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NEW CITIZEN ACTIVATED WITH NAVY RESERVE UNIT@

AKRON, OHIO (UPI) PRAVIN SINGH BHAKUNI BECAME A U.S. CITIZEN FRIDAY AND ON SUNDAY HE'LL BE ACTIVATED WITH HIS NAVY RESERVE UNIT TO HELP IN ''OPERATION DESERT STORM.''

BHAKUNI, 21, A NATIVE OF INDIA WHO HAS LIVED IN THE UNITED STATES FOR 17 YEARS, WAS NOT SCHEDULED TO OFFICIALLY BECOME A U.S. CITIZEN UNTIL FEB. 5. BUT WHEN WORD CAME THAT HIS NAVY RESERVE UNIT WAS BEING ACTIVATED, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SPEEDED UP HIS CITIZENSHIP PROCESS.

HE WAS SWORN IN AS A CITIZEN FRIDAY IN SUMMIT COUNTY COMMON PLEAS COURT. COURT OFFICIALS SAID THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE RUSHED THROUGH THE PAPER WORK TO ALLOW HIM TO BE SWORN IN EARLY.

''IT DOESN'T FEEL ANY DIFFERENT BECAUSE I FEEL LIKE I'VE BEEN MORE OF AN AMERICAN THAN AN INDIAN FOR THE LAST 17 YEARS,''' SAID BHAKUNI, A UNIVERSITY OF AKRON JUNIOR MAJORING IN COMPUTER SCIENCE.

HIS PARENTS SENT HIM TO THE UNITED STATES AT THE AGE OF 4 TO LIVE WITH HIS AUNT AND UNCLE, WHO HAVE SINCE ADOPTED HIM.

BHAKUNI SAID HIS NATURAL PARENTS WANTED HIM TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITIES AMERICA COULD OFFER. HE SAID HE JOINED THE NAVY RESERVE TO GIVE SOMETHING BACK TO THE COUNTRY WHILE ALSO TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS THE MILITARY HAD TO OFFER.

''I ALSO FELT THE UNITED STATES HAS GIVEN ME EVERY OPPORTUNITY,''' BHAKUNI SAID. ''I FELT I SHOULD RECIPROCATE.''

BHAKUNI SAID HE IS A CORPSMAN, NOTING THAT SINCE HE WAS A RESIDENT ALIEN WHEN HE SIGNED UP HE WAS NOT ALLOWED TO HOLD ANY POSITION IN THE MILITARY THAT REQUIRED A SECURITY CLEARANCE.

IN BECOMING A CITIZEN HE PROMISED ''THAT I WILL BEAR ARMS ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES.''

''IT'S MY OWN WAY OF SHOWING THAT I HAVE FAITH AND LOYALTY TO MY COUNTRY,''' BHAKUNI SAID.

BHAKUNI'S UNIT, THE 3RD MARINES, 25TH BATTALION, IS TO HEAD TO CAMP LEJEUNE, N.C., ON SUNDAY. THE NEXT STOP COULD BE IN SAUDI ARABIA, BUT HE IS NOT SURE.

''I MAY BE ON THE FRONT LINES. I MAY BE AT A BATTALION HOSPITAL,''' HE SAID. ''I THINK I CAN DO A JOB WHEREVER THEY SEND ME.''

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281539 MIS :BC-GULF-QUOTES

U.S. SERVICEMEN TELL OF GULF WAR EXPERIENCE

DHAHRAN, SAUDI ARABIA, JAN 28, REUTER - HERE ARE SOME QUOTES FROM U.S. SERVICEMEN IN OPERATION DESERT STORM IN THE GULF:

-- "I'VE BEEN BOMBED BY OUR OWN AIR FORCE. I DON'T THINK THEY DID IT INTENTIONALLY." - GENERAL NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF, U.S. COMMANDER OF ALLIED FORCES IN THE GULF.

-- "WE'RE ALL TIRED, WE ALL STINK, BUT THAT'S LIFE IN THE MAGIC KINGDOM." - U.S. MARINE STAFF SERGEANT ALLEN BRUCE IN A PEPTALK TO HIS MEN.

-- "I WENT FROM BOMBS TO BOMBAST." - U.S. ARMY CHAPLAIN LIEUTENANT-COLONEL DON ALLYN, WHO ONCE SERVED AS AN ARTILLERY OFFICER.

-- "THE LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL IS BAGHDAD." - U.S. ARMY STAFF SERGEANT JEFFREY WHEELER.

-- "I HATE THE NEW ARMY. NOBODY SMOKES." -- A VETERAN ARMY SERGEANT.

-- "WE PUT ON OUR PANTS THE SAME WAY AS EVERYBODY ELSE. IT'S JUST THAT OURS HAVE SHIRTS ATTACHED." - A U.S. NAVY FIGHTER ILOT ON THE MYSTIQUE OF HIS JOB.

-- "WE GOT ALL THESE CULTURE CLASSES BEFORE WE GOT OVER HERE AND I'M STILL WONDERING WHEN WE'LL SEE A SAUDI." CAPTAIN SALVADOR RODAS, ON DEPLOYMENT IN REMOTE DESERT REGIONS.

-- "HE HAS LOOSED THE FATEFUL LIGHTNING OF HIS TERRIBLE SWIFT SWORD." - COMMANDER JEFF TURNER, QUOTING THE BIBLE, ON LAUNCHING A CRUISE MISSILE INTO IRAQ.

-- "YOU CAN'T GET A HOSTAGE OUT OF A MISSILE. A MISSILE CAN'T BE AFRAID." - U.S. NAVY LIEUTENANT GUY ZANTI, ON THE ADVANTAGES OF CRUISE MISSILES.

-- "WHAT WAS HE (THE GENERAL) GOING TO DO, SEND ME TO SAUDI ARABIA?" - MAJOR FRANK TIMMONS, ON HIS UNCONVENTIONAL METHODS OF ASKING SENIOR OFFICERS TO SIGN SUPPLY DOCUMENTS.

-- "WE VALIDATED THE PHYSICAL PRINCIPLE THAT WATER RUNS DOWNHILL." - MARINE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAY VESELY, ON DIGGING A FOXHOLE IN THE RAIN.

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INTERRUPTED

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SECTION: Vol. 21; No. 2; Pg. 10

LENGTH: 4528 words

HEADLINE: The Navy we need and the one we got

BYLINE: Shuger, Scott

BODY:

Scott Shuger is writing a book on the Navy.

The current political and economic climate dictates that something like \$ 300 billion worth of

military programs will have to be canceled during the new administration. And of all the

services, the Navy is the most likely to be deeply cut. Over the past eight years, it is the only service that has actually grown. While the number of Army divisions has remained the same and the number of planes in the Air Force's tactical wings has actually shrunk, the Navy's fleet has swelled by more than 100 ships to 587, and its senior enlisted ranks have almost doubled since

1981. Moreover, the Navy's proposals for new programs—those not already underway—total around

\$ 80 billion.

Among the items the Navy is plumping for:

- * Two more Mitz-class nuclear supercarriers, for a total of eight vessels of that class, bringing fleet strength to 15 flattops, up from 12 in 1981.
- * Smaller ships. The Navy wants 26 Burke-class guided-missile destroyers to go with the three already under construction and the 27 larger, Ticonderoga-class guided-missile cruisers already funded.
- * Submarines. The Navy wants up to 30 Seawolf-class attack submarines—subs designed to sink other subs—producing a fleet of 100 nuclear-powered attack subs. The Navy also wants money to complete the Ohio-class nuclear-powered submarines with their long-range Trident D5 missiles, for a total of 16-20 boats of that class.
- * Don't forget the planes. The Navy wants to continue purchasing the carrier-based F/A-18 strike fighter, for a total of more than 1,000. It also wants to buy a new version of the

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carrier-based F-14 fighter, and to fund improvements for the older models already in the inventory;

inventory, for a total of nearly 600.

