the Senate side, its Budget Committee set a target of about five percent real growth. It's still too early to predict the outcome.

Several legislators have suggested that the best way to reduce defense spending with the least negative impact

on military readiness would be to reduce active manpower strengths and simultaneously shift some responsibilities to the reserve components while increasing reserve resources to support the additional tasking. ROA supports approving these proposals. Senator John Warner (R-Va.) is a leading proponent of this philosophy but cautions that implementation must follow very careful planning.

Although the Reagan Administration proposed a freeze on military pay, it seems likely that military pay will be increased by four per cent in FY84 but may be delayed by as much as six months.

Support is growing for enactment of a new G.I. Education bill. Recruiting levels are high at the present but incentives such as a G.I. Bill will be essential when the economy improves and other job opportunities take away potential recruits. Additionally, the shrinking pool of eligible males poses a serious problem for the not-too-distant future.

Military retired pay is under attack again. The Administration has recommended some cuts and the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Manpower and Personnel, Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), is determined to make cuts. ROA strongly maintains that service people have given the country their service, dedication, and loyalty. Military retired pay has been earned and its integrity must be maintained.

Drilling reservists are not presently entitled to military medical coverage if they become sick or injured while traveling to or from required training duty. An amendment to the Senate version of the Defense Authorization would provide this coverage. Separate legislation to offer this coverage has also been introduced in the House.

Army Reserve officers on contract active duty tours cannot be promoted, even if they are selected for promotion, unlike the other services. Measures to correct this inequity have been introduced in the House and Senate. □



Lieutenant Bruce Spiher is a drilling Naval Reservist on the professional staff of ROA Headquarters. He is the ROA Legislative Counsel.



NUCLEAR BUILD-DOWN

Continued from page 9

Former Senator and Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie, a nuclear freeze proponent who served for a number of years as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee's arms control subcommittee, recently endorsed the build-down concept as "the kind of constructive initiative for which those of us who support a nuclear freeze have been waiting."

The President has committed himself to work with the Congress to define a specific build-down proposal that could be presented to the Soviets promptly. Such a measure could go into effect immediately after its negotiation, in order to regulate force changes pending a final START agreement.

Proponents of a freeze are concerned that initiating new weapons programs without agreed constraints would simply increase each side's forces and thereby increase the common danger. This is a serious and legitimate concern.

Advocates of modernization of forces worry that arms control agreements will leave the United States with vulnerable, aging weapons systems. This, too, is a serious and legitimate concern.

The build-down offers a means of uniting these two groups by meeting their basic, well-founded concerns. It can be a bridge to a new and strong coalition in the United States that would enhance the prospect for more comprehensive mutual restraint with the Soviet Union. In the long run, we cannot hope to find common ground with the Soviet Union until we find common ground for Americans.

ROA NATIONAL SECURITY REPORT

A project of the Defense Education Fund of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, 1 Constitution Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. The ROA National Security Report is financed solely through tax-deductible contributions to the Defense Education Fund of the ROA.

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COLONEL HERBERT M. HART,
USMC (Ret)
EDITOR

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REPORT WRAP-UP

Continued from page 2

Contingent on voluntary contributions to the fund, it is planned to publish one more edition as a magazine supplement. It will appear in September. Three more bi-monthly numbers are planned—separate from the magazine, if possible. Then there will be a period of reviewing and assessing. If the funds

"If the Defense Education Fund is to perform its mission . . . contributions to the fund are essential because no ROA dues or other monies are to be used."

are available, it may then be possible to achieve a second purpose for the newsletter, doubling ROA's contacts with the membership through monthly publication of a separate newsletter.

The secret to all of this is really no secret. It's money. If the Defense Education Fund is to perform its mission of informing the membership and the policy makers of ROA's stands on national security, contributions to the fund are essential because no ROA dues or other monies are to be used. There is a form on the bottom of this page which can be used in participating in the 1983 Defense Education Fund drive.

It is hoped that this first regular issue of the "ROA National Security Report" will be considered worthy of the membership and also effective in helping to carry out ROA's Congressional mandate to assure an adequate national security. —HMH



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Washington, DC 20002

Here is my contribution to the 1983 Defense Education Fund Campaign.

Check enclosed. This is a pledge to be paid in 1983.

- | | |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> \$1000 J. J. PERSHING CLUB | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100 BENEFACTOR |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 750 DEFENDER | <input type="checkbox"/> 50 SPONSOR |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 500 PATRIOT | <input type="checkbox"/> 25 CONTRIBUTOR |
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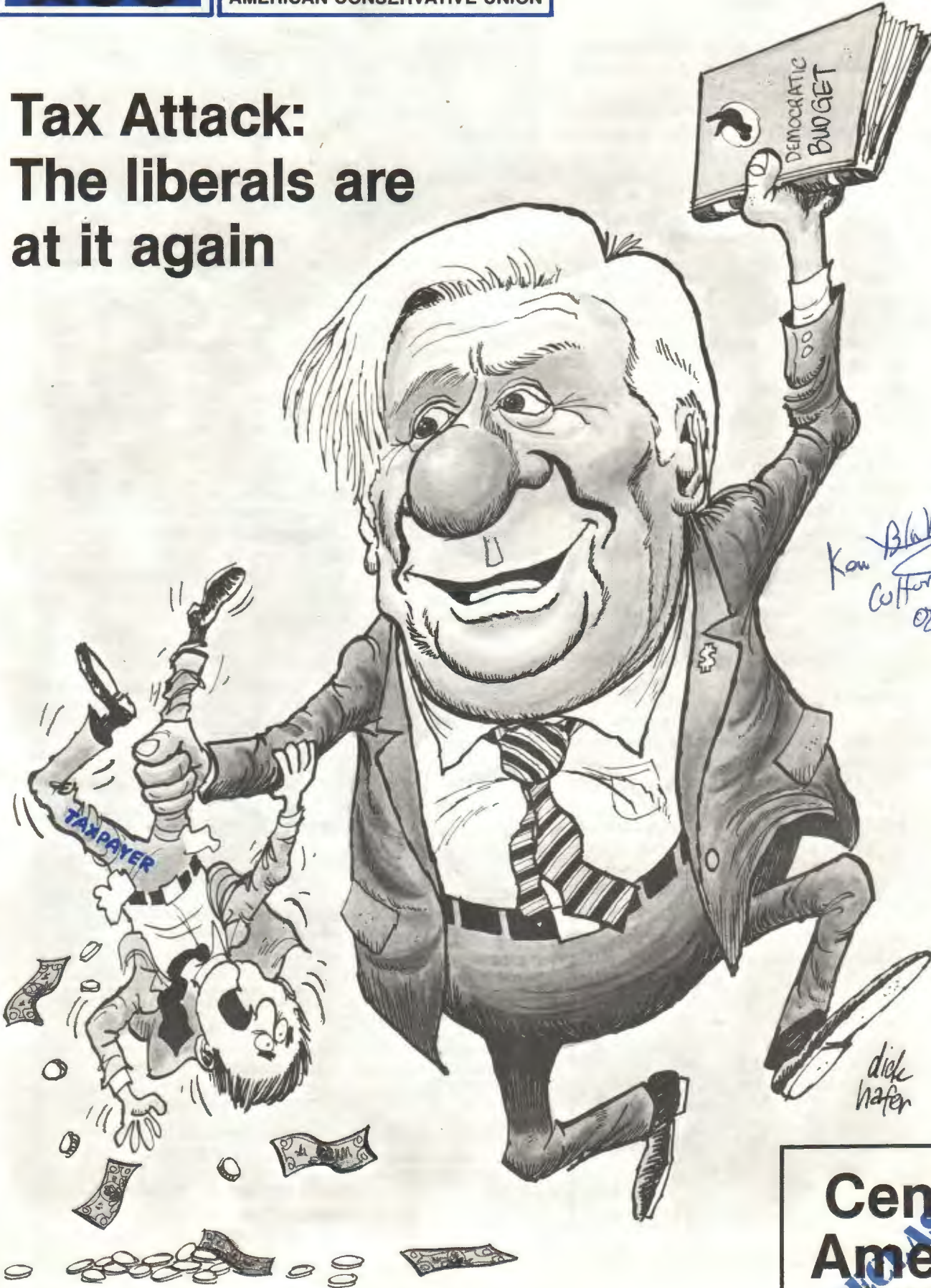
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Tax Attack: The liberals are at it again



*add to
info
pocket*

*Kou Blakely from
Cultural Affairs
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*dick
wafer*

**Central
America**
See page 13.

Don't Let Them Take the People's Tax Cut Away

Don't look now, but the "pragmatists" in Washington are quietly plotting to take away the best protection against inflation you may ever get.

That protection, simply stated, is the third-year of President Reagan's historic tax cut combined with "indexation" of tax rates, scheduled to begin in 1985.

An indexed tax system would cut off the flow of tax bucks to the federal government that results from inflation. This is done by widening each of the bracket points in the progressive tax code according to the rate of inflation during the previous year.

The problem is that Americans in recent years have had an ongoing series of tax hikes imposed on them by rising Social Security taxes and "bracket creep" caused by inflation. As people are forced into higher income brackets, their taxes go up but their purchasing power doesn't — and that isn't fair.

Indexing, simply put, is a pledge from Congress to be honest with the American people. It means that if they want to raise our taxes, they have to ask us to our faces rather than hiding behind the smokescreen of inflation.

It should come as no surprise then that there are certain elements in Washington who want to do away with indexing before it's even been tried. They've been dipping into our savings pools to finance their social experiments for a long time now, and they will not easily surrender the power and prestige that "business as usual" affords them.

But wait—the assault on your pocketbooks doesn't stop there. Liberals in Congress, not surprisingly, are mobilizing for a major effort to take away the third-year of the people's tax cut. Why? Because all of a sudden they have noticed that "the deficit is too large."

Higher taxes do not mean lower deficits. If they did, how would we explain the fact that tax revenues have more than doubled since 1976, when during the same seven-year period we have had some of the largest deficits in history? In 1980, tax revenues increased by \$54 billion—and the deficit that year was one of the largest ever.

Implicit in all of this is the obnoxious assumption that all personal income is the rightful property of the federal government, and any form of tax relief to the American people is a "gift" for which they should be grateful. As I've gone through



my district, I've been talking to people; not one of them has asked me to raise his taxes.

"It is quite clear," one of the big spenders in the House said the other day, "that the President's excessive tax cuts have just about destroyed the revenue base." Excuse me, but that is not clear at all. Projected tax revenues for FYs 1983-86 average 19.2% of the GNP, a greater percentage than was seen throughout all of the '60s and '70s—and that is a conservative estimate. Where is the "erosion of the tax base"?"

