

Correspondence 1975

Folder Citation: Collection: Records of the 1976 Campaign Committee to Elect Jimmy Carter ;
Series: Noel Sterrett Subject File; Folder: Correspondence 1975; Container 73

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21-7

Jimmy Carter
Plains, Georgia 31780

Steve
Wood Jones
stuff JLP

Jody

9-18-75

To Mary King

I will be glad
to meet with Ann
Kobler at any time
you can work out.
Your answers were
very careful & ac-
curate. She should
be pleased with my
attitude when we
meet.

Love

Jimmy

cc: Jody
J

Suite 415
2000 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
September 11, 1975

Dear Jimmy:

Ann Kolker of the National Women's Political Caucus called this afternoon and asked me to discuss your position on several questions. Following are some notes on her questions and my answers:

1. Does Jimmy Carter support the Supreme Court decision on abortion? Answer: I am absolutely positive that the Governor supports the high court's decision and would oppose any attempts to weaken Constitutional guarantees. My husband was the physician of record in the Georgia case that came before the Supreme Court, Doe v. Bolton, and I am sure that the Governor was kept informed as the case worked its way up to the Supreme Court. My husband now is coordinating Governor Carter's campaign in the Mid-Atlantic Region.

2. Does the Governor support publicly supported child care? Answer: I have never heard the Governor declare himself on this issue and am reluctant to state his position. Let me say this however, he has spent several hours discussing the need for child care with Dr. Mary Dublin Keyserling. I think that he is well aware of the issues, that he knows the U.S. is the only "westernized" country which does not have subsidized child care, and that he is interested in the plight of poor women who are sole support for their children and who most suffer from the lack of publicly supported child care.

3. What does he think of Title IX? Answer: I am not sure what his position is on this issue. Since Title IX of the Civil Rights Act is the law of the land, I am sure that he supports its provisions. I am quite positive that he does not favor discrimination against any group or class of persons. Just how far he would go in advocating ameliorative measures to correct past discrimination is something you might want to ask him sometime. Let me mention something you may not know. The Governor is not a johnny-come-lately faddist libertarian. He has a solid record of staunchly opposing all discrimination. He comes from a family where women are crucially important. His mother is a registered nurse in an area of great medical scarcity and entered the Peace Corps in her late sixties to work in a family planning program in India. His wife has managed the business end of the family peanut business for years, and has been working actively to promote better mental health services for some time. He is not an instant feminist; he has just always backed women and encouraged their full development.

4. Does the Governor support a minimum wage for household workers? Answer: I have never heard the Governor speak to this issue. But since the unionization of household workers is a Georgia-

based movement originally with Dorothy Bolton and the National Organization of Household Workers operating out of Atlanta, I am sure that the Governor is well aware of their position. I personally think that that question should be placed within a larger context. In Mexico City the concern was for equal pay for work of comparable value which is a much more significant issue. But since the more simple equal pay for equal work legislation passed by Congress ten years ago is still not fully implemented, I doubt that the Governor would want to take a position on equal pay for work of comparable value. I also personally feel that another aspect of this larger context is the question of full participation in economic life for all women whether they are trade unionists, secretaries, managers, household workers, business owners or bankers. I am sure that the Governor would encourage full participation by women in our economy. Again, there is the example of Rosalynn and Miss Lillian.

5. What is the Governor's position on National Health Insurance?

Answer: He favors national health insurance -- a comprehensive plan -- and will be making a major statement on that later this fall or winter. (I would like to share with you Ann some of the research I have been doing on exclusions of women in traditional health insurance. There are some very serious ways in which the insurance industry discriminates against women that the Caucus may be interested in. She replied that they had some policy papers on that very subject.)

6. Georgia failed to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. Does that reflect the Governor's position? Answer: Absolutely not.

The Nineteenth Amendment did not pass in the South and ERA won't either. Historically the South has not been too enthusiastic in these questions. But the Governor was right out front in supporting ERA. He supported the Commission on the Status of Women too, and I just learned that the new governor has halted the Commission's funding but I don't know the details yet.

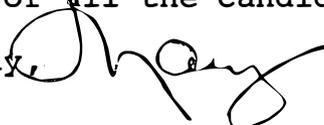
7. If Jimmy Carter were given a forum to speak on ERA, would he be willing to do so? Answer: I don't know. It would depend.

He's campaigning 250 days this year and he wants the vote of women. In Illinois I hear that women are split right down the middle on ERA because of that one-woman campaign, so I don't know if it would make sense strategically or from the perspective of his scheduling problems. But I would think that he would be willing to speak in favor of ERA depending on the setting and so on.

8. This is great for a start and I'm really glad to know more about Carter. Could we get together again and discuss this in more detail? Some of these are questions that our Caucuses around the country will want to ask him. Answer: Great. I think they ought to meet him and ask him directly.

I thought you would want to know the specifics of their interest as the Caucus is preparing an analysis of all the candidates now.

Sincerely,



To J.C.?

One East Avenue
Rochester, New York 14638
November 21, 1975

Mr. Jimmy Carter
Post Office Box 7667
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Governor Carter:

I thoroughly enjoyed meeting you during your recent trip to Rochester. I found your grasp of an extremely wide range of issues to be thorough and your programs to be realistic. Your ability to communicate your point of view clearly and concisely represented for me a delightful contrast with far too many other people in public life today.

I would like to suggest that you reconsider your answers to several specific questions which were posed to you during your visit. You indicated that you would strengthen the ability of savings and loan associations to compete with commercial banks so that more funds could be made available to finance mortgages. In response to another question you indicated the importance of taking positive steps to increase employment in the United States. Since a large portion of the loans made by commercial banks are to finance commerce and industry, I am concerned that a shift of funds to savings and loans might reduce the amounts available to finance business expansion. I urge you to consider carefully any changes to the delicate balance which exists between the needs of the various different types of financial institutions on a basis which reflects your view of overall national priorities.

You advocated the elimination of Regulation Q ceiling which would allow all depository institutions to increase the rate of interest paid on savings deposits. While I support such a proposal, I would like to point out that the likely effect of such a change would be to shift funds from savings and loan associations to commercial banks since the character of the assets of the latter institutions allows greater flexibility in bidding for deposit dollars. Such a shift would appear to be inconsistent with your apparent desire to stimulate mortgage lending.



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

3/22/76

Sister Patricia Pechauer
Justice and Peace Center
3900 N. Third Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212

Dear Sister Patricia,

Enclosed you will find an assortment of issues papers, including a transcript of Governor Carter's foreign policy address in Chicago, our position paper on Senate Bill 1, a transcript of the Democratic Issues Conference held in Louisville in November 1975, and an issues summary.

I apologize for the delay in responding to your questions. With the primaries coming weekly some things, unfortunately, do not receive the attention they deserve. I hope that these materials will enable you to formulate answers to your questions.

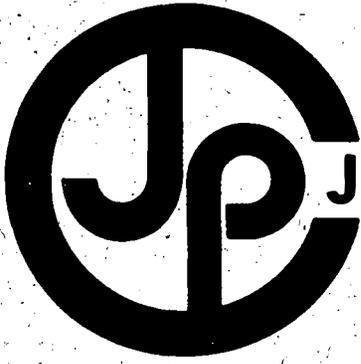
I hope that all your questions are answered. If you have any further needs or requests, please let us know immediately. Again, I apologize for the inconvenience we may have caused you and the Legislative Action Program.

Sincerely,

David E. Moran
David E. Moran
Issues Staff

Send no paper

due 3/18



JUSTICE & PEACE CENTER

3900 N. THIRD STREET • MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53212 • (414) 264-0800

19 December 1975

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign
Post Office Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Mr. Carter,

I am a member of the Legislative Action Program (LAP) of the Justice and Peace Center in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Our program consists of informing our constituents of relevant data and pending legislation and then mobilizing those constituents to monitor and lobby for socially just legislative proposals. We have a constituency of about 650 priests and sisters in some thirty-three states. Although 650 does not seem like a very large number, these persons are all engaged in service type positions that put them in constant contact with the public (teachers would be in contact with the other teachers as well as the parents of their children and so forth) and with other members of their respective religious communities.

We are interested in providing meaningful data to our constituents regarding the candidates in the presidential elections. To do this I have asked LAP team members to submit a few short questions regarding their issues so that someone in your organization could give us the positions you take. We think the questions deal with issues of paramount importance for the future of our country.

1. What is your position on reducing the annual defense budget?
(Please comment.)
2. How would you reduce the defense budget?
3. What is your stance on H.R.50, the Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act? Would you be willing to co-sponsor?

Louisville

Economy

Not/Mark

4. What is your stance on H.R.21, the Health Security Act of 1975? Would you be willing to co-sponsor?

5. What is your stance on H.R.8713, the "Illegal Alien" Bill? What is your position on illegal aliens?

Elderly

6. For what reasons would you encourage the ELDERLY to vote for you?

women

7. For what reasons would you encourage WOMEN to vote for you?

S.T.

8. What provisions would be of principal importance to you in shaping and supporting a codification of criminal law? Would you support S.1? H.R.10850?

Welfare

9. How would you propose to reform the Food Stamp Program?

10. What ways would you propose to bring about reform of the welfare system?

11. If you could determine the US response to the present worldwide scarcity of food and energy resources, what would it be? What programs would you implement or drop on the US policy level?

12. Do you favor multilateral or bilateral assistance programs in regard to countries that need outside assistance?

13. Recent controversial events in the United Nations have evoked negative response across the USA. What is your opinion on these events and the US response to them?

Do you believe the US ought to:

a. re-evaluate its commitment to the UN and consider withdrawing?

COMMENT

b. cut back general UN funding? COMMENT

c. cut back on US participation in multilateral programs such as World Food Council? COMMENT

d. continue to participate in the UN with the realization that we have to be increasingly sensitive to world demands for a new international economic order? COMMENT

Your responses will be shared with our constituents.

I would also appreciate being placed on your mailing list.

Sincerely,

Sister Patricia Pechauer

Sister Patricia Pechauer
for the LAP team



HARVEY I. SLOANE M.D.
MAYOR

D 2-7
2-7
Chap-
pls file

City of Louisville Kentucky

Office of the Mayor 40202

December 5, 1975

M. Ask Kirby
and/or G Bell to
comment on Sloa
suggestion.
Love
J.

Steve
Send issue papers
relating to for
govt - J

Governor Jimmy Carter
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Governor Carter:

It was a great pleasure to have you in Louisville for the National Democratic Issues Conference. I very much appreciate your taking part in this conference, and feel it was certainly a success--not only for Louisville and Kentucky, but for the Democratic Party as well. Your participation in the conference was a major asset and one which I consider to be a "highlight."

I wanted to offer my congratulations to you on your stand on revenue sharing which you offered at the Democratic Governors Conference. I would be very interested in receiving a copy of this paper on revenue sharing and also any other copies of position papers which you may have.

You are well aware of the impact that the busing issue had on the convention. Even though it was not formally placed on the convention agenda, nevertheless, busing was a topic of considerable interest among the delegates. I had asked the organizers of the convention to formally address the busing issue as part of the convention program, giving all sides a chance to state their views. They declined to do this, and so the issue unfortunately was forced on the convention by anti-busing demonstrations.

The emotional atmosphere that was created because of this left little room for any kind of reasonable discussion of the busing issue--the kind of discussion I think the Democratic Party must have if we are to effectively deal with this explosive question during the 1976 campaign. I want to take this opportunity to introduce you to a proposal I have made as a way of dealing with the busing issue.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

November 25, 1975

Governor James Carter
Plains, Georgia

Dear Jimmy:

I enclose some clippings, copies of which are going to Stu in Atlanta for file. Plus a LaRocque issue on Japanese defense. A question to think about further along.

The Manchester Guardian Weekly will be of even more interest to us now that they are carrying material from The Washington Post as well as the LeMonde.

It is difficult for me to tell you how much it meant to me to see you in action the other night and to be able to introduce Susanne to you and Rosalynn. After all, it has been many years since we have met face to face.

I noted with great interest that Steve Pace appointed you from the 3rd District. He appointed me too. He had some extra appointments when the Services were expanded and I grabbed one. The problem was I had never graduated from High School after so many years in Europe and those exams were a nightmare. I've sent a lot of copies of your book up North-- especially to young people. I find it entirely inspirational.

Would very much appreciate an hour or two with you in Plains on energy and related subjects. I can be down there any time from 6 December on at your convenience. Am presently carefully going over the ^{Senate} House Bill S. 622 (Energy) as marked-up in Joint Committee. I don't know what its ultimate fate will be at this point but in general, while meeting many of the provisos of the Administration's commitments under the International Energy Program (a boon for Kissinger in the mid-December meeting in France if it passes), it falls short of being anything like a comprehensive enunciation of U. S. energy policy. Enough though, perhaps, for all concerned to squeak through the electioneering process if not sharply challenged. I will undertake to provide you a concise outline of its provisions.*

Presently, I am under considerable mental pressure as my comprehensive exams approach and, as usual, for me, at any rate, am wondering if I really know very much about this new field of Political Science and Public

** In my Nov 7 presentation to the Southern Political Science Association in Nashville, I predicted the bill would not pass - Now, I am not so sure -*

Governor James Carter
Page 2
November 25, 1975

Administration that I am entering into, which brings me to my next point.

