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BY THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL  
**Report To The Chairman, Committee On  
Government Operations  
House Of Representatives**  
OF THE UNITED STATES

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**Compiling Numerical Ratings For Members  
Of The Congress By The Department Of Defense**

On July 19, 1982, it was publicly disclosed that the Department of the Navy had Developed a rating system to evaluate the voting record of Members of Congress. Upon public disclosure of the practice, the Secretary of the Navy directed that its use be discontinued. The Chief of the Office of Legislative Affairs subsequently directed that any material relating to the index be destroyed. As a result, most of the evidence relating to the Navy index was destroyed before GAO's review. GAO found that the practice of preparing numerical ratings was limited to the Navy and was not widespread within the Department of Defense.



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COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES  
WASHINGTON D.C. 20548

B-209632

The Honorable Jack Brooks  
Chairman, Committee on Government  
Operations  
House of Representatives

Dear Mr. Chairman:

On July 19, 1982, it was publicly disclosed that the Department of the Navy had developed a rating or index system to evaluate the voting record of Members of Congress. As a result of your July 26, 1982, letter (see app. I) to me and subsequent discussions with your office, it was agreed that we would confine our review to (1) documenting the extent of the use of political rating files within the Department of Defense (DOD) and its military services, (2) specifically identifying those individuals who were involved in the creation, maintenance, and use of such files, and (3) determining the specific use or purpose of these rating files.

We briefed your office on September 3 and September 29, 1982, on the status of our review. At the latter briefing, we provided your office with a detailed briefing package and copies of pertinent DOD correspondence relating to the creation, use, and distribution of the Navy-generated numerical index. A description of the scope and methodology of our review is attached as appendix II.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

We found the numerical rating by DOD of Members of Congress' voting performance was limited to that developed by the Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs. There was no evidence of any such rating systems in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, DOD agencies, other Navy offices, or in the other military services. The ratings were a product of the Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs and were designed and implemented by Captain Brent Baker, the Director of Plans and Operations. We found no evidence that the ratings were done at the direction of higher authorities either within the Department of the Navy or DOD.

Two ratings were calculated during early 1982 for all Members of Congress. The first was based on nine House roll-call votes and four Senate votes from the 1st session, 97th Congress. In May 1982 the Senate rating was updated by three additional votes from the early part of the 2nd congressional session. The

actual calculation of these ratings was quickly accomplished using a commercially available computerized bill status and tracking system called LEGI-SLATE to which the Navy subscribes. Use of the LEGI-SLATE system is widespread throughout the federal government.

A June 18, 1982, memorandum from Rear Admiral A.K. Knoizen, then Chief of the Office of Legislative Affairs, to senior Navy officials, with copies to other offices within the Navy, contained this Navy rating for members of the Congressional Military Reform Caucus. We found no evidence that the ratings for all Members of Congress were distributed. The memorandum was the third relating to the Military Reform Caucus, but the first to contain the Navy index. All three memorandums contained the National Security Index, prepared by the American Security Council--a special interest group. The National Security Index rates Members of Congress on security and foreign affairs issues. We were told by Captain Baker that during the period between the date of the memorandum and public disclosure, the Office of Legislative Affairs received no objections to the practice from Navy officials.

Upon public disclosure of the practice, Mr. John Lehman, the Secretary of the Navy, directed that it be discontinued. The new Chief of the Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs, Rear Admiral Bruce Newell, further directed on July 23, 1982, that any material relating to the index be destroyed. As a result, most of the evidence relating to the Navy index was destroyed before your July 26, 1982, request concerning this subject. All supporting documents, working papers, and computer-generated schedules of the actual Navy index have been destroyed. However, copies of the three previously noted Military Reform Caucus memorandums survived. Because the records were destroyed, we were unable to independently verify the full extent of the records as they once existed.

DEVELOPING THE NAVY'S  
RATING OR INDEX

In early 1982--some time in February or March--the Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs developed a rating for all Members of Congress. According to officials of the Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs, the rating was developed on their own initiative and they did not receive any instructions or orders from higher authority within the Department of the Navy or DOD to develop a rating.

Captain Baker said that the initial rating on all Members of Congress was done in early 1982, based on four Senate and nine House roll-call votes. The four Senate votes were selected from the fiscal year 1981 DOD Supplemental Authorization and Appropriations Legislation and from the fiscal year 1982 DOD Appropriation. The House votes were selected from the fiscal year 1982 DOD Authorization, the fiscal year 1982 DOD Appropriation, and the House Congressional Resolution disapproving the sale of the Air Force's Airborne Warning and Control System radar planes to Saudi Arabia. In May 1982 Captain Baker did an update for the Senate selecting three additional votes pertaining to the fiscal year 1983 DOD Authorization. The initial rating for the Members of the House was not changed when Captain Baker updated the Senate index. Thus, the Navy index ratings were based on seven Senate votes and nine House votes. (See app. III for a full listing of the votes used in the Navy index.)

Captain Baker said that the selection was not done in any scientific or objective manner. Factors generally considered by him in vote selection were

- the issue decided by the vote was of interest to the Department of the Navy and had to be a roll-call vote (voice votes obviously could not be used since they cannot be attributed to each member) and
- the issue was judged a major issue either in terms of the dollars to be expended or in terms of the potential effect the issue could have on the operations of the Navy or DOD.

The Senate votes selected for the rating generally related directly to Navy concerns, as they dealt with such issues as battleships and carriers. The nine House votes selected, however, contained only one vote directly related to the Navy. Captain Baker indicated that this resulted because the number of roll-call votes in the House directly related to the Navy's interest was limited. During our review we obtained a listing of House roll-call votes for the 1st session of the 97th Congress. Our analysis indicates that only two votes directly affected the Navy--Congressman Vento's amendment to DOD's fiscal year 1982 Authorization to prohibit F-18 funds and Congressman Bennett's motion to prohibit construction of U.S. Navy vessels in foreign shipyards. The roll-call vote on Congressman Vento's F-18 amendment was included as one of the nine House votes of the Navy index.

The Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs used the commercially available computerized data base called LEGI-SLATE to calculate and facilitate rapid completion of the ratings discussed above. LEGI-SLATE is an automated congressional bill, vote, and committee tracking system that gives subscribers quick access to legislative actions, recorded votes, and committee schedules. LEGI-SLATE has several rating options which allow subscribers to "instantly" rate how one or all Members of Congress voted. Under one option, the LEGI-SLATE system calculates a simple average which is based on the votes selected for the index and the subscriber's designation of what is a favorable and unfavorable vote on each vote selected. Under this option, each vote had the same value in calculating the ratings. If a Member did not vote on a particular bill, the computer automatically eliminated it from the calculation of the average. The Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs used this LEGI-SLATE option to prepare its Navy index.

RATINGS FOR CERTAIN MEMBERS  
DISTRIBUTED WIDELY WITHIN THE  
DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

Although the Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs rated all Members of Congress, only the ratings for the Congressional Military Reform Caucus members were extracted from the listing, formalized into a Navy memorandum, and distributed widely within the Department of the Navy. (The Congressional Military Reform Caucus, formed in mid-1981, is a bipartisan group of approximately 60 Senate and House Members whose purpose is to effect changes in our national defense.) The Military Reform Caucus members' ratings were incorporated in a June 18, 1982, memorandum signed by Rear Admiral Knoizen, then Chief of the Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs, and addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps. The memorandum discussed caucus concerns and initiatives, especially as they affected the congressional dialogue on Navy issues. The June memorandum also contained the National Security Index rating, developed by the American Security Council, a special interest group, for the caucus members if a rating was available. (See p. 6 for further discussion.)