To understand which weapons belong on the Navy's shopping list and which ones don't, you have to understand the scenarios the Navy is likely to encounter. While it's impossible to know just what our military needs will be next year, let alone 5, 10, 15 years from now, we can be certain that we'll need conventional weapons and nuclear weapons to keep the peace with the Soviets; we'll need

to be ready to fight in limited, "tactical" engagements; and we should have the capacity to

fight "strategic" battles on a global scale.

Many of the items on the Navy's budget request aren't what we need for any of these scenarios. And many of the weapons that we do need are either inadequately funded or missing from the budget entirely.

A one-shot deal

Consider that first item: two more big nuclear aircraft carriers. So powerful is the mystique of carriers that senior Navy officials admit that in wartime they'd really want not the 15 carriers

their request is based on budgets from 20 to 24. Yet the carrier mystique belies considerable

historical shortcomings. World War II's largest aircraft carrier, Japan's Shinano, had been in service for only ten days when it was sunk by four torpedo hits from a single American submarine. [See "The Sinking of a Supercarrier," Joseph Enright and James Ryan, May 1987.] In Vietnam, despite operating in an environment free of submarines and, for the most part, free of fighter aircraft,

U.S. carrier air wings hardly altered the war's outcome—but did produce scores of POWs.

Limited uses of U.S. carriers in Grenada and Lebanon, and the use of an Argentine carrier in the Falklands, were likewise ineffectual.

These instances of vulnerability and inefficiency suggest that the Mitz-class big-deck carriers the Navy wants won't be useful in many of the scenarios it must plan for. As far as the strategic nuclear environment goes, it is hard to see their advantage. The Soviets' development of a

worldwide reconnaissance system, cruise missiles, and a submarine force capable of global operations, has largely negated any pre-existing American edge.

During my own service as a naval officer in the late seventies and early eighties I participated in some exercises where, in theory at least, my carrier battle group arrived undetected at a point in the ocean from which it could

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launch raids against Soviet targets. But we probably never did get close enough to pull off an airstrike that would truly work. ("Probably" because, happily, our

work remained in the real => ; mof simulation, as all such exercises do. No one knows for sure what

would really happen.) Invariably, the flying distance required complicated refueling plans, and, in order to conserve fuel, these bomber routes would be at very high and hence very detectable altitudes. When we practiced long-range strikes against non-Soviet targets, we ran into the same kinds of problems. In addition, no naval aircraft has electronics immune to the debilitating electromagnetic pulse produced by nuclear explosions.

=> ; Since stationing tanker airplanes along flight routes would be enormously difficult during

battle, many of these sorties would wind up being one-way missions—recovering on land or ditching in the sea after bomb delivery. Even supposing round-trip missions could be pulled off, the carrier may well be located and sunk any time after the raid launches, because, while carriers have a hard time hiding from the Soviets under the best of circumstances, they become much more

detectable once planes start operating. => ; So even if in land target s get hit, you might still

lose the subsequent use of an entire airwing. So in all-out and anti-Soviet scenarios, supercarriers look to be a one-shot deal. It seems that the Navy quietly admitted as much when some years ago it pretty much dropped carriers from our first-line nuclear war plans.

The old joke is that the reason you build aircraft carriers is so you can put planes on them to

keep them from getting sunk. Because of the difficulties facing them, our carriers have => ; ome

to resemble this punch line. Naval aviators proudly think of the 86-plane airwing as the carrier's "main battery," but much of that air strength has gone over to defending the carrier. It used to be that a carrier's fighter complement—the Hellcats, the Corsairs, the Panthers, the Phantoms—could sling bombs and rockets underneath. But the 20 F-14 fighters onboard today's carriers carry no air-to-surface weapons (save for an extremely short-range gun). Instead, they carry air-to-air

weapons designed to => ; stave off fighters and bombers that might attack the carrier. The five

aircraft that jam enemy radar and the five planes we use to provide our own radar are likewise impotent. Ditto for the ten antisubmarine planes and the eight antisubmarine/search-and-rescue helicopters. That leaves only 38 planes—A-6, A-7, and F/A-18 bombers—for enemy ships and installations to worry about. In other words, as an offensive threat, a navy supercarrier is only about 44 percent efficient.

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Gas money

Despite these drawbacks, there remains some evidence that carriers can be useful in limited,

tactical fighting. Indeed, the Soviets seem to recognize this. At a shipyard on the Black Sea, they are now completing their second medium-sized, U.S.-style aircraft carrier. (The first was finished in 1985, but it's still not deployed.) These new vessels have catapults for launching heavy aircraft, arresting-gear for landing them, and angled decks that allow carriers to launch and

land aircraft at the same time—features U.S. carriers have had for a generation. The Soviets

evidently believe that in a crisis, where only a limited bit of hell is breaking loose, one piece at a time—and where the theater of operations is bereft of hostile submarines—carriers can provide military power and a visually striking symbol of national presence, without depending on foreign basing arrangements.

But there are factors that impugn the need for big-deck, nuclear-powered carriers like the

Mitsubishi-class. Much of the huge expense of a Mitsubishi-class carrier stems from the cost of its

nuclear power plants. The argument in favor of this kind of propulsion is that it can go 13 years between refuelings. But since most of a carrier battle group's elements aren't nuclear-powered, what good is this? All the escorts—the battleships, the cruisers, the destroyers, the frigates—must refuel every week or so. And the planes on board a carrier guzzle fuel at about the same rate.

With its airplanes, a Mitsubishi-class carrier costs at least \$5 billion. This drains capital

from training, testing, parts, and maintenance. Amazingly, it's not uncommon for navy squadrons to cut back their flight hours drastically or even to be grounded due to the scarcity of aviation fuel near the end of a fiscal quarter. This even happens to squadrons already at sea. Several times during my carrier service we had to drop anchor and wait for more fuel money. I'd much rather have "less capable" carriers with more readiness. A gasped-up VW beats a bone-dry Corvette off the line

every time.

One reason for the calamities aboard the Stark (hit by an Iraqi plane) and the Vincennes (which accidentally downed an Iranian 747) was that they found themselves operating in the Persian Gulf without any air support from a carrier. [See "Why Did the Navy Shoot Down 290 Civilians?" Scott Shuger, October 1988] That's because the Navy is loath to deploy carriers to bodies of water it considers too small—where it fears they can become trapped. Thus the two most recent U.S. naval

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disasters clearly =>; illustrate what we might call the paradox of the
e "high value unit": if a

weapon is considered too valuable to lose, it is often considered too
valuable to use. This is like having a couch so expensive, everyone is afraid
to sit on it.

A prominent proposal to make naval airpower more practical and cost-effective
has been the midsize or "Gary Hart" carrier—a conventionally powered smaller
carrier. While this might work in

a world with honest contractors and no interservice rivalries, it's sl
ikely that, in this world,

any such ship will end up being a high value unit anyway.

The real solution was showcased in the Falklands war—the only comprehensive
naval action since World War II. At the center of the British naval force were
two small, straight-deck carriers supporting Harrier
vertical/short-take-off-and-landing (VSTOL) jets, which don't require a catapult
because they take off almost as vertically as helicopters. Such a simplified
airwing—far simpler

than that which would operate from a "Gary Hart" =>; carrier—can still
perform a wide variety of

operations. In the Falklands, the British had these planes flying air defense
and ground-support missions, as well as helicopters providing antisubmarine
protection and search-and-rescue missions.

The results were impressive: Harriers destroyed 26 Argentine aircraft in
exchange for only two losses due to enemy action, and their cluster-bombs and
rockets helped crumble opposing army units.

(This success was due, at least in part, to the absence of a credible
e Arg =>; entine submarine
threat.)

