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ESSAY

Remember President Dewey

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — The Reagan campaign has entered its most dangerous phase: the candidate and the people around him are fairly sure they are going to win.

In the Federal bureaucracy, the sense of the inevitability of Reagan permeates the attitude of "Schedule C" appointees; 2,000 plum-holders in the middle reaches of the Carter Administration are busily preparing résumés.

In the Congress, the flight of the lame doves is signified by Senator George McGovern's sudden discovery of the wisdom of building the B-1 bomber. Similarly, in the Democratic platform committee, nobody can remember whose idea it was, four years ago, to promise to cut the defense budget by \$7 billion. The only Democrat exhibiting any serenity is Senator Henry Jackson, who once turned down a Nixon offer to be Secretary of Defense, and who is likely to be offered the opportunity to be Reagan's Secretary of State.

The confident challenger has gone into pre-Convention seclusion, ostensibly to rest, to deliberate over his choice of a running mate and to prepare his acceptance index card; actually, he is permitting Mr. Carter to take the summer media heat. No strenuous European trip for Mr. Reagan — the possibility of a gaffe was evidently too great. The press has officially dubbed him "the expected Republican nominee," making him the choice of expected Republicans.

This transfer of the anticipation of power is happening too quickly and is making me nervous. The New York Times/CBS News Poll puts Reagan 10 points ahead four months before election day — that's too much, too soon. Remember President Dewey.

When it comes to Carter and the polls, I have become a chartist. On Wall Street, a chartist takes the cyclical undulations of the past and projects them on dotted lines into the future; in politics, a chartist must come to grips with the Carter Trampoline Effect.

Consider the Carter approval ratings as measured by Gallup. The newly elected President honeymooned at 75 percent approval. Eighteen months later, he had drifted below 40 percent and "one-term President" was the general prediction. Then came the first bounce on the trampoline: Camp

David's publicity bonanza hyped his ratings clear up to 56 percent.

Slowly, steadily, the nation's approval of the President drifted back down until, in October of last year, he had dipped below the 30 percent level most recently experienced in Nixon's last days in office. Then, two forward fumbles — the hostage seizure, and the paralysis that encouraged the Soviets to take Afghanistan — and Mr. Carter hit the trampoline again: the new peak, 61 percent.

For the past six months, he has been plummeting and now registers 32 percent in the Gallup ratings, apparently heading to his natural level somewhere between the Nixon and Truman lows. According to my chart, he should soon be hitting the trampoline.

What could dramatically reverse the President's ratings in October, in time to squeak through the election?

1. *Surrender at the Waldorf Towers.* In this scenario, Carter accedes to Kennedy's wishes on the platform, causing a love feast in the Convention, with United Democrats rejecting the irresponsibility of politically popular tax cuts, and calling for a Trumanesque Turnip-Day session of Congress in which to spend like crazy and beat the recession. (Far-fetched.)

2. *Saved by the Short-and-Mild.* Inflation abates, as expected, but does not rise again before November; simultaneously, Mr. Carter gets a break on September's unemployment figures, with October's horrendous figures withheld until after Nov. 4. He claims victory on both fronts and is believed. (Unlikely.)

3. *Reagan blows it.* The Republicans, right-winging it, scare the middle-wingers away. In the TV debates, Carter has it both ways, accusing Reagan of being both trigger-happy and too decrepit to pull the trigger. John Anderson, on a "responsible" kick, takes more votes from Reagan than Carter. Reagan allows himself to become the issue and gets Kennedied. (Not impossible.)

4. *A rally-behind-the-President break.* Castro attacks Guantanamo, which Carter finds really unacceptable. Or another American embassy is attacked and we respond in Mayaguez fashion; or we use military force in Iran. The President gets a small, clean, quick popular war with no draft needed. (Requires much luck.)

5. *Foreign leaders choose Carter.* In this scenario, the ayatollahs decide that Carter is better for them than a President who might effectively support their opposition, and they turn over the hostages unharmed. Or — as Khrushchev tried to do — Brezhnev seeks to influence a U.S. election by making a deal in Afghanistan, re-establishing détente and aiding Carter with his "warmonger" attack on Reagan. (Possible.)

Add to these possibilities the element of the totally unexpected and it becomes time to cut the complacency. Recent history could repeat itself: one foreign-affairs fluke and watch out for the Carter Trampoline Effect.

MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM J. CASEY

FROM: ANTHONY R. DOLAN

RE: TAKING CARTER OUT FOR THE COUNT

1. William Safire ^{sees trouble for us in} ~~makes the important point as you saw~~ about Carter's ability to constantly bounce back off the trampoline.. ^{by this winter, 2 years}
2. For what ^{It is probably} ~~it's worth~~, ^{my intuition is that} ~~Carter~~ ^{the American people are smarter} has crossed the line and that ^(they are tired of the disaster in D.C.) the dislike of him by the American people ~~prohibits~~ ^{prohibits} any real recovery. But ~~it is just an intuition.~~ ^{he has lost his way}
3. Obviously ~~however~~, we cannot operate on this presumption [as Safire points out.]
4. ~~The 70 pager on the Carter administration~~
4. We have ^{to} insure that Carter never recovers --- the way to do this is ^{inherent} ~~to move his~~ ^{the} public ~~perception~~ ^{perception} of him and his administration from that of well meaning, (and disastrous) amateurs who have caused a ~~disaster~~ ^{disaster} in Washington to ^{politicians who are} mednacious, insecure, self-absorbed ~~crony~~ ^{and partisan} politicians. ^{and cronies types.}
5. The issue of ~~crony~~ ^{credibility} (the long history of Carter's lying and the statements about those lies by his former Julian Bond, Robert Schrum and James Fallows right into the administration years) -- Shrum makes the point that Carter really doesn't understand that he isn't telling the truth) ^{is one of those people} ~~cratism and cosmetics.~~ ^{Carter has a habit of telling untruths} ~~who habitually tells untruths without realizing he's doing it~~ ^{without really understanding that is what he is doing,} for whom the facts are primarily a matter of convenience he has a habit as his former speechwriter Robert Schrum pointed out of telling untruths without even realizing he's doing it.
6. The issue of credibility, cronyism and cosmetics outlined at the end of ~~the~~ ^{the} 70 page examination of the Carter ~~administration~~ ^{record} does this.

is the way to do this. Carter has a long history of telling untruths
Memorandum

(Julian Bond, Robert Schrum his pseechwriter and James Fallows a have all
From:
remarked on this in perfect case hsitories.) this cridiblity problem
is (Rose Gard infaltion is the fault of the oil sheiks etc., Martson affiar)
evidence d in his administration.

Similarly, his administraton has instances of cronyism and TV cosmetics
fully outlined.

It outlines Carter ~~long history of telling untruths~~ (before the election) ^{just after} as
perceived by Julian Bond Robert Schrum and James Fallows

It shows that even before he was elected Julian Bond, Robert Schrum and
James Fallows came up with beatufiul cases histories that exemplify ^{like the election} his
habit of ^{totally untrue} making the facts suit his convenience. (Schrum & Fallows & Bond)

and lists all of his admi statements as president that have been untrue.
Similarly, incidents of ^{TV "cosmetics"} how the media was manipulated (Wisconsin primary)
, Nimitz incident etc.) & phony memo on Kennedy debate) and finally
the increible incidents of "cronyism in and administraton that promised
only the best.

5. The whole 70 page document however is written with this ~~in mind~~ theme
in mind ^{and the entire mystery of the early area mentioned is in the}

6. As you ^{Said he truly} suggested, we should give some thought to how to exploit this
document --- possibly ^{VP acceptance speech?} just publish the whole thing and let
the press play with it (leak ~~it first~~ parts of it first) ^{or} possibly
condense it and make it a speech by some outsider ^{in a TV speech} and of make it into a
documentary.

7. I think at first we would take some heat -- (Regan Campgain Assails
Carter ~~Adies~~ Attack Regan Camapgin for ~~biased~~ Irresponsible Charges)
but that would be to ~~no~~ but eventually, the press would concede the
validity of our charges since they are all actual. More important
^(ABC Judy Woodruff ...)
it Carter is dumb enough to repsond ^(is carrying message) that would make him the issue ^{and}
^{maybe possibly} ⁱⁿ the election.

Memorandum

Memorandum

To: William J. Casey
From: Anthony R. Dolan
Re: Media at convention

The first few days will be crucial ~~xxxxxxx~~ in setting the media's tone for the convention. Obviously, we want them to say we're competent but Perhaps, we should do the following but spontaneous.

Perhaps we should do the following:

1. Confer with selective members of the media, especially network correspondents (I was at a party last night with several of them and they're already speculating about what the convention will be like) and show how well we'll run

Jerry Carmen is a businessman and Republican state chairman in New Hampshire, who served as state chairman of the Reagan For President in that ~~state~~ state, and then, after ~~the~~ After ^{Governor} ~~Ronald~~ ^{DeMunn} Reagan's victory in his state, Mr. ^{Carmen} ~~Reagan~~ served as a volunteer in Washington D.C. for the campaign.

Edward DeBolt is a veteran of the Nixon and Ford ^{presidential} ~~cha~~ ^c campaigns as well as former ~~director~~ executive director of the California Republican party. During the past two months, Mr. DeBolt has served as a campaign volunteer, advising on direct mail and voter canvassing operations.

the open the national house a R. J. Campaign
headquarters in Atlanta, Va + Wash

William J. Casey, director of the Reagan for President campaign,
^{several}
announced today several appointments to key staff positions.

-- William Timmons ~~will serve~~ as deputy director of campaign operations,
~~James Lynn~~ Vern Orr will serve as

-- Verne Orr as deputy director for administration and financial
affairs

-- James Lynn as General Coun sel to the campaign committee and
Loren Smith as house counsel.