Copies of this memorandum were also sent to 25 senior Navy officials, including the Under Secretary of the Navy, the Assistant Secretaries of the Navy, the Vice Chief of Naval Operations, the Deputy Chiefs of Naval Operations, and the Chief of Naval Operations-designate. This was the third and

final of a series of memorandums relating to the Military Reform Caucus which were sent to the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of Naval Operations.

Two earlier memorandums addressed to both the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of Naval Operations on August 19 and December 2, 1981, also included the National Security Index that had been available for certain members of the caucus. In addition to the index, the August 19 memorandum contained several news articles on the Military Reform Caucus, and the December 2 memorandum contained a cursory analysis of the Military Reform Caucus' concerns and potential directions. These two memorandums were distributed within the Department of the Navy on a more limited basis than the June 18, 1982, memorandum. According to Navy officials, none of the three memorandums were distributed outside the Department of the Navy, except for a copy of the June 18, 1982, memorandum which was provided to a staff member of Senator Ted Stevens upon request. Copies of these three Navy memorandums are included as appendix IV.

RECORDS PERTAINING TO  
RATING DESTROYED

Shortly after the Navy index for certain Members of Congress was published in the Congressional Record on July 21, 1982, Mr. John Lehman, the Secretary of the Navy, directed the Office of Legislative Affairs to discontinue using the index. We were told by Captain Baker that during the approximate 1-month period between the issuance of the June 18 memorandum and publication in the Congressional Record, the Office of Legislative Affairs received no objections to the practice from Navy officials.

The Secretary told us that the issue of the Navy developing ratings on Members of Congress based on their voting record is not a matter of impropriety, but it was just not good common sense. He also said that the index had no particular significance. Additionally, he stated that once the Congress' concerns about DOD-generated ratings were recognized, he acted to discontinue the practice.

After the Secretary of the Navy had directed the Office of Legislative Affairs to discontinue using any voting index, Rear Admiral Newell, Chief of the Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs, instructed his staff on July 23, 1982, to spend no further funds on the rating and to destroy any materials

relating to the rating. Navy officials said that the materials were destroyed on the day the instructions were issued. Your July 26 letter to Secretary Weinberger concerning DOD's rating of Members of Congress was received by DOD on July 28, 1982, according to records maintained by the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Navy officials said that the following records were destroyed on July 23:

- The printout of Navy index ranking for all Members of Congress.
- The word processor disc on which the ratings were maintained (no file for the rankings was created and maintained within the LEGI-SLATE computer).
- Working papers relating to the roll-call votes selected as the basis for the ratings.

In addition to these records, most copies of the above mentioned June 18, 1982, memorandum on the Military Reform Caucus were destroyed. Rear Admiral Newell told us that the reason he ordered the records destroyed was to ensure that the Navy index ratings would not be used in the future. However, no one could tell us how many copies of the memorandum existed prior to Admiral Newell's destruction order. Because the records were destroyed, we were unable to independently verify the full extent of the records as they once existed.

RATINGS USED TO MONITOR  
CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES

The Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs is responsible for monitoring and evaluating congressional proceedings and other congressional actions affecting the Department of the Navy. Navy officials see tracking and evaluating congressional votes as an appropriate activity of the Legislative Affairs Office. One method selected to track congressional voting was the Navy-developed rating or index. Based on certain issues considered important by the Navy, the rating was developed to be one "rough measure" of the attitudes that Members of Congress have toward Navy programs. As explained to us, the ratings were for internal use only by senior Navy officials. The ratings were viewed as one of several tools--including files on public positions of, and



correspondence to the Navy from Members of Congress--to aid in "evaluating" Members' attitudes.

Before developing the Navy's rating index, the Navy used the National Security Index as a measure of a Member of Congress' attitude on defense. Navy officials said that they used the National Security Index because it is the only rating, to the best of their knowledge, which rates Members of Congress on security and foreign affairs issues. The National Security Index is a widely distributed special interest group rating that is included, for example, in "The Almanac of American Politics 1982."

According to a Navy official, the National Security Index had several shortcomings which reduced the usefulness of the index to the Navy. These shortcomings include:

- No information on which congressional votes were selected as the basis of the index. (This made it difficult to interpret the individual ratings.)
- Ratings were not available for freshmen Members of Congress at the time the Navy was developing its rating.

These perceived shortcomings in the National Security Index led the Navy officials to develop a Navy rating index which did not have these limitations.

ONLY THE NAVY DEVELOPED  
RATINGS OF CONGRESSIONAL  
PERFORMANCE

We found no other instance of a congressional rating index similar to the Navy index being generated, published, and distributed by any of the DOD offices we visited. This finding is based on extensive interviews and file review efforts in numerous DOD offices, including the Office of the Secretary of Defense; the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Departments of the Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Army, including the Corps of Engineers; and eight DOD agencies. None of the approximately 100 DOD officials we interviewed indicated any knowledge of other congressional rating indexes either presently being used or used in the past. Furthermore, none of the files we reviewed contained references to any such index. Finally, we contacted two Federal Legal Information Through Electronics officials who were

responsible for doing LEGI-SLATE searches requested by federal agencies to determine if they had completed any requests for numerical voting indexes. They had not. LEGI-SLATE became available to them at the beginning of fiscal year 1982.

The wisdom and usefulness of rating indexes was questioned by many of the officials with whom we spoke. We found that the general consensus was that numerical ratings of congressional voting performance were not very useful since they could not be used as a predictor of future voting. Several officials said that there are too many imponderables for such an index to be used to predict future performance.

The potential to develop such numerical indexes does exist in all federal agencies, however, since all agencies have access to LEGI-SLATE. Using LEGI-SLATE allows an employee to rapidly develop a congressional performance rating on almost an infinite subset of past votes. The resulting numerical score could vary widely since it is based on the votes selected and the employees' views of a favorable or unfavorable voting position.

SOME DOD BIOGRAPHICAL FILES  
CONTAIN VOTING RECORDS AND  
SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Most of DOD's Legislative Liaison Offices prepare biographical summaries of Members of Congress for distribution to DOD officials for background information. These biographies usually include selected voting records on issues deemed important to the particular military service or office. Three examples of these biographical files are discussed below.

The Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Legislative Affairs) maintains a one page biographical summary, prepared from commercial sources, for each Member of Congress. It includes a picture; personal historical information, including date and place of birth, home, education, profession, military experience, and previous offices; committee assignments; military installations and defense plants within the Member's district broken down by service; and a list of special interest group ratings. These biographies are the only ones we found in DOD offices that contained references to public interest group ratings. These special interest group ratings are included in commercially available biographies of Members of Congress, including "Politics in America" and "The Almanac of American Politics 1982."