The U.S. Navy already has 12 similar VSTOL/helo carriers (and is hoping to
build two more), but because naval planners are so enthralled/paralyzed by big
carriers and the kind of aircraft that needs a big flight deck, it limits them
to the very ancillary role of supporting marine amphibious assaults. Amazingly,
it could probably build eight or ten more of them for the price of the two
proposed nuclear big-decks. (Since it's politically infeasible nowadays to
call any ships

"Gary Hart" carriers, perhaps we can think of the as "Donna Rice"
carriers—capable of causing

some trouble and unimportant enough to be used.) The resultant force of 20
small carriers would give the U.S. Navy plenty of usable Falklands-style
power for limited battles using conventional weapons without wasting assets on
big, strategic nuclear scenarios against the Soviets in which naval air power no
longer makes much sense.

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Phoenix and Midway

What about the planes that the Navy is requesting, those F/A-18 =>
; and F-14s? Were the Navy to

switch over to a VSTOL/helo small carrier force, it wouldn't need more F/A-18s and F-14s. But even if big-deck carriers are retained, there are grounds for concern about the particular aircraft the Navy wants.

It's true, the F/A-18 is faster and more maneuverable than the A-7 bomber it is replacing. It has an advanced "heads-up" cockpit design, where the gauges are displayed as part of the

windshield. It has a better radar. And unlike the A-7, it is twin-engine - making it =>; more

survivable and thus better for long operations over open oceans. These are the fighter-style features that make it fun to fly, but the shortcomings of the F/A-18 have been clear for some time.

[See "Dress Blues and Bleeding Mohawks," Scott Shuger, October 1983.] As a bomber, it's a big step backwards because it carries fewer bombs than the A-7 and can only carry them about half as far. The Navy has tried to solve the problem, but there's no quick fix. Outfitting the F/A-18 with external

fuel tanks =>; hampers its bomb capacity and hinders its much-vaunted maneuverability. Shortening

all scheduled carrier flights to accommodate the F/A-18's poorer endurance restricts the range of the entire airwing. Here is another instance where the Navy "modernized" and lost punch.

The manufacturer of the A-7, LTV, has put forward several programs to upgrade its engine, electronics, maneuverability, and survivability at about one-third the cost of an F/A-18. This

isn't nearly as exciting as buying a new plane, but =>; it makes more sense.

The F-14 that the Navy wants more of is a formidable aircraft. It has the best fighter radar there is (because of its long-range detection, Iranians successfully used it as an early warning plane). It has the longest-range fighter weapon - the Phoenix missile. Its variable geometry wing gives it an unrivaled combination of performance and "station time," the ability to stay aloft for long periods. But there are still big problems.

Despite the fact that one-on-one the F-14 can =>; probably beat any fighter in the world (with

the possible exception of the U.S. Air Force F-15 and F-16), it's hard to see how that's relevant to combat against the Soviets, whose fighter planes outnumber ours somewhere between six and seven to one. (This includes the obsolescent and obsolete planes they keep operational.) Unlike the Libyans, the Soviets won't settle for even odds.

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Furthermore, the plane is advertised as being preeminent in air-to-air combat against other

planes and in defending a ship => against cruise missiles or bombers - but it's very difficult to

carry out both missions simultaneously. If the F-14 carries all or mostly Phoenix missiles for its mission of shooting down bombers or the anti-ship cruise missiles they carry - it can carry up to six of these huge things - it must sacrifice all or some of its short- and medium-range missiles, and also lose a good deal of its maneuverability.

But suppose we are in the Pacific, where Soviet missiles pose an enormous threat to our

carriers. And suppose => that we have three carriers deployed there. Further suppose that all 160

of the F-14s are "mission capable" and each is fully loaded with six Phoenix missiles. On the best estimates available, the Soviets have at least 350-400 anti-ship cruise missiles launchable from the bombers of their Pacific fleet alone. That means it's not unlikely that a few air-launched cruise missiles will score nuclear hits on carriers in such an all-out scenario even if every navy F-14 pilot has a perfect day.

There are => some features of the situation that make it hard to accept even this optimistic an

outcome. First, I have never witnessed or heard of an F-14 squadron with all its planes "up" at once. Second, one of those carriers deployed in the Pacific Fleet is likely to be the Midway, which, due to its smaller flight-deck and hangar, doesn't have any F-14s. Third, it's more than a little reasonable to expect that in any such scenario the Soviets will also be shooting at our

carriers with sub-launched and surface-launched => anti-ship missiles, not just those from bombers.

And fourth, and perhaps most relevant to any discussion of the budget, the Phoenix missile is so expensive - costing \$ 1 million apiece - that carrier airwings don't carry enough of them to outfit each of their F-14s with six.

If we are going to spend more money for fighters based on carriers, we should go to something with the air-to-air capability of the F-14, which is due largely to the superb heat-seeking

Sidewinder. But we should probably cancel the => Sparrow missile, which imposes maneuvering

restrictions on the aircraft launching it and which is vulnerable to countermeasures and electronic countermeasures. And we would be better off without the impractical weight and expense of the Phoenix missile.

Money well spent

Let's turn now to submarines. This is probably an area where the Navy

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should spend heavily, although in a somewhat different fashion than is currently being suggested. The simple fact, of

course, is that submarines are much, much harder to detect than surface ships. There are two

kinds of ships," say the sub guys, "submarines and targets." I've seen enough photos of American carriers through periscope crosshairs-most sub crew offices feature one-to become a believer. Despite all the antisubmarine warfare (ASW) equipment that carrier groups take with them to sea, in my own experience most exercises against subs ended up with my carrier getting a green flare at

close quarters, the standard simulation for a successful torpedo or cruise missile attack.

There are two important corollaries of the submarine's stealth. First, it follows that no matter how sophisticated and expensive, submarines are quite generally not high value units-we can afford to use them because we aren't as likely to lose them. In other words, firepower put on a submarine is more efficient than that put on anything else. That's one reason why the Navy's recent trend of putting Harpoon and Tomahawk cruise missiles on attack submarines is a good move.

If these weapons are worthwhile-and the evidence is that the Russians respect them tremendously-then they should be put where they'll do the most good.

The second consequence is of particular importance for strategic scenarios. Let's say that any feature of a weapon system that tends to discourage potential adversaries from starting a war or escalating one already in progress is "stabilizing" and that any feature that would encourage them to do so is "destabilizing." Having most of our strategic warheads on

virtually impossible-to-find submarines is quite stabilizing-since the Soviets don't know where

they are, they're less likely to launch against them. Putting a weapon on a submarine enhances its stabilizing features more than putting it on anything else.

Money spent on submarines is as well spent as money gets at the Pentagon. But this doesn't mean that all of the proposed sub programs should be sacrosanct. For instance, although nuclear power

makes much more sense for subs than surface ships-since they operate pretty independently, they

aren't hampered by a conventionally powered entourage-and although nuke-powered subs are getting quieter all the time, they still aren't the quietest subs. No, that accolade goes to diesel/electric boats running on batteries. Now these conventional designs don't have the operating range that nukes have and hence would be suited only for roles where range doesn't matter-say, a patrol off Norfolk or a minelaying operation in the Dardanelles Straits near the

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BlackSea. But the importance of those emissions is a good reason to build non-nuke subs.

Right now, the U.S. Navy has only four diesel subs, none of them state-of-the-art combat vessels. We currently depend on the diesel subs of our allies to perform the missions diesels do best. It's foolish to rely on the British, German, and Italian navies for our security. There are crucial scenarios in which having friends with diesels won't do us much good. The Soviets maintain

missile sub patrol off both our coasts, and we can't expect Britain to help us patrol them.

The closeness of Russian "boomers" to our shores positions them to fire first-strike salvos with only a fraction of the warning time we'd get on their ICBMs. This is dangerously destabilizing.

The best response to this would be to fill the waters close to our shores with super-quiet diesel/electric boats, watching for the slightest indication of launch by those Russian subs.

Also, conventionally powered subs require fewer men, and their crews don't have to undergo

much time-consuming and expensive physics and engineering training. And if a submarine is simpler to operate, crew members can concentrate more on tactics. It's long been suspected that the Navy's nearly all-nuke sub force is very strong on running submarines but not as strong as it should be on fighting with them. (As a response to this problem, we should consider the British navy's approach—maintaining two different classes of submarine officer, a general officer specializing in

tactics and operations, and an engineering officer specializing in powerplants.)