Reporting to Mr. ~~Timmons~~ in his Timmons in his new post will
be:

-- the campaign's 15 regional political directors who have worked
with state chairmen in gathering delegates in prmaries, caucuses and
conventions;

-- Max Hugel ~~who~~ will continue to ^{direct} organize and work ~~with the~~ ethnic, occupation
occupational and other special voter groups;

- Jerry CARMen and Edward DeBolt ~~who~~ will continue in the design
and oorganization of the campaign's grass roots structure for the
fall election.

Mr. Timmons, a Washington based ~~politician~~

*James Lynn as General Counsel to the Committee. Over
Smith will continue John Smith as house counsel in the P.R. campaign*

William J. Casey, director of the Reagan for President campaign, announced today ^{several additions} the appointments of William Timmons ^{will serve} as deputy director of campaign operations.

Reporting to Mr. Timmons in his new post will be: the campaign's 15 regional ~~political~~ political directors, who have worked with ~~Reagan~~ state chairmen in gathering delegates in ~~for~~ primaries, caucuses and conventions; Max Hugel, who will continue to ~~work~~ organize and work with ethnic, occupational and other special voter groups; and Jerry Carmen and Edward DeBolt who will continue ^{in the} to ~~design~~ design and organize the campaign's grass roots structure for the fall election.

Mr. Casey also announced today the appointment of Verne ^{was appointed} Orr who ~~will serve~~ as deputy ~~senior~~ campaign director for administration and financial control.

Mr. Timmons is

Mr. Orr, a Californian who served as finance director in Governor Reagan's administration in California, has since March served as controller of Reagan for President ~~as~~ a ^{volunteer.} ~~voluntary basis.~~

In making today's announcement, Mr. Casey said....

Max Hugel is a New Hampshire businessman who has been in the Reagan campaign as a ~~volunteer~~ volunteer since the fall of 1979, first as chairman in Nashua, N.H., ~~and then~~ and, since March, in California as special assistant to the campaign director for grass roots and special voter groups.

Jerry ~~Carmen~~ Carmen is a businessman, and ^{Republican national committeeman and former} Republican state chairman in New Hampshire, ~~who~~ who served as state ~~chairman~~ chairman of the Reagan For President campaign in that state. After

William J. Casey, ~~as~~ director of the Reagan for President campaign, announced today the appointment of William Timmons as deputy director of campaign operations.

Reporting ~~to~~ ^{will be} to Mr. Timmons in his new post ~~will be~~ ^{base} the ~~15~~ campaign's 15 regional ~~directors~~ political directors, who worked ~~with~~ with Reagan state chairmen in gathering delegates in ~~primaries~~ primaries, caucuses and conventions, Max Hugel, who will continue to ~~orgnaize~~ ^{organize} and work with ethnic, occupational and other special voter ~~groups~~ groups, and Jerry Carmen and Edward DeBolt who will continue to design and organize the campaign's grass roots ~~organizzattonz~~ structure for the fall election.

Mr. ~~Casey~~ Casey also announced today the appointment of ~~another deputy campaign director, Verne Orr, who -will xxxx~~ ~~direct administration and financial control.~~

of Verne Orr who will serve as deputy campaign director for administration and financial control.

Mr Timmons is

Mr. Orr, ~~is~~ a Claifornian who served as finance director in Governor Reagan's administration in California, ~~and since~~ has since March served as controller of ~~the~~ Reagan For President on a voluntary basis.

In making today's announcement, Mr. Casey said.....

Max Hugel is a ~~by~~ New Hampshire businessman who has been in the Reagan ~~one~~ campaign as a volunteer since the fall of 1979, ~~first~~ first as chairman for Nashua New ~~in~~ Hampshire, where Reagan carried all of the city's wards, and, since March, in California as special ~~xxxxx~~ assistant to the campaign director for grass roots and special voter groups.

assistant to the Campaign Director
^{developing}
~~making~~ ~~or~~ ~~volunteer~~ grass roots & spend vol-
unteer support.

Gene Carver, ~~a former~~ is a businessman
and former Republican state chairman of
New Hampshire, who served as the Chairman
of RFP in that state and then, after
the primary there, ~~served to~~ served the
Reagan campaign as a volunteer in Washington.

Ed DeBolt is _____ who
~~served~~ over the past two months has
served RFP as a volunteer as advisory
on direct mail & ~~grass~~ the canvassing
methodology.
organization of grass roots campaign
and a
veteran of
Kear & Ford
campaigns as
well as former
executive
director of the
California Republican
party.

and Ed O. Belt who will continue to
~~organize the organization~~ to work
in the design and implementation
of the organization in the design &
organization of the grass root campaigning
for the structure for the fall election.

~~Mr. O. R.~~ Mr. Casey also announced that
Vern Orr will serve as deputy director -
financial administration and financial control.