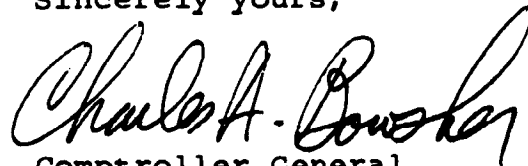
The Navy's Office of Legislative Affairs usually prepared internal briefing sheets on Members of Congress when they were scheduled to meet senior Navy officials. Typically, these sheets contained: (1) biographical information on the Member, (2) DOD installations located in the Member's constituency, (3) committee assignments, (4) issues of interest to the Member, and (5) a listing of how the Member voted on certain military bills. Also, before our review, the Navy included the National Security Index, if available, for the Member. The Navy no longer plans to include this index in these briefing sheets.

The Army and the Air Force Legislative Liaison Office also prepare multiple page biographies for all Members of Congress. These biographies typically contain the same information discussed above for the Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense biographies with the exception of the special interest group ratings. These ratings are not included in the Army and the Air Force biographical summaries. Instead, the Army and the Air Force biographies contain a listing of the Members' votes on key legislation important to their respective service. For example, the Air Force biographies included such issues as the manned bomber, other aircraft, strategic weapons, personnel issues, foreign policy, and the defense budget.

. . . . .

We did not obtain agency comments on this report. Unless you publicly announce its contents earlier, we plan no further distribution of this report until 30 days from the date of the report. At that time we will send copies to interested parties and make copies available to others upon request.

Sincerely yours,



Comptroller General  
of the United States



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NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS  
**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS  
 2157 Rayburn House Office Building  
 Washington, D.C. 20515

July 26, 1982

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MAJORITY—228-8051  
 MINORITY—228-8074

The Honorable Charles A. Bowsher  
 Comptroller General  
 General Accounting Office  
 441 G Street, N.W.  
 Washington, D.C. 20548

Dear General:

I am deeply disturbed about recent revelations that the Department of the Navy has compiled a political index on how Members of Congress vote on military issues. It appears that DOD has developed comprehensive files on Members to further aid their lobbying efforts and possibly other illegal and unethical activities. If such files are in fact maintained by the Department of Defense, it would be a serious breach of ethics, the law and the Constitution.


I therefore request an immediate investigation to (1) obtain copies of all correspondence, data bases, and internal memoranda related to the creation, maintenance, and use of any political file within DOD and its military services, (2) determine the officials and specifically identify those individuals who participated in the creation, maintenance, and use of these files, (3) whether the files were used to attempt to influence Members of Congress or the composition of Congress, and any other specific purposes, and (4) identify any violations of law or ethical conduct with the specific identification of all individuals involved.

In this connection, a GAO task force has undertaken an investigation of possible lobbying by DOD on behalf of the Lockheed C-5. I am very pleased with the excellent job which has been conducted by this task force under the direction of Dr. Carl Palmer and believe that the larger question of possible compilation of political rating indexes by DOD and the military services would fit well with the work undertaken by this task force. I therefore request that this work be assigned to the task force as well.

Since this matter is of the utmost importance, I request that it be given the highest priority within GAO and be completed within 30 days.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

  
 JACK BROOKS  
 Chairman

cc: The Honorable Caspar Weinberger  
 Secretary of Defense  
 The Pentagon  
 Washington, D.C. 20301

SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

We interviewed officials in the Office of the Secretary of Defense; Marine Corps; Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force; Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Army Corps of Engineers. Officials interviewed at these locations were, in general, from the various offices of Legislative Affairs or senior management officials. We also interviewed officials in the following DOD agencies: Advanced Research Projects, Nuclear, Intelligence, Mapping, Security Assistance, Contract Audit, and Logistics and Communications. In these DOD agencies, senior management officials interviewed spoke for their agency.

The procedure we used during our interviews was to obtain signed responses to a structured questionnaire. Each questionnaire contained the following statement:

"I have read this memoranda of interview and I agree that it presents fairly the matters discussed and the statements made during the interview."

We obtained 93 signed responses from all levels of management, both civilian and military, within DOD, including senior management officials, such as the Deputy Secretary of Defense and the secretaries of the military services. DOD and military service officials were generally very cooperative during our review. We also interviewed the Secretary of Defense.

We reviewed a number of files maintained by the offices we visited. For example, we reviewed correspondence, legislative, and biographical files. We also identified and reviewed a number of internally generated reports relating to legislative affairs. Further, we spoke with officials of LEGI-SLATE, Inc., to determine the capabilities of the LEGI-SLATE system. Finally, we contacted officials of the Federal Legal Information Through Electronics office to determine their use of the LEGI-SLATE system. They use LEGI-SLATE to answer inquires from federal, state, and local government offices.

ROLL-CALL VOTES SELECTED FORCALCULATION OF NAVY INDEX

Navy officials said that they destroyed their working papers relating to the roll-call votes selected which formed the basis of the ratings. The House list was reconstructed based on information obtained in interviews done during our review and discussions with Congressman Vento's office. A copy of the Senate list was provided to Senator Ted Stevens' office previous to its destruction by the Navy.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

- Fiscal year 1982 DOD authorizations.  
Judiciary Committee amendment to authorize the Armed Services to cooperate with civilian law enforcement officials in operations against drug smuggling (July 15, 1981).
- Government Operations Committee amendment to place DOD procurement under a governmentwide procurement system and to authorize multiyear contracting only for purchases meeting certain conditions and specifically approved by the Congress (July 15, 1981).
- Congressman Brooks' amendment to require that all purchases of computers and computer services for DOD be made through the General Services Administration (July 15, 1981).
- Congressman Weiss' amendment to delete provisions from the bill requiring selective service registrants to provide their Social Security numbers (July 16, 1981).
- Congressman Vento's amendment to prohibit use of funds in bill for research, development, testing, evaluation, or procurement of the F/A-18 aircraft (July 16, 1981).
- Passage of the bill to authorize funding for DOD weapons procurement, military research, operations and maintenance, and civil defense in fiscal year 1982 (July 16, 1981).
- House congressional resolution disapproving the Air Force's Airborne Warning and Control System sale. Adopting the resolution disapproving the sale to Saudi Arabia of Airborne Warning and Control System radar planes and other military equipment (Oct. 14, 1981).
- Adopting the conference report on the bill authorizing funds for DOD programs in fiscal year 1982, including

weapons procurement, research and development, operations and maintenance, and civil defense (Nov. 17, 1981).

- Fiscal year 1982 DOD appropriations.  
Passage of the bill to appropriate funding for DOD programs in fiscal year 1982 (Nov. 18, 1981).

#### SENATE

- Fiscal year 1981 supplemental DOD authorization.  
Senator Tower's motion to table Senator Bumper's amendment to bar use of funds for reactivating the battleship New Jersey (Apr. 7, 1981).
- Fiscal year 1981 supplemental DOD appropriations.  
Senator Hollings' amendment to transfer funds from DOD operations and maintenance accounts to pay for bonuses to certain military pilots (May 20, 1981).
- Fiscal year 1981 supplemental DOD appropriations.  
Senator Tower's amendment to provide funds for advanced procurement and research and development for reactivation of the battleships New Jersey and Iowa (May 20, 1981).
- Fiscal year 1982 DOD appropriations.  
Senator Heinz's amendment to add funds for reactivating the battleship Iowa (Nov. 30, 1981).
- Fiscal year 1983 DOD authorization.  
Senator Tower's motion to table Senator Hart's amendment to delete authorization for one of two Nimitz-class nuclear powered aircraft carriers included in the bill (May 13, 1982).
- Fiscal year 1983 DOD authorization.  
Senator Tower's motion to table Senator Hart's amendment to delete authorization for one of two Nimitz-class nuclear powered aircraft carriers and add authorization for two smaller carriers (May 13, 1982).
- Fiscal year 1983 DOD authorization.  
Passage of the bill to authorize funding for DOD research and development, procurement, and operations and maintenance in fiscal year 1983 (May 14, 1982).