Spit and shoestring

Although the Seawolf does represent some advances over the current U.S. front-line nuclear attack sub, the Los Angeles-class—it has upgraded sonar, more torpedo tubes, and is equipped for under-ice operations—if we eliminated the Seawolf or cut back on it, we could build many more diesel/electrics, since they cost only about one-fourth as much. Given the resultant gains in

strategic stability, independence from our allies, and tactical flexibility, this seems like a

good trade.

Because the chief strategic value of submarines is that they enhance whatever stabilizing features a weapon has, we need to think more carefully about strategic subs. The present development of the Ohio-class sub and its D5 ballistic missile incorporates several principal changes over earlier systems: increased missile range (from 4,500 to 6,000 nautical miles),

increased missile accuracy (from being able to hit a city to being able to hit a missile silo),

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increased missiles per sub (up from 16 on the Poseidon missile boats to 24 on the Ohio-class), and increased warheads per missile (from eight to ten, with the built-in possibility of going up to 14).

Of these features, only the first-increased missile range-is stabilizing. If your subs can hit the enemy's targets from farther away, there is more ocean for the subs to hide in. The upshot is that the enemy is that much less encouraged to try a first strike, since retaliation is ensured.

=>;Butincreasingtheaccuracyofamissileactuallyharmsstability
.Ifyoumakesub-launched

missiles accurate enough to hit nuclear weapons sites, rather than accurate enough just to hit sprawling population centers, the enemy becomes jittery. If he knows you have lots of virtually impossible-to-find weapons targeted at the bulk of his nuclear arsenal, then (especially in a crisis) his fear of losing it altogether tempts him to launch his nuclear weapons first. And

increasingthenumberofwarheadspers=>;ubisalsoproblematic.S
ubmarinecommandersknowthat

no matter how stealthy their boats are in general, once they launch at least one missile they will be much easier to find. So they are inclined to fire all their missiles if they are inclined to fire any. Subjecting more warheads to this logic heightens the rate at which a nuclear war would accelerate.

Attention should also be drawn to a curious feature of the Navy's current attempts to improve

thewartimesurvivabilityofitsballisticmissilesu=>;bmarinecomm and,control,and
communications (C3). While it is quite generally true that in the U.S. military, combat C3 has been horribly neglected and stands in need of great repair, here is a case where the neglect is stabilizing. As long as C3 with our missile subs remains at the spit-and-shoestring level, the Soviets know that if they were to decapitate the U.S. civilian and military authorities preemptively they would suffer the response of a basically unlocatable fleet of autonomous sub

commander=>;swhowouldattacktheirtargetsassoonastheystopped
hearingfromhome.Thisfact

makes such preemptive strikes less attractive to them.

Guerrillas and redcoats

In effect then, the Ohio-class submarine and supporting programs aren't adding to stability. Here is a sobering example where technological changes have been adopted not because they further military goals but simply because the technology exists.

Wecouldgetbacktopurestrategicstrengthifweoptedforasubmarineforcewiththe=>;

following features: long-range missiles, the longer the better, but with decreased accuracy, fewer warheads per submarine, but more missile-bearing

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submarines.

As for new surface ships, while there's still room in a modern navy for them, I don't think there's much for the likes of the Ticonderoga-class and Burke-class Aegis radar ships. For all their gee-whiz equipment, they won't really be capable of acting independently without air cover.

The Vincennes, a Ticonderoga-class ship, and the Stark already showed that. And a surface ship

is not the best antisubmarine platform—another submarine is. Nor is it the best device for shooting down planes—another plane is. In most scenarios, these fancy ships will fall prey to all the (far cheaper) cruise missiles and torpedoes out there. Once again the Falklands war is instructive—of the 29 surface ships in the British task force, five were sunk and seven others were damaged—a casualty rate of 41 percent. On the other hand, it is possible to build surface

ships; just that are more like guerrillas and less like redcoats—well armed, high-speed, highly

maneuverable, small craft. Strap on a small gun, some cruise and anti-air missiles and you have something that in reasonable numbers can cause some real trouble. Just ask the U.S. carrier pilots who tried, without much luck, to sink Vietnamese and Cambodian gunboats. Or the navy investigators who found that the Vincennes's troubles with Iranian gunboats contributed to its

miscalculations about the Airbus. Most of them; a view of the world that has good stocks of these

craft. The Soviets have more than 500 of them. We have seven. There is no reason why the U.S. Navy has a crappier small-boat fleet than your average Colombian drug dealer.

In his just-published book on his years as Reagan's secretary of the Navy, John Lehman defends his opposition to what he describes as the "whole trendy school of military reform. . . [built]

around the idea that complexity and technology were bad and that simplicity and cheapness were

good." He argues: "The tremendous American edge in technology is an inherent advantage provided by our culture and our economic system. We must build to this advantage, not trade it away for cheaper, smaller, less capable ships and aircraft and weapons built in greater numbers, which is the forte of a totalitarian, centralized, Gosplan economy." This reference to the Soviets is the worst kind of fallacy—like saying that because the Nazis introduced jets and rockets, we shouldn't

have them. In light of that, the raft of technological troubles bedeviling the Navy that Lehman bought us,

we need to think much more carefully about the Navy his successors want to buy us next.

CONSERVATIVE NEW

1230 hrs

NEWS DEPARTMENT, CONSERVATIVE CE
52 SMITH SQUARE, WESTMINSTER, LOND
TEL: 071-222 9000 T
FAX: 071-222 1135 2N

RELEASE TIME:

~~RT Hon John Major MP~~

Saturday

382/92

San Me Grady:

PII. best speech.

J.

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Extract of a speech by the Rt Hon John Major MP, (Huntingdon), Prime Minister and Leader of the Conservative Party, at the Conservative Central Council Meeting, Torquay today.

"The phoney war is over. The Battle of Britain has begun.

"That battle is a battle we're going to win.

"Win on our record.

"Win on our policies.

"Win on our values.

"Win on merit - because we have the vision, the ideas, and the team to build Britain in the '90s. To make the future of our country as great as its past.

"I'm not interested in standing still. I want to lead this country forward. To build on what we've achieved. To continue to change the face of Britain. And enhance still further its reputation and influence abroad.

...../Be proud of

For Pol

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MAJOR 382/92

"Be proud of what we achieved in the '80s. The work, the growth, and the success of those years is the foundation of an even better future. So that when, in generations to come, people look back, they will say: 'This was when the battle was won. This was when the British people came truly into their own. This was when socialism crumbled away and was seen off forever.'

"After 16 months as Prime Minister, the immediate tasks I set myself and my colleagues have been completed - winning the Gulf War, bringing inflation down, putting the council tax safely in place, giving a new face to public service with the Citizen's Charter, safeguarding the interests of Britain at Maastricht, and setting out in Tuesday's Budget our strategy for recovery and growth.

"That is now done. Britain is poised to come out of recession. All that is needed now is the confidence that will come from a clear Conservative victory.

"And so now is the time to seek a new mandate from the British people. I believe they will share my vision, my ambitions for our future.

"Let me tell you how I see that future.

"I want to bring into being a different kind of country. Bury for ever old divisions in Britain - between North and South, blue collar and white collar, polytechnic and university. They're old style. Old hat. And we need to be rid of these prejudices. We want a country in which people get on because of what they are, not who they are. If you are good enough, you can't be too young and you can't be too old.

"For most of my lifetime, before I came into Parliament, before Margaret Thatcher changed Britain infinitely for the better, people were expected to be dependent - never, however hard they worked, never independent, never in control of their own lives or their family's future.

...../It was a

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"It was a world in which we were told that Governments knew best. They knew best how to spend our money. How to make our choices. They knew best who should own homes, and run businesses. They always knew better than us.