I enclose a brief summary of some views on your campaign expressed to me in several sessions by Professor George Parthemos--American Government and Democratic Theory. He was formerly Vice President for Instruction of the University and has long been connected with the Talmadge people. I can't vouch for the practicality of his suggestions but his observations at least have the force of some experience in the theoretical area. He is very supportive of you in any case, so I offer what he had to say in that light.

In my next letter I will "quarrel" a bit with you on your (reportedly) hard stance against strikes by government employees. My studies lead me to believe that there are now (1) too many public employees (not just "Federal") for such a position to be politically tenable and (2) a number of cogent reasons why all strikes by public employees need not be considered (or declared) illegal. But more on that later.

My best respects to Rosalynn. As always, my prayers accompany your efforts on our behalf.

Most sincerely,

Howard Bucknell, III

HB:js

cc: Stu (w/enclosures)

Enclosures

OUTLINE OF CARTER CAMPAIGN COMMENTS

BY

PROFESSOR GEORGE PARTHEMOS, UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

1. Southern Primaries - Must be emphasized above all others since the ability to "carry the South" is vital for Carter's nomination at the convention. But this does not necessarily require winning all Southern primaries.

2. Florida - It is a mistake now to predict a Carter victory over Wallace. Playing an "underdog" role in Florida would signal a "victory" for Carter if he gained 42% of the vote and Wallace got 45%. On the other hand, "shooting for winner" could end up with stigma of defeat even though votes were really enough to count as a victory at the convention.

3. Major States - Need more emphasis in campaign plans even if it means "dumping" some of the 30 primaries. Carter's chief danger lies now in getting drawn too thin--financially, emotionally, and physically. The 1972 primary trail "killed off" many good men. Problem (as Parthemos sees it) is that Carter campaigns well--likes campaigning--and may therefore campaign more than thinking out strategy. Humphrey neglected New York in 1972 and it cost him the nomination.

4. Reagan - Count on Reagan to weaken Wallace to some extent.

5. The Underdog Role - Again - Muskie won in New Hampshire. But McGovern, the "underdog" was expected to get less than 20% of the vote. He got something like 35% and, for practical convention purposes,

was the "real winner." Don't leave the underdog position too soon. This means working on the Press to prevent their flying off rosy estimates.

Comments - Dr. Parthemos stressed that "winning all those 30 primaries or even entering them simply wasn't necessary." Under questioning he agreed that the selection of the crucial primaries was the real key--but there it ended. Seemingly the ability to choose the crucial primaries goes beyond political theory and ends up in practical politics!

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

Captain Howard Bucknell, III, U.S. Navy (Retired)

Captain Bucknell was born in China as the son of a Foreign Service Officer. Educated in Yugoslavia and Switzerland as well as the Episcopal High School, Alexandria, Virginia, he graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1944 as a member of the class of 1945. Captain Bucknell served in LSMs and LSM(R)s during the World War II and commanded USS LSM(R)-514 in 1946. Subsequently, he served as Gunfire Support School Instructor and entered the Submarine Service in 1948. He served in the USS CUSK (SSG-348) as one of the first shipboard guided missile officers. Between 1952 and 1954 he acted as a technical aide specializing in underwater ordnance research in the Office of Naval Research. After serving as executive officer of USS POMFRET (SS-391), he commanded USS REMORA (SS-487) in 1956. Following this assignment he attended the Naval War College and subsequently served as a policy aide and section chief on Submarine Warfare on the Chief of Naval Operations' staff. In 1960 he was the commissioning captain of the nuclear-powered attack class submarine USS SNOOK (SSN-592). He commanded the Polaris submarine THEODORE ROOSEVELT (SSBN-600) from 1963 to 1967, and then became Chief of Nuclear Operations and Safety on the joint staff of the Commander in Chief, Pacific. From 1969 to 1970 he served as Assistant Chief of Staff for Administration in the Fourteenth Naval District. At the time of his

hospitalization and subsequent retirement in October 1971, he was Coordinator of Research, School of Naval Warfare, U.S. Naval War College, Newport, R. I. He obtained his Master's Degree in Political Science at the University of Georgia in 1974 and is pursuing further studies for a doctoral degree in that field. His current area of research is the political, public administration, policy development, and organizational aspects of the energy situation in this country and abroad. Captain Bucknell is the author of numerous professional articles and is the author of the third (current) edition of the U.S. Naval Institute book, Command at Sea. Current publications include "Modern Realities in Naval and Foreign Affairs," U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, December 1972; "Energy" in The World Trade Journal, November 1973; Energy Policy and Naval Strategy, SAGE Publications (forthcoming, 1976); "The Renewed Need for the Navy," U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings (forthcoming), and "Contending Ideologies and Politico-Economic Philosophies Underlying Energy Policy in the United States," Energy Communications, March 1976 (forthcoming).

Mr. Bucknell's major areas of doctoral training are Public Administration, Policy Analysis, and International Relations. His minor areas include Democratic Theory and American Government. He is currently teaching an undergraduate course in the latter field at the University of Georgia.

An article a day of enduring significance, in condensed permanent booklet form.

Wake Up! Wake Up!

The most famous living Russian author issues a warning to the people—and the government—of the United States.

In two extraordinary speeches delivered last summer—the first in Washington on June 30, the second in New York on July 9—Nobel Prize-winner Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn challenged the United States to reconsider the wisdom of the policy of détente. Delivered under the auspices of the AFL-CIO, the addresses were noteworthy not only because of their somber and uncompromising clarity, but because of the commanding credentials of the speaker: Solzhenitsyn is both the greatest Russian novelist of this century ("One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," "The First Circle," "August 1914") and the world's most eloquent former political prisoner ("The Gulag Archipelago" is his searing account of the Soviet penal system).

In October, The Reader's Digest published a condensation of Solzhenitsyn's first speech ("No More Concessions!"). Here is the second, an outspoken warning to the West that is as disturbing as it is persuasive.

BY
ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

IS IT POSSIBLE to transmit the experience of those who have suffered to those who have yet to suffer? Can one part of humanity learn from the bitter experience of

another? Is it possible to warn someone of danger?

How many witnesses have been sent to the West in the last 60 years? How many millions of persons? You know who they are: if not by their spiritual disorientation, their grief,

then by their accents, by their external appearance. Waves of immigrants, coming from different countries, have warned you of what is happening. But your proud skyscrapers point to the sky and say: It will never happen here. It's not possible here.

It can happen. It is possible. As a Russian proverb says: "When it happens to you, you'll know it's true."

Do we have to wait until the knife is at our throats? Isn't it possible to assess the menace that threatens to swallow the whole world? I was swallowed myself. I have been in the red burning belly of the dragon. He wasn't able to digest me. He threw me up. I come to you as a witness to what it's like there.

Communism has been writing about itself in the most open way for 125 years. It is perfectly amazing. The whole world can read but somehow no one wants to understand what communism is. Communism is as crude an attempt to explain society and the individual as if a surgeon were to perform his delicate operations with a meat-ax. All that is subtle in human psychology and the structure of society (which is even more delicate) is reduced to crude economic processes. This whole created being—man—is reduced to matter.

Communism has never concealed the fact that it rejects all absolute concepts of morality. It scoffs at "good" and "evil" as indisputable categories. Communism considers morality to be relative. Depending upon circum-

stances, any act, including the killing of thousands, could be good or bad. It all depends upon class ideology, defined by a handful of people. In this respect, communism has been most successful. Many people are carried away by this idea today. It is considered rather awkward to use seriously such words as "good" and "evil." But if we are to be deprived of these concepts, what will be left? We will decline to the status of animals.

Freedom's Tax. But what is amazing is that, apart from all the books, communism has offered a multitude of examples for modern man to see. The tanks have rumbled through Budapest and into Czechoslovakia. Communists have erected the Berlin Wall. For 14 years people have been machine-gunned there. Has the wall convinced anyone? No. We'll never have a wall like that. And the tanks in Budapest and Prague, they won't come here either. In the communist countries they have a system of forced treatment in insane asylums. Three times a day the doctors make rounds and inject substances into people's arms that destroy their brains. Pay no attention to it. We'll continue to live in peace and quiet here.

What's worst in the communist system is its unity, its cohesion. All the seeming differences among the communist parties of the world are imaginary. All are united on one point: *your social order must be destroyed.*

All of the communist parties, upon

achieving power, have become completely merciless. But at the stage before they achieve power, they adopt disguises. Sometimes we hear words such as "popular front" or "dialogue with Christianity." *Communists* have a dialogue with Christianity? In the Soviet Union this dialogue was a simple matter: they used machine guns. And last August, in Portugal, unarmed Catholics were fired upon by the communists. This is dialogue? And when the French and the Italian communists say that they are going to have a dialogue, let them only achieve power and we shall see what this dialogue will look like.

As long as in the Soviet Union, in China and in other communist countries there is no limit to the use of violence, how can you consider yourselves secure or at peace? I understand that you love freedom, but in our crowded world you have to pay a tax for freedom. You cannot love freedom just for yourselves and quietly agree to a situation where the majority of humanity is being subjected to violence and oppression.

The communist ideology is to destroy your society. This has been their aim for 125 years and has never changed; only the methods have changed. When there is détente, peaceful coexistence and trade, they will still insist: The ideological war must continue! And what is ideological war? It is a focus of hatred, a continued repetition of the oath to destroy the Western world.

I understand; it's only human that

persons living in prosperity have difficulty understanding the necessity of taking steps—here and now—to defend themselves. When your statesmen sign a treaty with the Soviet Union or China, you want to believe that it will be carried out. But the Poles who signed a treaty in Riga in 1921 with the communists also wanted to believe that the treaty would be carried out; they were stabbed in the back. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania signed treaties of friendship with the Soviet Union and wanted to believe that they would be carried out; these countries were swallowed.

And those who sign treaties with you now, at the same time give orders for sane and innocent people to be confined in mental hospitals and prisons. Why should they be different? Do they have any love for you? Why should they act honorably toward you while they crush their own people? The advocates of détente have never explained this.

You want to believe, and you cut down on your armies. You cut down on your research. You eliminated the Institute for the Study of the Soviet Union—the last genuine institute which actually could study Soviet society—because there wasn't enough money to support it. But the Soviet Union is studying you. They follow what's going on in your institutions. They visit Congressional committees; they study everything.

Nuclear Checkmate. The principal argument of the advocates of détente is that détente is necessary to

avoid nuclear war. But I think I can set your minds at ease: there will not be any nuclear war. Why should there be a nuclear war if for the last 30 years the communists have been breaking off as much of the West as they wanted, piece after piece? In 1975 alone, three countries in Indochina were broken off.

You have theoreticians who say: "The United States has enough nuclear weapons to destroy the other half of the world. Why should we need more?" Let the American nuclear specialists reason this way if they want, but the leaders of the Soviet Union think differently. In the SALT talks, your opponent is continually deceiving you. Either he is testing radar in a way which is forbidden by the agreement; or he is violating the limitations on the dimensions of missiles; or he is violating the conditions on multiple warheads.

Once there was no comparison between the strength of the U.S.S.R. and yours. Now theirs is becoming superior to yours. Soon the ratio will be 2 to 1. Then 5 to 1. With such a nuclear superiority it will be possible to block the use of your weapons, and on some unlucky morning they will declare: "Attention. We're marching our troops to Europe and, if you make a move, we will annihilate you." And this ratio of 2 to 1 or 5 to 1 will have its effect. You will not make a move.

A World of Crisis. In addition to the grave political situation in the world today, we are approaching a

major turning point in history. I can compare it only with the turning point from the Middle Ages to the modern era, a shift of civilizations. It is the sort of turning point at which the hierarchy of values to which we have been dedicated all our lives is starting to waver, and may collapse.

These two crises—the political and spiritual—are occurring simultaneously. It is our generation that will have to confront them. The leadership of your country will have to bear a burden greater than ever before. Your leaders will need profound intuition, spiritual foresight, high qualities of mind and soul. May God grant that you will have at the helm personalities as great as those who created your country.

Those men never lost sight of their moral bearings. They did not laugh at the absolute nature of the concepts of "good" and "evil." Their policies were checked against a moral compass. They never said, "Let slavery reign next door, and we will enter into détente with this slavery so long as it doesn't come over to us."

I have traveled enough through your country to have become convinced that the American heartland is healthy, strong, and broad in its outlook. And when one sees your free and independent life, all the dangers which I talk about indeed seem imaginary; in your wide-open spaces, even I get infected. But this carefree life cannot continue in your country or in ours. A concen-

tration of world evil, of hatred for humanity is taking place, and it is fully determined to destroy your society. Must you wait until it comes with a crowbar to break through your borders?

No More Shovels! We in the Soviet Union are born slaves. You were born free. Why then do you help our slaveowners? When they bury us in the ground alive, please do not send them shovels. Please do not send them the most modern earth-moving equipment.

The existence of our slaveowners from beginning to end depends upon Western economic assistance. What they need from you is absolutely indispensable. The Soviet economy has an extremely low level of efficiency. What is done here by a few people, by a few machines, in our country takes tremendous crowds of workers and enormous masses of materials. Therefore, the Soviet economy cannot deal with every problem at once: war, space, heavy industry, light industry, and at the same time feed and clothe its people. The forces of the entire Soviet economy are concentrated on war, where you won't be helping them. But everything that is necessary to feed the people, or for other types of industry, they get from you. You are helping the Soviet police state.