19 AUG 1981

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

Subj: Military Reform Caucus

Encl: (1) Fact Sheet on Reform Caucus

1. Enclosed, for your background, is a fact sheet on the "Military Reform Caucus" which has recently received news media attention. We don't have many details on the caucus organization but have been told informally that Bill Lind (Mart's defense staffer) will act as the caucus staff director, assisted most likely by Gwen Perry (Whitehurst's defense staffer).
2. After Congress reconvenes on 9 September, we should be able to get a better idea of the caucus staff, agenda, etc.

Very respectfully,

A. K. KNOIZEN  
Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy  
Chief of Legislative Affairs

Copy to:  
UNSECNAV  
OPA

MILITARY REFORM CAUCUS

Background: Recently, news reports indicate that a bipartisan group of about 16 Senators and Representatives have formed a "Military Reform Caucus" founded by Senator Gary Hart (D-CO) and Representative G. William Whitehurst (R-VA). (See enclosed articles.)

Purpose: According to reports, the "Military Reform Caucus," composed of mainly pro-defense Members, wants the Pentagon to develop less costly weapons, devise new military tactics and create a modern-day think tank to study strategy. Rep. Whitehurst stated in an interview that the caucus formed slowly over the summer and wants "to prepare the defense specialists for a tougher stand by Congress in future years as domestic spending cuts begin to make their full impact on the public."

Membership: The Members, as listed in the 11 August Norfolk Ledger Star, are:

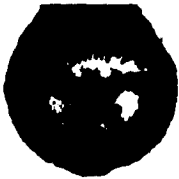
	<u>Senate - Committees</u>	<u>NSI Rating</u>
1.	Gary Hart (D-CO), SASC (Sea Power and Force Projection, Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces, and Military Construction Subcommittees)	10
2.	John Warner (R-VA), SASC (Chairman, Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces Subcommittee)	--
3.	William S. Cohen (R-ME), SASC (Chairman, Sea Power and Force Projection Subcommittee)	78
4.	Sam Nunn (D-GA), SASC (Sea Power and Force Projection, and Manpower and Personnel Subcommittees)	50
5.	Arlen Specter (R-PA), SAC (Health and Human Services Subcommittee)	--
	<u>House - Committees</u>	
6.	G. William Whitehurst (R-VA), HASC (Readiness and Installations Subcommittees)	100
7.	Charles F. Dougherty (R-PA), HASC (Seapower and Installations Subcommittees)	--
8.	David F. Emery (R-ME), HASC (Seapower and R&D Subcommittees)	--

9.	Thomas M. Foglietta (D-PA), HASC (Seapower and Installations Subcommittees)	--
10.	Paul S. Tribble (R-VA), HASC (Seapower & Installations Subcommittees)	100
11.	Norman D. Dicks (D-WA), HAC (Defense Subcommittee)	33
12.	Jack Edwards (R-AL), HAC (Defense Subcommittee and Vice Chairman, Republican Conference)	90
13.	Douglas K. Bereuter (R-NB) (Interior, Small Business Committees)	--
14.	Dick Cheney (R-WY) (Interior Committee)	--
15.	Newt Gingrich (R-GA) (Public Works and Transportation Committee)	--
16.	Marge Roukema (R-NJ) (Education and Labor; Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committees)	--

NOTE: If NSI rating not indicated, it is not yet available.

Issues: At a 16 June breakfast Hill meeting with the caucus, SECDEF was approached on using modern diesel attack submarines in place of some nuclear submarines (the German offer to sell \$200 million diesel and buy it back after a year at three-fourths the cost). Also, alternatives to the F/A-18 were apparently mentioned. According to the 16 August Washington Post, SECDEF, under pressure from the caucus, instructed the Chairman of the JCS to form a new group of "thinkers" to provide second opinions on strategic options at the National War College.

Recommendation: No action. OLA will report on caucus plans as they are available.



**DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY**  
**OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS**  
 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20380

IN REPLY REFER TO  
 LA-2:0V  
 7 December 1981

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY**

**Subj: Congressional Military Reform Caucus**

**Encl: (1) Analysis of Congressional Military Reform Caucus  
 (2) Membership List (includes staff)**

1. The purpose of this memorandum is to update the information provided in August 1981 on the Military Reform Caucus which has now grown to about 46 members as of 30 November 1981. During the 18 November 1981 House floor debate on the 808 FY 1982 Appropriations Act, Representative Norm Dicks (D-WA), a member of both the Defense Subcommittee, House Appropriations Committee and Caucus, stated "I think there is a group in this Congress which deserves some credit beyond our Committee, and that is the group known as the Military Reform Caucus, which has basically challenged the strategy, tactics, and procurement policies of any administration, any Pentagon, particularly this one . . . . It is important that our leadership in the Pentagon look at its strategy and look at its tactics in light of the realities of the 1980's and the 1990's and then make decisions on procurement."

2. Caucus members, Representative Norm Dicks (D-WA), Representative Jack Edwards (R-AL) and Senator Gary Hart (D-CO) have asked for a Library of Congress study to be done on U. S. strategy.

3. Captain Pete Cressy, USN, Director, House Liaison, has been tasked to talk with various Military Reform Caucus members (and their staffers) to give us an insight into the concerns of the caucus members. As is often the case in such a bipartisan caucus, various members have come armed with their own personal agenda. Enclosure (1) is a brief analysis of the caucus "concern themes."

4. Enclosure (2) contains a list of the 46 known members of the Military Reform Caucus. There are 12 Senate members and 34 House members. The party composition of members indicates 7 of the 12 Senate members are Democrats and 24 of the 34 House members are Republicans. The Committee assignments of caucus members indicates the largest committee representation, in both houses, comes from four committee areas (in order of frequency) (1) Armed Services, (2) Appropriations, (3) Governmental Affairs or Government Operations, and (4) Merchant Marine and Fisheries. In addition, a majority of 8 of the 12 Senate members have had some military experience (including two Navy and one Coast Guard) and a minority of 13 of the 34 House members have had some military experience (including four Navy and three Marine Corps). The majority of caucus members are in their first or second terms.

5. As new information becomes available on the Military Reform Caucus, it will be made available.



A. K. KNOIZEN  
Rear Admiral, U. S. Navy  
Chief of Legislative Affairs

Copy to:  
USSECNAV  
ASN(S&L)  
ASN(M&RA)  
ASN(RE&S)  
OGC  
DUSN(FM)



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY  
OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20350

IN REPLY REFER TO  
LA-4:PHC:cab  
30 November 1981

FOR INTERNAL STAFF USE ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

Subj: Cursory analysis of Congressional Military Reform Caucus

Summary. This very cursory analysis of the Military Reform Caucus attempts to briefly identify both the larger concerns of its members and the directions in which they are most likely to drive the caucus.

Background. The Military Reform Caucus is made up of a diverse, loosely knit group of 47 Congressional Members who are concerned that our overall defense posture and associated military planning are inadequate and that a degree of reform is necessary. This group is growing and has a number of serious thinkers within its ranks.