You don't reduce the deficit by putting a tax on the type of savings and investment needed to get the country moving again—and you don't alleviate unemployment by making it more expensive to hire people. I want the government to have more revenue too, but those revenues should be the result of an expanding economy and lower tax rates.

Where do the tax-and-spend types think savings come from anyway, if not from disposable income? And by what economic illiteracy do they propose to increase disposable income for the American people by raising their taxes?

The real issue here is not the "greed" of citizens who want to keep more of what they earn, but the dishonesty and hypocrisy of those in Congress who regularly oppose any attempt, no matter how modest, to give the average American a break on his taxes.

You already know how large a bite Federal income taxes take out of your income; April 15th was only two months ago. If the liberals have their way, that tax bite will become even larger next year. There is the seediest special interest scam of all. Concerned only with the advancement of their own little political empires, these characters have had it too easy for too long, taxing with one hand and spending with the other. I urge the American people to take names when the rollcalls are read, and vote against those members of Congress who vote against you. One way or another, we are going to defeat them, and save our economy in the process. With all the courage and creative energy at our command, let us pledge here and now that we intend to do just that.

—Congressman Mickey Edwards
Chairman, ACU

Vol. XVII, No. 2, Spring 1983



BATTLE LINE is published by the American Conservative Union, 38 Ivy Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003; (Phone: 202-546-6555).

Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C.
And at Additional Mailing Offices

Address all editorial matter, letters to the editor, subscription inquiries, and changes of address to *Battle Line*, 38 Ivy Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Send old and new address including either the mailing label or envelope from previous issue with Zip Code number to *Battle Line*, 38 Ivy Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

UNDELIVERED COPIES: Send notice on Form 3579 to American Conservative Union/*Battle Line*, 38 Ivy Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

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SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: For nonmembers of ACU: \$25.00 yearly.

Publisher: Mickey Edwards
Editor: Jake Hansen.
Assistant Editor: Tom Langhorne

(USPS 607-300)
Design/Type
Capitol Hill Graphics

Kramer to help ACU "Ax The Tax"

Earlier this month ACU launched its new "Tax Task Force" campaign designed to prevent repeal of the third-year of President Reagan's tax cut and indexing. The Tax Task Force advisory board will include members of ACU's Board of Directors and other members of the House and Senate. Congressman Ken Kramer (R.-Colo.), a solid conservative, has agreed to serve as chairman.

Kramer is uniquely qualified to be ACU's spokesman on the tax issue. According to Chairman Mickey Ed-



Congressmen Mickey Edwards (R-OK)
and Ken Kramer (R-CO)

wards, "Ken is a 'pro-people' politician who is well thought of by his peers in Congress and his constituents in Colorado. He has consistently resisted every attempt to broaden the bureaucracy's power base at the expense of the average taxpayer. He's a real hero to the hard-working wage-earners of this country."

"On top of that," Edwards continued, "Ken Kramer is a leader as well. He is the author of the Kramer resolution, which states that it is the sense of the Congress that President Reagan's tax cut will remain intact—and he is having tremendous success in persuading other members to join with him."

Kramer told *Battleline* that he is pleased to be chairman of the Tax Task Force "because this issue is a central theme in our efforts to ensure full economic recovery and restore the American dream—we owe this much at least to future generations."

With Representative Kramer heading up our effort, ACU's campaign to save the people's tax cut should be a smashing success. □

Most Americans favor retaining the July 1 tax cut even though they think the rich will benefit most from it, according to a Heritage Foundation poll released on May 11. The poll, conducted by the economic research firm of Sindlinger & Co. of Media, Pa., found that:

- ★ 54.9% of the 3,194 adults surveyed favored retaining the third-year of the tax cut.
 - ★ 64.1% of those respondents with household income under \$15,000 favored keeping the cut.
 - ★ 54.2% opposed efforts to repeal indexing.
- Congress, take note.

Taxes, Fairness, and The American Dream

By Congressman Ken Kramer (R.-Colo.)

Imagine for a moment you bought a car in 1981 and agreed to finance it at a fixed interest rate. Then two years later, the loan company informed you the interest rate on your loan would be doubled due to the firm's poor fiscal decisions and mismanagement. Most of us would be outraged, and with good reason.

Some in Congress are working right now to make similar changes in our income taxes. After promising relief in 1981, Congress may take away two of our hard-won tax reforms: the third-year 10% tax cut, and tax-bracket indexing. In short, some in Congress want to turn the American dream into the Congressional big spender's dream. If they are successful, it will mean substantial tax increases for millions of working Americans. In fact, it means the average American family will pay \$3,500 in additional taxes over the next five years! That's enough money to buy groceries for nine months.

Don't let anyone fool you into believing that the 10% tax cut scheduled for July 1st, and indexing, is a "rich man's tax break." That is just plain wrong. If we reverse course now, only the richest Americans will have anything to show for it—the rest will pay the bill.

In fact, families earning \$50,000 and less will shoulder 78 percent of the cost of repealing the tax cut, and 72 percent of the burden of repealing tax indexing, even though that same group now pays 64.5 percent of taxes.

The third-year tax cut and indexing were enacted as part of the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. The individual tax cuts and tax bracket indexing were designed to help stimulate a return to prosperous full employment by leaving more money in the private sector for savings, investment and creation of jobs.

Tax bracket indexing is scheduled to begin in 1985. It is the only tool the average taxpayer has to fight inflation. By eliminating "bracket creep," indexing will stop Congress from profiting from inflation... it will force Congress to vote directly on tax increases rather than relying on inflation to generate higher and higher taxes.

A recent report by the United States Treasury shows repealing the tax cut and indexing would hurt low and middle income Americans. It states, "rescinding the third-year cut will result in a tax rate schedule that favors incomes in excess of \$100,000. Both low and middle incomes will be limited to marginal tax rate reductions of about 14.5 percent while high incomes will continue to have reductions in excess of 20 percent."

Moreover, repealing the tax cut and indexing will *not* decrease the deficit. Congress will simply spend more. Congress will have your tax increase spent before the ink dries on your check to the IRS. In fact, the same big spenders said last year's \$98-billion tax hike was supposed to reduce the deficit by \$229 billion from 1983-88. Instead, current projections indicate the five-year deficit will increase by \$612 billion!

We've seen real signs of economic recovery—if we repeal the 1981 tax reform program, we will seriously jeopardize this recovery.

In the interest of fairness, honesty and sustained economic recovery, Congress must be held to the promise of the third-year tax cut and indexing. I have introduced a resolution

(Continued on page 16)

Leave The Tax Cut Alone

By Senator Mack Mattingly (R.-Ga.)

Repeal of the third-year of the tax cut in July 1983 will wipe out the remaining modest gains made by taxpayers since 1981. The mandate given to Ronald Reagan and a conservative Republican Senate majority in 1980 was a clear rejection of the tax, tax, tax and spend, spend, spend policies.

The Economic Recovery and Tax Act of 1981 (ERTA) was landmark legislation. Not only did it enact the largest tax cut in history, it provided for future indexation of taxes to the rate of inflation. This would end "bracket creep" which allowed government to pick the taxpayers' pockets in order to fatten its coffers without voting a tax increase. As inflation pushed more and more taxpayers into the higher brackets, they paid more in taxes without gaining a dime in new purchasing power.

A funny thing has happened to the 1981 tax cut. In less than two years, it has been whittled away until there is very little remaining. For all the talk of tax cuts and budget cuts, the average tax bill will have grown since the Reagan landslide. The third-year of the cut is the segment that will most benefit the average working taxpayer. If it is cancelled, the average American worker will have lost ground since the 1980 election. That may seem incredible but it is absolutely true.

In 1982, Congress passed a huge \$99-billion tax increase that cancelled many of the important changes passed the

"Households making from \$10,000 to \$50,000 a year will get about 72 percent of the 1983 tax cut."

previous year. Later in 1982 Congress passed the nickel-a-gallon gasoline tax. Add those two changes with the Social Security tax increase and the still-occurring bracket creep, and you will quickly see where 88 percent of the fabled tax cut has gone.

At the moment, this country is recovering from a recession period that has stretched over four years. This recovery and the deficit problem has been hampered by the various tax in-

creases passed in the last two years. Cancelling the third-year of the tax cut would have a devastating effect on the modest recovery.

A consistent and reliable fiscal policy will aid in the creation of jobs. Individual and business decisions are greatly affected by governmental actions. No one can plan for the future when they have no idea if the policy this year will be reversed in the following year.

Households making from \$10,000 to \$50,000 a year will get about 72 percent of the 1983 tax cut. These are the consumers who will keep the recovery going. Many have been putting off buying big-ticket items such as automobiles for years. Now that interest rates are dropping, many are again dreaming of buying that new home. The average American consumer holds one of the keys to our unemployment rate. Once he returns to the marketplace, a healthy recovery is assured.

Cancelling the July tax cut could smother the recovery that is taking place now. It would especially cripple the small business sector, which is the best producer of new jobs in our country. Most owners of small businesses pay individual rather than corporate taxes. They already are paying more than the large corporations and an increase now could halt expansion of a sector that generates 43 percent of the GNP.

Thankfully, I am confident that conservatives can fight off the challenge to the tax cut and indexing. Thirty-four senators including myself have pledged to President Reagan that if Congress does cancel the tax cut, we would support his veto. This is enough votes to sustain that veto and I believe we would have many other senators join the effort if it is necessary.

The American people have demonstrated, with the outcry over the unfair 10 percent withholding on interest and dividends, that when it comes to their pocketbook they are not shy about letting their elected representatives know their opinion. If Congress votes to take away the average worker's tax cut, the members will hear from the folks back home and the message will be simple: We want you to keep your promises.



Sen. Mack Mattingly

Latest Revision for:

1040 Federal Income Tax Form
Department of the Internal Revenue Service

1983
07

Income	Your Social Security Number
1. How much money did you make last year?.....	() ()
2. Send it in.....	() ()

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"TAX TASK FORCE" Project

Raising taxes is no way to make America great again. I would like to be a part of ACU's campaign to save the people's tax cut. You can count on me to help.

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- Please send me a free copy of ACU's "FACT PACK" on taxes with any contribution of \$10.00 or more.

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Ratings Reveal Trends

This issue of *Battleline* includes the complete ACU congressional ratings for 1982. Widely quoted in political journals and the national media, ACU's ratings have become the single most distinguished and effective means by which to gauge the conservatism of each Congressman and Senator.