Our country is taking your assistance, but in the schools they teach and in the newspapers they write, "Look at the Western world, it's beginning to rot. Capitalism is breath-

ing its last. It's already dead. And our socialist economy has demonstrated once and for all the triumph of communism." I think that we should at last permit this socialist economy to prove its superiority. Let's allow it to show that it is advanced, that it is omnipotent, that it has overtaken you. Let us not interfere with it. Let us stop selling to it and giving it loans. Let it stand on its own feet for 10 or 15 years. Then we will see what it looks like.

I can tell you what it will look like. It will have to reduce its military preparations. It will have to abandon the useless space effort, and it will have to feed and clothe its own people. And the system will be forced to relax.

The Cold War—the war of hatred—is still going on, but only on the communist side. What is the Cold War? It's a war of abuse. They trade with you, they sign agreements and treaties, but they still abuse you, they still curse you. In the depths of the Soviet Union, the Cold War has never stopped for one second. They never call you anything but "American imperialists." Do I call upon you to return to the Cold War? By no means, Lord forbid! What for? The only thing I'm asking you to do is to stop helping the Soviet economy.

In ancient times, trade began with the meeting of two persons who would show each other that they were unarmed. As a sign of this each extended an open hand. This was the beginning of the handclasp. To

THE READER'S DIGEST

day's word "détente" means a relaxation of tension. But I would say that what we need is rather this image of the open hand.

Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States should be such that there would be no deceit in the question of armaments, that there would be no concentration camps, no psychiatric wards for healthy people. Relations should be such that there would be an end to the incessant ideological warfare

waged against you and that an address such as mine today would in no way be an exception. People would be able to come to you from the Soviet Union and from other communist countries and tell you the truth about what is going on. This would be, I say, a period in which we would truly be able to present "open hands" to each other.

For information on reprints of this article, see page 12

Caught in Passing

OVERHEARD at party: "Artificial mistletoe works as good as the real thing."

—Hugh Allen in *Knoxville News-Sentinel*

MAN to man: "A few years ago, a mad scientist needed an atomic bomb to destroy the earth. Now, all he needs is an aerosol can."

—Contributed by Jeffrey Floyd

ON AN Atlanta bus: "The reason it doesn't snow here is that we have so many transplanted Yankees forever praying for it not to."

—*Atlanta Journal*

IN Washington, D.C.: "He's one of those guys who looks down on those above him."

—Morrie Brickman, *King Features*

GIRL to girl: "If he ate his heart out, he'd break a tooth."

—Arnold H. Glasow

ON THE picket line: "Is he an agitator? He's siding with the British in the Bicentennial!"

—"Kup's Column" in *Chicago Sun-Times*

Continued Story. An anecdote of mine was published in *Medical Economics*. It told how I'd knocked on a front door to make a house call and the woman said, "You've got the wrong address, but come in anyway. I feel terrible." The Reader's Digest reprinted the story and, not long after, my nurse received a call from a patient who wanted to know if I was the Dr. Eyer in the magazine. My nurse confirmed that I was. "Well," said the patient, "does he still make house calls?"

—Kenneth M. Eyer, M.D., in *Medical Economics*

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NEWS AND COMMENT

Energy Research: A Harsh Critique Says Federal Effort May Backfire

The Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) is pursuing "a narrow, hardware-oriented approach" that overemphasizes the importance of increasing energy supplies through complex, new technologies and largely ignores the possibilities of conservation and small-scale technical solutions. As a result, the agency's programs could, ironically, lead to "an increased dependence on foreign energy sources" between now and the year 2000—the very opposite of the goal enunciated by President Gerald Ford and by ERDA itself.

That surprising conclusion and sharp indictment comes from the congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), which has just completed a comprehensive review of the energy agency's national plan for energy R & D and of the programs launched to achieve the plan's objectives.

The review was requested by the House Committee on Science and Technology, later joined by the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. All three have major responsibilities for portions of the ERDA budget.

The analysis was carried out for OTA by six panels of experts drawn from academic, industrial, and nonprofit institutions; environmental and public interest groups; and

professional societies.* These panels were backed up by staff members drawn partly from OTA itself, and partly from three universities with active centers for energy policy analysis, namely the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Oklahoma, and the University of Texas at Austin. In addition, critiques and background papers were solicited from outside groups and individuals. It was unquestionably the most thorough look yet taken at the fledgling energy agency's goals and programs.

In ERDA's defense, it should be pointed out that the agency only became operational on 19 January of this year, and that it was required to submit to Congress by 30 June a national plan for energy research, development, and demonstration. That was barely enough time to find new quarters and hire some key personnel, let alone develop an imaginative, pathfinding plan to solve the much-deplored "energy crisis." Thus it is perhaps not surprising that much of the ERDA effort consists of warmed-over programs inherited from the predecessor agencies that were merged into ERDA, notably the Atomic Energy Commission and the energy portions of the Interior Department. But the OTA evaluators, while sympathizing with the difficulties confronting the new agency, never-

theless pulled few punches because of the immense importance of the agency's task.

The evaluators focused much of their attention on the documents known as ERDA 48, volumes 1 and 2—the "national plan" that was submitted to Congress a few months ago. Volume 1 articulates goals and priorities, while volume 2 sets forth programs to achieve those goals. In general, the evaluators found volume 1 "a significant milestone in the evolution of a long-term national energy policy," though some of the goals were poorly analyzed and appeared to conflict with one another. However, volume 2 was judged markedly inferior and "does not appear adequate to achieve the stated goals," the OTA group concluded.

The evaluators also went beyond the "national plan" and analyzed the President's amended budget, interviewed senior ERDA officials, and talked with key energy staff members from the Environmental Protection Agency, the Federal Energy Administration, and the Office of Management and Budget as well.

They found scores of "deficiencies" which generally fell into two broad categories. One involved an overemphasis on complex, costly technology—the sort of fancy gadgetry that tends to appeal to scientists and engineers, who are often bored by "low technology" approaches to a problem. In OTA's opinion, ERDA has downgraded the less complex technologies that might improve efficiency of energy use, and it has largely ignored such "non-technological" issues as incentives for commercial application, environmental constraints, competition for the use of scarce resources, and public resistance.

The evaluators warn that ERDA might well be successful in developing new technologies, but that these might do little to solve energy problems. As an example, they call it "questionable planning . . . for ERDA to pour large amounts of funds into the development of a commercially fea-

*The overview panel, which prepared a summary of the conclusions to be drawn from the work of the other panels and outside contributors, was chaired by Paul Craig, director of the University of California's Council on Energy and Resources. Other members were Elizabeth Mann Borghese, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions; John H. Gibbons, University of Tennessee; Jerry Grey, independent consultant; Stanford S. Penner, University of California at San Diego; David J. Rose, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Robert Socolow, Princeton University; Alan M. Weinberg, Institute for Energy Analysis; and Wendell H. Wiser, University of Utah. The staff was headed by Jon M. Vogel. Separate panels dealt with fossil programs; nuclear energy; solar, geothermal, and advanced technologies; conservation; and environment and health.

Solar Reports Evoke Cloudy Response

Sunny, cloudless skies should not be a major criterion for determining where to locate the new Solar Energy Research Institute, according to two advisory reports submitted to the Energy Research and Development Administration.

Both the National Academy of Sciences and an industry group assembled by The Mitre Corporation agreed that easy access to transportation and the kind of environment that would attract topflight personnel are the two most important factors to consider in siting the facility, which is rapidly becoming the most sought-after pork-barrel prize on the scientific scene.

Sunlight, on the other hand, is not such a necessity, as much of the institute's work will involve policy analysis or simulation experiments, while field stations can be established for work that must be carried out under particular climatic conditions.

The two advisory reports are sure to cause consternation among states that hoped a high degree of sunlight would help them snare the new facility, and in locales where living conditions and cultural amenities might be deemed insufficient to attract a high-caliber staff.

The two reports are intended to assist the energy agency in developing site criteria and in defining a role and management organization for the new institute, which was mandated under legislation passed by Congress last year. The agency plans to issue a formal solicitation for proposals in November, after which interested parties will have at least 45 days to submit site proposals. A final selection is expected to be announced next April or May.

The initial site evaluation will be administered by a new office established for that purpose; it is headed by Robert P. McGee, a senior engineer who previously helped establish the Los Alamos Meson Physics Facility and the Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory. The final choice is to be made by agency administrator Robert Seamans, Jr., through procedures not yet fully developed.

Detailed Recommendations

The two advisory reports were presented to Congress at a hearing of the energy subcommittee of the House Science and Technology Committee on 22 October. The Academy report—prepared by a committee headed by physicist Richard L. Garwin of the IBM Corporation—recommended a single central institute with small field stations, employing some 630 professionals in all, and operating on an annual budget of some \$48 million, to be provided by the energy agency in the form of block funding rather than project grants. The Academy went into considerable detail in recommending how the staff, management, and board of directors should be organized.

The Mitre report, a quickie survey of some 16 organizations that are members of the fledgling "solar energy industry," came up with a variety of opinions about the new institute and what it should do. "The outstanding characteristic of the responses of the industry was their diversity," Mitre reported.

Interestingly enough, several industry respondents were "strongly opposed" to university participation in the new facility's management, whereas the Academy recommended that the facility be run by a board of directors elected by "a parent body whose members in turn are a number of universities and similar institutions." The Academy also suggested a role for itself in nominating directors.

Questions by congressmen at the hearing revealed concern that the management structure suggested by the Academy might be unwieldy and might insulate the institute from proper accountability. There was also concern that the site criteria proposed might unreasonably rule out localities that were more than an hour's drive from a jetport or that lacked some ill-defined "cultural amenities."

As to fears that the White House might dictate the site selection for political reasons, officials of the energy agency, the Academy, and Mitre all insisted they had not been contacted by the White House. "We want to assure that no citizen or organization is allowed to have a preferred position, or even appear to have knowledge which would give an unfair advantage over any other organization or person," pledged John M. Teem, the agency's assistant administrator for solar, geothermal, and advanced energy systems.—P.M.B.

sible technology for coal liquefaction if the technology cannot then be used—because coal mines cannot supply the coal, transportation facilities are inadequate, capital is unavailable, or water is insufficient.

The second category of defect involved an overemphasis on increasing the supply of energy as opposed to programs aimed at reducing demand for energy. Unfortunately, although Congress, by law, has required that energy conservation be "a primary consideration" in developing ERDA's program, only 2 percent of the cent of the ERDA budget appears to be allocated to conservation programs.

These criticisms are similar to some of those made earlier this year in a report to the Joint Economic Committee by Robert Gilpin, professor of public and international affairs at Princeton University. Gilpin challenged the government's efforts to find a "quick fix" to the energy problem through a "highly questionable approach to technological innovation." Instead of relying on a technology-oriented "crash program" such as was used to develop the atomic bomb or send men to the moon, he said, the government should concentrate on reducing the numerous financial, market, and technical constraints which inhibit the private sector from finding solutions to energy problems. Instead of developing technologies and then trying to "push" them on the economy, he suggested, the government should try to unleash the demand forces that would "pull" needed technologies into use.

The OTA panelists, for their part, came up with a host of more specific criticisms, including the following:

- The ERDA plan pays little attention to solutions that might have an impact over the next 10 years; only about 5 percent of the agency's budget for fiscal year 1976 is devoted to solving near-term problems.

- The plan overemphasizes electrification, which has many advantages but is vulnerable to equipment malfunction and sabotage and has adverse environmental impacts. It emphasizes breeder reactors, solar electric systems, and fusion reactors as "inexhaustible" energy sources for the long term, all of which are capital-intensive producers of electricity. Meanwhile, it tends to neglect production of synthetic fuels by solar or nuclear energy; hydrogen and biomass fuels; and direct use of solar, geothermal, and other direct heat sources—solutions which may not have the ultimate potential of the "inexhaustibles" but could be "vital ingredients in the future energy mix."

- Conservation plans are "timid and underfunded, despite strong Congressional encouragement."

- ERDA's efforts to integrate environmental control research into its technology development programs seems "at present illusory." This is dangerous because "There is a significant risk inherent in the totality of ERDA's mission. The impact on climatic balance of massive increases in heat rejection to the atmosphere by man is unknown but potentially catastrophic."

- The level of funding for energy R & D may be too low, since it is an outgrowth of decisions made prior to the Arab oil embargo.

- Insufficient emphasis is placed on international cooperation, and on coordination with state and local governments.

- Only limited attention is given to research and analysis on social, economic, environmental, and behavioral aspects of the energy problem.

- ERDA's basic research program has been inherited from the agencies it incorporated, with the result that virtually all funds are devoted to nuclear power and high energy science, while materials, combustion, fuel chemistry, and other dis-

ciplines crucial to ERDA are neglected.

- The methodology used in developing the ERDA plan relies on scenarios based on questionable assumptions. The possibility of a major reduction in energy growth because of higher costs is not taken into account. Moreover, the calculated capital costs for energy systems include only supply side costs and exclude consumer costs. Thus, ERDA's programs are biased in the direction of research to decrease supply costs while minimizing research to reduce capital costs of such end-use items as refrigerators, heat pumps, and solar home-heating systems.