Conversations with numerous Congressmen and staffers associated with the Reform Caucus have suggested that the real focus of the "Military Reform Caucus" is as much oriented toward national security decision making reform as it is toward specific military reform. This more general focus should give military leaders increased flexibility in dealing with and perhaps in helping to mold the outputs of the reform caucus.

The following rough analysis of Reform Caucus concerns and the potential directions the Caucus might take were informally discussed with Congressman Whitehurst on 30 November. He expressed general agreement and indicated that he had been recently wrestling with the language for defining these concepts and might borrow heavily from the following expression of them.

Concerns. It may be possible to identify five basic approaches around which the 47 members and prospective members of the caucus have developed their common interest in military reform. These concerns which overlap and which are difficult to express precisely follow.

- Some of the members have a largely intellectual, historical concern and believe decision makers have not profited from history and have not generally developed fully integrated strategic planning.

- Some members have focused primarily on hardware concerns and believe decision makers have become preoccupied with technology. This group is particularly interested in seeking lower cost, simpler weapons systems alternatives.

- Another concern is resources oriented and contends that economic and other resource realities will soon curtail the military budget, again forcing decision makers to seek lower cost weapons systems alternatives.
- Many members have concerns about the nature of volunteerism. They question the principle of attracting a volunteer force on a monetary basis. Some contend that a form of universal conscription that ensures a substantial reserve force and which is based on the inherent obligation to serve is more in keeping with the traditions of democracy.
- Finally, there is widely held and intuitive concern that our national security decision making and planning apparatus is in disarray and needs to be reformulated.

Potential Directions. There are several directions which members of the reform caucus have suggested the caucus could usefully and should take. These avenues of thought move the reform caucus more toward national security decision making reform and away from the more limited concept of military reform.

- The caucus should first discuss and then publicly define the role of Congress in the national security decision making process. (This would be a role which would free military planners to do strategic planning based on scenarios not politics).
- The caucus should focus public attention on the apparent breakdown in the national security decision making process and should in particular highlight the inadequacy of the present NSC role.
- Call for the establishment of a coherent national security decision making process which more clearly defines the role of OSD, State, NSC, JCS, the Congress and the intelligence community and which emphasizes coordination between each of these players.
- Call for military planning that is primarily scenario based and for hardware procurement that is less technologically and politically driven.
- Consider a revision of some of the elements of the JCS planning process which would allow for better, more integrated and less parochial military planning and procurement.

  
PETER H. CRESSY

November 30, 1981

MILITARY REFORM CAUCUS LIST

(Including staff and phone numbers -- Senate 224-xxxx; House 225-xxxx)

\*Caucus Member Party Composition

	<u>Senate</u>	<u>House</u>
Republican	5	24
Democrat	7	9
Independent	0	1
	<u>12</u>	<u>34</u>

\*Caucus Member Military Experience

	<u>Senate</u>	<u>House</u>
Army	3	4
Navy	2 (Warner, Hart)	4 (Bliley, DeNardis, Findley, Whitehurst)
Marine Corps	0	3 (Beard, Dougherty, Edwards)
Air Force	2	2
Coast Guard	1 (Nunn)	0
None	<u>4</u>	<u>21</u>
Total	12	34

\*Caucus Member Time in Congress

SENATE: Of the 12 Senate members, 2 are freshmen (Specter and Mitchell) and all of the others have entered the Senate in the 1970's. Five of the balance of 10 entered the Senate in 1979.

HOUSE: Of the 34 House members, 12 are freshmen and an additional 10 are in their second terms. Only two were in the Congress in the 1960's.



\*Caucus Member Committee Assignments

(Numbers will not add to member totals since members have more than one committee assignment)

In Order of Frequency of Member Committee Assignments

	<u>Senate</u>	<u>House</u>
1. Armed Services	5	7
2. Appropriations	4	5
3. Governmental Affairs/ Government Operations	3	4
4. Merchant Marine and Fisheries	0	4
5. Agriculture	1	3
6. Budget	2	1
7. Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs	0	3
8. Education and Labor	0	3
9. Veterans' Affairs	2	0
10. Foreign Affairs	1	1
11. Energy and Commerce	0	2
12. Judiciary	1	1
13. Public Works and Transportation	0	2
14. Science and Technology	0	2
15. Interior and Insular Affairs	0	2
16. Environmental and Public Works	1	0
17. Finance	1	0
18. Energy and Natural Resources	1	0

MILITARY REFORM CAUCUS LIST  
(Including Staff and Phone Numbers)

SENATE

\*NSI

- 89 Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN) - Army (1953-55); Budget, Foreign Relations  
2317 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
224-5641  
Scott Martin
- 80 Senator William S. Cohen (Bill) (R-ME) - SASC (Chairman Seapower Subcmte)  
1251 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
224-2523  
Jim Dykstra
- 30 Senator Gary Hart (D-CO) - SASC; (LTJG, JAGC, USNR)  
221 Russell Senate Office Building  
224-5852  
Bill Lind/Larry Smith/Kathy Bushkin
- 60 Senator J. Bennett Johnston, Jr. (Bennett) (D-LA) - Army (1956-59);  
Appropriations, Budget, Energy & Natural Resources  
421 Russell Senate Office Building  
224-1503  
Doug Cook
- 10 Senator Carl Levin (D-MI) - SASC  
3327 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
224-6211  
Pete Lennon
- Freshman Senator George J. Mitchell (D-ME) - Army (1954-56); Finance, Veterans'  
Affairs, Environment and Public Works  
344 Russell Senate Office Building  
224-5344  
Mike Hastings
- 60 Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA) - SASC; Coast Guard (1959-60)  
3241 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
224-3521  
Arnold Punaro (Arnie)
- 44 Senator David Pryor (D-AR) - Governmental Affairs, Agriculture  
404 Russell Senate Office Building  
224-2353  
Dan Harrell
- Freshman Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA) - Air Force (1951-53); Appropriations,  
Veterans' Affairs, Judiciary  
342 Russell Senate Office Building  
224-4254  
Ester Kurz

\*National Security Index.

NSI

- 20 Senator Jim Sasser (D-TN) - Appropriations, Budget, Governmental  
Affairs  
405 Russell Senate Office Building  
224-3344  
John Callahan
- 89 Senator Ted Stevens (R-AL) - SAC (Chairman Defense Subcmte),  
Governmental Affairs; Air Force WWII  
127 Russell Senate Office Building  
224-3004  
Joe Darnell
- 80 Senator John W. Warner (R-VA) - SASC; Navy WWII; SECNAV 1972-74  
405 Russell Senate Office Building  
224-2023  
Buzz Hefti (224-6671)