The ratings were cited just recently in a May 1 *Chicago Sun-Times* story discussing that paper's special computer analysis of the 97th Congress and its voting habits. The *Sun-Times* used our ratings, along with those of the liberal Americans for Democratic Action, to determine that "in the year after Reagan was elected, the House had 165 members in the 'most conservative' category."

The ratings for 1982 reveal that of the majority of GOP House members elected in 1978 and 1980, most—close to all—are solid conservatives. That's an encouraging trend, and it continued in the 1982 mid-term elections, when the great majority of Republican candidates newly elected to Congress were good conservatives.

One of the most important ways to continue the successes conservatives have enjoyed under the Reagan Administration is to continue supporting the President when he is right and to

work for the election of conservative candidates at all levels in the 1984 election. ACU will continue to lobby Members of Congress to enact the changes that voters demanded with the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980.



Senate Key Issues Index for 1982

1. **Helms-Johnston amendment** prohibiting the Department of Justice from suing to requiring busing involving more than a 15-minute or five-mile ride. ACU favored the amendment. Amendment passed 58-38 on 2/24/82.
2. **Attempt to override President Reagan's veto of Standby Petroleum Allocation Act** (see House vote #1). ACU opposed attempt to override. Veto sustained 58-36 on 3/24/82.
3. **Dole amendment to strike \$80 million authorized for procurement of Titan missiles.** ACU opposed the amendment. Amendment rejected 40-54 on 5/12/82.
4. **Moynihan-D'Amato amendment**, requiring Department of Defense contracts to be targeted to areas of high unemployment. ACU opposed this amendment as bad policy to defend the country. Amendment passed 48-45 on 5/13/82.
5. **Baker motion to table (kill) Kassebaum amendment** to reduce the U.S. budget for defense programs by \$7.4 billion in authority and \$1.3 billion in outlays. ACU favored tabling this proposal to make our country less safe. Amendment tabled 53-44 on 5/19/82.
6. Hollings amendment to express the sense of the Congress that the **third year of the President's 5-10-10 tax cut be repealed.** ACU opposed the amendment. Amendment rejected 32-68 on 5/20/82.
7. **Armstrong amendment, indexing capital gains against inflation.** ACU favored the amendment. Amendment passed 64-32 on 7/22/82.
8. **Senate passage of proposed amendment to balance the Federal budget.** ACU strongly favored this amendment. Amendment proposed 69-31 on 8/4/82. *Vote Counted Double.*
9. **Symms amendment reaffirming that the Monroe Doctrine is U.S. policy** in hemispheric relations. ACU favored this amendment.

Amendment passed 68-28 on 8/11/82.

10. **Helms-East amendment to immigration bill, denying amnesty to illegal aliens.** ACU favored this amendment. Amendment failed 17-82 on 8/12/82.
11. **Adoption of Conference Report on tax increase legislation** (see House vote #12). ACU opposed this legislation. Conference report adopted 52-47 on 8/19/82. *Vote Counted Double.*
12. **Attempt to override President's veto of H.R. 6863, Urgent Supplemental Appropriations.** ACU opposed this override attempt in the interest of the economy. Veto overridden 60-30 on 9/10/82.
13. **Hayakawa motion to table (kill) Helms amendment restricting the use of Federal funds for abortions.** ACU opposed the motion. Motion passed 47-46 on 9/15/82.
14. **Senate passage of resolution to increase the Federal debt limit to \$1,290.2 billion.** ACU opposed this proposal. Resolution passed 50-41 on 9/23/82.
15. **Hatfield motion to table (kill) Helms amendment preventing the use of involuntary union dues to support political candidates.** ACU opposed the tabling motion. Motion passed 62-37 on 9/29/82.
16. **Hatfield motion to table (kill) Nickles amendment removing costly Davis-Bacon provisions from public service employment.** ACU opposed, motion adopted 52-44 on 9/29/82.
17. **Goldwater motion to table (kill) Kennedy amendment setting up a public works jobs program to replace CETA.** ACU favored the tabling motion. Motion adopted 60-37 on 9/29/82.
18. **Senate passage of Conference Report increasing the Federal gas tax.** ACU opposed. Bill passed 54-33 on 12/23/82. (See House vote #20.)

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ALABAMA																				
DENTON	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	2-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	81	91
Hellin	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	75	77
ALASKA																				
MURKOWSKI	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	63	71
STEVENS	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	50	50
ARIZONA																				
GOLDWATER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95	93
DeConcini	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	60	43

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	1982	Cum.
ARKANSAS																				
Bumpers	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	2-	-	-	2+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	26	19
Pryor	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	2+	-	-	2+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	55	33
CALIFORNIA																				
HAYAKAWA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	2-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	65	80
Cranston	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	2-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	6
COLORADO																				
ARMSTRONG	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	2-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90	95
Hart	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	2-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	5	14

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	1982	Cum.	
CONNECTICUT																					
WEICKER	-	-	+	-	-	+	2-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	36	
Dodd	-	-	+	-	-	-	2-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	7	
DELAWARE																					
ROTH	+	-	+	+	+	+	2+	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	71	
Biden	+	-	+	-	-	-	2-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	22	
FLORIDA																					
HAWKINS	-	-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	74	66	
Chiles	+	-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	68	41	
GEORGIA																					
MATTINGLY	+	+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90	92	
Nunn	+	-	+	-	-	-	2+	+	-	2+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68	54	
HAWAII																					
Inouye	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	7	
Matsunaga	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3	
IDAHO																					
McCLURE	+	-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	76	90	
SYMMS	+	-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	79	90	
ILLINOIS																					
PERCY	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	2+	-	2-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	27	
Dixon	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	2+	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	30	
INDIANA																					
LUGAR	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	94	
QUAYLE	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	68	81	
IOWA																					
GRASSLEY	+	-	-	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	60	74	
JEPSEN	+	-	-	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	75	89	
KANSAS																					
DOLE	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	60	75	
KASSEBAUM	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	2-	+	-	2-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	55	
KENTUCKY																					
Ford	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	2-	-	2+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	25	
Huddleston	+	-	+	+	+	+	2+	-	-	2+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	32	
LOUISIANA																					
Johnston	+	-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	46	
Long	+	-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68	49	
MAINE																					
COHEN	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	2-	+	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	52	
Mitchell	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	2-	+	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	24	
MARYLAND																					
MATHIAS	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	13	
Sarbanes	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	7	
MASSACHUSETTS																					
Kennedy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	3	
Tsongas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3	
MICHIGAN																					
Levin	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	2-	+	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	10	
Riegle	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	2-	+	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	10	
MINNESOTA																					
BOSCHWITZ	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	60	61	
DURENBERGER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2+	-	2-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	25	39	
MISSISSIPPI																					
COCHRAN	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	72	75	
Stennis	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	68	68	
MISSOURI																					
DANFORTH	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	53	
Eagleton	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	16	
MONTANA																					
Baucus	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	9	
Melcher	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2+	+	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	29	
NEBRASKA																					
Eron	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	74	55	
Zorinsky	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	84	72	
NEVADA																					
LAXALT	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	75	93	
Cannon	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	2+	+	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	59	34	
NEW HAMPSHIRE																					
HUMPHREY	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	95	97	
RUDMAN	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	50	

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	1982	Cum.	
NEW JERSEY																					
Bradley	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	2-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	8	
BRADY	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	56	56	
NEW MEXICO																					
DOMENICI	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	55	58	
SCHMITT	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	74	77	
NEW YORK																					
D'AMATO	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	50	57	
Moynihan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	10	
NORTH CAROLINA																					
EAST	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100	
HELMS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	99	
NORTH DAKOTA																					
ANDREWS	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2+	+	-	2-	-	+	-	-	-	-	40	50	
Burdick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	+	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	15	
OHIO																					
Glenn	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	2+	-	+	-	-	-	-	28	9	
Metzenbaum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	+	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	10	
OKLAHOMA																					
NICKLES	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100	
Boren	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	2+	-	+	-	+	+	+	84	71	
OREGON																					
HATFIELD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2+	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	30	28	
PACKWOOD	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2+	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	30	42	
PENNSYLVANIA																					
HEINZ	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	2-	+	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	17	36	
SPECTER	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2+	+	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	26	33	
RHODE ISLAND																					
CHAFEE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	5	21	
Pell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	0	6	
SOUTH CAROLINA																					
THURMOND	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	+	-	+	+	+	75	89	
Hollings	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	+	-	2+	-	+	-	+	+	+	50	41	
SOUTH DAKOTA																					
ABDNOR	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	-	+	-	+	+	+	60	64	
PRESSLER	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	-	+	-	+	+	+	67	62	
TENNESSEE																					
BAKER	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	-	-	+	+	+	65	69	
Sasser	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2+	+	-	-	-	-	-	47	24	
TEXAS																					
TOWER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	-	-	+	+	+	+	74	86	
Bentsen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2+	-	-	+	+	+	+	74	41	
UTAH																					
GARN	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	+	-	+	+	+	75	90	
HATCH	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	2-	+	+	-	+	+	+	79	92	
VERMONT																					
STAFFORD	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	2+	+	-	2-	-	-	-	-	-	37	26	
Leahy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	-	20	6	
V																					

5. Attempt to override President Reagan's veto of H.R. 6682, making appropriations for FY 1983. ACU opposed the override and agreed that the bill was too costly. Veto sustained, 268-128 on 7/13/82.

6. Dellums amendment to delete \$4.03 billion for procurement of the B-1 bomber. ACU opposed the amendment to H.R. 6030. Amendment failed, 142-257 on 7/22/82.

7. Solomon amendment, forbidding educational assistance to young men who had not registered for Selective Service. ACU favored the amendment. Amendment passed 303-95 on 7/29/82.

8. Markey amendment to reduce civil defense authorizations, essential to protect American citizens in the event of a Soviet nuclear attack. ACU opposed the amendment. Amendment failed 163-240 on 7/29/82.

9. House passage of budget-busting Civil Service Reconciliation Act, H.R. 6862. ACU opposed passage, recommending government restraint. Bill passed 268-128 on 8/3/82.

10. Broomfield amendment in the form of a substitute, assuring that no nuclear freeze would put the United States at a disadvantage. Substitute adopted, 204-202 on 8/5/82, favored by ACU.

11. Wampler amendment to restrict food stamp eligibility to the truly needy and thereby reduce costs. ACU favored the amendment. Amendment failed 181-210 on 8/10/82.