Mr. Tennison is -

Mr. Orr is a Californian who ^{served} ~~was~~
as formerly State Finance Director in Governor Reagan's
~~Mr. Hugel is a New~~
Administration there. Just want he has served
as Controller of the RFP as a volunteer.

Mr. Hugel is a businessman from New Hampshire
who has been with the Reagan campaign since as a volunteer
since the fall of 1979 just as ~~the Reagan~~ campaign
for Nashua, New Hampshire where Reagan carried
all wards and since March in California on special

William J. Casey, director the Re of the Reagan for
President

1) attack speech

2) op-ed piece

3) acceptance speech

4) post-convention
competence + intellectual > plans

5) attach
positive > plans

6) radio speeches - assign

7) NY Times

④ It shows ~~that~~ one theme throughout
all these failure are based on

Analysis of
failure

1) cynicism

2) media hype - Rutschkonev

3) credibility problem of
president & aides

but uses direct attacks on president as a prevaricator
his aides or facts to do it. (distinguished)

⑤ ~~It~~ It uses Dems or

independents for the most
damning attacks on Carter that
mimic my attacks.
~~direct att~~ do

outline
enclosed.

⑥ Entry of Graham promises &
critical ~~source~~ notes at end

⑦ Campaign ahead

1) dirty tactics - personal attacks

2) incandescence abuse.

⑧ Many ideas - - I am better at
setting up a daily exploitation of this
present program

2) Whit Home
3) Hiscam
4) Shut-down
5) Watch thing

On paper, I started work on Wed at 10 and finished Wed

2 weeks -

minor revisions + typing took 2 1/2
more days.

I ~~take~~ know how much needed say night indeed

had most major crises, inner
most despair etc. Know
who to ask

-- complete grasp of
Carter administration

more than a day research memo

it contains every ^{major} lesser promise, every
emerging moment from Manton
Albin to moving rabbit attack --

① it uses Manton, Lunde, ^{Ang Yang,} Fitzgerald vs.
Brown ^{Mim + 2} to show hypocrisy +

(Sam Brown) ② it develops new crises (new long
network) that should be the press will
catch onto

③ it combines ^{telecomics + budget} failure at State, Defense, Justice,
and OMB to illustrate Carter's foreign policy,
military, ~~low~~ clinical + economic failures from
Reagan's point of view

although facts
are all there as in
written memo it is
written in
speech form so
it can be used for on
TV show (media
event staff) or pages given
to managers or put into
documentary. ^{or} ~~it~~ ^{is} ~~strongly~~
more than a day research memo

TCC COMPARES U.S. SENATE VOTING RECORDS OF FOUR REAGAN RUNNINGMATE POSSIBILITIES

Although a number of prominent individuals of varying political philosophies have been proposed for consideration as the 1980 Republican nominee for Vice President

of the United States, the four Senators reported to be receiving serious consideration by Governor Reagan and his associates are Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), Richard S. Schweiker

(R-Penn.), Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), and Howard Baker (R-Tenn.).

It is possible that none of these men will be selected as Ronald Reagan's runningmate.

However, because each of them has had the opportunity to vote in the Senate on precisely the same policy questions, a comparison of their records may be instructive.

THE ISSUES



Jesse Helms



Richard Schweiker



Richard Lugar



Howard Baker

Voted

Voted

Voted

Voted



Shall the Federal Government Bail Out New York City?

On July 27, 1978, by a vote of 58 "Yes" to 35 "No," the Senate approved the conference report on HR 12426, to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to provide financial assistance of up to \$1.65 billion to the City of New York. Roll Call #258.

No

No

Yes

Yes



Shall There be Two New Senators and a Congressman for D.C.?

On August 22, 1978, by a vote of 67 "Yes" to 32 "No," the Senate passed H. Joint Res. 554, a provision to amend the Constitution of the U.S. to allow voting representation for the District of Columbia as though it were a state. Roll Call #350.

No

No

Yes

Yes



Shall Parental Consent be Required for Sex Education?

On April 30, 1979, by a vote of 16 "Yes" to 73 "No," the Senate rejected an amendment by U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) to provide that "No public elementary or secondary school which receives Federal financial assistance shall require students to participate in sex education instruction or programs without first obtaining an opportunity for such parents or guardians to review all educational material to be used in such instruction or programs, including all written materials, film, or other visual educational aids." Roll Call #66.

Yes

Yes

No

No



Shall a Cabinet-Level Department of Education be Established?

On April 30, 1979, by a vote of 72 "Yes" to 21 "No," the Senate passed S 210, to establish a separate Cabinet-level Department of Education. Roll Call #70.

No

No

No

Yes



Shall Congress Surrender The U.S. Zone And Canal at Panama?

On July 26, 1979, by a vote of 64 "Yes" to 30 "No," the U.S. Senate approved a liberalized version of H.R. 111, the House bill authorizing the transfer of the U.S. Canal Zone and canal at the Isthmus of Panama, and other U.S. property located in the Canal Zone, to the Government of Panama. (The House Merchant Marine And Fisheries Committee estimated the cost of the transfer to be \$4.2 billion.) Roll Call #226.