MILITARY REFORM CAUCUSHOUSENSI

- 100 Representative Robin L. Beard (R-TN) - HASC; USMC (1962-66);  
Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse & Control  
229 Cannon House Office Building  
225-2811  
Mark Christie
- 80 Representative Douglas K. Bereuter (Doug) (R-NB) - Interior and Insular  
Affairs; Small Business; Army (1963-65)  
1314 Longworth House Office Building  
225-4806  
Tom Litjan
- Freshman Representative Tom Bliley (R-VA) - Energy and Commerce, D.C. Cmtes.;  
Navy (1952-55)  
214 Cannon House Office Building  
225-2815  
Allen Darden
- 80 Representative William F. Clinger, Jr. (Bill) (R-PA) - Government  
Operations, Public Works and Transportation  
1221 Longworth House Office Building  
225-5121  
Carol Barthel
- 100 Representative Richard B. Cheney (Dick) (R-WY) - Interior and Insular  
Affairs  
225 Cannon House Office Building  
225-2311  
Jim Steen
- 10 Representative Thomas A. Daschle (Tom) (D-SD) - Agriculture, Veterans'  
Affairs; Air Force (1962-72)  
439 Cannon House Office Building  
225-2801  
Ryan Krueger
- Freshman Representative Lawrence J. DeNardis (Larry) (R-CT) - Government  
Operations, Education and Labor; Navy (1960-63)  
1469 Longworth House Office Building  
225-3661  
Dan Costello

NSI

- 33 Representative Norman D. Dicks (Norm) (D-WA) - Appropriations (Defense Subcmt)  
1122 Longworth House Office Building  
225-5916  
Terry Freese
- 67 Representative Charles F. Dougherty (Charlie) (R-PA) - HASC; Merchant Marine and Fisheries, USMC (1959-62)  
422 Cannon House Office Building  
225-8251  
Steve Lodge
- 83 Representative Jack Edwards (R-AL) - Appropriations; USMC (1946-48)  
2369 Rayburn House Office Building  
225-4931  
Robin Deck (Miss)
- 70 Representative David F. Emery (Dave) (R-ME) - HASC; Merchant Marine and Fisheries  
2437 Rayburn House Office Building  
225-6116  
John Rabb
- Freshman Representative Cooper Evans (R-IA) - Agriculture; Army (1947-65)  
317 Cannon House Office Building  
225-3301  
Mike McVey
- 22 Representative Vic Fazio (D-CA) - Appropriations  
1421 Longworth House Office Building  
225-5716  
Sandy Stuart
- 44 Representative Paul Findley (R-IL) - Foreign Affairs, Agriculture; Navy, WWII  
2113 Rayburn House Office Building  
225-5271  
Allison Brenner
- Freshman Representative Thomas M. Foglietta (Tom) (I-PA) - HASC; Merchant Marine and Fisheries  
1217 Longworth House Office Building  
225-4731  
Paul Emerson
- 60 Representative Martin Frost (D-TX) - Rules  
1238 Rayburn House Office Building  
225-3605  
Bonnie McClellan

NSI

100 Representative Newt Gingrich (R-GA) - House Administration, Public Works and Transportation  
1005 Longworth House Office Building  
225-4501  
Mike Burns

22 Representative Bill Green (R-NY) - Appropriations  
1417 Longworth House Office Building  
225-2436  
Leslie Kautz

Freshman Representative Dennis M. Hertel (D-MI) - HASC, Merchant Marine and Fisheries  
1017 Longworth House Office Building  
225-6276  
Cliff Zaydel

Freshman Representative John Hiler (R-IN) - Government Operations, Small Business  
1338 Longworth House Office Building  
225-3915  
Kelly Johnston

100 Representative Ken Kramer (R-CO) - HASC, Education and Labor; Army (1967-70)  
114 Cannon House Office Building  
225-4422  
John Bosma

Freshman Representative Tom Lantos (D-CA) - Government Operations, Foreign Affairs  
1123 Longworth House Office Building  
225-3531  
Carol Thompson

90 Representative Bob Livingston (R-LA) - Appropriations  
206 Cannon House Office Building  
225-3015  
Paul Cambon

100 Representative Dan Lungren (R-CA) - Judiciary  
328 Cannon House Office Building  
225-2415  
Mike Ridenour

Freshman Representative Dave McCurdy (D-OK) - HASC, Science and Technology  
313 Cannon House Office Building  
225-6165  
David Smith

NSI

- 70 Representative Marc L. Marks (R-PA) - Energy and Commerce; Army Air Corps, WWII  
1424 Longworth House Office Building  
225-6138  
John Engbar
- Freshman Representative Lynn Martin (R-IL) - Budget, House Administration  
1208 Longworth House Office Building  
225-5676  
Fran McNaught
- 44 Representative Stephen L. Neal (D-NC) - Government Operations, Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs  
2463 Rayburn House Office Building  
225-2071  
Rob Wrigley
- Freshman Representative James L. Nelligan (Jim) (R-PA) - HASC; Army (1946-48)  
1711 Longworth House Office Building  
225-6511  
Bob Meyers
- Freshman Representative Marge Roukema (R-NJ) - Education and Labor, Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs  
226 Cannon House Office Building  
225-4465  
Susan O'Neill
- Freshman Representative Claudine Schneider (R-RI) - Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Science and Technology  
1431 Longworth House Office Building  
225-2735  
Todd Nichols
- 100 Representative Paul S. Tribble (R-VA) - HASC, Budget  
326 Cannon House Office Building  
225-4261  
Bill Hims
- 0 Representative Bruce Vento (D-MN) - Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, Interior and Insular Affairs  
230 Cannon House Office Building  
225-6631  
Larry Romans
- 89 Representative G. William Whitehurst (Bill) (R-VA) - HASC; Navy WWII  
2469 Rayburn House Office Building  
225-4215  
Gwen Perry (225-8527) - Pete Loomis



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY  
OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20350

IN REPLY REFER TO

LA-2:cw  
18 June 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY  
THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS  
THE COMMANDANT OF MARINE CORPS

Subj: Congressional Military Reform Caucus Update

Encl: (1) Membership List

1. Executive Summary: The Congressional Military Reform Caucus is a diverse, loosely knit bi-partisan group of 56 Senate and House Members formed in August 1981. The Members are listed in Enclosure (1). Senator Gary Hart (D-CO) is the Senate Caucus leader and Representative G. William Whitehurst (R-VA) is the House Caucus leader. While the personal views of certain articulate Caucus Members may appear in news media reports as Military Reform Caucus views, there is generally no specific caucus issue consensus. Various caucus members come armed with their own personal ideas and agenda for military change or reform. There has been an attempt by some (and their personal staffers) to formalize their caucus by hiring a staff, which would then draft issue-position papers. Representative Whitehurst has fought (successfully so far) to not hire a staff and use the informal caucus as a "sounding board" for Members. He does not want to polarize Members on specific issues. While there are no agreed upon Military Reform position papers, there are concern "themes" which were first outlined in a 14 December 1981 news briefing by Caucus Members. Paragraphs 2-4 outline those caucus' general national security reform concerns and some related specific Navy-Marine issues.

2. Concerns. The Caucus Members generally believe some fundamental changes must be made in how the military utilizes its people, develops strategy and tactics, and procures hardware. The Members seem to share concerns in five areas of interest:

a. Lessons of History. Essentially, this caucus group believes that those who make our national defense decisions have neither profited from the lessons of history, nor developed fully integrated strategic - tactical planning. (Maneuver Warfare vice firepower-attrition is a theme of this group.)

b. Hardware Procurement. This group is concerned with the kinds of hardware utilized by our Services and Procurement cycle delays. It is their contention that the decision-makers have become overly preoccupied with technology. This group is particularly interested in seeking lower cost, simpler weapons system alternatives. This group also says numbers are important and expensive systems mean fewer of them. (Low versus High Mix).



c. Economic Constraints. This group is resources-oriented, and contends that economic and other resource needs and realities will soon curtail the military budget, forcing decision-makers to seek lower cost weapons system alternatives.

d. Manpower Resources. This group is concerned about training, and the nature of volunteerism in the military. They question the principle of maintaining an all volunteer force (AVF) on a monetary incentive basis. These Members contend that a form of universal conscription (draft) that ensures a substantial reserve force, based upon the inherent obligation to serve, is more in keeping with the traditions of democracy. (Unit cohesion is also a theme of this group.)

e. National Security Policy - Planning and Execution. This group is concerned that our national security decision making, planning and execution apparatus is in disarray and needs to be reformulated. (This relates closely with call for JCS reorganization.)