12. Final passage of the Conference Report to accompany H.R. 4961, the largest tax increase in U.S. history. ACU opposed this legislation, especially during a recession. Conference Report adopted 226-207 on 8/19/82. *Vote Counted Double.*

13. Attempt to override President Reagan's veto of H.R. 6863, urgent supplementary appropriations. ACU would have opposed the override, as a way to protect the taxpayer. Veto overridden, 301-117 on 9/9/82.

14. Walgren amendment, forbidding EPA from mandating vehicle emission inspections on states. ACU would have favored the amendment. Amendment adopted 200-184 on 9/15/82.

15. Erlenborn amendment, restricting the Davis-Bacon wage provisions in federal construction. ACU favored the amendment as a way to protect the economy. Amendment rejected 162-189 on 9/23/82.

16. Dannemeyer amendment, preventing the National Institutes of Health from experimenting on human fetuses. ACU favored the amendment to protect unborn persons. Amendment passed 207-140 on 9/30/82.

17. House vote to propose an amendment to the U.S. Constitution requiring a balanced Federal budget. ACU strongly favored this proposal. Amendment not proposed 236-187 on 10/1/82. *Vote Counted Double.*

18. Addabbo amendment, deleting procurement of five MX missiles from Defense Department appropriations. ACU opposed the amendment. Amendment adopted 245-176 on 12/7/82.

19. Final House passage of Domestic Content legislation, requiring increasing percentages of American parts in autos. ACU, favoring freer trade, opposed the legislation. Bill passed 215-188 on 12/15/82.

20. House passage of Conference Report raising Federal gasoline tax. ACU opposed passage of this legislation, especially in view of the recession. Conference Report adopted 180-87 on 12/18/82.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1982	Cum.
ALABAMA																						
1 EDWARDS	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2-	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		81	81
2 DICKINSON	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	92
3 Nichols	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	-	+	+	2+	+	+		60	77
4 Bevil	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		59	61
5 Filippo	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		62	52
6 SMITH	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		95	98
7 Shelby	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		73	81
ALASKA																						
AL YOUNG	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		73	69
ARIZONA																						
1 RHODES	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2-	-	-	+	2-	+				53	80
2 Udall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	+			5	2
3 Stump	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		100	93
4 RUDD	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		85	96
ARKANSAS																						
1 Alexander	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2-	-			25	35
2 BETHUNE	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		95	93
4 HAM'SCHMIT	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		73	75
4 Anthony	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2-	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		41	41
CALIFORNIA																						
1 CHAPPIE	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2-	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		80	90
2 CLAUSEN	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		62	77
3 Matsui	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		5	7
4 Fazio	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		5	8
5 Burton, J.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		20	8
6 Burton, P.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		11	7
7 Miller	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		0	4
8 Dellums	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	+		14	8
9 Stark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		0	4
10 Edwards	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		0	5
11 Lantos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		10	9
12 McCLOSKEY	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		57	31
13 Mineta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		0	5
14 SHUMWAY	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		100	96
15 Coelho	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		11	11
16 Panetta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	+		5	18
17 PASHAYAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		77	82
18 THOMAS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		84	91
19 LAGOMARSINO	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		86	88
20 GOLDWATER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		75	91
21 FIEDLER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		86	83
22 MOORHEAD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		96	93
23 Beilenson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-		5	8
24 Waxman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		5	5
25 Roybal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		9	7
26 ROUSSELOT	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		95	98
27 DORNAN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		87	91
28 Dixon	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-		20	8
29 Hawkins	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		21	9
30 Martinez	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		19	19
31 Dymally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		17	9
32 Anderson	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		50	21

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	1982	Cum.
COLORADO																						
1 Schroeder	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	+		20	17
2 Wirth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		0	12
3 Kogovsek	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		14	16
4 BROWN	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		86	90
5 KRAMER	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+	+	+	2+	+	+		77	90
CONNECTICUT																						
1 Kennelly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		0	0
2 Gajdenson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		0	0
3 DeNARDIS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	+		16	38
4 McKINNEY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		9	35
5 Ratchford	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2+	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		10	8
6 Moffett	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-	-	-	2-	-	-		0	5
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AL EVANS	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2-	-	-	+	+	2+	+	+		62	70
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1 Hutto	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		71	65
2 Fuqua	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		68	59
3 Bennett	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	2+	-	+		55	62
4 Chappell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		57	80
5 McCOLLUM	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		82	88
6 YOUNG	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+	2+	+	+		86	86
7 Gibbons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2+	-	+	+	+						

CPAC '83 is a Sn



National Review Publisher Bill Rusher participated in a panel on the Reagan Administration and its relations with conservatives.



New York businessman and 1982 GOP gubernatorial candidate Law Lehrman gave a rousing speech on the need to cut taxes to make America great again.



Secretary of State George Schultz explained Reagan Administration policy on a variety of foreign policy issues to conference participants.

ACU's Tenth Annual Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), held in Washington February 17-20, was a glowing testament to the continuing popularity of conservative ideals in the American heartland. Not only was it the best attended CPAC ever (approximately 700 attendants—up 50% over last year), but it was arguably the most significant as well.

With President Reagan at mid-term and giving strong signals of an impending 1984 re-election campaign, it was a good time for the movers and shakers of the conservative movement to examine where things stand as far as achieving the goals set forth by the President in 1980 and to consider what we can expect for the future. When all the ballots had been counted and the measure of conservative affection for Mr. Reagan had been taken, the verdict was clear: conservatives from all over the nation are overwhelmingly in support of this President!

In a poll conducted during the conference, participants were asked whether or not Mr. Reagan should seek a second term, and 88% replied in the affirmative. When asked to rate the President's performance thus far, 75% felt he was doing an excellent or good job. And those in attendance made their support clear throughout the President's speech on Friday night. Declaring that "our clean-up crew will need more than two years to deal with the mess left by others for over half a century," President Reagan dropped his strongest hint yet that he will be seeking a second term. The President also used the occasion to touch base with conservatives on a number of

issues dear to their hearts, such as tuition tax credits, the Human Life Amendment, abolition of the Education and Energy Departments, and the imperative need for a strong national defense.

Mr. Reagan drew perhaps his strongest applause when he characterized 1981's assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II as "an act of unspeakable evil, an assault on man and God," and pledged all-out support for the Italian government's efforts to find and punish the guilty parties. Attendance for the dinner was at 1,600, up 400 from last year's figure.

But President Reagan wasn't the only attraction for conference conservatives. Conferees were treated to speeches and appearances by Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of State George Schultz, Energy Secretary Don Hodel, and longtime conservative favorite, James Watt, Secretary of Interior. In addition, participants heard a frank discussion of the situation in Central America from U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick at Saturday night's award banquet. Earlier in the evening Mrs. Kirkpatrick was honored with a special CPAC '83 Freedom Award in recognition of her outstanding service and devotion to the cause of freedom.

Lambasting those liberals who advocate a passive U.S. response to Communist terrorism in Central America, our feisty U.N. Ambassador spelled out in shocking detail the extent to which Communist forces are attempting to subvert the region, and stated in



Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger drives home a point about the Soviet military build-up.



Treasury Secretary Donald Regan discussed the economic future under President Reagan.

Smashing Success

exact terms what the forces of freedom must do to prevent that attempted subversion.

"Did they know," she asked, "that there are several thousand Cuban military and internal security advisers in Nicaragua today, that several hundred Nicaraguans are training or have completed training in Cuba and other Eastern European countries; that sophisticated Soviet T55 tanks, ferries, helicopters and transport aircraft have been added to Nicaragua's arsenal?"

"America," Ambassador Kirkpatrick asserted, "must confront the unappetizing choice between war, with all its horrible risks and consequences, and surrender to totalitarian aggressors who almost certainly would destroy America and all that it stands for."

Congressional supporters present for panels and speeches included Senators Bill Armstrong (R-CO) and Jake Garn (R-UT), Representatives Vin Weber (R-MN), Bobbie Fiedler (R-CA), Steve Bartlett (R-TX), Trent Lott (R-MS), and Jack Kemp (R-NY). These congressional supporters served to round out an already outstanding array of conservative leaders and activists.

Congressman Mickey Edwards (R-OK), ACU's Chairman, spiced up the Saturday breakfast meeting with thoughtful and timely comments on America's need to fight Communism while at the same time being careful not to embrace or condone the authoritarian methods of some of Communism's enemies.

"We can maintain security alliances that are designed to hold off the advance of Communism," Edwards said,

"without embracing governments which oppress people or which put people in prison if they disagree with that government."

Citing South Africa as an example, Edwards asserted that "we cannot abandon the southern tip of Africa to the Russian advance, but at the same time we should be honest and make it known that we do not approve of apartheid and are dealing with South Africa only to benefit the security interests of the United States."

This year's CPAC was without a doubt the most important such conference conservatives have ever held; at the crossroads of the Reagan presidency, with a new Congress less hospitable to conservative initiatives than the last, conservatives clearly have their work cut out for them in the next two years. The record turn-out and the enthusiastic response given to conservative leaders at the conference, however, made it very clear that the conservative movement activists who laid the groundwork for 1980's successes will be united as before for the many tough battles that lay ahead.

Secretary James Watt summed it all up quite eloquently in his remarks near the end of the conference: "The story of mankind is one of struggle for political liberty and spiritual freedom; and yet in this destiny that God provided, those two streams of life were allowed to come together in one place—at the confluence called 'America.' Our mission is nothing less than to establish political liberty and spiritual freedom in America and throughout the world." □



Interior Secretary James Watt discusses media coverage of the conservative agenda.



ACU Chairman Congressman Mickey Edwards and UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick share a laugh after the presentation of her award for outstanding devotion to liberty and freedom.



Alan Cranston for President?



Senator Bill Armstrong (R-CO) explodes some myths about Social Security reform.

ACU State Affiliates

ACU affiliates in several states have been extremely active in recent months. **The Maryland Conservative Union**, for example, has its hands full promoting and helping to push through the state legislature a tough new package of anti-crime measures designed to make the state's streets safer at night. MCU also played a major role in our efforts to stop the so-called nuclear freeze resolution by mounting a grass-roots effort to let Maryland's congressional delegation know the dangers of the "freeze."

In **Ohio**, attorney **Jim Owen** has just been elected by the Board of Directors to be the new Chairman of the **United Conservatives of Ohio**, filling the void left by the untimely death of Congressman John Ashbrook (R.). Mr. Owen came highly recommended by Ohio State Senator **Buz Lukens**.