No

No

No

Yes



Shall the U.S. Aid Communist Cuba?

On October 9, 1979, the U.S. Senate, by a vote of 50 Yes to 44 No, agreed to a Sen. Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.) amendment to delete language providing that "None of the funds appropriated in this act shall be used for any form of aid, directly or indirectly, to Cuba." This original language, prior to amendment, was contained in Section 513 of the \$8.3 billion Foreign Aid Appropriation bill for Fiscal Year 1980. Roll Call #345.

No

No

Yes

Yes



Shall Taxpayers Bail Out Chrysler Corporation?

On December 20, 1979, the U.S. Senate, by a vote of 43 yes to 34 No, approved the Conference Report on the Chrysler Loan Guarantee Act, which provides \$1.5 billion in Federally guaranteed loans to the Chrysler Corporation over a four-year period. Roll Call #507.

No

No

Yes

Did Not Vote



Shall \$75 Million Aid to Communist Nicaragua be Approved?

On May 19, 1980, the U.S. Senate, by a vote of 46 Yes to 33 No, approved the Special Central American Assistance Act of 1979, authorizing appropriations of \$75 million for the Marxist government of Nicaragua. Roll Call #151.

No

No

Yes

Yes

Will Ronald Reagan Run Against Jimmy Carter in 1980?



or Against His Own Runningmate?



**Probable
GOP Presidential
Nominee
Ronald Reagan**



**Touted
Vice Presidential
Candidate
Howard Baker**

**The
Issues
Which
Divide
Them**

Opposed
Opposed
Opposed
Opposed
Opposed
Opposed
Opposed
Opposed
Opposed
Opposed
Opposed
Opposed
Opposed

Abortion Funding
Minimum Wage Laws
Cabinet Dept. of Education
Taxpayer Financing of Campaigns
ERA Ratification
HEW Race and Sex Quotas
Panama Canal Surrender
Andrew Young as UN Ambassador
Gun Control
Department of Energy
Aid to Cuba
Sex Education
D.C. Amendment

Favored
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TODAY

Contact Governor Reagan to urge that he exclude from Vice Presidential consideration Howard Baker, George Bush, and all others whose positions on important national issues are inconsistent with the issue commitments which helped Mr. Reagan win the GOP Presidential Nomination.

SEND YOUR LETTER OR TELEGRAM TO:

Hon. Ronald Reagan
% William Casey, Campaign Chairman
Reagan for President Headquarters
9841 Airport Blvd.
Suite 1430
Los Angeles, California 90045

PLEASE SEND A COPY OF YOUR LETTER OR TELEGRAM TO:

Mr. Paul Weyrich
Director
The Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress
6 Library Court, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

LUGAR, BAKER VOTE \$75 MILLION AID TO COMMUNIST NICARAGUA

On May 19, by a vote of 44 to 35, the U.S. Senate approved H.R. 6081, authorizing \$75 million American aid to the Marxist government of Nicaragua, which is dominated by Sandinista terrorists allied with the Soviet Union.

Leading the floor fight for the Sandinista aid proposal was Indiana Senator Richard Lugar, who was Campaign Manager of Howard Baker's unsuccessful Presidential candidacy, and who is prominently mentioned as a "compromise" Vice Presidential runningmate for Ronald Reagan.

In promoting the Sandinista assistance scheme, Senator Lugar said: "My doubts about all this have increased as a result of developments during the last few weeks. . . . High officials of the Government of Nicaragua have traveled to Moscow to sign cooperation agreements in economic, scientific, cultural, and possibly military areas. The Cuban presence in Nicaragua is obvious and ominous. . . . Nevertheless, I continue to believe that the situation in Nicaragua is not hopeless."

Arguing against taxpayer subsidies to the Castroite Nicaraguan junta, U.S. Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) asserted: "What we are going to have to decide today is whether the U.S. taxpayers' money is going to be used to support a Communist regime . . . the Communists control the very agencies that would be disbursing this U.S. aid in the nation of



Senator Howard Baker



Senator Richard Lugar

Nicaragua . . . the \$75 million we are talking about in this legislation would go primarily to strengthen the Marxist elements in the government, not the private enterprise elements. Thus, we would see U.S. aid going for Marxist central planning, confiscation of agricultural land and industrial plants, and ensconcing a whole cadre of loyal Communists in high-paying government jobs.

"If any assistance were to be given to the private sector, it was plain even in January that the assistance would be used as a lure to entrap businessmen desperate for help, lure them into Marxist planning and control. The giving or withholding of credit and contracts is a powerful tool to force the private sector to give up most of the rights that we normally associate with private enterprise. The argument that U.S. aid will

somehow strengthen the non-Communist elements is simply invalid . . .