3. Navy Issues. In April a Hart staffer, Bill Lind, circulated a paper entitled "Options For Action On The FY 1983 Defense Budget For The Military Reform Caucus." The news media received copies and some reported (wrongly) that this paper was the Military Reform Caucus Alternate Budget for FY 1983. Representative Whitehurst, when asked about this paper, stated that the executive committee of the Caucus had not approved the Lind paper and "... has decided it won't take formal stands on weapons systems; rather the Caucus will be used as a clearing-house of information for Members of Congress" (13 April 1982 Wall Street Journal, p. 56). The Navy issues outlined in the Lind paper circulated to Members of the Caucus included:

- Procure diesel-electric attack submarines.
- Cancel the F-18 program.
- Transfer offensive mine warfare to the Air Force.
- Modify merchant ships to serve as amphibious ships.
- Develop three alternate approaches for fleet air defense.
- Build SSN-637 class nuclear attack submarines instead of the SSN-688 class.
- Increase cross-branch (Surface-Air-Subsurface) training in the Navy.
- Reduce the size of submarine crews.
- Build "Stealth fast missile boats for the naval reserve."

4. Marine Issues: (Lind Paper)

- Fund a "European-Style" exercise for the 2nd Marine Division.
- Cancel the Marine Corps MIFASS fire control system.
- Increase war gaming in the Marine Corps.
- Cancel the M-198, 155mm howitzer for the Marine Corps.

5. Caucus Executive Committee. The Caucus executive committee includes: Representatives Whitehurst (R), Norman Dicks (D), Newt Gingrich (R), and Senators Hart (D), Nunn (D), and Cohen (R). Cohen has stated that an idea digested in Caucus sessions might find expression in a question to a witness at a committee hearing or in a vote on the Senate floor.

6. FY 1983 Military Reform Caucus Fallout. The Military Reform Caucus is having an impact upon the Congressional dialogue. For example, during the Senate debate (13 May 1982) on the FY 1983 Defense Authorization Bill the following amendments, sponsored by Military Reform Caucus Members, were considered: (When the House considers their revision of the FY 1983 bill, House Caucus Members can be expected to likewise sponsor some reform amendments of their own.)

- \* Hart - Amendment requiring the Secretary of the Army and Secretary of the Navy to submit a report on the extent to which the concepts of maneuver warfare are incorporated into Army and Marine Corps Training. The report is due not later than 1 Jan 1983. Passed by voice vote.
- \* Hart - Amendment to defer funds for one NIMITZ carrier. Tabled by roll call vote 63 to 32. Caucus Members Hart and Levin spoke in favor of the amendment and Cohen, Warner and Mitchell against. Caucus Members voted as follows:

For (Hart)

Gorton (R)  
Hart (D)  
Levin (D)  
Pell (D)  
Pryor (D)

Against (to table)

Cohen (R)  
Johnston (D)  
Mitchell (D)  
Nunn (D)  
Sasser (D)\*  
Spector (R)  
Stevens (R)  
Warner (R)

- \* Hart - Amendment to delete funds for one CVN and add funds for two light aircraft carriers. Tabled by a roll call vote 72 to 19. Caucus

Members Hart spoke for and Cohen against. Caucus Members voted as follows:

For (Hart)

Hart (D)  
Levin (D)  
Pell (D)  
Pryor (D)

Against (to table)

Cohen (R)  
Gorton (R)  
Johnston (D)  
Mitchell (D)  
Nunn (D)  
Sasser (D)  
Spector (R)  
Stevens (R)  
Warner (R)

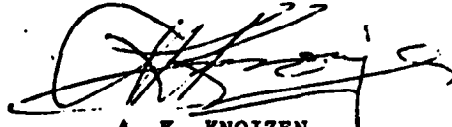
- \* Gorton - Amendment requiring the SECNAV to conduct a survey of Schools and Training Programs to ascertain the extent to which military history is taught and reporting such to the Armed Services Committees. Passed by voice vote.
- \* Levin - Amendment requiring the Comptroller General (GAO) to comment on all reports by the Secretaries of the military departments on Major Weapons Systems which experience over a 15 percent annual cost increase. Passed by voice vote.
- \* Warner - Amendment requiring SECDEF to report to Armed Services Committees, not later than 1 Jan 1983, regarding "unit cohesion" initiatives. The term "unit cohesion" is defined as any plan or program of an Armed Force to retain its members in the same unit from time a member enters service to time he leaves the service. Passed by voice vote.

7. Future Military Reform Caucus Direction: It is clear that Caucus Members will continue to explore all types of alternative ideas from basic changes in the national security policy making-execution organization to strategy, tactics, hardware procurement, and manpower policies. Some Caucus Members have said they have no staff, no budget but they have the "power to promote new ideas". How deeply will Congress become involved in military tactics? Senator Tower asked Senator Hart about this during the 13 May 1982 discussion on Hart's Amendment requiring the Secretaries of the Army and Navy to report on the concept of maneuver warfare and training - Tower, "Does he (Hart) believe that the Armed Services Committee or the Congress should get into the business of dictating tactical doctrine to the professional military people? I would have some problem with that if that is his long-range intent." Hart replied, "In terms of trying to define what the proper role of a Member of the Congress should be vis-a-vis the military, this Senator's judgment is that it has to be something more than just being accountants and bookkeepers approving numbers of dollars that various services want in gross terms. On the other hand I think it would be well beyond our capability, and in the case of most of us our competence, to try to substitute our judgment on

purely military matters. That is not my intent, nor is it the intent of this amendment. This is an informational amendment...it well may be that the service chiefs and senior commanders can convince us that moving in this direction is not a good idea and give us some rational reasons why..., but I think our role should be to work with the services, to ask serious and, hopefully penetrating questions not only about weapons systems, which we probably spend 90 or 95 percent of our time on as Member of that Committee, but also about tactics and strategy and doctrine. If we believe, as the Senator from Texas does, that we are for the first time perhaps in our nation's history facing a potential adversary that we cannot overwhelm with numbers of people and weapons, then we are going to have to prepare to engage in combat and use more brainpower at it.... Therefore, I do not in any way suggest that we ought to force any doctrine on any service, but we ought to encourage transition where it is important to our national survival. I think that is well within our scope of competence." (Congressional Record, 13 May 1982, p. S-5051)

8. Navy-Marine Corps Interface with Military Reform Caucus. Since the Caucus was formed in August 1981, the Navy-Marine Team has worked informally with Caucus Members in an attempt to educate Members and keep the communication lines open. It is recommended that this strategy be continued. OLA will continue to actively monitor the Military Reform Caucus initiatives.