- ERDA has shown "timidity" and a reluctance to assume its mandated role as the "lead agency" for energy R & D. The consequences could be costly because three separate federal agencies are now exploring technologies for coal cleanup and there is a danger that agencies "might work at cross purposes."

ERDA has not yet made an official response to the OTA criticisms, but many ERDA officials are said to agree with the

major thrust of the OTA critique. Thus J. Frederick Weinhold, director of ERDA's office of technical program assessments, told *Science* there is "a lot of pulling and tugging" within the agency over whether ERDA should take a broader approach to energy problems. He expects that the next version of the plan will give greater emphasis to commercialization and environmental issues, though not necessarily to all the nontechnological issues stressed by OTA, some of which, he feels, may more appropriately fall within the purview of other federal agencies. Similarly, Weinhold anticipates some efforts to increase the attention paid to end-use technologies. "We inherited programs with a lot of bucks and people on the supply side," he says, "but only minuscule things on the end-use consumption side."

Whatever ERDA does about the broader, nonhardware issues, the OTA panelists warn, "there can be no question of their importance. . . . Most are not, at present, receiving priority attention anywhere."

—PHILIP M. BOFFEY

Amniocentesis: HEW Backs Test for Prenatal Diagnosis of Disease

The federal government, taking a bold position on a controversial medical issue, has put its stamp of approval on amniocentesis, the procedure by which genetic disorders can be detected in a fetus before birth. The government's endorsement rests on the results of a 4-year study of more than 2000 women that indicates that amniocentesis is safe. The endorsement is likely to inflame "right-to-life" groups that see amniocentesis as the first step down the road to abortion (see box on p. 538).

The study, which was conducted by researchers at nine major medical centers,* was coordinated and supported by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD). The study was designed to answer two basic questions about the use of amniocentesis during the middle 3 months of pregnancy.

*The participating institutions were: Children's Memorial Hospital, Chicago; Eunice Kennedy Shriver Center, Boston; Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, Baltimore; Mount Sinai School of Medicine, New York; University of California at Los Angeles Harbor General Hospital, Torrance; University of California School of Medicine, San Diego; University of Michigan School of Medicine, Ann Arbor; University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, Philadelphia; Yale University School of Medicine, New Haven.

Is it safe? Is it accurate? On both counts, the investigators say, the answer is Yes. Their findings were reported in detail recently at the American Academy of Pediatrics meeting in Washington, D.C.

Theodore Cooper, assistant secretary for health in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), spoke about policy implications of the study. Reading from a text drafted by Duane Alexander, a pediatrician who, with Charles U. Lowe, was an NICHD staff officer on the study, Cooper noted that "Few advances compare with amniocentesis in their capability for prevention of disability." He went on to declare, ". . . It is most appropriate for the Public Health Service, as a matter of policy, to foster use of amniocentesis by those women for whom it is indicated by educating both physicians and the public as to the availability and applicability of the technique and, based on the results of this study, its safety." Cooper also stated unequivocally that no one should coerce a woman into having the procedure.

The number of women for whom amnio-

centesis might be appropriate is enormous—perhaps as many as 400,000 a year. But the number who have it is small. Last year, mid-trimester amniocentesis was performed on only 3000 women in the United States. Dr. Aubrey Milunsky, director of the birth defects and genetics clinic at the Eunice Kennedy Shriver Center in Boston, estimates that 20,000 babies with birth defects are born every year. In 1974, he says, only 100 or so were detected in utero. Not all, but many others, could have been.

There are two groups of people who look on midtrimester amniocentesis with distrust—antiabortionists and practicing physicians, primarily obstetricians. Antiabortionists oppose amniocentesis because they reason that, except in very rare cases, the only thing one can offer a woman who is carrying a defective child is an abortion. Indeed, when Cooper referred to amniocentesis as a valuable tool for preventive medicine, what he meant, but did not spell out, is that genetic disorders can be prevented only by aborting fetuses that have them. Researchers who have devoted tremendous effort during the past 7 years to the development of prenatal diagnosis of birth defects are the first to admit that, for now, there isn't much they can offer by way of therapy. Just the same, therapy is their real, ultimate goal, and they are moving slowly in that direction.

Where abortion is not an issue, practicing obstetricians have had another reason for shying away from amniocentesis—

Surprisingly strong Carter challenges Wallace in Florida

By John Dillin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Orlando, Florida

Jimmy Carter of Georgia suddenly poses a serious election threat to Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace in the important Florida presidential primary.

Mr. Carter's rapidly growing strength in Florida emerged Nov. 16 when he captured 67 percent of the vote among 1,413 Democratic Party activists at the Florida bicentennial Democratic presidential convention.

The vote at the convention was a landslide for Governor Carter. Governor Wallace won only 5 percent.

Ten percent of the delegates, many Wallace supporters among them, voted no preference. Subsequently many Wallace supporters were trying to down play the importance of the Florida conference, saying it was too early to be a valid test of the political wind.

Party insiders say Mr. Carter has emerged from a large field of Democratic contenders as the major challenger to Mr. Wallace in Florida, where the Alabama Governor was expected to win handily.

It was Florida which gave Mr. Wallace his



AP photo

Carter gains in Florida

most important boost in the 1972 Democratic primary elections. A Wallace defeat here would almost certainly be seen as a serious setback — and at the same time, boost Mr. Carter to a front-runner in the race for the presidential nomination.

* Please turn to Page 12

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Nov 17, 1975

Monday, November 17, 1975

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

★ Carter challenges Wallace in Florida

Continued from Page 1

The vote at the Florida convention indicates the Carter strategy, planned 18 months ago, is proving effective.

Mr. Carter has given the Florida primary (along with New Hampshire) top priority. He has stumped through here on 23 trips this year — more than all of his opponents combined.

This Carter strategy is based on several assumptions:

1. That George Wallace will again run strongly in Florida, perhaps getting the same vote as in 1972 (42 percent).

2. That most other candidates will shy away from a confrontation with Mr. Wallace in Florida. This assumption is based on the results in 1972, when the second-place finisher (Hubert H. Humphrey) for example, was able to garner only 18 percent of the votes.

3. That with the other major candidates bluffed out of the race here, Mr. Carter can consolidate most non-Wallace voters behind his campaign, and equal — or even beat — the Wallace turnout.

Votes from all across Florida are swinging behind the Carter campaign according to a number of Democratic officials.

Nikki Beare of the Dade County (Miami) Democratic executive committee says many delegates came to the convention uncommitted but were impressed by Mr. Carter's "sincerity, directness, candor, and hard work."

They also liked the fact that Mr. Carter is "not out of Washington, D.C. — a real product of the grass roots."

There is also a dash of political practicality in Democratic support for Mr. Carter in Florida. A number of Democratic officials said

they frankly did not agree with everything the former Georgia Governor has to say. But they are backing the only candidate they see who has a chance to defeat Mr. Wallace here.

"I don't agree with Carter on all the issues, but this is one time we need to back a candidate that can be a national winner," says the Democratic chairman of one of the largest counties.

Governor Carter, sensing victory at the convention here, told delegates that the Florida primary "has boiled down to a two-person race" between himself and Mr. Wallace.

The most serious race outside the Carter and Wallace camp is coming from U.S. Sen. Henry M. Jackson.

Eric Sisser of Miami, the Florida coordinator for the Jackson campaign, says the Senator had a natural constituency in Florida including the heavy Jewish vote in the Miami area.

Senator Jackson will concentrate his campaigning in Florida in those areas where he has the greatest opportunity to collect national convention delegates with the lowest expenditure of campaign funds: the Tampa-St. Petersburg area and the east coast stretch from Palm Beach to Miami. Using this strategy, Mr. Jackson hopes to win as many as 15 of the state's 81 delegates, said Mr. Sisser.

The outlook is worse for other contenders in Florida. Some of them apparently will avoid the state altogether.

"One or two of the other candidates might do something later in Florida, but personally I doubt it," said one delegate here. "Right now it looks like Carter and Wallace, and maybe Jackson — that's it."

55 C&C&C

Standard Oil Company (Indiana) reported estimated 1975 nine-month earnings of \$591.2 million, a decrease of 26 per cent from the \$795.5 million earned in the corresponding period of 1974. Standard's total direct taxes, excluding excise taxes, increased 52 per cent to \$1,268 million from \$849 million in the same period of 1974. Revenues were \$8.3 billion, up from \$7.4 billion in 1974.

Earnings per share for the first nine months of 1975 amounted to \$4.03 compared with primary earnings of \$5.67 and fully-diluted earnings of \$5.45 for the same period a year ago. In 1975 primary and fully-diluted earnings are identical since all outstanding convertible debentures were redeemed or converted in late 1974. (The 1974 per share figures have been restated to reflect a 100 per cent stock distribution made in Dec. 1974.)

Third quarter earnings were down 28 per cent to \$213 million, or \$1.45 a share. This compares with earnings of \$296.5 million, or primary earnings of \$2.11 and fully-diluted earnings of \$2.03 per share in 1974. Revenues were \$2.9 billion compared with \$2.6 billion during the same period in 1974.

Chairman John E. Swearingen said the earnings decline reflects the impact of higher U.S. and foreign taxes, and lower chemical and marine transportation earnings. Only partially offsetting were improved crude and natural gas prices and higher foreign production. Also adversely affecting 1975 nine-month results was the absence of overseas inventory gains generated in 1974 by the sharp increase in petroleum prices in late 1973 and early 1974.

Standard Oil Co. - Indiana - (Shell) The Indianapolis
11/23/75

Revamped Wallace goes into action

by Jonathan Steele in Washington

The Manchester Guardian

Nov 23, 1975

George Wallace last week announced his fourth attempt for the Presidency. Although he becomes the 10th Democrat to declare his ambition openly, the Alabama Governor has been running for longer than anyone else.

In many ways this year offers him his best chance. He has collected more money than any other candidate and has set up a bigger organisation than most. With \$2½ millions already in his coffers, he stands to get an equivalent amount from the federal Government under the controversial new campaign law.

Mr Wallace has also gained considerably more respectability than ever before, partly by softening his rhetoric from the out-and-out segregationist days and partly by getting top national politicians to recognise him. His success at persuading Mr Wilson to see him on his recent visit to Europe, although Chancellor Schmidt and President Giscard found it possible to avoid him, is being touted as a triumph by his supporters.

Since the cutting short of his Presidential effort in 1972 by a would-be assassin's bullet, Mr Wallace has hosted then-President Nixon as well as Senators Edward Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, and Henry Jackson in his

home town of Montgomery, Alabama.

If these people thought that Mr Wallace was a man whom they could safely patronise from the waist down, they were undoubtedly making a big mistake. He and his staff claim that his health is no bar to the Presidency: it is certainly no bar to his running.

He intends to campaign in almost every primary, except the first one in New Hampshire, an avoidance that may be a clever move designed to let the other Democratic candidates knock each other out. Mr Wallace is also smart enough to realise that there is no obvious interest for him to capitalise on there. Massachusetts a week later in early March is a different story. The furious tension there over school busing this autumn is an ideal issue for him.

Then comes Florida where he hopes to defeat the relatively liberal former Governor, Jimmy Carter, who has been showing surprising strength recently in the Mid-West. Wallace wants to show that the Old South is stronger than the New. Besides Florida, Presidential primaries have been scheduled for the first time this year in six Southern and border states: Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas.

If the Governor does well there, as

seems inevitable, he will come to the national convention with a solid block of delegates whatever happens elsewhere. He may also do well outside the South. It is easy to forget that before his campaign abruptly ended last time, he had won the Maryland and Michigan primaries and almost done so in Wisconsin.

This time as in 1972, he is running for the Democratic ticket, and disclaims any interest in a third-party campaign. With this theme "Trust in the People" he announced his candidacy in a crowded suburban motel in Montgomery.

He then made his expected attacks on detente as "one-sided," lenient judges, the "folly of forced busing," and the alleged US role as "global donor of welfare to nations who take our aid and turn their backs on us."

The main new note and one which shows how anxiously he wants to appeal to the mainstream, was the appearance of a new Wallace, the globe-trotting statesman. He admitted he had "mixed feelings" about federal aid to New York and might support it.

New too was his emphasis on the "middle class." In the old days Wallace described himself as a working man's candidate.

Last week he said: "It is time we

offered the great middle class someone they can vote for and not against. In the past the national Democratic Party has been taken over by the exotic Left."

Nevertheless Wallace's health is bound to be a key factor, however he tries to divert attention.

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Mon., Nov. 24, 1975 The Atlanta Journal 9

Oil Hike Effects Seen Easing

WASHINGTON (AP) — The worst effects of recent increased oil prices are over and the Western industrialized nations should gradually adjust, Brookings Institution analysts say.

A study released Sunday by the private research organization concludes: "In the long run, paying today's high oil prices need not prevent these countries from resuming a healthy rate of economic expansion and should have only a modest effect on the growth of living standards."

The analysts reported that the recessionary and inflationary consequences of the 1973 oil price increase have peaked and should diminish steadily over the next several years.

The report, entitled "Higher Oil Prices and the World Economy," says that by 1980 the cost of foreign oil will be nearly offset for the U.S. economy through increased job-creating export activity and by investment in domestic energy sources.