"And what happened? Town centres were bulldozed. Homes ripped down. Good schools closed. Taxes soared. Trade union barons carved out huge fiefdoms and marshalled their militants at the factory gate. Our very history was rewritten; our traditions despised. Through all that time, the time we were told that the man in Whitehall knew best, the people of Britain knew better.

"And now, all over Europe, one after the other, the Socialist dominoes have gone down. Who believes that the answer to Britain's problems is to go back to what everyone else has cast into oblivion? Socialism was the crowning folly of our time, which at this coming Election we Conservatives will finish for good.

"A century ago Lord Randolph Churchill said 'Trust the people.' It is one of the oldest truths of Conservatism. That people know better than governments.

"We trusted the people. We gave them the chance. And the British people led the world in a movement that has swept every continent.

"Would they be privatising in Latin America today, if we hadn't first done it here?

"Would they be cutting high tax rates in India today, if we hadn't first done it here?

"Would they be planning to bring Eastern Europe into the Community today if we hadn't first suggested it here?

"How astounding that now in Latin America, in India, in Bulgaria, and Moscow they understand more about free markets than they do in Walworth Road.

...../The Labour Party

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MAJOR 382/92

"The Labour Party see the British people as pawns. We see them as partners. Partners in the building of Britain. With their values, through their values, commonsense everyday Conservative values. Britain's future will be assured.

"That is why our programme for the '90s will be a partnership with the people. With a Government that trusts the people. A decade of trust given and trust returned.

"I promise you this.

"Wherever freedom can be extended, there we will be.

"Wherever choice can be widened, there we will be.

"Wherever wealth can be created, there we will be.

"Wherever care must be given, there we will be.

"That's the Conservative philosophy: wealth and welfare, hand in hand.

"Our partnership with the people is already touching every aspect of our daily lives. And it is those lives that will be touched by the result of this Election - whether in city tower blocks, in lonely villages, or along quiet suburban roads.

"This crucial election is not a faraway battle fought between warring factions at Westminster. It is a battle of ideas, of ideals - about our future. It is a battle about how we live - all of us. It's about our schools. Our workplace. Our standard of living. Our security. It's about who controls how we live - us or the State.

"Our partnership with the people has come a long way. And we're going to take it further.

...../In education we

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MAJOR 382/92

"In education we will go back to basics and make sure they're properly taught. Where parents want them we'll open the way to grant-maintained schools, free of Council control. We'll extend parental influence and choice, everywhere - because we trust the people.

"In health we'll extend the reforms which have led to more patients being treated than ever before. Don't be misled by Labour's shoddy, shabby propaganda about our National Health Service. There will be more of those successful trust hospitals. More GP fundholders with power for doctors to decide on their patients' needs. We're giving more weight to local decisions, everywhere - because we trust the people.

"In local government we'll open up to the public how their councils are doing, allow tenants new rights and shake up arrogant bureaucracy. And, something else, there's a lasting affection throughout the land for many of our historic and familiar counties and cities. That's why we're asking the public's views on how local government should be structured, everywhere.

"All these policies have something in common - that choices will be there wherever people want them. We're giving power to the people, because we trust them. We're pushing choice back to the people, because we want all of them - every single person in Britain - to have greater control over their lives and their families' future. To be the masters, not the servants, of their personal world. That's my Conservatism.

"To our fellow citizens I give this pledge: when the next Conservative Government has completed its work, you will feel, more than you've ever felt before, that Britain belongs to you, and that you have a secure place within it.

"But there is one area above all in which we trust the people. To do what they wish with the money they earn, to have and to hold - for themselves and their children - a growing piece of their country which they can call their own.

...../Last Tuesday's Budget

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MAJOR 382/92

"Last Tuesday's Budget underlined the giant gulf between the Conservatives on the one hand and Labour or Liberal on the other

"We want low tax and personal choice: they want high tax and State choice.

"What the country decides on that great divide will affect the future of every family in Britain.

"When I became Prime Minister I said I wanted a nation at ease with itself. That means a Government that people believe is fair. To be fair, isn't it right that those most in need should be helped most? That's the British instinct. That's what I believe in. And that's what the Budget does. It has cut tax in a novel way - to help most those who earn least.

"The new 20p tax band does three things. It cuts tax for everybody. It confirms our intention, as soon as we can, to lower the basic rate to 20 per cent. But, it also gives that benefit now to four million taxpayers with the lowest incomes. In future, they'll only pay 20 per cent, not 25 per cent.

"These are people on modest incomes. Men receiving low pay. Many married women, who perhaps work part-time. Disabled workers who are often low paid. Pensioners with modest savings. Young people starting out on their career. We've given them a helping hand, by cutting their tax by a fifth. Labour have voted to put it right back up to 25 per cent. They're no longer content with taxing the rich: now they're even after the poor.

"We knew Labour wanted massive taxes on the better-off. We know they plied new burdens on middle incomes. Now we know they want high tax on low pay. Unbelievable. But that's Labour policy for you.

"John Smith said it himself. There would be no tax cuts under Labour - ever. However hard you worked, however well the country performed, the fruits of your labour would be Labour's, not yours.

...../So how would

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"So how would Labour support schools? By taxing teachers. Help hospitals? By taxing nurses. Beat crime? By an assault on the pay packets of the police. It's a lunatic strategy - by prejudice out of ignorance. All founded on the bogus claim that in order to build tomorrow you need to rob today. Just remember yesterday - when Labour taxed and taxed and cut and cut - cut, let me remind you, hospital building and nurses' pay. Labour cut the National Health Service.

"Does anyone want to go back to those days? When every Budget was a day to dread. When tax took 35p in the £ from the wages of every worker. When you even had to ask permission to take £50 abroad. But that's the philosophy of the people who now want to be brought back to run this country. The nerve of it.

"Labour's higher tax commitment is a mean-spirited manoeuvre. It would break the backs of businesses, hit every family and drive people out of their jobs. You will never create the permanent jobs we need by punitive taxes. High taxes mean high unemployment - permanently.

"The British people can now see clearly what we have warned them of for ages - Labour have a fatal addiction. Tax. They are high on tax. We must make sure that it's Labour, not Britain, that this high tax habit drags down and destroys.

"Even after all this some commentators still ask - does it really matter who wins this election? Let me say this to them. The result of this Election matters as much as any we've known. Labour talk of time for a change. There would be change, all right. Short change.

"Short change for workers as pay packets shrank.

"Short change for pensioners as inflation surged.

"Short change for savers as taxes rose.

...../Short change for

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"Short change for homeowners as interest rates soared.

"Yes, Labour would change Britain. Short-change Britain. They would stop the revival of Britain dead in its tracks. It's not going to happen. We're going to stop them dead in their tracks.

"Somersault Socialism, Labour's game of 'look at us, no hands, we're different now' won't fool anyone. Whatever mask they put on we'll take it off and show the people it's the same old face underneath.

"Next week we will publish the programme for the next Conservative Government. It will be a full, modern, positive programme for an independent people in an independent Britain.

"But of all the issues in this Election there are three that I want to share with you at the outset of the campaign.

"The place of Britain in the world.

"The cohesion of our country.

"And the future of the battle against inflation.

"Let me take inflation first.

"I don't want a little bit of inflation. I don't want a modicum of inflation. I want an end to inflation. I want to take this country back to stable prices. What a prize that would be. We all know what it means to walk into the supermarket and see that the price of a pint of milk or a loaf of bread has gone up. I want to see prices stay down. Nothing would give greater security to those on fixed incomes.

.....I know the

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"I know the fear, the despair that inflation brings to everyday lives - the raw misery when the bills at the end of the week are bigger than the pay packet, or when the value of savings melts like snow in spring.

"Inflation is a curse. We've got to beat it. We've got to get prices stable - and do everything we can to keep them there.

"No other Party will do that but us. No other Party would even try. And that's one giant reason why Britain needs Conservative Government.

"Next, the cohesion of Britain. That, too, is something I feel passionately about. I said in Scotland that the unity of the United Kingdom transcends the Election - and I meant it. I admire the pride of Wales. I understand the national aspirations of Scotland. I've been there. I've felt it.