"In March, the Sandinista leaders took a little trip. They went to Moscow and they signed a party-to-party agreement with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. . . . This action is highly significant, because a party-to-party agreement is equivalent to recognition of the Communist Party of Nicaragua. It foreshadows increasing military links with the Soviet Union. It brings Nicaragua under the protection of the Brezhnev Doctrine, as is indicated by the Sandinistas' commitment to Soviet world policy expressed in the joint communique issued in Moscow . . . in the communique the Sandinistas denounced the U.S.-NATO decision to upgrade NATO's nuclear arms, and they have defended the Soviet invasion of

Afghanistan. . . .

"The Sandinista government is a Communist government . . . there are 10,000 Cubans in their country, and those Cubans are hated. The Nicaraguans see that there are 12,000 political prisoners in their jails, with only a handful of show trials to make a pretense at justice . . . the television and the press are completely controlled by Marxist revolutionaries. . . .

"My friend said there are no guarantees in this legislation. Oh, yes there are. The guarantees are that this money will go to a Communist regime. It will not buy 1 inch of freedom for anyone.

" . . . if we send this \$75 million to Nicaragua now, we will be condemning the Nicaraguan people to a Castro-style dictatorship.

"How can the United States send aid to set up another Cuba at the very moment when thousands upon thousands of Cubans are struggling to escape to freedom? What kind of upside-down mentality do we have when we propose to use the taxpayers' money to build up communism?

" . . . The American people are going to hold all of us to account, and they should, Mr. President, not only on election day, but on every day when they see that we are aiding a despicable regime that is seeking to destroy in our own hemisphere the very freedoms that are the essence of our way of life."

Alabama Heflin-No Stewart-Yes	Colorado Hart-No Armstrong-No	Hawaii Inouye-Yes Matsunaga-Yes	Kansas Dole-No Kassebaum-Yes	Massachusetts Kennedy-Absent Tsongas-Absent	Montana Baucus-Yes Melcher-No	New Mexico Domenici-Yes Schmitt-Absent	Oklahoma Boren-No Bellmon-Yes	South Dakota McGovern-Yes Pressler-Absent	Virginia Byrd, H.-No Warner-No
Alaska Gravel-Absent Stevens-Absent	Connecticut Ribicoff-Yes Weicker-Absent	Idaho Church-Absent McClure-Absent	Kentucky Ford-Yes Huddleston-Yes	Michigan Levin-Yes Riegle-Yes	Nebraska Exon-No Zorinsky-Yes	New York Moynihan-Yes Javits-Absent	Oregon Hatfield-Absent Packwood-Absent	Tennessee Sasser-Yes Baker-Yes	Washington Jackson-Yes Magnuson-Yes
Arizona DeConcini-Yes Goldwater-Absent	Delaware Biden-Absent Roth-No	Illinois Stevenson-Yes Percy-Yes	Louisiana Johnston-Yes Long-Absent	Minnesota Boschwitz-Absent Durenberger-Yes	Nevada Cannon-No Laxalt-No	North Carolina Morgan-Yes Helms-No	Pennsylvania Heinz-No Schweiker-No	Texas Bentsen-Yes Tower-No	West Virginia Byrd, R.-Yes Randolph-No
Arkansas Bumpers-Yes Pryor-Absent	Florida Chiles-No Stone-No	Indiana Bayh-Absent Lugar-Yes	Maine Mitchell-Yes Cohen-Yes	Mississippi Stennis-Absent Cochran-No	New Hampshire Durkin-No Humphrey-No	North Dakota Burdick-No Young-No	Rhode Island Pell-Yes Chafee-Yes	Utah Garn-No Hatch-No	Wisconsin Nelson-Yes Proxmire-No
California Cranston-Absent Hayakawa-No	Georgia Nunn-Yes Talmadge-No	Iowa Culver-Yes Jepsen-No	Maryland Sarbanes-Yes Mathias-Yes	Missouri Eagleton-No Danforth-No	New Jersey Bradley-Yes Williams-Yes	Ohio Glenn-Yes Metzenbaum-No	South Carolina Hollings-Yes Thurmond-No	Vermont Leahy-Yes Stafford-Yes	Wyoming Simpson-Absent Wallop-No

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Senate

MONDAY, JUNE 16, 1980

(Legislative day of Thursday, June 12, 1980)

The Senate met at 11:30 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by Hon. J. BENNETT JOHNSTON, a Senator from the State of Louisiana.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, source of all power and all wisdom, help us today and all the days just before us to live in fidelity to Thy law and under the guidance of Thy Spirit.

Help us, O Lord, to work and not to worry, to be energetic but not fussy; to guard confidences and cherish friendships, to make no promises we cannot keep; to be patient under provocation; composed under criticism; to be respectful to age, gentle to the weak, helpful to the fallen, sympathetic with the sad, courteous to all; to fear nothing but sin, hate nothing but hypocrisy, covet nothing but character and at last leave the world a little better because we have lived in it.