But instead of growing 19 to 20 per cent between 1973 and

1980 as it would have if oil prices had stayed at their pre-1973 price, the U.S. standard of living may grow only 16 to 17 per cent, said one analyst.

Charles L. Schultze of Brookings wrote: "Living standards will not be 2.5 per cent lower than now, but 2.5 per cent lower than they would have been by 1980."

There will also be a shift of wealth within the United States from consumers to domestic energy producers, but the proper way to deal with this is through higher taxes, such as a windfall tax on oil profits, said Schultze, who was President Lyndon B. Johnson's budget director.

The report contends that about half of the deep recession that began last year is attributable to a four-fold increase in world oil prices and the failure of Western planners to cushion their economies from it.

Schultze said that the United States and other nations overreacted to the threat of infla-

tion and failed to foresee potentials for recession.

"All over the world, we completely sacrificed employment to keep inflation down," he told a news conference. Had officials known how severe the recession would be, they probably would have accepted higher inflation and done more to stimulate employment, he said.

A second Brookings editor, Edward R. Fried, said: "There

is reason to think there will be a gradual erosion of price" for oil, brought about by reduced demand in Western countries and greater supplies from outside the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

The study called fears that OPEC would become so rich it could disrupt financial markets and buy up Western industries "greatly overstated."

If real growth continues at

normal levels, "the proportion of the world's capital stock accumulated by the oil-exporting countries would neither grow indefinitely nor become intolerably large," it said.

In a chapter written by Brookings economist George L. Perry in November 1974 before the Federal Reserve Board began a more expansive money supply policy and before the 1975 tax cuts and bates, a more pessimistic view was sounded.

'They Keep Saying We're Going to Run Out, but We keep Finding More'

Boom Times Again in Oil City

By Bill Richards.

The oil that has drawn Wood's enthusiasm and the interest of other corporate and private drillers in the last few years here is a thin, greenish-colored substance that doesn't gush from the ground like it does from deep wells in Texas and Oklahoma.

Instead, it seeps into thousands of shallow wells that have been punched down through the hillsides and stands of white oak that surround this area, rising to the surface at an average rate of a quarter of a barrel a day.

Pennsylvania crude oil is high in paraffin and lubricants unlike Western oil, which is primarily composed of an asphalt base and is low in lubricants. Most western oil goes into the production of gasoline, but here the oil usually ends up being refined as motor oil and machinery lubricants.

There are no million-barrel gushers here, raining down black gold on the heads of dancing wildcatters. Instead, oil wells discreetly scattered across the countryside are known as "strip wells," and they are tapped about the way a Vermont farmer taps his sugar maples — a trickle at a time.

Quaker State, the most active oil producer in the area, relies on these strip wells for more than 80 per cent of the 20,000 barrels it refines daily.

There have been advantages and disadvantages to this low profile.

When the big oil fields of the Southwest began to open up in the 1920s and 1930s, much of the action shifted away from here. The hordes of prospectors, speculators, lease buyers, drillers and general hangers-on that go with an oil boom drifted West. Big refiners such as Pennzoil moved their headquarters from Oil City to Houston.

Left behind was a slumping business dependent on low-volume wells that appeared to be drying up. The discovery in the early 1960s of a method of removing additional oil

at that price."

from wells believed to be almost worked out still left the problem of mounting production costs eating up the profits from the relative trickle of oil coming from the ground.

"There was a time when nearly everybody around here owned at least one oil well on the side," said Blaine Luke, a 59-year-old area native who owns 150 wells on his 350-acre farm.

Luke dropped out of the oil business full-time in 1970 because, he said, "oil was selling for \$3 a barrel and no matter how hard you try with the cost of things you just can't make her work

tive to operate and spurred the drilling and exploration of new wells.

After work these days, Luke and his 20-year-old son, Clark, tinker with the rusty machinery that can pump eight wells simultaneously. For an hour each night the two run the pumps and watch as each well grudgingly gives up a single barrel of oil.

The painstaking process, Luke said, is paying off. In the last year the two have tripled their income from their part-time oil business to \$6,000.

"If the government just leaves the price alone," said the small gray-haired driller as he watched the long rusty push rods that connect the wells with the pumping engine squeaking back and forth, "I just may end up being able to retire with a little money after all."

The Allegheny Sandstone Area 23/975 - Report for Washington Post

OIL CITY:Pa. — It is not the place it used to be — and probably never will be again — but fortunes still rise and fall by the liquid barometer of oil here near the spot where it all began.

Just a couple of Allegheny foothills away, about 15 miles up a road now lined with fat, round, bulk oil storage tanks and the stacks of refineries, is the site of the world's first oil well — a 2,000-barrel-a-year producer when it was drilled in 1859 by an unemployed railway conductor, Edwin Laurentine Drake.

Since Drake's momentous find there have been good times and some bad times here. But now, with oil bringing more than \$12 a barrel, things are once again looking up in Oil City. There is new construction under way, including a multi-tiered parking garage and a \$6 million building for the Quaker State Oil Refining Corp., one of two refiners with headquarters here.

Last year Quaker State drilled 444 wells in a swath known as the Penngrade area, running from western New York to West Virginia and Ohio. Oil exploration and production have kept the unemployment level here at 6.7 per cent, less than either the state or national average.

A general air of optimism prevails as a result of the sprucing up in this grimy little city (population 16,000) nestled near a bend in the Allegheny River. "This city," Chamber of Commerce official Richard Blouse proclaimed recently, "seems to be going through a revival."

The source of this optimism is the knowledge that locked in a bed of sandstone about 800 feet beneath the surface of the Penngrade area is a storehouse of millions of barrels of high-grade crude oil.

"They keep saying we're going to run out, but we keep finding more," said Quaker State Corp. President Quentin E. Wood, an enthusiastic petroleum engineer who has been with his company for 27 years. "The oil is there," he said. "Yes sir, it sure is there."

Anthony Sampson

US Accomplices of OPEC?

Reprint from
Washington Post

How seriously should we take the current frenzy of hostility to the big oil companies?

On the face of it, at least to a European student of oil politics, the situation is baffling. On the one hand Congress appears to be on the warpath more ferociously than at any time since the late nineteenth century. The Senate has come near to voting to break up the big companies, with 45 senators committed to it. All likely Democratic candidates are opposed to Big Oil except (surprise!) Lloyd Bentsen of Texas. The popular distrust of the companies seems to be even greater than at the time of the embargo two years ago.

On the other hand, any practical plan to limit the powers of the giant companies seems a long way off. The proposals for setting up a federal oil corporation — whether from Senator Stevenson or President Ford — seem unlikely to bear fruit, or to achieve great popular support. The present distrust of bureaucracy, and of regulatory agencies does not encourage the setting up of a further state body, and anyone looking at the government's own oil policies over the past few years must admit that they have been scarcely more creditable than the companies' own performance.

The argument that breaking up the companies within the United States will in itself bring down prices is not very convincing. Nor is it clear that it is in the long-term interests of the United States to bring down the price, unless consumption can be cut down by some other controls. Many politicians, while publicly campaigning for a roll-back, have really come to terms with the high price, in which case the important question is whether the companies should be allowed to retain the extra profits for investment in other energy sources. But this question too has become bogged down in the general skepticism about Federal bodies.

Is the current mood then simply an extreme manifestation of the familiar ambivalence in attitudes to big oil? Ever since Rockefeller oil has generated a popular fury at the power of the corporations over men's lives, followed by an eventual resignation to the lack of any practical alternative. Much of that hatred was directed not so much against the price of oil, as to the whole concept of giant corporations, summed up in that terrifying dictum of Rockefeller: 'The day of combination is here to stay. Individualism has gone, never to return.' With Exxon now the biggest corporation in the world, as its grandfather Standard Oil was in the last century, the concern for individualism still remains a potent political force.

But there is also, I believe, a very powerful rational argument, as opposed to the emotional reaction, against the power of the giant oil corporations, and particularly against the 'Seven Sisters'

who still dominate the world oil market, as they have for the past fifty years. The argument does not concern their internal position within the United States, so much as their global role, and particularly their relationship with OPEC. And the political distrust of the Seven Sisters is more than a revival of the familiar hatred of the trusts and combinations; it is also a rational reaction to the extension of corporate power to the world scale.

The most serious case against the companies, I believe, rests on their inability or reluctance to do anything to disrupt the OPEC cartel, and their willingness to serve as the instruments of allocation and pro-rationing by the OPEC countries to maintain their high price. It is one thing for the United States (like Britain) to decide that the present high price may be advisable. It is quite another thing to accept that the price should continue to be fixed by thirteen countries. And it is very difficult indeed to accept that the thirteen countries should use the seven sisters — five of them American-based

Anthony Sampson is author of The Seven Sisters, a study of the oil industry

— as the agents of their cartel, without any apparent attempts to disrupt it.

It is odd to look back on the development, or non-development, of American ideas about OPEC since the oil crisis first broke two years ago. First there were confident predictions, by William Simon at the Treasury and the prophets of free enterprise, that the market mechanism would show itself as the shortage disappeared. Then there were hopeful stories of the shiekdoms having to cut their prices. Then there were thinly veiled threats from State and Pentagon about landings and sanctions. And then, a month ago, OPEC pushed up their price again.

In such mystery-stories, as Sherlock Holmes would advise, it is important to look at the negative clues: the dogs that did not bark. When the OPEC price went up again, there was one group that was very noticeably silent in the general hubbub of protest — the oil companies. They said nothing, because they could not risk offending the countries which have in effect become their closest partners in their concessions. Sheikh Yamani in fact had achieved what he had set out to do, seven years ago, to forge an 'indissoluble marriage' between the companies and the countries.

It is this marriage which now constitutes the most awkward problem and obstacle in the way of a convincing American oil policy. There are at last signs that Dr. Kissinger, as well as his advisers, are coming to realize that the

big companies are serving to underpin OPEC, as Senator Church warned in the report of his multinationals subcommittee last January. The attempts to break up OPEC have totally failed, and the boasts of Thomas Enders have been counter-productive, serving to unify OPEC against an outside threat. But if OPEC cannot be broken, at least some of its props can be removed, and an effective oil foreign policy is now directly linked to an effective policy to limit the power of the companies, either through anti-trust or (more effectively) through legislation to separate them from their concessions.

It would be absurd to oversimplify the problem. If the Aramco partners (who constitute four of the five American sisters) were to be broken up tomorrow, there would not be an immediate glut of Saudi oil. If the Iranian consortium, which includes all seven of the Sisters, were disbanded, the Shah would still have the means to regulate his oil supplies, and for a time at least might avoid a clash with the Saudis. But the underlying smooth working of OPEC, as the Shah has plainly admitted to me, depends on the machinery of the Sisters, who for decades have been accustomed to neatly balancing the world's oil production to prevent glut and overpopulation. By weakening this machinery, the West would certainly make OPEC more vulnerable.

And in terms of United States politics, the association between OPEC and the Sisters is likely to become increasingly intolerable. For the oil companies have been given all their privileges of tax-avoidance and diplomatic support on the assumption that they were acting on behalf of the American consumer, or the national security. Now that they cannot be observed to be defending either, on the global stage, their behavior must be constantly suspect; and a government which has promised and failed to split open the OPEC cartel will be compelled to look more closely at the supports behind it.

Thus the current revolt against Big Oil is not simply a helpless protest against giant companies and profits, which will fizzle out at the end of the Presidential election. It represents a very legitimate objection to a global alliance against the consumer. To break up the Seven Sisters, or to force them to pull out of their concessions, will be at least as difficult as the breaking-up of the Rockefeller monopoly sixty years ago, and like that break-up it would leave many problems unsolved. But there are some indications that the popular feeling today is as strong as the populist mood of the 1890s; as then, the world has very suddenly changed, and government has not caught up with big business. There may be a good deal of froth and hypocrisy on the surface but there are very solid grounds for concern at the bottom.

★U.S. urges fuel saving but...

Continued from Page 1

At the root of the impasse, observers suggest, lies the inability of President Ford and the Democratic-controlled Congress to agree on what kind of energy program the nation needs.

"We can't," commented one source, "even pass through Congress the simplest thing, like more stringent insulation and energy requirements for all new nonresidential buildings."

Latest chapter in the dispute was passage Tuesday by the full House of a comprehensive energy bill, which — among other things — would restore a price ceiling on "old" domestic oil and roll back the price of previously uncontrolled American crude.

This approach directly contradicts Mr. Ford's insistence that domestic oil prices must be allowed to rise, to encourage new exploration within the United States.

Topping the list of energy savers, reports an IEA source, are Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, and Ireland. West Germany and France also have done better than the United States.

Taken as a whole, says the IEA assessment, the group's 18 members are expected to import 6 percent less oil this year than in 1973. The United States, however, is importing as much oil as it did before the Arab embargo, with imports expected to climb, as domestic oil production shrinks.

The poor U.S. showing, stressed a source, does not mean that Americans are saving no energy. "Total demand for energy products in the first four months of 1975," he said, "is 3.5 percent less than in the comparable period of 1973."

Experts credit about half this saving to conservation, the other half to the prolonged recession, which cut industrial output. "As the economy turns up," said a highly qualified informant, "we may lose our gains."



Readjusting Chicago thermostat to 65-68 degrees

Is U.S. doing enough to save energy?