"But I know this. It would be hugely damaging to go down a route that, in short term or long, could lead to the break-up of our country. I hope that everyone throughout the United Kingdom appreciates the scale of this issue.

"This is more than a Scottish concern. It matters in Gloucester as it matters in Glasgow.

"Whatever they intended, the devolution proposals put forward by Liberals and Labour alike could put us on the road to a Disunited Kingdom. They haven't faced up to the truth - that, if devolution for Scotland came, it must inevitably call into question the whole relationship between the different parts of our Kingdom

...../Devolution is not

MAJOR 382/92

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"Devolution is not - as some may fondly imagine - a safe option that wouldn't, or couldn't, lead on to separation. It would raise tax levels in Scotland and freeze out investment. It could also lead to calls in England for a fresh look at levels of finance, and demands for reduced Scottish representation at Westminster, leaving Scotland's members with a second-tier status in the Union Parliament. If that were to happen, bitterness and conflict would be the certain result.

"And where would that bitterness and conflict end? What began as a dalliance with devolution could end as the disaster of separation. Three hundred years of achievement together. The most influential voice for good in the dangerous world of today. Undone in a single careless moment. The Conservative Party must point out the dangers of that disastrous road. We have a responsibility to history. We must stand for the union. Fight for the union. And win for the union. For if we don't the whole of the United Kingdom - every part of it - would be the loser, and our future the poorer.

"And let me be crystal clear about another constitutional matter. Our voting system has served us well over the years. It has given us strong Government, capable of difficult decisions at difficult times. I have no intention of changing it. There is no need. Those who call for such changes should examine their motives. There will be no deals with those opportunists who stand for nothing except their own political self-interest. Who would sign up for anything, if it meant a seat at the Cabinet table. The flavour-of-the-minute politicians who'd be for night if it suited them and day if it didn't.

"We're not playing their game. We're going to show up their PR campaign for the sham that it is. The Government of smoke-filled rooms. No longer the MP of your choice, but a Party appointee. Not proportional representation, but permanent representation - for a minority party in control of our affairs. 'PR' is no principle. 'PR'? What does it stand for? It's Paddy's Roundabout. Well, we won't be joining him for the ride.

"We stand on the threshold of a new era. Years which will be decisive not only for Britain, but the world. We have seen momentous changes in our continent.

...../It is nearly

MAJOR 382/92

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"It is nearly 80 years since Sir Edward Grey said the lamps were going out all over Europe. That they would not be lit again in his lifetime. Well, over the last two astonishing years we've seen those lamps coming on once again.

"Historic nations reborn. Historic freedoms regained. Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the Baltics. All free again. It is the end of the age of empires. The last imperial power is gone. We have a chance in our lifetime that no previous generation has had. To unite our continent. To spread ever wider the free market principles on which the prosperity of the West is based. It is a time for vision. To lift our eyes beyond our domestic concerns. A time to open Europe up, not shut its other half out.

"That's what we were arguing for at Maastricht. For a wider Europe, not a United States of Europe, a Europe looking outwards, not in on itself. We want progress in the European Community: but we want progress outside it as well. We were told that the Summit at Maastricht would be high noon for Britain in Europe, a big shoot out, certain defeat. They said we couldn't do it, we wouldn't do it. We did it. We won the right deal for Britain. And the right deal for Europe. All of Europe. Does anyone seriously believe that would have happened if Messrs Kinnock and Kaufman had been speaking for Britain? Not on your ... Douglas Hurd, it wouldn't.

"The greatest virtue of the European Community is not economic. Twice in the lifetime of our most venerable fellow citizens, conflict in Western Europe has brought the whole world to war. Now the peoples of Western Europe are bound together by the mutual self-interest of their economies and trade.

"Those bonds make it inconceivable that war between them should ever again bring the world to ruin. That is a prize more valuable even than the greater prosperity those trade links have brought.

...../But we need

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"But we need to extend that security further. We must open the borders of the community to bring the new democratic states in the East. To extend the community until it reaches Russia itself. It may not happen in our political lifetime - but it will happen. And when it does we will have created a more secure future for our continent than it's ever known before.

"We in Britain are in a special position to make it a reality. We have a special place in the world. We're leaders in Europe; members of the Commonwealth; allies and friends of the United States. And, as Boris Yeltsin has said, especially trusted by the government of Russia. And with good reason. We stood by them in their hour of need during the coup last summer. And we'll stand by them still, as they take their place once more in the family of nations.

"Does anyone think that a free Russia that has just ditched socialism would turn to a socialist Britain? The thought's absurd. Socialism is what Eastern Europe has fought for generations to get rid of.

"In the great decisions on the future of our continent, only a Conservative Government can carry the weight that is Britain's due.

~~"But there is a~~ another reason why the security of our country depends upon a Conservative Government. And that is defence.

"Whatever is needed to defend our country the next Conservative Government will do. There will be no escape clauses. No fudges. No ifs. And no buts. Just a cool-headed judgment of the resources that Britain will need. There are still great dangers. We would be naive to imagine that we could for a moment lower our guard. Keeping the peace is a full-time challenge. And it means a full-time commitment. The first duty of Government is the defence of the realm. This Conservative Government, which I am privileged to lead, will discharge that duty, whatever the pressures may prove to be.

....I give you

MAJOR 382/92

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"I give you this promise. We will stick to our principles. There will be no chopping and changing to catch the prevailing political tide. While others retain nuclear weapons, we will do so. And while the man who currently rules Iraq and his kind are plotting new capabilities, we will modernise our own. That includes building the fourth Trident submarine. We will order it. We will build it. We will arm it. And we will deploy it. Let the British people have no doubt where we stand.

"What of Labour? What is their stance? What are their plans? Mr Gerald Kaufman tells us that Labour have nothing to do with CND. Nothing? Really? That's odd. Late last year 100 Labour Members of Parliament were still members of CND. Have they all followed their leader, and let their membership - what was the word? - 'lapse'? Their attitude to our nuclear deterrent can be summed up in four words - 'can't say, won't say'. But they must say.

"So let them tell the British public - just where do they stand on the fourth Trident that Britain's security needs? They've said they would order it; they've said they wouldn't order it; they've even said they would order it and send it to sea without any weapons. A toothless Trident. A ghost ship. A sort of underwater Flying Dutchman. Going round and round in circles for ever and never getting back to base. You never know where you are with Labour on defence.

"It's time for them to stop the ducking and the weaving. So let's hear it from Labour. Will you, won't you, will you, won't you, will you build the boat?

"The defence of Britain takes commitment. Caution. Coherence. Conviction. And none of those words begins with a K.

"These last 16 months have been an immense privilege. Much has been done.

"Reversing the invasion of Kuwait along with our allies. Throwing the barbarous dictator out. Leading the world in the safe havens initiative for the Kurds.

...../We in Britain

ENDS

"First and first again - a world leader - that's where I want us to be, and to stay. And that's where Britain will stay - under the next Conservative Government."
"I want Britain to be seen as the best - not only in our eyes, but in the eyes of others."

for hope.
"I want Britain to be a byword in every language - for decency, for leadership, for trust, and

resolve.
"I want our nation to stand proud in the world - quiet in voice, firm in action, united in

respect.
eye, and know we've treated them fairly. A country that others will look to with renewed

"I want ours to be a country that is confident. A country in which we can look people in the
for our children.

"But more than anything it matters because it will determine the kind of country we will build

Europe, inflation, tax, and defence. All these things.
"Why does this Election matter so much? Yes, it matters because of health, education,

conventional arms sales that has now been adopted by the United Nations.
a debt write-off for the poorest countries. And the first to propose the register of
"We were the first with a Commonwealth declaration on human rights. The first to propose

and the first to call for her to be admitted to the IMF.
"We in Britain were the first to denounce the coup in Moscow, the first to recognise Russia,

MAJOR 382/92

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A NONPARTISAN, NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST

325 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, SOUTHEAST

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 20003

TELEPHONE: AREA CODE (202) 543-1300

10:45-12:00
A guy named
Pete should be
calling back w/
a confirmed time
ref. - late Saturday

July 8, 1991

Saturday
(YES)

Pete

Mr. Tony Snow
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Communications and
Director of Speech Writing
Room 122 Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Snow:

On September 21 and 22 the National Taxpayers Union and five other national taxpayers organizations will sponsor the second National Taxpayers Conference, where attendees will exchange information and strategies on the growing citizens movement against higher taxes and increased spending.