We especially beseech Thee to give Thy higher wisdom to the President, the Members of Congress, and to all who serve the Government of this Nation that the Nation may be served in the manner in which we have prayed.

In Thy holy name, we pray. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. MAGNUSON).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., June 16, 1980.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable J. BENNETT JOHNSTON, a Senator from the State of Louisiana, to perform the duties of the Chair.

WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
President pro tempore.

Mr. JOHNSTON thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the majority leader is recognized.

ORDER FOR THE SENATE TO CONVENE AT 9 A.M. FOR REMAINDER OF THE WEEK AND AT 10 A.M. ON MONDAY, JUNE 23, 1980

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I anticipate a very heavy workload of legislation prior to the July 4 holiday and the break for the Republican Convention.

I would suggest that the Senate come in early and stay in reasonably late, and that it be in on Saturdays, if need be. Whether or not there is a necessity will depend upon the workload and the progress that is made, but there is plenty of work to do, enough to necessitate Saturday sessions between now and the July 4 break.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, tomorrow, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, it stand in recess until the hour of 9 o'clock a.m., respectively, on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, and that when the Senate convenes on Monday next it convene, following a recess, at the hour of 10 a.m.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DEFENSE BUDGET TRENDS

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, Chairman STENNIS of the Senate Armed Services Committee announced last Thursday some of the principal decisions his committee has made on the fiscal year 1981 defense authorization bill, S. 2294. The committee's report on the bill will be filed soon.

Major decisions have been made by the committee on the MX missile; on military pay; on the Rapid Deployment Force; on procurement; and on military readiness. Chairman STENNIS has ably described these and other decisions made by the committee.

This bill will be considered during a critical period. Defense decisions that we make this year will determine much of the character of our defense structure for the coming decade because many defense programs require long leadtimes.

Our Nation is now grappling with defense problems that had their origins many years ago. The last pre-Vietnam defense budget was in 1965. The defense budget then rose dramatically, a full 30 percent in real terms, peaking in 1968. After 1968 it declined dramatically. During the downswing, the defense budget passed the pre-Vietnam level—in real terms—in 1972. It continued to decline until 1975, when defense spending was a full 10 percent below the 1965 pre-Vietnam level. Not until 1980 did the de-

fense budget climb back to the pre-Vietnam level.

There are many forces behind the rise and fall of the defense budget, and they occurred over several administrations of both political parties. I make these observations to indicate the background against which we should judge the proposed defense budget, and the proposed defense authorization bill.

During the last 3½ years major new military preparedness initiatives have been undertaken. For example, almost every category of major Army weapons systems has undergone dramatic modernization. This includes new tanks, new ground troop carriers, new attack helicopters and troop-carrying helicopters, and a wide range of new missiles that together make up a new air defense system to protect an army in the field.

Procurement of major new equipment in the Navy and Air Force, is underway. In 1968 the Navy had 976 ships in active duty. After the Vietnam period, older ships were removed from active inventories until in 1972 there were 654 ships, and in 1976 there were 476 ships. The inventory bottomed out in 1978 at 453 ships, but planning had begun several years before for replacements, so that by the end of fiscal year 1980, there will be 462 active ships in the Navy. We have begun a period of steady growth in shipbuilding, putting more efficient vessels on the seas. The total number of ships will rise to 575 by 1984.

Similarly, there will be growth in the number of fighter aircraft. By the end of fiscal year 1980, the Air Force will have 516 F-15 fighter aircraft. In fiscal year 1976, it had 94. By the end of fiscal year 1980, the Air Force will have 158 F-16 fighter aircraft. In fiscal year 1976, it had only two.

In theater management, the United States has strengthened its presence in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific. Four years ago there was talk of withdrawing from portions of the Pacific. Not only is that no longer the talk; we have actually bolstered and stabilized our Pacific forces. Moreover, our growing relationship with China has added a new and positive dimension to our presence in the Pacific. In the Indian Ocean, we have increased considerably our emergency stockpiles and equipment at Diego Garcia. The United States also is negotiating for air and ship facilities in Kenya, and Somalia, and negotiations have been concluded with Oman for the use of facilities.

In Europe, major new initiatives by the United States in strengthening our partnership in NATO are successfully underway. President Carter, with the support of the Senate, took the lead in

launching within NATO a program of equipment modernization and command coordination known as the long term defense program (LTDP). The President also successfully requested, from all members of NATO, a pledge to increase defense spending annually by 3 percent, after inflation.

Major advances have been made during the last 3½ years in our strategic force structure. The Minuteman program has been constantly updated, with a more recent missile (Minuteman III), an improved warhead (MK 12A), and strengthened silos to reduce vulnerability. Development is underway on the MX in mobile form, to further reduce vulnerability. The sea leg of the Triad is being strengthened as progress is made on the Trident submarine and missile, and on the retrofit of Trident I missiles in Poseidon submarines. In the air leg of the Triad, President Carter made the tough decision of not pursuing the B-1 bomber, with the result that we will have more security at less cost from the air-launched cruise missile program. The cruise missile is extremely accurate and marks a significant technological turn in strategic weaponry.