While U.S. urges fuel saving, it continues to waste

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

While the United States long has urged other nations to cut back on their use of oil, the U.S. itself "has not done nearly as much" as other major oil consuming nations, according to a senior U.S. energy official.

Specifically, the official says, the U.S. ranks a low 13th among the 18 members of the International Energy Agency (IEA), a body which the U.S. helped set up to try and break

the power of the oil producers' cartel through using less oil.

"This simply is not fair to others," said source.

IEA's first annual review of its member conservation programs, which disclosed poor U.S. showing, coincides with the current meeting in Vienna of OPEC (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries). The cartel is widely expected to raise oil prices again.

"Frankly," says Etienne Davignon, chairman of IEA's governing board, "some countries have not done enough" to reduce energy consumption.

Mr. Davignon, a Belgian diplomat, did not specify which countries, nor will the IEA published report on conservation results rate the 18 members. An American source, however, closely involved in IEA's assessment process, disclosed the rankings.

A number of U.S. officials, in the Federal Energy Administration (FEA) and elsewhere privately express deep disappointment at White House emphasis on increasing energy production, rather than conservation.

President Ford now proposes a massive \$1 billion effort to stimulate domestic production of oil, coal, synthetic fuels, solar, and other energy forms, with the aim of reducing U.S. dependence on foreign oil.

★ Please turn to Page

Major oil firms survive attack

by Jonathan Steele in Washington

An attempt to break up 15 large American oil companies narrowly failed in the Senate last week. An amendment which would have required the companies to give up their marketing, refining, and oil transporting activities by 1981 was lost by 50 votes to 40.

By a slightly wider margin of 53-39, the Senate rejected another amendment sponsored by Senator Kennedy and the Democratic Senator for South Carolina, Ernest Hollings, which would have prohibited the companies from owning or controlling any fuel other than natural gas.

The Senate then went on to pass a Bill which will lift Federal price controls of newly drilled natural gas. Although the combined series of votes

is a victory for President Ford and the private energy lobby, the closeness of the roll calls is a significant indicator of a new and widespread public suspicion of the major oil companies. A few years ago Bills to split them up would have barely mustered half a dozen votes in the Senate.

But the enormous profits made by the oil companies during and immediately after the Arabs' embargo two years ago angered many people. Disclosures about the massive kickbacks paid by oil companies to Arab middlemen have not helped. Proponents of the moves to split the companies say they are "conservative, free enterprise" proposals.

Senator James Abourezk of South

Dakota, who sponsored the first amendment with another Democrat, Senator Philip Hart, said that if drilling were separate from refining and pipelining, the major companies would no longer be in a position "to withhold supplies in order to gouge higher prices out of the public." Opponents say that the splitting of the industry into smaller units would deprive it of the capital and skills needed for efficiency.

The Bill to remove federal price ceilings on natural gas now goes to the House of Representatives, where it is expected to face a tough time. A majority in Congress is likely to accept measures to forestall an expected shortage of natural gas this winter, but to delay permanent decontrol.

The Manchester Guardian
20 Nov 1975

The Washington Post Small Cars and Energy Policy

Americans are proving more canny these days than their government, as they think about fuel and energy. The most interesting example is the state of the automobile industry. The customers are turning away from the big cars of tradition, and the manufacturers are running along anxiously behind them to catch up. But the long stalemate between the White House and Congress continues, giving strength to the illusion that, in regard to energy and saving it, nothing at all is happening. That stalemate still shows little sign of ending.

The House of Representatives has passed its Energy Conservation and Oil Policy Bill in a bizarre and ludicrous form that deserved another veto. It can be argued that the section making it a crime to sell gasoline for cross-busing school children, under racial desegregation plans, is merely frivolous. But one section of this bill would roll back the price of oil, while another orders the President to find a way to reduce the nation's consumption of gasoline. The House expresses the hope that there would be no lines — or at least not long ones — at the filling stations. But it authorizes extensive production controls to require the refiners to cut back the amount of gasoline actually produced.

Do you suppose that most Americans are aware that the House has just voted to create a deliberate gasoline shortage? Do you suppose that most people realize that this bill contains a broad exemption to the anti-trust laws for the people who sell gasoline, to permit them to engage in the market-sharing plans that this intricately calculated shortage would require?; but the House Democrats are in a box. They recognize the urgent national interest in curbing gasoline consumption, yet they are committed to reducing prices. To fit these two irreconcilables together, they require an artificial shortage and an allocation system of vast complexity. To meet the challenge of a foreign producer's cartel, they want to cartelize the whole American gasoline industry.

The legislative stalemate runs as far as the eye can see. From the perspective of Washington, which thinks of progress in terms of laws passed, it looks as though nothing at all is being done to cut oil imports and the waste of energy. But, in fact, quite a lot is being done — if not by Congress or the White House. Take a look at the cars passing on the highway.

As recently as 1973, two out of every five cars sold was a compact model or smaller. In the model year now beginning, the Federal Energy Administration estimates, three out of five will be compacts. In 1973, the average new car ran less than 14 miles on a gallon of gasoline. The average 1976 car will go 17.6 miles on a gallon, according to the Environmental Protection Agency. The automobile manufacturers have committed themselves to President Ford to get the average up to 19.5 miles to the gallon by 1980. The House would go the President one mile better and require an average mileage of 20.5 by 1980. In the midst of all this churning and standard-setting, General Motors' Chevette appears on the street. EPA says that it gets 33 miles to a gallon in its driving tests, the only American car on the top rung of the international economy rankings.

From the Washington perspective, again, it might seem that steady pressure from the President and Congress are forcing the manufacturers to change their ingrained tribal ways. But it is probably a good deal more accurate to say that government and industry together are responding, a bit belatedly, to a genuine and powerful swing in public values. General Motors designed the Chevette to recapture some of the market that it has been losing to imported cars. Two-thirds of the Chevettes sold over the next year, GM believes, will go to buyers who would otherwise have chosen a foreign car.

Automobile sales constitute, in a narrow but authentic sense, a continuous referendum on one aspect of energy policy. The returns so far offer solid evidence that — despite the assertions of the House Commerce Committee to the contrary — people react sharply and rationally to rising gasoline prices. The country's political leaders can't work out a consensus of oil, and citizens are prudently moving to take care of themselves. The trend to more economical and efficient cars means that Americans are beginning to build themselves a national energy policy from the bottom up — without much guidance from their government, but with a good sense of present necessity and future prospects.

Dear Congressman Seiberling:

This is in answer to your request for my views on the usefulness of our Turkish bases for verifying the SALT agreements. I understand that it has been argued that these bases are essential for ensuring that the Russians are not violating the SALT I ABII Treaty and Interim Agreement on Offensive Weapons and that they are also necessary if we are to verify any future agreements deriving from the Vladivostok Accords.

While there is no doubt that the Turkish bases provide useful information on certain aspects of the Soviet military complex, to say that they are essential for verifying past or future SALT agreements would appear to be such an exaggeration as to raise questions as to the sincerity of those making the statements.

First, with respect to the ABII Treaty, the bases would appear of marginal if any value. A glance at the globe will show their unsuitability for observations of the Soviet ABII Test Site at Sary Shagan, which is on Lake Balkash about 2,000 miles east of Turkey. That country is far less satisfactory for observing activities at the Test Site than would be bases in countries directly to the south. Turkey is not a good location for observing whether their radars are being tested in the ABII mode or their SAII missiles are being tested against incoming ballistic missiles. It has no value at all for verifying deployment of ABII's. While the Turkish bases are closer to the Russian ICBII, IRBII, or IRBII test launch areas, which are north of the Caspian Sea, information on such firings that might come from the Turkish bases is not of any great value in verifying the ABII Treaty.

The Turkish bases provide no information relative to the Interim Agreement on Offensive Weapons, since this agreement only freezes deployment of offensive missiles, not their development or testing. Information on deployment comes from observation satellites, not from surface observation posts. Thus, the Turkish bases have little if any value in verifying either of the SALT I Moscow Agreements.

It is harder to be so categorical relative to future agreements, since details on these are still unknown. However, looking at the Vladivostok Accords, it is doubtful whether the bases can be very important. As with the Interim Agreement, these bases have no relation to the ceiling on deployment of delivery vehicles.

They could be of some value relative to the ceiling on IIRVd missiles, since a factor here is what types of missiles have been tested with IIRVs. However, the key observation [point] to determine this is not at the launch end of the test range, but at the re-entry point which occurs on the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Pacific Ocean. Both of those areas are subject to observation from U.S. ships or land areas. It is these locations, not the Turkish bases, which have provided the information that the Secretary of Defense has used to announce Soviet IIRV tests. If observation of the launch areas were essential, then verification would be impossible, regardless of whether we had the Turkish bases, since there is nothing to prevent the Russians launching from one of their operational sites far from the Turkish bases. Finally, there are other land areas closer than Turkey for observing the current Soviet missile test launch area to the north of the Caspian Sea.

In sum, the Turkish bases have only marginal utility in verifying past or possible future SALT agreements. Other observation sites and satellites would appear much more useful. SALT cannot be reasonably used as a justification for making a decision on our Turkish aid program.

/s/ Herbert Scoville, Jr.
Former Assistant Director of CIA for
Scientific Intelligence and Deputy
Director for Research

Dr. Scoville is a former Associate Director of the Central Intelligence Agency for Scientific Intelligence and Deputy Director for Research. Dr. Scoville has also served as Assistant Director for Science and Technology of the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and as Technical Director of the Armed Services Special Weapons Project in the Department of Defense. He is currently Secretary of both the Arms Control Association and the Federation of American Scientists.



E. R. ZUMWALT, JR.
ADMIRAL, U. S. NAVY (RET.)

STATEMENT BY ADMIRAL E. R. ZUMWALT, JR., RETIRED CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY, JULY 20, OF TURKEY'S INVASION OF CYPRUS--STATEMENT AS FOLLOWS:

Sunday marks the first anniversary of the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey. The Congress of the United States is locked into a collision course with the Secretary of State on fundamental U.S. foreign policy. The debate begins this week in the House of Representatives on Dr. Kissinger's proposal to lift the ban on further American arms to Turkey. In this escalating controversy, I commend to the attention of the Congress and the press a precise statement of the true moral issues and the best interests of the United States by General James A. Van Fleet, who implemented the Truman Doctrine against a Soviet inspired Communist insurgency in post-World War II Greece without loss of a single American in uniform:

As one whose entire career has been in the Armed Forces of the United States, I believe that our country and our NATO partners must stand against aggression, whether by friend or foe. To do otherwise would be a renunciation of a fundamental principle of our foreign policy--to oppose aggression, not aid or acquiesce in it. I must condemn the continued acts of Turkish aggression against Cyprus and its people. It is unconscionable that the Government of the United States should surrender to the threat of Turkey to close our bases there. This is capitulation to blackmail and unworthy of our country.

History teaches and I accept the wisdom of a warning by a great allied leader in World War I, Clemenceau of France: "War is much too serious a matter to be entrusted to the military."

May I suggest a contemporary corollary to that Clemenceau axiom: "Peace is too complicated to be entrusted to any single diplomat."

Dr. Kissinger has marshalled his propagandists to convince Congress that U.S. installations in Turkey are technically more important than American relations with Greece. There is a supreme irony in this argument, because when the military junta was imposing a dictatorship on Greece, the argument then was that Greek bases were of most vital importance to NATO and the U.S. Sixth Fleet. Now that a Democratic Government has at long last returned to Greece, Dr. Kissinger tilts toward Turkey.

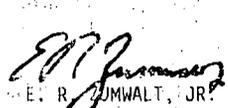
I believe the best interests of America and of NATO require the friendship of both Greece and Turkey.

But to pit one country against another in this way is as dangerously inflammable and divisive in foreign policy as it is in the Halls of Congress. However, if a choice is to be forced between our military installations in Turkey and the continuation of the support of U.S. installations by a democratic government in Greece, then in my judgement, the Congress should cast a vote for Greece, and against the Kissinger amendment to lift the ban on U.S. arms to Turkey. In my opinion, existing and potential military bases in Greece are more important to us than our installations in Turkey.

There is another matter of concern regarding Turkey. As the harvest of opium poppies begins this week in Turkey, all Americans should remember that Turkey unilaterally rescinded the ban on the growing of opium poppies for which U.S. Government agreed in return to pay Turkey \$35 million over a three-year period. U.S. taxpayers have already supplied \$15 million of this sum to Turkey.

Thus, to Turkey's aggression against the Island of Cyprus, using American arms, has been added her aggression against an entire generation of young Americans with opium grown in Turkish soil.

The current controversy has been distorted into a political test of strength between the Administration and what they have characterized as "the ethnic politics of the Greek lobby." That is a very un-American argument at a time when this nation of emigrants enters our Bicentennial Year. The ban on future American arms to Turkey is not an "ethnic" and certainly not a Greek issue. It is fundamental American policy on which in other times I have seen the Navy used as an instrument of enforcement. Twice the Sixth Fleet was ordered into the waters between Turkey and Cyprus as clear warning by an American President against Turkish aggression. And you will remember that there was no aggression because American policy was then crystal clear. Regretably there was no policy at the time of the invasion of Cyprus last year. Today, only Congress can clarify American policy in this controversy. That is the challenge of the debate on the Kissinger amendment this week. Seven months ago, that policy was debated and a judgement was then made clear. By a margin of 199 votes in the House, the amendment calling for a ban on further American arms to Turkey was overwhelmingly passed. In my judgement that verdict should be repeated this week by the defeat of the Kissinger amendment, S. 846.