The **Tennessee Conservative Union** (TCU) launched a major membership drive Last May 20-22 atop the Cumberland Mountains in Crossville, Tenn. Conservatives from all over the state gathered to plan strategy and get to know each other better. By all accounts, the meeting was a great success and is likely to be repeated next year, when Volunteer State conservatives will be trying to elect a new U.S. Senator.

TCU also recently launched a major statewide effort to defeat the state's proposed State Income Tax. Called "**Ax the Tax**," the drive has attracted extensive media coverage and is given a good chance of succeeding. Those interested in contributing to this effort should contact: **John M. Davies**, c/o TCU, 4744 Beavercreek Dr., Powell, TN 37849.

TCU's efforts to help block passage of the nuclear freeze can't be overlooked. Press releases and press conferences were part of their effort to generate grass-roots opposition to the freeze resolution.

The **Minnesota Conservative Union** is looking into ways to combat liberal, tax-supported legal aid organizations with conservative, free-enterprise-oriented legal foundations designed to defend the rights of the average taxpayer against the bureaucratic elite which seeks to do him in. Those interested in contributing to this effort should contact: **Elliot Rothenberg**, 850 Builders Exchange Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn. 55402; (612) 375-1980.

Tennessee and Maryland aren't the only states that took an active role in fighting the freeze. ACU affiliates in **New York**,

Rhode Island, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, California, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Texas, Illinois and Ohio all recently sent out press releases and alerted their members to the dangers of the nuclear freeze movement and the need for a national defense second to none.

The **Rhode Island Conservative Union**, headed by **Stephen O'Rourke**, has been particularly active in combatting the freeze. He and other officers of the RICU have been touring the state, speaking before churches, schools, and civic groups, extolling the virtues of a strong national defense and warning of the dangers of a nuclear freeze. O'Rourke and his compatriots have been especially successful in attracting local media coverage.

The **Minnesota Conservative Union** also deserves kudos for its role in fighting the freeze. Last May 21, MCU sponsored in-state showings of the pro-defense films, *Countdown for America* and *High Frontier*. According to officers of the MCU, viewers left the screenings convinced that America's defense posture vis-a-vis the Soviet Union is slipping, and that only a major new rearmament program can close the gap. Needless to say, the freeze movement won no new followers that day.

These activities were instrumental in stirring up the public discontent with the freeze movement that led to the postponements and eventual watering down of the resolution before it passed.

In **Oregon**, conservative stalwart, Congressman **Denny Smith** (R-OR) is exploring the possibility of founding a new **Oregon Conservative Union**. Such an organization is sorely needed in Oregon, a state whose U.S. Senate delegation consists of two liberal Republicans.

In **North Carolina**, **NCCU** activists worked hand in glove with **Congressional Club** operatives to re-elect conservative N.C. Republican Party Chairman **David Flaherty** at the recent state party convention in Raleigh.

Most states have active ACU affiliates. These organizations form the backbone of our grass-roots efforts. If you are not currently involved with your local organization and would like to be, call ACU's Affiliate Director, **Nan Sweede**, in our Washington Headquarters at (202) 546-6555. Nan will help you get in touch with your state's conservative leaders. □

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PEACE OFFENSIVE

A Project of the American Conservative Union

Update

ACU's "Peace Offensive" continues full steam ahead. Launched last December 7, the Peace Offensive is a major ACU initiative designed to counter the nuclear freeze movement and educate the public about the need for a national defense second to none.

Since that time, we have been very busy leading the charge against the freeze and taking our case to the people. ACU is a member organization of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, and as such we were represented by Executive Director Don Todd at a March 7 pro-defense rally on the north side of the Capitol. Tearing into the 5,000 nuclear freeze advocates who were staging a similar rally simultaneously a few blocks away, Todd noted that "the message that is being fed to the Kremlin by the people on the other side of the Capitol Building is the same message that Chamberlain sent to Mussolini and Hitler." His remarks were featured on the NBC Nightly News later that day.

ACU was right in the midst of a high-visibility media campaign to sway the public to our side of the nuclear freeze issue. The April 25th edition of *U.S. News & World Report* features an article on the nuclear freeze ("Nuclear Freeze Crusade; Gaining or Waning?") in which Executive Director Don Todd and Chairman Mickey Edwards are prominently featured as leaders of the "key organization challenging the freeze movement."

In addition, ACU Chairman Mickey Edwards has taken our case to the public many times in the pages of the nation's major newspapers such as the *Washington Times*, *New York Tribune* and *Los Angeles Times* and on dozens of national and local radio programs. ACU's staff has been busy unleashing a barrage of special mailings on the issue as well.

Perhaps ACU's most important contribution to the fight for a strong national defense is the role it played in stifling the nuclear freeze resolution in the House of Representatives. When others—liberals and conservatives alike—were saying the freeze would pass in a matter of hours, ACU was saying we have a chance. Several weeks later, a watered-down resolution passed with a whimper.

The struggle is not over. The "nuclear freeze movement" is still going strong in each and every state. Without a doubt, ACU and ACU affiliates have their work cut out for them. □

Central America: Do or Die

By Tom Langhorne

"We guide ourselves by the scientific doctrines of the Revolution, by Marxism-Leninism... our political force is Sandinismo and our doctrine is Marxist-Leninism." That's not Yuri Andropov or Fidel Castro talking, it's the Minister of Defense for Nicaragua. Another member of the Sandinista junta which rules that country, Victor Turado Lopez, put it this way, "Marxism-Leninism is a fundamental part of the Sandinista ideology." The Nicaraguan government has gone to such lengths to spread the Communist doctrine that it has even issued a new stamp featuring the likeness of Karl Marx and excerpts from the *Communist Manifesto*.

What is to be made of this? History shows us that where Communism goes, so goes war—and there is one whale of a war raging in Central America right now which poses a new and serious threat to American security. It is obvious now that the Soviet Union, both directly, and through its regional surrogates Cuba and Nicaragua, has launched a major new strategic campaign to destabilize and eventually subjugate all of Central America to Communist influence.

The difference this time is that we have fewer illusions about who the enemy is and more hard information. We know what the Communist government of Nicaragua is, who its friends are, and what they intend to do. And we should be scared.

Those who have looked hard at Nicaragua know that its government is not a "people's revolution," but a military dictatorship. It refuses to hold free elections as promised, it has suppressed free speech and heavily censored the media, it has smothered the private sector and independent trade unions, it has forcibly driven the Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians from their homelands on the Atlantic coast, and its followers have heckled and insulted the Pope.

As UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick noted in an April 17 article for the *Washington Post*, "The pretense that the FMLN is an indigenous guerrilla movement without significant foreign support has been largely abandoned. Too many truckloads, planeloads, boatloads of arms from Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Eastern bloc have been found; too many documents have been captured, too many pictures taken, too many bold announcements made from Managua."

"The facts about the FMLN," Ambassador Kirkpatrick continued, "are that it is a professional guerrilla operation directed from command and control centers in Nicaragua, armed with Soviet bloc arms delivered through Cuba and Nicaragua, bent on establishing in El Salvador the kind of one-party dictatorship linked to the Soviet Union that already exists in Nicaragua."

The Nicaraguan government, which has an armed force far in excess of any legitimate need, is building a series of airfields—with the assistance of its friends in Moscow and Hava-

na—that almost certainly will be used to land Soviet jet attack aircraft.

This last development makes Nicaragua a threat not just to its immediate neighbors, but to the entire Caribbean Basin as well. More American oil is carried through the Caribbean Basin than the entire Persian Gulf. Should there be some kind of European conflict, vital U.S. supply lines would run through the Caribbean. The implications of that are staggering.

Here are the facts about the extent of the Soviet military commitment to destabilizing Central America:

The Soviets have an army brigade (2,600–3,000 troops), 2,500 military advisers (up 500 from last year) and 6–8,000 civilian advisers in Cuba. Cuba has 200 MiGs, including two squadrons of MiG-23 Floggers, nearly 700 tanks and 100 attack helicopters, a Koni-class frigate, two Foxtrot attack submarines, at least 50 torpedo attack boats and two amphibious assault ships. The Soviet Union is currently spending 20 times more on military supplies for Cuba than we are spending in all of Latin America.

In Nicaragua, four of 10 males over 18 are in uniform, and the regime intends to build an armed force of a quarter of a million. That would mean one in 10 Nicaraguan citizens would

direct strategic threat to the United States.

Events in Central America are spinning rapidly to the point where the U.S. will have to act against Moscow and its cohorts or the region will be lost, and with it American credibility. None of the rationalizations that were used to justify acceptance of defeat in Southeast Asia can be applied to Central America. The threat there is close to home, dangerous, and undeniably Communist. It is south of the border that the United States will find out if it still has the will to act as a superpower.

We are to the point now that there can be no acceptable solution to the Central American problem if that solution entails accommodation of opponents of U.S. policy there. America has been on the defensive so far in the Cold War, and that will have to change. If the United States is to prevent a Vietnam-style Communist takeover in Central America, its policy toward that region must be one of stiffer resolve with more emphasis on a military solution.

Guns and ammunition alone, however, won't do it. El Salvador needs agricultural advisers and medical teams to treat its soldiers and refugees. President Reagan's recent decision to send an Army medical unit to San Salvador is certainly a welcome step in the right direction. The Communists surely are not waging this all-out war for the sake of a few minor cabinet posts; and if history is any indication, El Salvador and Nicaragua will not be their last territorial demands either.

If we have learned anything since the end of World War II, it is that "negotiated settlements" with Communists do not work. Malaya, the Philippines, Greece, China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Nicaragua; each required a "military solution," a total commitment to victory. Our own revolution some 200 years ago could never have succeeded without the help of France, Poland and others. Given the vicious nature of the Communist presence in Central America, any "political solution" would confer upon the guerrillas and terrorists a legitimacy they do not deserve and have not been able to achieve either through elections or force of arms. U.S. assistance to Central America must be conditional then upon such a commitment to victory.

There is no time left for uncertainty. In El Salvador, the government's position has deteriorated to the point that the



be in the army. The Sandinistas there have built 36 new military bases and garrisons (as opposed to 13 for the Somoza regime), they have received 50 Soviet tanks, a thousand East German trucks, 100 anti-aircraft guns, Soviet 152-millimeter howitzers with a 17-mile range.

Cuba has approximately 5,000 civilian advisers in Nicaragua, plus 2,000 military and security advisers. In El Salvador, our 52 military advisers pale in comparison to the nearly 10,000 Cuban, East German, Bulgarian, and PLO terrorists in the region who oppose elections ("vote today, die tonight" was their motto in the last one), murder members of the electorate, and wreak havoc on the economy. Add to that thousands of tons of Soviet tanks, warplanes, howitzers, SAMs, and other Eastern bloc arms, and there is obviously a strategic mismatch of gargantuan proportions in El Salvador.