This list of achievements does not include some significant gains made during this Congress. In 1979, a dramatic breakthrough for stability in the Middle East was made with the signing of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty. Congress has backed the package of military and economic support necessary to sustain the Middle East peace process. Exhaustive hearings were held on SALT II, and while it has not been possible to proceed with consideration of the treaty, a valuable understanding of our overall defense posture emerged from the hearings. More recently, on February 4, 1980, the Senate voted to adopt the Nunn-Warner amendment to the military personnel authorization bill (H.R. 5168). That amendment would authorize \$0.5 billion in additional pay and benefits for military personnel. Military compensation is an area of particular concern at the present time, due to the retention problems the services are currently experiencing. The Nunn-Warner amendment would be an important step toward solving our military pay problems. H.R. 5168 currently is awaiting conference.

The initiatives I have mentioned represent the careful expenditure of defense dollars on programs that can contribute the most to our defense strength. As we consider the defense authorization bill and other defense bills this session, we will want to keep these programs in mind. These initiatives constitute many of the building blocks of our defense structure in the 1980's, and we will want to be sure that actions we take this session maintain the momentum of these important initiatives.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings be approved to date.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the minority leader is recognized.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

JUSTICE GEORGE BROWN

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I would like to take a few moments this morning to offer my congratulations to a distinguished Tennessean, the Honorable George Brown, on his appointment this past Friday to my home State's supreme court.

Justice Brown will succeed the late Joe Henry, chief justice of that court until his untimely death earlier this month.

George Brown is a fair man and a skilled lawyer, well qualified to be a member of Tennessee's supreme court. His leadership in his profession and service to the community of Memphis in which he resides will make him well suited for the heavy responsibilities of maintaining confidence in our system of justice in Tennessee.

I would further commend Gov. Lamar Alexander on his foresight in naming such a compassionate and thoughtful individual to my State's highest court.

Justice Brown's appointment to the court will expire in September, but it is my hope that the justice will seek popular election for a full term in the office he so richly deserves.

Mr. President, I have no further requirement for my time under the order, and I am prepared to yield it back unless there is a need for it by the majority leader, or others.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I will have no need for it. I thank the minority leader.

BUDGET ACT WAIVER

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar Order No. 870.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be stated by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 450) waiving section 402(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 with respect to the consideration of S. 2727.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I have no objection.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the resolution is considered and agreed to.

The resolution (S. Res. 450) is as follows:

Resolved, That pursuant to section 402(c) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, the provisions of section 402(a) of such Act are waived with respect to the consideration of S. 2727, a bill to authorize additional appro-

priations for the Department of State in fiscal years 1980 and 1981 and for the Board for International Broadcasting in fiscal year 1981. Such waiver is necessary to allow the authorization of \$14,514,000 in additional budget authority for fiscal year 1980 for international organizations and conferences. The amount previously authorized for this purpose, \$502,945,000, has proven inadequate to fund the United States share of the assessed contributions to the United Nations.

Compliance with section 402(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 was not possible by the May 15, 1979, deadline, because of the inability of the State Department to estimate the actual United States assessments to the various United Nations organizations. The reason it is so often necessary to request supplemental for this appropriation lies within the budget process itself.

The Department of State prepares its budget for review by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and subsequent submission to Congress a full year and a half in advance of the calendar year budget cycles which are followed by most of the International Organization's (IO). Therefore, when the President submits his budget to Congress, the budgets of the IO's are in an embryonic stage. Consequently, the funding requested for assessed contributions to International Organizations is primarily based upon the result of informed and detailed analysis by personnel familiar with the various IO's, and a resultant knowledgeable estimate of what the approved budget for each IO's funding cycle will be.

However, it must be mentioned that the budgets of the IO's are affected by inflation, exchange rate fluctuations, and so forth. Therefore, because their budgets are acted upon long after the Department of State has submitted its request, they reflect different factors. In these days of soaring wage and price increases this almost always means higher budget requests.

In sum, the discrepancies between the funds included for International Organizations in the original President's budget and the updated request of the supplemental are largely a factor of time and the differences which exist between the budget cycle of the United States Government and the cycles followed by the International Organizations. In no case can these funds be diverted from this appropriation without the consent of Congress.

The effect of defeating consideration of this supplemental authorization will be to place the United States in violation of its international treaty obligations.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BAKER addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The minority leader is recognized.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I do have one other matter I would like to bring to the attention of the Senate, if I might.

A WISH FOR THE MAJORITY LEADER

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, it was with keen interest that I read an article by Mr. Martin Tolchin in the June 12 editions of the New York Times entitled, "Why Byrd Still Criticizes the Carter White House."

As the headline implies, Mr. President, the article sought to explain why the distinguished majority leader has, on