E. R. ZUMWALT, JR.

Carter sees a nomination key in Florida

By Curtis J. Sitomer
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

Democratic presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter says his party's choice for head of the ticket in 1976 will be narrowed to two candidates, excluding George C. Wallace, after the Florida primary in March.

However, he insists Governor Wallace cannot be nominated by the Democratic convention. And he predicts that Governor Wallace will likely head a "third party" ticket.

Mr. Carter, a former Georgia governor, believes he will emerge as one of the two "viable" Democrats after March 9. A soft-spoken Southerner who characterizes himself as a fiscal conservative and a liberal on social issues, Mr. Carter is stumping the U.S., trying to gain name recognition. He says he has already campaigned in 44 states and will continue to travel throughout the U.S. right up to the Democratic nominating conclave next July in New York City.

"Last January I had 7 percent name recognition. Now it's over 50 percent," he told reporters breakfasting with him here recently.

Mr. Carter outlined his early primary game plan. Unlike some of his Democratic cohorts

seeking the nomination, he promised to enter all state primaries. He expects to do well initially in primary and other delegate-selection processes in Iowa, Vermont, Maine, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Florida.

However, he concedes that U.S. Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona may now be leading him in the battle to win the kickoff primary in New Hampshire March 2.

"Florida is crucial," he insists. But Mr. Carter says he needs only to run a close second to Alabama Governor Wallace there to become a viable national candidate. In 1972, Mr. Wallace garnered 42 percent of the vote in Florida — carrying all counties.

Mr. Carter is not listed in many national polls as a significant challenger to President Ford.

Here in California, where next June's primary is crucial to gaining the nomination, Mr. Carter has little organization and is virtually a political unknown.

However, he insists this will change radically within six months as his primary bandwagon starts to roll. As to campaign funds, Mr. Carter says he already has qualified for federal matching monies. His roam-the-nation, name-recognition budget for 1975 is \$650,000. He has raised and spent \$500,000 to date, he says.

In answer to reporters' questions, he said:

- If nominated and elected president, he would overhaul government services — paring down much of the bureaucracy.
- He would impose a "zero-based" budget in Washington, D.C., as he did as Governor of Georgia. This would require every government agency to start from a budgetary zero instead of building annually on existing allotments.
- He believes a Democrat would be more effective in holding the line on spending and getting congressional support for budget-cutting than a Republican president.

BUSINESS

ENERGY: Slurry Power

The rich coal lodes of the West have long been touted as one of America's best answers to the energy crisis. The catch has been in transporting the coal to the heavily populated and industrialized East where it's most needed. A growing number of companies in the energy business now maintain that the solution is coal-slurry pipelines, in which pulverized coal mixed with water is pumped hundreds or thousands of miles to electric utilities. But a somewhat unlikely coalition of railroads and environmentalists is battling to stop the slurry development in its tracks—the railroads because the pipelines would bring ruinous competition, the environmentalists on the theory that the scheme would deplete the West's meager water supplies.

Coal-slurry technology is nothing new—the basic patents were granted in 1891 and the system is widely held to be cheaper than rail transportation—but development has been slow. That could change in a hurry, however. Groups of construction, pipeline, utility and investment-banking companies have plans for at least four major slurry pipelines across vast reaches of the nation. The biggest would be a 1,000-mile line from mines around Gillette, Wyo., to Middle South Utilities' power plant in White Bluff, Ark. The pipeline would carry up to 25 million tons of coal a year, and estimates of its construction cost run to \$900 million. The partners in the project are Bechtel, Inc., the multinational construction company; Kansas-Nebraska Natural Gas Co., and the investment-banking house of Lehman Brothers. Officials of their new joint venture, Energy Transportation Systems, Inc., say the pipeline would deliver coal at an average cost of \$8 a ton over a 25-year period vs. the \$25 a ton they estimate the railroads would charge.

Skim: The Wyoming legislature granted ETSI a water permit last year, and the U.S. Senate passed a bill giving slurry-line builders in general the right of eminent domain to acquire rights of way. But now the rail lobby is fighting hard to kill the measure in the House Interior Committee. The railroads argue that they can handle even a doubling of coal traffic over the next decade; not only are the slurry lines not needed, says chairman Louis W. Menk of Burlington Northern, but they "would gradually destroy America's railroads by skimming off traffic on which the industry must rely."

When they aren't debating the railroads, the pipeline planners are arguing with environmentalists over water. The

coal-slurry line does require large amounts of water—on average, each ton of coal is mixed with about 200 gallons of water before being pumped through the pipeline. Once at the power station, the slurry passes through a series of giant "mixers" which feed the slurry evenly into a dewatering plant. After water and coal are separated, the water is discharged as waste.

Almost everyone agrees that a slurry pipeline would put far less pressure on Western water supplies than most other methods of using the coal. The pipeline would use 12 gallons of water to deliver 1 million BTU's of energy; a coal-gasification plant would gobble up as many as 30 gallons for each million BTU's, and a mine-mouth power plant would use 100 gallons. But if the first pipeline proved profitable, others would surely follow—and even advocates agree that a rash of lines could deplete the West's water supplies.

In the end, however, the issue may be decided mainly on price considerations. "We have got to get the best deal for our customers, and the slurry beats the railroad by a country mile," says Middle South Utilities vice president Charles King Mallory. With consumer utility bills escalating ever higher, Congress may well buy Mallory's argument and give the pipelines the go-ahead—at least on a limited scale.

—DAVID PAULY with JAMES BISHOP JR. in Washington and MARTIN WESTON in Chicago

ISRAEL:

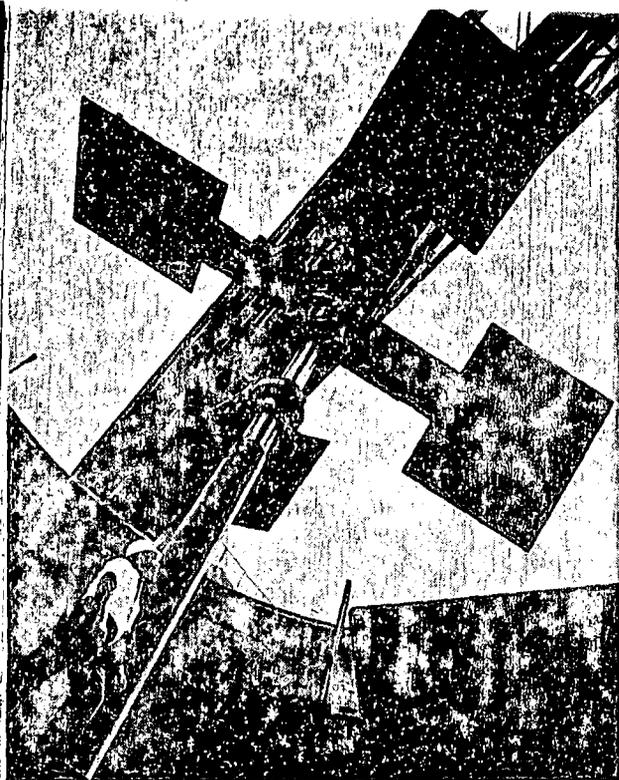
'Living on Air'

Israel's long struggle for survival generally looms largest in military and diplomatic terms. But the nation is also fighting an unending battle against war-born inflation, inefficiency and a chronic payments deficit. NEWSWEEK correspondent Milan J. Kubic analyzes the battered Israeli economy:

If years of inflation have taught the Israelis anything, it is to spot an upcoming price hike. So when word flashed around Jerusalem that the lights had remained on in the Finance Ministry after the start of the Sabbath, thousands of car owners jammed the gasoline stations to buy what they suspected would be their last tankful at the existing prices. They were right: the next day the government announced a 10 per cent devaluation of the pound, new taxes on consumer goods—and a 21 per cent increase in the price of gasoline.

Almost surely, there was more of the same medicine to come. "The devaluation should have been at least twice as high, and the taxes should have been more steep," says Yaakov Arnon, retired director of the Finance Ministry. "The people should have been told, in plain terms, that they have to cut consumption. Half measures won't do the job."

Until the 1973 Yom Kippur war, Israel



Coal-slurry 'mixer': Cheaper by the gallon

bond trading. Yet Rod Hills may have already made his first major decision about the agency's future. One of his last chores for the President was to find, and recruit, a new chairman for the SEC.

—LYNN LANGWAY with JEFF B. COPELAND in Washington

LIBYA:

Occidental Hostages

It could have been the script for a modern desert melodrama, with 230 American employees of a vast oil company held virtual hostages by an Arab government. But that's what happened in Libya last week as part of the Libyan Government's long dispute with Occidental Petroleum Corp.—or so Occidental said. As the oil company told it, Libya had refused exit visas to 520 employees and their families, including about 230 U.S. citizens—an unprecedented act for a government not at war. The U.S. State Department said it could not confirm the charges but added that it was "looking into the matter urgently."

Occidental also said Libya had blocked all its oil shipments. The firm has been fighting tax hikes and production cutbacks since 1970, and last month it filed a \$1 billion lawsuit that apparently provoked the latest troubles.

■ Still more bad news for Occidental came last week in Washington, where the company's 77-year-old chairman, millionaire Armand Hammer, pleaded guilty to three campaign-law violations in Federal court. He had been accused of covering up \$54,000 in personal political contributions to the 1972 Nixon campaign under phony contributors' names. Sentencing was deferred.



THE DEFENSE MONITOR

Page 2 - Maybe!

CENTER FOR DEFENSE INFORMATION — WASHINGTON, D.C.

Volume IV, Number 6

August, 1975

U. S. MILITARY COMMITMENTS "Too Far, Too Wide, Too Thin"

As Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield recently suggested, it is time for the United States to reassess its foreign military policies. "We are spread too far, too wide, too thin," said Senator Mansfield, "and we have neither the resources nor the manpower to undertake the kind of foreign policy which has been the hallmark of all Administrations — Democratic and Republican — since the end of World War II." The world has changed enormously since World War II, and it is only reasonable that U.S. policies should change with it.

Today, U.S. foreign policy is seen by many as a hodge-podge of military and political involvements that have accumulated over the years. Some of the involvements, such as many of those entered into at the close of World War II, may have seemed sensible at the time, but now serve no clear purpose. Some were based on mistaken perceptions to begin with. Some were, and still are, in the national interest. The problem now — unless we wish to continue to spread ourselves "too far, too wide, too thin" — is to sort them out.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger expressed what appeared to be a similar sentiment on U.S. commitments in the course of his briefing to newsmen after the evacuation of Saigon. One of the lessons the United States must learn from Vietnam, he said, was "that we must be very careful of the commitments we make." This is unquestionably good advice, especially if, as Kissinger went on to say, "we should scrupulously honor those commitments that we make." The problem, however, may be in knowing exactly what a com-

mitment is.

Strictly speaking, a commitment to another country is a contractual arrangement entered into by a formal treaty with that country. The U.S. has mutual defense agreements with 42 countries. However, during the last days of the Vietnam War, Administration spokesman said we had a "moral commitment" to the South Vietnamese regime. This commitment, they said, arose not from any contract that had been made, but from our previous military involvement there. The point is that U.S. military involvements, even without formal agreements, tend to become "commitments."

Involvement with 92 Nations

The United States is now involved in various kinds of military arrangements with 60 percent of the countries in the world. These include treaties, executive agreements, arms sales and several kinds of military grant assistance. By the Center's count, the U.S. currently has such arrangements with 92 nations. The Center also estimates that the U.S. spends at least \$62 Billion each year to maintain these "commitments."

Obviously, each type of involvement represents a different level of commitment. The crucial fact, however, is that each involvement does become a commitment of the United States to another country. And as we have seen in Southeast Asia, one kind of involvement frequently leads to another.

Monitor In Brief

- Foreign commitments can arise either through formal treaties or as a result of military involvement in the affairs of another country. The United States has some type of military involvement with 92 nations.
- The United States has created these commitments in several ways, including: stationing troops abroad, selling arms, providing grant military assistance, and through executive agreements and treaties.
- The U.S. has 686,000 military-related personnel stationed abroad at 222 major and about 2000 minor bases. About half of all U.S. tactical nuclear weapons — nearly 11,000 — are outside the U.S.
- The direct costs of American foreign commitments will come to \$20 Billion in fiscal year 1975. When the indirect costs of these commitments are added the total comes to about \$62 Billion.

U.S. Troops Abroad

The most tangible kind of military involvement in a foreign country is stationing troops in that country. The United States has 511,000 military personnel and 175,000 civilian employees stationed abroad at 222 major and 2000 minor bases in at least 40 countries. The U.S. also has military advisors, including military attaches, members of Military Assistance Advisory Groups and technicians who accompany arms sales, in 64 countries. The majority of overseas troops — 300,000 of them — are stationed in Europe; another 139,000 are in the western Pacific countries of Japan, the Philippines, and South Korea, with the remainder scattered among the Pacific, Southeast Asia, the Mid-east, Africa and Latin America.