All of this is particularly alarming because of the proximity of the region to the United States. Central America, lest anyone forget, is on the mainland of the North American continent—very close to home. As President Reagan noted in his speech to Congress last April, "El Salvador is nearer to Texas than Texas is to Massachusetts. Nicaragua is just as close to Miami, San Antonio, San Diego, and Tucson as those cities are to Washington." There is no longer any doubt that the control of Central America by hostile forces would pose a



guerrillas very likely will score major gains—possibly even a successful attack on the capitol—by early fall. The recent murder of an American military adviser there is an ominous sign that anti-government guerrillas—with an eye on American public opinion—have changed their tactics to accentuate assassinations and executions of American and Salvadoran government soldiers.

In Nicaragua, the government is nothing less than a stalking horse for the Soviet Union, and a standing threat to the vital security interests of the United States. The Sandinista regime there must be overthrown.

Where the American government has sought to stem the tide of totalitarianism, to *aggressively* repel the forces of tyranny, it has been successful. That strategy will work in Central America too, if it is given a chance. The stakes are high indeed; many experts agree that the United States will simply be finished as a world-class superpower if that region succumbs to Communism.

It is not too late to turn things around. Given the strategic vitality of Central America, the conflict raging there now could yet mirror that of Marathon, where history changed because a small band of Greeks withstood everything their Persian invaders could throw at them—but only if the proper commitments are made.



**Military Training Facilities
Montelimar Airfield, Nicaragua**



**HIP attack helicopter: part of Nicaragua's
Soviet-supplied arsenal**

Tunnel Vision On the Left

By Don Todd, Executive Director

The same kind of mentality that leads liberals into endless discussions of what the United Fruit Company did in Central America in '06 now has them examining the question "Is President Reagan's Central American policy working?"

The answer as to whether or not American policy in Central America is working is perfectly self evident. As long as the Communists are not in charge of El Salvador, our policy is working. If the Communists lose power in Nicaragua and Cuba, then our policy is working even better.

Liberals have spent a lot of time caterwauling about the "lessons of Vietnam" and applying their so-called "lessons" to Central America. I too am very interested in the lessons of Vietnam, but I see them very differently. Since the Communists are now in charge of a continuing bloodbath in Southeast Asia, the conclusion to be drawn is that our policy didn't work.

The lessons to be drawn from that fact are just as clear.

Lesson #1: ABC, CBS and NBC cannot successfully run American foreign policy anywhere in the world.

Lesson #2: Left-leaning Members of Congress supported by ABC, CBS and NBC are also totally incapable of running a successful American foreign policy.

These lessons of Vietnam should be remembered in Central America because the stakes are much higher in Central America. The leaders of Communist revolutions believe it is better to be King of a slaughter house than not be King of anything. If the Communists are successful in the region and begin the human carnage that customarily accompanies Communist rule, millions in Central America will literally walk away from it and come to the United States. This would leave us with a large foreign enclave of refugees within our own borders. The question of U.S. survival would then become a very serious one.

The issue in Central America, as it was in Vietnam and is throughout the world, is Communism. It is the only real issue threatening the survival of the civilized world. The Communists have chosen to be the world's criminal. We have been told we cannot be the world's policeman. If this continues, the outcome is fairly obvious.

No wonder liberals would rather discuss the United Fruit Company in '06.

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Taxes, Fairness, and The American Dream

(Continued from page 3)

(H.Con.Res. 115), expressing the sense of Congress that the third-year tax cut and indexing should not be repealed. Representative Connie Mack (R.-Fla.) also recently wrote to President Reagan in a letter signed by 148 House Members urging him to veto any legislation which tampers with the tax program now in place. Those 148 Members represent the number needed to sustain a Presidential veto.

However, these efforts to save the tax cut are facing a number of serious roadblocks. Saving the tax cuts will not be an easy task. The Democrat-controlled House recently passed a 1984 Budget Resolution calling for \$30 billion in new taxes, the same amount derived from repealing the third-year tax cut. And, Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D.-Ill.), Chairman of House Ways and Means Committee, has already indicated that indexing will be a major target for defeat in coming weeks.

If you don't like the idea of Congress dipping into your paycheck to support big government, tell your Congressman. Call him up or write him in Washington. Urge him to save the tax cut and indexing. It won't be an easy task, but it is within our reach.

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American Conservative Union

Conservative Viewpoint

The Caribbean Threat

By Rep. Mickey Edwards
Chairman of the ACU

Many Americans find it difficult to believe that the security of the United States depends to a great degree on the stability of the Caribbean area. They view the islands and Latin America as picturesque places where the well-to-do vacation in relative tranquility.

Such a superficial view could prove to be dangerous. Whoever controls the Caribbean sea lanes has ready access to the U.S. mainland through the Gulf of Mexico as well as control of the seas through which most of our imported oil passes. Even our allies in Europe have a strategic interest in the region, because most U.S. supplies to NATO are shipped from American harbors on the Gulf.

Unfortunately for the United States and its allies, the Caribbean Basin—which consists of two dozen developing nations—has probably never been more vulnerable to conquest by subversion than it is today.

Weakened internally by the decline in prices for its main exports of sugar, coffee, and cocoa and soaring prices for essential imports, the fragile economy of the Caribbean has been sent reeling by a dramatic drop in its profitable tourist industry.

These financial setbacks have created a political climate in ferment, which, with the guidance and assistance of the Kremlin, the always adventuresome Castro has been quick to exploit.

Subsidized to the tune of \$8 million a day by the Soviets, Cuba organizes, directs, and supplies Communist insurgents throughout the Caribbean Basin. CIA Director William Colby says the Cubans and Russians "have developed a very innovative and brilliant mix of tactics."

Those tactics first appeared in 1979 when Cuban-trained guerrillas began terrorist activities in Nicaragua. Now that country is a jumping off spot for further Communist expansion in the Caribbean. Cuba has doubled the number of military and security advisers in Nicaragua to 1,500. Cuban efforts to overthrow the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala continue.

Nor are these isolated incidents. During the past two years, because of subversive activities emanating from Havana, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Jamaica have sharply curtailed the relations with Cuba, and Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela have called home their ambassadors. These countries are deeply concerned about the Moscow-Havana threat, and we should be, too. Our economy is tightly entwined with the nations of the Caribbean.

This is the United States' second largest market for exports and represents more than 70 percent of direct U.S. investment to developing nations.

The challenge of the '80s will be in the Caribbean. If we are to prosper, we must find ways to help our neighbors to the South solve their economic problems through private enterprise, encourage them in the pursuit of democracy, and make sure that they have the means to defend themselves. We must let Castro know that the promotion of terrorism is unacceptable and that the U.S. government will not take a "vacation" from its friends in the Caribbean.

American Conservative Union

Conservative Viewpoint



The Caribbean Threat

By Rep. Mickey Edwards
Chairman of the ACU

Many Americans find it difficult to believe that the security of the United States depends to a great degree on the stability of the Caribbean area. They view the islands and Latin America as picturesque places where the well-to-do vacation in relative tranquility.

Such a superficial view could prove to be dangerous. Whoever controls the Caribbean sea lanes has ready access to the U.S. mainland through the Gulf of Mexico as well as control of the seas through which most of our imported oil passes. Even our allies in Europe have a strategic interest in the region, because most U.S. supplies to NATO are shipped from American harbors on the Gulf.

Unfortunately for the United States and its allies, the Caribbean Basin—which consists of two dozen developing nations—has probably never been more vulnerable to conquest by subversion than it is today.

Weakened internally by the decline in prices for its main exports of sugar, coffee, and cocoa and soaring prices for essential imports, the fragile economy of the Caribbean has been sent reeling by a dramatic drop in its profitable tourist industry.

These financial setbacks have created a political climate in ferment, which, with the guidance and assistance of the Kremlin, the always adventuresome Castro has been quick to exploit.

Subsidized to the tune of \$8 million a day by the Soviets, Cuba organizes, directs, and supplies Communist insurgents throughout the Caribbean Basin. CIA Director William Colby says the Cubans and Russians "have developed a very innovative and brilliant mix of tactics."

Those tactics first appeared in 1979 when Cuban-trained guerrillas began terrorist activities in Nicaragua. Now that country is a jumping off spot for further Communist expansion in the Caribbean. Cuba has doubled the number of military and security advisers in Nicaragua to 1,500. Cuban efforts to overthrow the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala continue.

Nor are these isolated incidents. During the past two years, because of subversive activities emanating from Havana, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Jamaica have sharply curtailed the relations with Cuba, and Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela have called home their ambassadors. These countries are deeply concerned about the Moscow-Havana threat, and we should be, too. Our economy is tightly entwined with the nations of the Caribbean.

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Member of an American Conservative Union

Conservative Viewpoint

High Stakes in Central America

By Rep. Mickey Edwards
Chairman of the ACU

"We guide ourselves by the scientific doctrines of the Revolution, by Marxism-Leninism... our political force is Sandinismo and our doctrine is Marxist-Leninism." That's not Yuri Andropov or Fidel Castro talking, it's the Minister of Defense for Nicaragua. Another member of the Sandinista junta which rules that country, Victor Turado Lopez, put it this way: "Marxism-Leninism is a fundamental part of the Sandinista ideology." The Nicaraguan government has gone to such lengths to spread the Communist doctrine that it has even issued a new stamp featuring the likeness of Karl Marx and excerpts from the *Communist Manifesto*.

What is to be made of this? History shows us that where Communism goes, so goes war—and there is one whale of a war raging in Central America right now which poses a new and serious threat to American security. It is obvious now that the Soviet Union, both directly and through its regional surrogates Cuba and Nicaragua, has launched a major new strategic campaign to destabilize and eventually subjugate all of Central America to Communist influence.

The difference this time is that we have fewer illusions about who the enemy is and more hard information. We know what the Communist government of Nicaragua is, who its friends are, and what they intend to do. And we should be scared.

Those who have looked hard at Nicaragua know that its government is not a "people's revolution," but a military dictatorship. It refuses to hold free elections as promised, it has suppressed free speech and heavily censored the media, it has smothered the private sector and independent trade unions, it has forcibly driven the Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians from their homelands on the Atlantic coast, and its followers have heckled and insulted the Pope.

The Nicaraguan government, which has an armed force far in

excess of any legitimate need, is building a series of airfields—with the assistance of its friends in Moscow and Havana—that almost certainly will be used to land Soviet jet attack aircraft.