We invite you to speak to the group on working with the media, especially editorial page editors.

The two-day conference will be packed with workshops aimed at making state and local taxpayers' groups more effective. We expect that every major grassroots state taxpayers' group will be represented. Leaders who will conduct workshops include:

- * James Davidson, Chairman, National Taxpayers Union;
- * Lewis K. Uhler, President, National Tax Limitation Committee;
- * Alan Keyes, President, Citizens Against Government Waste.

State leaders who will conduct workshops include:

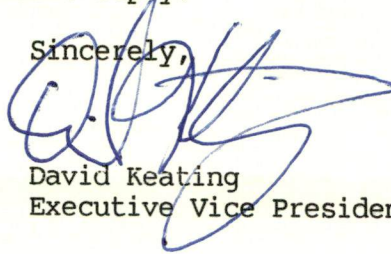
- * Joel Fox, director of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association in California. This organization helped start the tax revolt with Proposition 13 and is the largest state taxpayers organization in the country;
- * David Stanley and the staff of Iowans For Tax Relief, a 45,000 member organization that is the most effective state legislative lobby and has the largest state taxpayers PAC in the country;
- * Barbara Anderson and Chip Faulkner of the Citizens For Limited Taxation. Their organization completely changed Massachusetts politics by sponsoring the landmark Proposition 2-1/2 property tax cut initiative.
- * Richard Headlee, author of Michigan's Headlee Tax Limitation Amendment.

The conference will run from 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. on Saturday and from 11:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. on Sunday. If you can speak to the group, please let me know what times you would be available.

I've enclosed a copy of a portion of the brochure that describes additional details about the conference.

I look forward to your favorable reply.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'D. Keating', with a large, sweeping flourish extending to the right.

David Keating
Executive Vice President

Encl.
dk31:24

NATIONAL TAXPAYERS UNION
COUNCIL FOR CITIZENS AGAINST
GOVERNMENT WASTE
NATIONAL TAX LIMITATION COMMITTEE
AMERICAN TAX REDUCTION MOVEMENT
AMERICANS FOR A BALANCED BUDGET
CITIZENS FOR A SOUND ECONOMY

INVITE YOU TO ATTEND

THE **2**ND ANNUAL

NATIONAL TAXPAYERS CONFERENCE

AND

TAXPAYERS' Lobby Day

SEPTEMBER 21-23, 1991
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dear Friend:

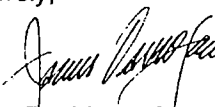
Join us this fall for the *National Taxpayers Conference* and *Taxpayers' Lobby Day*. You won't want to miss it!

Every major national and state taxpayers' organization leader will be there. This is your chance to meet the nation's most successful taxpayer group leaders and learn from their successes.

You will also learn more about important tax and spending issues and how to make taxpayers more effective in your state and community. And during *Taxpayers' Lobby Day*, you will also have the opportunity to meet directly with legislators on Capitol Hill.

I hope to see you this September for this exciting conference and *Taxpayers' Lobby Day*!

Sincerely,



James Davidson, Chairman
National Taxpayers Union

P.S. Hurry! Registration for the National Taxpayers Conference is limited, so reserve your space today!

National Taxpayers Conference September 21-22

You are invited to take part in the second National Taxpayers Conference for grassroots state and local taxpayers' organizations and citizens who want to become involved.

The conference is sponsored by the National Taxpayers Union, Council for Citizens Against Government Waste, National Tax Limitation Committee, American Tax Reduction Movement, Americans for A Balanced Budget and Citizens for A Sound Economy. You will learn about important taxpayer issues and how to win legislative campaigns. The conference will be packed with "nuts and bolts" workshops on how to effectively participate in the legislative process, featuring nationally famous taxpayer leaders.

Every major state taxpayers' organization will be there. This is your chance to meet the nation's most successful taxpayer group leaders and share new methods and strategies for fighting high taxes and government waste.

If you play an important role in a state or local taxpayers' association, or wish to start a group, don't miss this chance to learn from the experts and successful group leaders. You'll get new ideas, new contacts and feel a part of the nation's most important political movement.

Taxpayers' Lobby Day September 22-23

During *Taxpayers' Lobby Day*, you'll learn about the key taxpayers' issues currently being discussed on Capitol Hill, attend a workshop (Sunday afternoon, Sept. 22) on how to lobby a member of Congress and then spend all day Monday, September 23, visiting representatives and senators from your state to discuss important taxpayer issues. Participants in *Taxpayers' Lobby Day* are strongly encouraged to stay until Tuesday, September 24.

Participants in *Taxpayers' Lobby Day* will attend a dinner banquet Sunday, September 22 with Vice President Dan Quayle.

Sample Workshop Topics:

- Tax limitation proposals—What's working and what's not
- The Balanced Budget Amendment
- How privatization can cut local taxes
- Finding and fighting government waste
- The link between low taxes and high growth
- Effective grass roots lobbying tactics
- Networking on national issues
- Building winning coalitions
- Lobbying the legislature
- Choosing legislative projects and priorities
- Drafting legislation
- Fundraising strategies
- How to raise money with direct mail
- Public relations tactics
- Publishing a newsletter
- Research sources
- How to run an effective state Political Action Committee
- Qualifying initiatives for the ballot
- Winning a tax cut referendum
- Beating a tax hike referendum
- State and local candidate surveys
- Rating your legislators
- Stopping wasteful local projects (convention centers, stadiums, etc.)
- Recalling public officials

(Not all topics will be available. Topics will be selected based on participants' interest.)

Issue Campaigns

Potential issues for Taxpayers' Lobby Day include:

- ▶ The Balanced Budget and Tax Limitation Amendments
- ▶ Legislation to limit taxes and reduce government waste
- ▶ Controlling the cost of bank bailouts
- ▶ Fighting higher taxes and spending

How to Get There

Northwest Airlines, the official airline of the conference, provides convenient service to Washington's National Airport from 173 cities. Northwest offers a 50% discount to all conference attendees for unrestricted coach class fares and a 5% discount off any advance purchase fare. Reservations and tickets can be obtained from your travel agent or by calling Northwest Meeting Services at 1 (800) 328-1111 from 6:00 a.m. to 12:00 midnight, Central Time. **When making reservations, refer to our special code: 16399.** Fares apply to travel during Sept. 17-27. State or local organizations that may have 10 or more people flying together to the conference should contact Pete Sepp, the National Taxpayers Conference Coordinator, at (202) 543-1300 for additional discounts.

Hotel Accommodations

Our convention site will be at the Stouffer Concourse Hotel in Crystal City, VA, just minutes from Capitol Hill. Free shuttle bus service is available to Washington National Airport and Washington's Metrorail subway system.

We have negotiated a flat room rate of \$74 for a single or double room, for the nights of Sept. 20-22. Complete hotel information will be sent to all conference registrants as soon as we receive your conference registration form.

Budget hotels are also located in the area.

211 Travis Ln.
Gibsonville, N.C.
27249 Ph. (919) 449-502


Dear President Bush,

My name is Gray Currin.
I am ten years old. A friend
and I would like to help out
with the Mid-East Crisis. My
friend is Seth Tucker. He lives
at 271 Forestview Dr. Elon
College N.C. 27244 Phone-
(919) 58-3223. We could help out
by keeping the tents clean and
tidied up. We could also wash
clothes or something like that.
We know alot about the military

Gray Currier

Sincerely,

Please take us. We just
to serve our country! We
proud to be Americans!