Very Respectfully,



A. K. KNOIZEN  
Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy  
Chief of Legislative Affairs

Copy to:	
ADM WATKINS	
UNSECNAV	OP-04
VCNO	OP-05
ACMC	OP-06
CNM	OP-090
ASN (S&L)	OP-092
ASN (M&RA)	OP-094
ASN (RE&S)	OP-095
OPA	OP-098
OP-01	OP-906
OP-02	NMPC
OP-03	CMC (LA)
	SA (L&LA)
	CHINFO

16 June 1987

MILITARY REFORM CAUCUS LIST

(Including staff and phone numbers -- Senate 224-xxx; House 225-xxx)

\*Caucus Member Party Composition

	<u>Senate</u>	<u>House</u>
Republican	5	28
Democrat	8	14
Independent	0	1
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\*Caucus Member Military Experience

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Navy	2 (Warner, Hart)	4 (Bliley, DeNardis, Findley, Whitehurst)
Marine Corps	0	3 (Beard, Dougherty, Edwards)
Air Force	3	3
Coast Guard	1 (Nunn)	0
None	<u>5</u>	<u>29</u>
Total	14	43

(NOTE: Sen. Gorton has both Army/Air Force experience.)

\*Caucus Member Time in Congress

**SENATE:** Of the 13 Senate Members, 3 are freshmen (Specter, Gorton and Mitchell) and all of the others have entered the Senate in the 1970's. Five of the balance of 10 entered the Senate in 1979. One (Pell) entered in 1961.

**HOUSE:** Of the 43 House Members, 16 are freshmen and an additional 12 are in their second terms. Only two were in the Congress in the 1960's.

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5. Agriculture	1	7
6. Budget	2	2
7. Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs	0	3
8. Education and Labor	0	4
9. Veterans' Affairs	2	1
10. Foreign Affairs/Foreign Relations	1	1
11. Energy and Commerce	0	2
12. Judiciary	1	1
13. Public Works and Transportation	0	3
14. Science and Technology	0	2
15. Interior and Insular Affairs	0	4
16. Environmental and Public Works	2	0
17. Finance	1	0
18. Energy and Natural Resources	1	0
19. Commerce, Science & Transportation	1	0
20. Small Business	1	2
21. Labor and Human Resources	1	0
22. Rules and Administration	1	0
23. Post Office and Civil Service	0	1
24. Ways and Means	0	1

MILITARY REFORM CAUCUS LIST  
(Including Staff and Phone Numbers)

SENATE

<u>NAVY</u>		
<u>INDEX</u>	<u>NSI</u>	
100	80	Senator William S. Cohen (Bill) (R-ME) - SASC (Chairman Seapower Subcmt.) 1251 Dirksen Senate Office Building 224-2523 Jim Dykstra
57	Freshman	Senator Slade Gorton (R-WA) - Army (1945-46), Air Force (1953-56) Budget, Commerce, Science and Transportation, Environment and Public Works, Small Business 3327 Dirksen Senate Office Building 224-2621 Mike McGavick
43	30	Senator Gary Hart (D-CO) - SASC; ( <u>LTJG, JAGC, USNR</u> ) 221 Russell Senate Office Building 224-5852 Bill Lind/Larry Smith/Kathy Bushkin
86	60	Senator J. Bennett Johnston, Jr. (Bennett) (D-LA) - Army (1956-59); Appropriations, Budget, Energy & Natural Resources 421 Russell Senate Office Building 224-1503 Doug Cook
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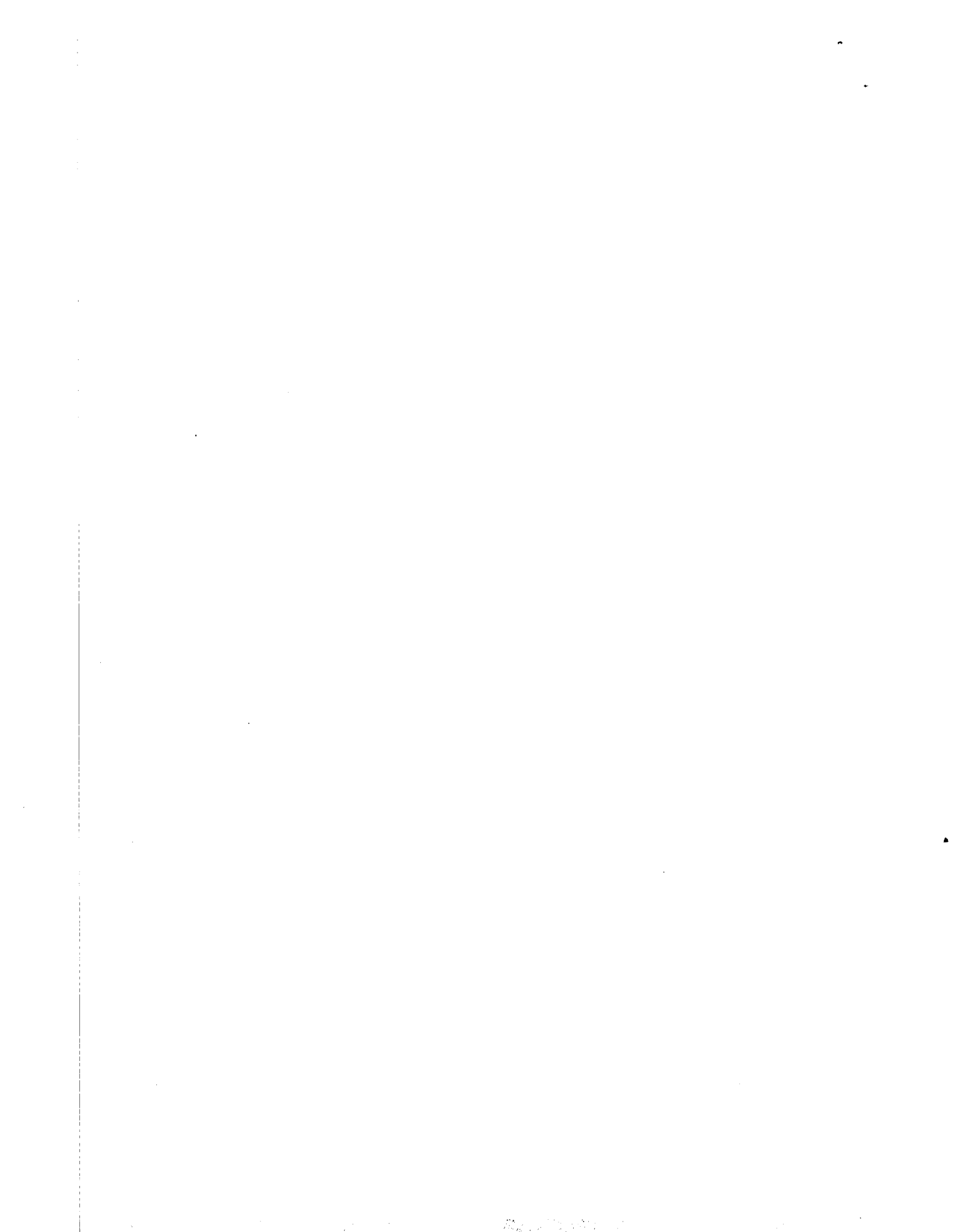
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