This last development makes Nicaragua a threat not just to its immediate neighbors, but to the entire Caribbean Basin as well. More American oil is carried through the Caribbean Basin than the entire Persian Gulf. Should there be some kind of European conflict, vital U.S. supply lines would run through the Caribbean. The implications of that are staggering.

We are to the point now that there can be no acceptable solution to the Central American problem if that solution entails accommodation of opponents of U.S. policy there. America has been on the defensive so far in the Cold War, and that will have to change. If the United States is to prevent a Vietnam-style Communist takeover in Central America, its policy toward that region must be one of stiffer resolve.

Guns and ammunition alone, however, won't do it. El Salvador needs agricultural advisers and medical teams to treat its soldiers and refugees. President Reagan's recent decision to send an Army medical unit to San Salvador is certainly a welcome step in the right direction. The Communists surely are not waging this all-out war for the sake of a few minor cabinet posts; and if history is any indication, El Salvador and Nicaragua will not be their last territorial demands either.

Where the American government has sought to stem the tide of totalitarianism, to *aggressively* repel the forces of tyranny, it has been successful. That strategy will work in Central America too, if it is given a chance. The stakes are high indeed; many experts agree that the United States will simply be finished as a world-class superpower if that region succumbs to Communism.

It is not too late to turn things around. Given the strategic vitality of Central America, the conflict raging there now could yet mirror that of Marathon, where history changed because a small band of Greeks withstood everything their Persian invaders could throw at them—but only if the proper commitments are made. □

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Morton,

This paper -- which should be of obvious utility to Whittlesey's Central American task force -- was prepared by one of our post-graduate summer interns under the supervision of Dr. Hilliard of our staff.

I thought it might come in handy for you. Need more copies?

Bill

Increasingly over the last twenty years, Catholic clerics and lay workers have become more visible and active in revolutionary movements all over Central and Latin America. At the same time, the number of murdered Catholic clerics and lay workers has increased as well. For example, the Church pulled out all remaining priests from the Guatemalan province of El Quiche because the attrition rate due to murder was so high. Why have members of the Church become the targets of this violence? And why is there the perception among policy-makers that the actions of some clergy in Central America seem to dovetail with Marxist ambitions in the area? It is not difficult to draw that conclusion given the fact that four priests, primarily Maryknoll missionaries and Jesuits, serve in the ruling Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. And yet the greatest irony of all is the increasing evidence of religious persecution in Nicaragua despite outside perceptions of Church support for the Sandinista regime.

Sandinista Attack on Catholics

The Catholic Church is by far the largest religious institution in Nicaragua. While it has faced and will continue to face the same problems as the Church in other Central American nations, the Nicaraguan Church has found itself in a unique and dangerous situation, confronting an entirely new set

of problems caused by the revolution and their changing role within that revolutionary situation.

The Catholic Church in Nicaragua has in fact been the target of increasing harassment since Archbishop Obando y Bravo renounced his support for the Sandinistas in 1980. No supporter of the Somoza regime, Archbishop Obando allowed organizing activities by clerics on behalf of the FSLN (Spanish initials: Sandinist Front for National Liberation) and explicitly endorsed the people's right to revolt after the National Guard had been implicated in the murder of a number of priests in 1979. However, tensions began to develop after he concluded that the goal of the Sandinistas was to establish a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship.

A major part of his opposition stems from the attempt by the government to encourage the formation of "peoples' churches". During the last decade, clerics and lay workers organized Catholic "base communities" in urban and rural areas throughout Latin America. The base community serves as a locus for certain kinds of grass roots organizing activities (unions, study groups, neighborhood committees, etc.). Small wonder then, with the base communities' grass roots emphasis, that the regime has tried to attach Sandinista Defense Committees to them.² These are modelled after Cuban Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. They provide neighborhood surveillance, allocate certain rationed items,

-3-

grant internal travel permits and the like. These combinations of base communities and Sandinista Defense Committees are the so-called "peoples' churches". These organizations refuse to accept the authority of the Archbishop and are correctly perceived as a threat to the integrity of the Church. Incidents have been reported that when the Archbishop or his functionaries have attempted to replace priests in "Peoples' Churches" with those who accept his authority the replacements have encountered beatings and other forms of physical and verbal abuse at the hands of mobs. These mobs, organized by the DGSE and the Sandinista Defense Committees are sarcastically referred to as "las turbas divinas" -- the divine mobs. Unnamed officials of the Nicaraguan Democratic Front have alleged specifically that Fr. Ernesto Cardenal is a main organizer of these entities while Edgard Macias Gomez, former Sandinista vice-minister of labor, singles out Interior Minister Tomas Borge.³

The size and influence of the "peoples' churches" is a matter of debate. Some observers contend that they are primarily concentrated in and around Managua and since they are government affiliated (through the Sandinist Defense Committees) they receive an inordinate amount of (controlled) media attention. Mr. Macias believes, however, that the Sandinistas are attempting to establish a new church, the "Sandino-Christian rite", complete with icons of Sandino, prayers to its own pantheon of martyred Sandinistas

and even the beginnings of a cult of resurrection.⁴

The "peoples' churches" are a direct threat to the authority of the Church hierarchy. Pope John Paul II, during his March visit to Nicaragua, stated that it was "absurd and dangerous to imagine that outside -- if not to say against -- the Church built around the bishop there should be another church, conceived only as 'charismatic' and not institutional, 'new' and not traditional, alternative and as it has been called recently a peoples' church."⁵

Evidence of manipulation of crowds during the Papal visit continues to grow. A recent defector from Nicaragua, Miguel Bolanos Hunter, an intelligence operative with General Directorate for State Security (Sp. initials: DGSE) related how he participated in operations to load the crowds attending Papal visits with supporters of the Sandinistas and prohibiting anti-Sandinista Catholics from attending through the use of mobs to intimidate the faithful. Mr. Bolanos contends that activities against the Catholic Church are part of a broader scheme to neutralize and discredit all forms of democratic opposition before the stage-managed elections in 1985.⁶ (This writer uses the term "stage-managed" since junta coordinator Daniel Ortega Saavedra has stated to a Dutch journalist that "I am convinced that we represent the will of the people and for this reason there is no need to hold elections on that particular point."⁷) It appears, however, the Papal visit was a propaganda fiasco for the regime since many

of the faithful felt the shouting of political slogans and constant interruption of the Pope to be a profanation of the Mass.

Personal attacks against the Archbishop and his functionaries have been increased. Last year's attempt to discredit Fr. Bismarck Carballo is a case in point. Fr. Carballo had been chief of the Archdiocese's communications office with responsibility for Catholic radio broadcasts in Nicaragua (since then severely circumscribed). While having lunch at the home of a female "parishioner", they were interrupted by a member of the DGSE claiming to be her husband. Fr. Carballo was forced to strip naked and then paraded before a jeering crowd of pre-selected demonstrators.⁸ There was much media play given to the incident by Nicaraguan broadcasters and the incident led to sporadic rioting, the most severe of which took place in the city of Masaya. The FSLN regime maintains that Fr. Carballo was having an affair with the "married" woman and that their intervention saved his life. However, Mr. Bolanos has indicated that the entire affair was engineered by the DGSE to discredit the Archbishop and has identified the woman "parishioner" as a prostitute in the employ of the security apparatus.⁹ The intensity of the Masaya rioting (3-4 dead) seems to indicate that the Fr. Carballo incident was another propaganda failure for the regime. Nevertheless, the Sandinistas continue their harassment of the Catholic Church.

Other areas of contention include increased Sandinista attempts to gain control of the curriculum in Catholic schools, the banning of the Archbishop's Sunday Mass broadcast because of his anti-government statements in sermons, restricted media access in general and the suppression of Pope John Paul II's pastoral letter of June 29, 1982 which reaffirmed the authority of the Archbishop.

Liberation Theology

At the same time, conflicts over theology, specifically the "theology of liberation" have threatened to cause a schism in the Church. The situation is most critical in Nicaragua where liberation theology has been used by the regime to justify Sandinista policies, but it could divide the Church throughout Latin America.

The impetus for increased clerical involvement in radical social change movements in Central America springs from two sources. The first is Vatican II, the shorthand name given to the changes in Church doctrine brought about by the Second Vatican Council. The second source is a theological tract originally published in Peru by Gustavo Gutierrez called The Theology of Liberation.

Under Pope John XXIII, the Roman Catholic Church began a process of tremendous change. What John set in motion was a complete re-examination of the Church's role in the modern world. He felt it necessary to bring the

Church up to date, to make it more able to respond to the problems of the times and to invigorate its admittedly sclerotic bureaucracy and hierarchy. The result, which he did not live to see is known as Vatican II. One of the major changes enacted is the still ongoing process of creating more cardinalates, archdioceses and dioceses in Latin America, Africa, and Asia; the growth areas, if you will, of the Church. Besides the practical political aspect of changing the geographical composition of the College of Cardinals and injecting new blood into the bureaucracy, the move is a symbol of the Catholic Church's determination to identify itself with the poor and what is now referred to as the Third World. Indeed, at the Conference of Bishops held in Medellin, Colombia in 1963, the Latin America Church for the first time, came down firmly on the side of the poor against the status quo.

Tied to the Church's change in identification was the appearance of a new theological theory first enumerated by Peruvian scholar Gustavo Gutierrez. His book, The Theology of Liberation published in 1971, was a summation and amplification of trends existing in the Church in Latin America. Liberation theology attempts to redefine the role of the Church in Latin America in light of Vatican II and the success of the Cuban revolution. Gutierrez rejects "reformism" and "developmentalism": "Contemporary man. . . has gradually abandoned a simple reformist attitude regarding

the existing social order, for, by its very shallowness
this reformism perpetuates the existing system" and

"Developmentalism thus came to be synonymous with reformism
. . . that is to say, synonymous with timid measures. . ."

There is an economic component stressing dependence theory that uses both Marxist and anti-American rhetoric. "The dynamics of the capitalist economy lead to the establishment of a center and a periphery, simultaneously generating progress and growing wealth for a few and social imbalances, political tensions and poverty for the many. . ."

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¹² and . . . underdevelopment can only be understood as a byproduct of capitalist development in the West. . ."

¹³ and ". . . there can only be authentic development for Latin America only if there is liberation from the domination exercised by the great capitalist countries, and especially by the most powerful, the United States of America."