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Gray:

Thank you for writing and for your kind offer and that of your friend, Seth Tucker, to help out in the Persian Gulf. You and Seth certainly have a strong sense of patriotism.

However, you already have an important job to do right now, and that is to do your best in school. America is counting on you to learn all that you can and to prepare yourselves to become the future leaders of our Nation.

Mrs. Bush joins me in sending our warmest wishes to you for a bright and happy future. God bless you both.

Sincerely,

Gray Currin
211 Travis Lane
Gibsonville, North Carolina 27249

FACSIMILE COVER PAGE

FROM

PLAIN DEALER PUBLISHING CO.
1801 SUPERIOR AVENUE
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114

FAX: 216-694-6360
PHONE: 216-344-4220

FAX COVER PAGE:

TO: The President
The White House

FROM: Mr. Thomas Vail, Chairman
The Plain Dealer


DATE: Dec. 5, 1991

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE): 2

Mr. Dan McGroarty:

Dear Mr. McGroarty:

Thank you so much for handling this for us.


Carl P. Bankovich
Secretary to Mr. Vail

THE PLAIN DEALER1801 SUPERIOR AVENUE
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114OFFICE OF THE
CHAIRMAN

216-344-4220

December 5, 1991

The President
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so much for making such a fabulous video for the 150th anniversary of The Plain Dealer.

Your personal comments on our long-time relationship added a special touch, all typical of your sensitive understanding of people.

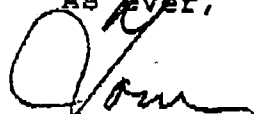
The video will be shown on a large screen in the Music Hall Theater in Cleveland before a special concert the Cleveland Orchestra is playing for the anniversary. There will be 700 major figures from Cleveland and Ohio on hand, including Governor Voinovich. When the concert is concluded the back of the stage disappears and everyone is invited to cross the stage and have dinner in a spectacular setting decorated by Cleveland's Don Vanderbrook who has done a lot for evenings in the White House.

I have no way of knowing it but my guess is our audience is composed mostly of people who have been long-time supporters of yours.

Your special personal regards will add a great deal to a remarkable evening for The Plain Dealer and for this area in general Friday evening, December 6th.

Thank you so much. Iris joins me in our very best to you and Barbara.

As ever,


Thomas Vail

soundbites

September 11, 1991

Tony Snow
Old Executive Office Building
The White House
Room 122
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Tony,

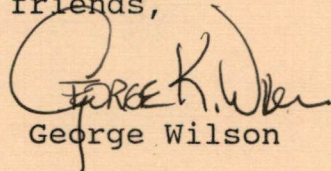
Robin Fribbley (that D.C. sophisticate struggling to maintain her sanity out in the backwoods of Cincinnati) suggested we send the enclosed sampling of Soundbites for your amusement.

Soundbites is our short satire service sent via satellite to all public radio stations. Each week we feed four 3-minute pieces: two lampoon world or national news; one has fun with a U.S. regional story; and the last takes a lighthearted look at a "This Week In History" event. The program grew from making regular satire contributions to NPR's Weekend Edition/Sunday where we are still heard every other weekend. We've thrown some of them on the tape too.

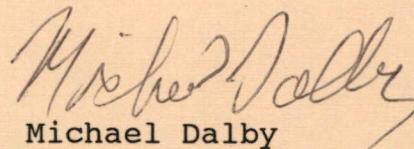
Robin's an old pal from her New York salad days. She swears you're "cool", despite where you work. She also claims you used to be a hippie, based entirely on some apocryphal story about your once having worn dirty bell-bottomed jeans. Right. We'll believe that when we see the pictures. By the way, does your boss know about this?

Anyway, hope you can "dig" this entirely random selection of the most incisive, witty and entertaining topical commentary in the whole world. Really.

Your new friends,


George Wilson

&


Michael Dalby

P.S. Congratulate the Big Guy for us on the collapse of Communism!

soundbites

For More Information Contact:
Carol Banker, V.M. Frantz & Company
212-697-4288

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT SOUNDBITES:

"It was really nice to step back and see a lighter side... we all had a great time laughing at ourselves... your work is great."

William Reanier, Special Agent, U.S. Forest Service

"Thank you for your radio piece...it's good to be able to laugh at yourself (but not too much)."

John Frohnmayer, Chairman, National Endowment for the Arts

"Burned a hole in my radio!"

Rex Reed

Everyone is talking about **Soundbites**, the topical satire radio project created by George Wilson and Michael Dalby! **Soundbites** are short, smart, and irreverent. **Soundbites** are news headlines reflected off a funhouse mirror. Wilson & Dalby call them, "editorial cartoons for the ear."

Each week **Soundbites** sends four 3-minute radio satire pieces by satellite to public radio stations across the country -- two lampoon world and national events, one has fun with a U.S. regional issue, and the last gets silly about something that happened "This Week In History." Sometimes wicked song parodies, sometimes compressed radio dramas, **Soundbites** are always smart and shameless commentary on social issues, politics, world events and lifestyle trends.

So who are Wilson and Dalby, and where did they come from?

George Wilson is a New York actor who has worked extensively on stage, screen and television. His voice-over credits include numerous radio and television commercials. As a journalist, Wilson was a News Director for the Armed Forces Radio & Television Service, a radio reporter and newscaster in San Diego and Los Angeles, and a writer for nationally syndicated radio. His articles have appeared in The Daily News and the national AFTRA magazine. Wilson's children's stories have been published by HBJ, and he is currently at work on a novel.

Michael Dalby is a New York actor with first-rate stage, television and film credits including All My Children, Working Girl and Wall Street. He has spent 12 years producing for public radio programs such as Crossroads, Morning Edition, National Native News, and Performance Today. Dalby also developed First Person Radio, a nationally syndicated news program for Native Americans. Currently he is producing Coming From America, hosted by Richie Havens, to air in 1991.

Wilson & Dalby combine their clever skills with guest performing talent from commercials and the Broadway stage for their unique **Soundbites**.

That's why everybody is talking about George Wilson & Michael Dalby. . . and **Soundbites!**

DOUG GAMBLE

Sept. 16/91

424 - 36th Place
Manhattan Beach, CA 90266
(213) 546-6409

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN
2 Pages

COUNTRY MUSIC AWARDS (Joe Duggan)

I WANT YOU TO KNOW I'M IN THE RIGHT SPIRIT TONIGHT. I WAS DRIVEN OVER FROM THE AIRPORT ON "PICKUP TRUCK ONE."

THERE MAY BE SOME WATCHING TONIGHT WHO AREN'T COUNTRY FANS ALL YEAR AROUND, BUT I AM. I KNOW THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RANDY TRAVIS AND TRAVIS TRITT.

ONE OF THE REASONS IT GIVES ME SO MUCH PLEASURE TO STAND ON THIS HISTORIC STAGE IS BECAUSE, JUST LIKE BARBARA MANDRELL, I WAS COUNTRY WHEN COUNTRY WASN'T COOL.

I DON'T KNOW HOW OTHER PRESIDENTS TOLD THEIR WIVES THAT A STATE DINNER AT THE WHITE HOUSE WAS COMING UP, BUT I TELL BARBARA "ALL MY ROWDY FRIENDS ARE COMING OVER TONIGHT."

IT LOOKS LIKE THIS IS MY YEAR TO MINGLE WITH ROYALTY. FIRST, QUEEN ELIZABETH, AND NOW, ROY ACUFF.

MORE...

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN - COUNTRY MUSIC (CONT'D)

COUNTRY MUSIC ENCOMPASSES SUCH HUMAN EMOTIONS AS GREED, LUST, ANGER, SADNESS,
HARD TIMES AND HEARTBREAK. BUT ENOUGH ABOUT LIFE IN WASHINGTON.

THE NATION IS SO MUCH RICHER FOR THE MUSIC WE CELEBRATE TONIGHT. AMERICA
WITHOUT COUNTRY MUSIC WOULD BE LIKE MINNIE PEARL WITHOUT A HAT.