¹⁴ A socialist system is favored: ". . . difficulties in reconciling justice and private ownership have led many to the conviction that 'private ownership of capital leads to the dichotomy of capital and labor, to the superiority of the capitalist over the laborer, to the exploitation of man by man. . . The history of private ownership of the means of production makes evident the necessity of its reduction or suppression for the welfare of society. . .'"

¹⁵

Even while using the language of class struggle, the author denies his argument is simply Marxism claiming that what elevates his socio-economic arguments to the theological level is his discussion of sin; "Sin is regarded as a social, historical fact. . . Sin is evident in oppressive structures, in the exploitation of man by man, in the domination and slavery of peoples, races and social classes. Sin appears therefore, as the fundamental alienation, the root of a situation of injustice and exploitation."¹⁶ Gutierrez's theology, which uses Marxist sociological methods and class struggle rhetoric as its points of departure, has had a profound effect not only on the Latin Church, but Protestant ones as well. First, what Gutierrez hoped would be a truly Latin American theology is primarily preached by a foreign clergy (mostly North Americans) due to shortages of native born Central American priests. Second, the activism brought forth by liberation theology has drawn a murderous response from the established powers of many Central American countries who have been horrified at the change of attitude in an old ally. The situation, however, is radically different in Nicaragua where the "established powers" were overthrown with the support of the Church and where the Sandinistas are attempting to manipulate religion for political ends.

Harrassment of Protestants

To be sure, Sandinista attempts to harass the clergy are at present far from limited to Catholics.

Activities against Protestant churches have developed along different lines from those directed against Catholics, but the results in many cases have been more devastating. This is due to the relatively large number and small size of the various denominations.

Many Protestant organizations have been active in Central America for several decades, among them Mormons, Mennonites, Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists. In March, 1982 Barricada, the official Sandinist newspaper published a number of anti-Protestant articles under the headline "Invasion of the Sects". The articles alleged that the missionary activities of several Protestant organizations were part of a U.S. rightist conspiracy of cultural penetration.¹⁷ It was the first salvo of a campaign to discredit churches that the regime was at odds with. On July 17, 1982, Interior minister Tomas Borge charged that the Adventists, Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses were receiving CIA money to conduct anti-FSLN activities and labelled them enemies of the people. By August 11, 1982, twenty-three Protestant church properties had been seized by mob action (las turbas divinas again).¹⁸ Once again, the time-worn standard line on CIA involvement was trotted out to justify the action (to date, the churches or church groups accused of CIA involvement are: the Lutheran Church, the Christian Reform Church, Church World Service of the National Council of Churches, the Latin

- 11 -

American Mission Program, Church Women United, the Methodist Church, the Mennonite Church, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Mormon Church, the Seventh-Day Adventists, the Moravian Church, Catholic Relief and Infact. ¹⁹ One reason for Borge's July 17th attack against several of the Protestant Churches is their stated aversion to compulsory military service. Some, but not all of the confiscated properties were returned and only on condition that the ministers refrain from anti-government criticism.

A more tragic case is the devastation of the Miskito Indians and the Moravian Church. Traditionally, the politics of previous Nicaraguan governments with regard to the "costenos" was to "let sleeping dogs lie". Oriented toward the Atlantic with a large English speaking contingent of Creoles and persons of Black and Indian descent and in an area with few easily exploitable resources, the Pacific-oriented, Spanish-speaking predominantly Catholic governments felt it was not worth the effort to forcibly integrate them into the Nicaraguan nation. As a result, the Miskitos enjoyed a relative autonomy. The few social services available were, by and large, provided by the Moravian Church and its missionaries, who have been active on Nicaragua's Atlantic coast since the middle of the 19th century.

After the Sandinista take over, the regime attempted to "rescue" the coast. Cuban and Nicaraguan personnel began

to flood into the area in 1980 and a heavy-handed attempt to redesign the lives of the Indians along Marxist lines ensued. Resentments were stirred up and rioting broke out which was followed by more Nicaraguan repressive measures. The entire Atlantic coast was sealed off. To travel there special passes must be obtained from the Interior Ministry. Indians were rounded up to bolster the militias. Those who refused were either shot or forcibly relocated. Villages were forcibly abandoned and burned. Miskito Indian leaders were rounded up and jailed. The umbrella organization created by the Indians to represent their interests in Managua after the revolution, Misurasata was shut down by government action. Edgard Macias (Gomez) says that as of July, 1982, 55 Moravian churches had been destroyed by Sandinista action.²⁰ More recently in January 1983, Sandinista military units launched a punitive raid against Miskito refugees in Honduras killing some 200 people.²¹

Much of the regime's repressive activity has been against Moravian church leaders who they believe incited the Indians against the central government. Those who could not be coerced or co-opted have been jailed or exiled. This is a sad irony since the Moravian Church is historically known for its non-interference in political matters. Unconfirmed reports say that Moravian ministers

are to be shot on sight. ²² Ministers who are still
 allowed to preach in the region must submit their sermons
 to local Sandinista censors. ²³ Two of the most prominent
 Moravo leaders, Rev. Norman Bent and Rev. Fernando
 Colomens have been exiled to Managua and the Moravian
 Social Action Committee (Sp. initials: CASIM) was
 closed by FSLN action. ²⁴

OAS Report on Abuses

The Organization of American States has compiled a report detailing human rights abuses by the Sandinista regime against the Atlantic Indian communities but have not released it because of their own efforts to mediate the situation. But while hemispheric institutions remain silent, Nicaraguans in exile have spoken out forcibly against the Sandinistas' harsh, abusive and repressive tactics. Eden Pastora, the famed "Commander Zero" who resigned from the government to organize a new guerilla movement with the intention of ousting the Managua government said:

With pain I have seen that intranquility, anguish, fear, frustration and personal insecurity reign among my people. I have seen our Miskito Indians ...jailed or assassinated, without a press or radio that can denounce to the world this regime of terror that reigns on the Atlantic Coast and in all of Nicaragua through the feared State Security. ²⁵

Sandinista Anti-Semitism

Anti-religious and anti-ethnic activities of the Sandinista regime have not been limited to Christians. It is a sad fact of this century that the character of a nation's government can be seen by its treatment of its Jewish population. In this regard the Sandinista regime showed its true colors early. Managua's synagogue was the target of an FSLN firebombing attempt in 1978 before Somoza was toppled. Never very large, Nicaragua's Jewish community went from 200 to 50 when the civil war began. The number is now zero. Death threats, illegal expropriations, jailings and other forms of intimidation have succeeded in driving all Jews from so-called "Nicaragua Libre". Managua's synagogue has been turned into a children's center for the party elite. And even though there are no Jews left in the country, the anti-semitic pronouncements continue. ²⁶

In a recent Washington Post editorial, Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge claimed there is no anti-semitism in Nicaragua and said that if the Managua synagogue was the "patrimony of the Jewish community, the government will facilitate its return." ²⁷ But as Rabbi Morton Rosenthal, Latin America director of the ADL said in reference to a similar Sandinista offer concerning return of the synagogue,

"This is a meaningless promise in a country without Jews."
Mr. Borge went on to state that ". . . full freedom of
religious expression exists in Nicaragua for the first time
in our history."²⁹ The record however indicates otherwise.

Anti-religious activities on the part of the Sandinista regime have not been limited to any single group but have cut across many lines. Anti-Sandinista Catholics, Protestant Miskito Indians, evangelical missionaries and Nicaraguan Jews have all been targets of repressive activities. Although the dynamics have been different in each case, the result in all cases has been the same -- repression of religious and ethnic identity.

NOTES

1. As of June 1, 1983; Fr. Miguel D'Escoto- Minister of Foreign Affairs; Fr. Ernesto Cardenal- Minister of Culture; Fr. Fernando Cardenal- chief, Sandinista Youth Organization; Fr. Edgard Parrales- Nicaraguan Delegate to the OAS. Source- Embassy of Nicaragua.
2. Joseph E. Cassidy, "Diverging Catholic Paths in Nicaragua," The Christian Century, (October 21, 1981) p.1063
3. Edgard Macias Gomez, "The Sandinista Revolution and Religion," San Jose, Costa Rica, (July 19, 1982) p.10 (mimeographed paper).
4. Ibid., p. 11. " The maximum action of this Red-Black Church, which hung on the front of the old cathedral in Managua an enormous picture of General Sandino in his most characteristic pose, but drawn within a white host, which is bordered by the colors red and black of the FSLN flag, is the elaboration of a novena to the Virgin Mary. The Nicaraguan people are very devoted to Mary and each day in this novena the prayers are related to a Front hero. It also requests protection for the Vanguard, the FSLN. The Nicaraguans were not over being surprised by this when on radio and television the campaign for the third anniversary of the revolution was spearheaded by a short ad in which the dead are no longer simply sandinist heroes, but are now "the sandinist saints." One, named Navarrito, it is said "died with worms eating his feet but he arose the same day," thus comparing him with Jesus Christ, who as we all know, took three days to do the same."
5. Alan Riding, "Pope Says Taking Sides in Nicaragua is Peril to Church," New York Times, March 4, 1983 , p. 1.
6. Dan Oberdorfer and Joanne Omang, "Nicaraguan Bares Plan to Discredit Foes", Washington Post, June 19, 1983 pp.1, 14.
7. "Netherlands Daily Interviews Daniel Ortega", Interview with Frans Kok, NRC Handlesblad, May 27 1983, trans. by Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report, Central America, June 14, 1983, p.19.
8. Oberdorfer and Omang, op. cit., p.14
9. Ibid.
10. Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, trans. and ed. by Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson (New York; Orbis Books, Maryknoll, 1973) , p. 48.

11. Ibid. , p. 26.
12. Ibid. , p. 84.
13. Ibid. , p. 109; quoting " Presence of the Church in Latin American Development ". (Itaopan, Brazil 1968).
14. Ibid. , p. 88.
15. Ibid. , p. 111; quoting " Private Property ", statement of ONIS, IDOC_NA, no. 16 , pp. 94-95.
16. Ibid. , p. 175
17. Humberto Belli, " Persecution of Protestants in Nicaragua; the Neglected Story ", p. 5 (mimeographed paper).
18. Nina m. Serafino, " Central America-Nicaragua; Conditions and Issues for U.S. Policy ", No. IB82115, Congressional Research Service, (Washington. D.C., June10, 1983) p. 22.
19. Macias, op. cit. , p. 8.
20. Ibid. , p. 5.
21. Richard Araujo, " Nicaraguan Connection; A Threat to Central America ", Heritage Foundation; cited in Congressional Record, 98th Congress, February 14 1983, p. S1132.
22. Ibid. , p. S1134.
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