Troop deployments are perhaps the clearest example of how the Pentagon influences and even makes foreign policy. In no case do our present treaties specify how many troops the U.S. should station in a foreign country, or even that it should station troops there. In some cases, U.S. forces are stationed in countries such as Spain with which we have no mutual defense treaty. However, if one of these countries were attacked our own troops might become involved in the fighting. The deployment of U.S. troops in a foreign country is therefore a significant step towards a national commitment to defend that country.

The hostage relationship to other countries is intensified by the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons. Approximately half of all U.S. tactical nuclear weapons are stationed abroad or at sea. Countries where U.S. nuclear weapons are reportedly stationed include: Germany, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Iceland, Greece, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Philippines and the Republic of Korea.

Military Assistance Grants

"Since the end of World War II," says a recent report of the Senate Appropriations Committee, "the people of the United States have shouldered a foreign assistance burden whose true dimensions have never been fully understood or recognized." This "misunderstanding of the true dimensions of U.S. foreign assistance," as the committee puts it, occurs largely because foreign aid programs, both economic and military, are considered in several different authorization and appropriations bills. This is a particular problem for military assistance.

According to the official breakdown, the Executive branch has requested \$2.5 Billion in military aid for fiscal year 1976. This includes \$790 million for grants, \$30 million for training foreign troops, \$560 million for credit on foreign arms sales (to be counted against \$213 million in receipts) and \$1.3 Billion for Vietnam, which is no longer required but may be reapportioned to other countries.

The official total is misleadingly low because it does not include a number of programs — in both the Foreign Assistance Act and the Defense Department budget — that are clearly examples of military aid. The programs in the defense budget, which total \$685 million, are: foreign

military sales production support, NATO infrastructure, international military headquarters and Military Assistance Advisory Groups (MAAGs). MAAGs, and other military advisors, provide a wide range of technical and tactical advice and assistance to the military forces of 64 countries.

Any meaningful total of U.S. military assistance should also include Security Supporting Assistance, which amounts to \$580 million in this year's budget request. The Executive department lists Security Supporting Assistance as economic assistance. However it is clear from testimony to Congress that Security Supporting Assistance is given to free other resources for military equipment.

When these are added to the Executive branch's total, the cost of U.S. military aid rises to at least \$3.7 Billion. It must be emphasized that this is a conservative figure. Except for Security Supporting Assistance, it does not include anything the Administration calls economic assistance. It is safe to say, however, that much of the so-called economic aid is military related.

In his most recent report to Congress, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger made this point. "In some cases," he said, "especially where guerilla and subversive threats arise, we expect our allies to solve these problems without the involvement of the U.S. However, where our interests are involved, we may be willing to provide military and economic assistance." Economic assistance, according to this view, adds to the "stability" of clients states; it also permits these countries to spend more on military forces.

The Top 25 Aid Recipients, 1946-1975

Economic and Military Loans and Grants

	(\$ Millions)
1. Vietnam	\$25,893.4
2. Korea	12,211.1
3. India	9,060.9
4. United Kingdom	8,730.9
5. France	8,273.5
6. Turkey	6,867.5
7. China (Taiwan)	5,780.7
8. Italy	5,688.8
9. Israel	5,630.1
10. Pakistan	5,087.9
11. Fed. Rep. Germany	4,979.8
12. Greece	4,327.8
13. Japan	3,834.2
14. Brazil	2,981.2
15. Yugoslavia	2,747.1
16. Philippines	2,469.6
17. Laos	2,423.3
18. Cambodia	2,263.5
19. Indonesia	2,220.0
21. Thailand	1,994.5
22. Spain	1,861.1
23. Belgium	1,853.1
24. Columbia	1,550.1
25. Austria	1,275.1

Excess Defense Articles

Until recently the Department of Defense could transfer virtually any amount of weaponry to a foreign government by calling it Excess Defense Articles. Congress placed ceilings on the total value of weapons that could be transferred. However, the Pentagon determined the value. Instances were reported that equipment that had hardly been used was sold at less than one-tenth of the original price.

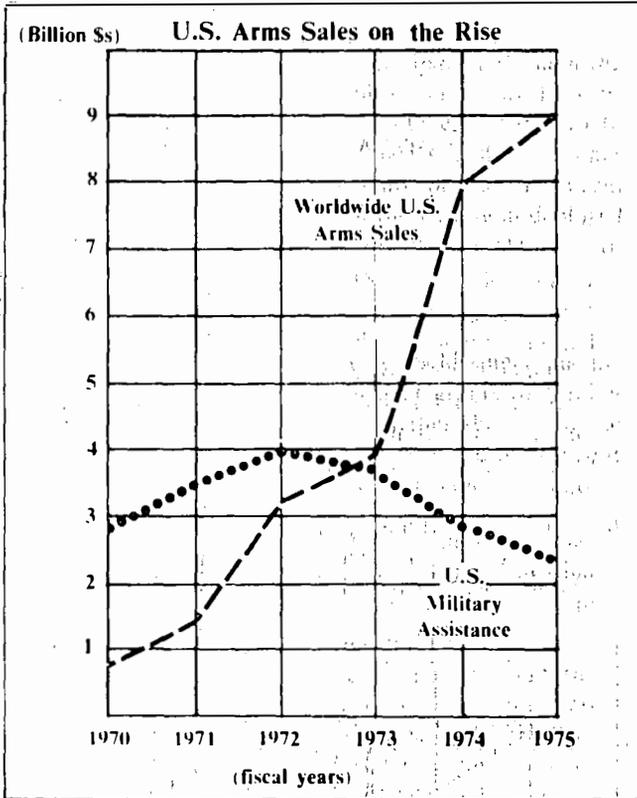
Even under the new law, the DOD was required to value all excess defense articles at only one-third their acquisition cost. The total value of excess defense articles transferred in FY 1975 was \$100 million.

The U.S. also transfers military equipment through the Naval Ship loan program. Under this program naval vessels are lent to foreign countries on indefinite lease. Since 1970, the U.S. has loaned, sold, or given away 272 ships to other governments and 74 ship transfers are planned for fiscal year 1976. During this same period the Pentagon deplored the fact that the U.S. Navy had been cut from 800 ships to 500 ships.

Arms Sales

"Our assistance," said Secretary Schlesinger in his Annual Report, "may take the form of grants or foreign military sales." Sales agreements, whether they are made for foreign policy reasons or simply to make money, result in military involvement in the affairs of another country.

Although arms sales represent a significant step toward national commitment, Congress has a minimal role in formulating policy. Except for credit sales, which comprise

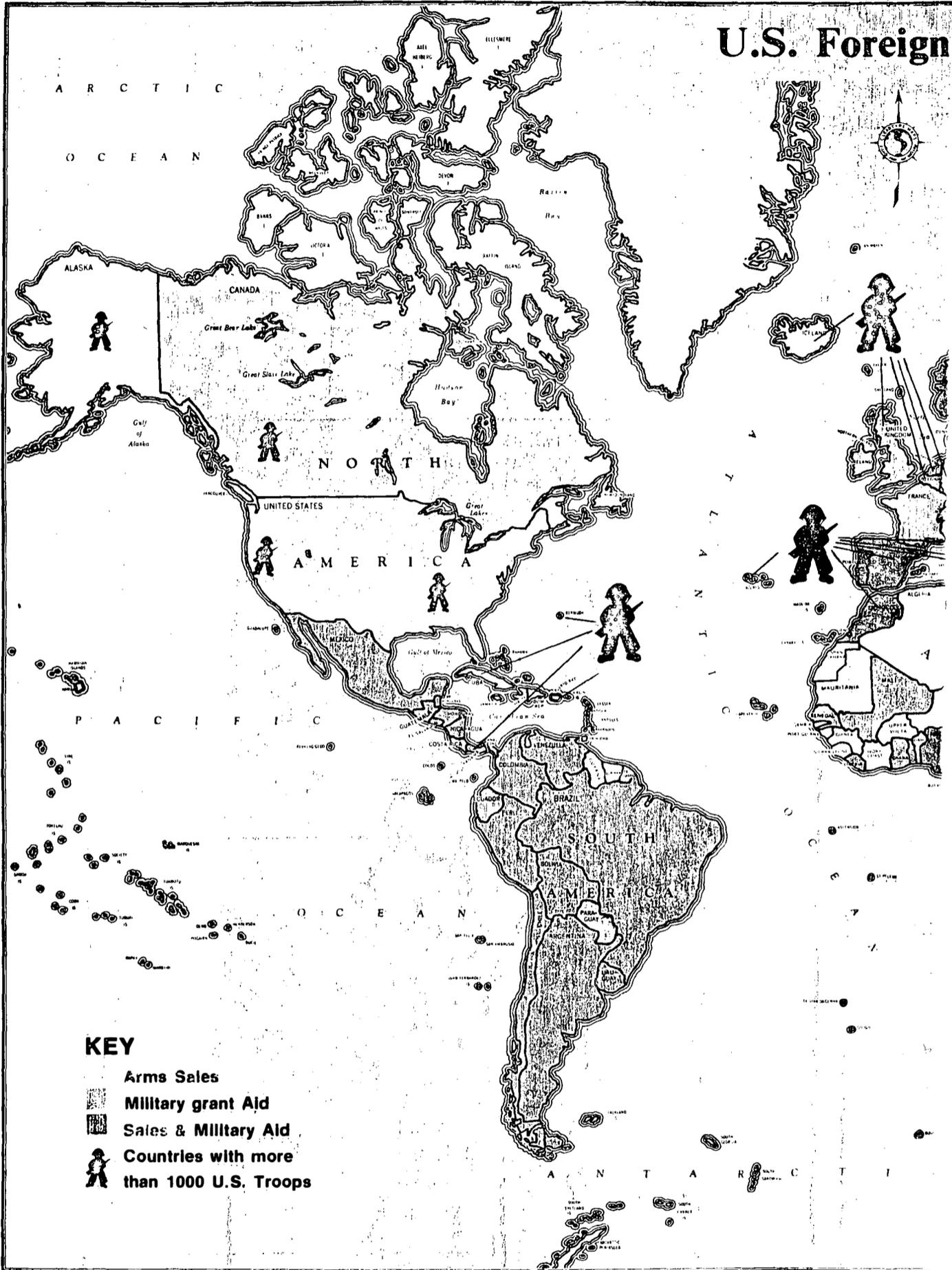


U.S. Military Involvements

	U.S. Military Personnel	Advisors	Sales 1974	Military Aid 1975	Treaty	Executive Agreement
1. Afghanistan	< 25					
2. Argentina	< 50					
3. Austria	< 25					
4. Australia	<1000					
5. Bahamas	< 250					
6. Bahrain	< 250					
7. Barbados	< 250					
8. Belgium	2000					
9. Bermuda	1000					
10. Bolivia	< 50					
11. Brazil	< 50					
12. Burma						
13. Canada	2000					
14. Chile	< 25					
15. China (Taiwan)	5000					
16. Columbia	< 50					
17. Costa Rica	< 25					
18. Cuba (Guantanamo)	3000					
19. Dahomey						
20. Denmark	< 25					
21. Dominican Republic	< 25					
22. Ecuador	< 25					
23. Egypt						
24. El Salvador	< 25					
25. Ethiopia	< 100					
26. Finland	< 25					
27. France	< 25					
28. F. R. Germany	211,000					
29. Gambia						
30. Ghana	< 25					
31. Greece	4000					
32. Guatemala	< 25					
33. Guinea						
34. Guyana						
35. Haiti						
36. Honduras	< 25					
37. Iceland	3000					
38. Iran	1000					
39. India	< 25					
40. Indonesia	< 50					
41. Ireland						
42. Israel	< 25					
43. Italy	12,000					
44. Ivory Coast	< 25					
45. Jamaica	< 25					
46. Japan	52,000					

Continued on Page 6

U.S. Foreign



Military Involvements (Cont.)

	U.S. Military Personnel	Advisors	Sales 1974	Military Aid 1975	Treaty	Executive Agreement
47. Jordan	< 25					
48. Korea	42,000					
49. Kuwait						
50. Laos	< 25					
51. Lebanon	< 25					
52. Liberia	< 25					
53. Luxembourg						
54. Libya						
55. Malaysia	< 25					
56. Mali	< 25					
57. Mexico	< 25					
58. Morocco	1000					
59. Nepal	< 25					
60. Netherlands	2000					
61. New Zealand	< 25					
62. Nicaragua	< 25					
63. Niger						
64. Nigeria	< 25					
65. Norway	< 25					
66. Pakistan	< 25					
67. Panama & C.Z.	10,000					
68. Paraguay	< 25					
69. Peru	< 25					
70. Philippines	18,000					
71. Portugal	1000					
72. Saudi Arabia	230					
73. Senegal	< 25					
74. Sierra Leone						
75. Singapore	< 25					
76. South Africa						
77. Spain	9000					
78. Sri Lanka	< 25					
79. Sudan						
80. Sweden	< 25					
81. Switzerland	< 25					
82. Thailand	23,000					
83. Trinidad & Tobago						
84. Tunisia	< 25					
85. Turkey	7000					
86. U.K.	21,000					
87. Uruguay	< 25					
88. Venezuela	< 50					
89. Yemen						
90. Yugoslavia	< 25					
91. Zaire	< 25					
92. Zambia						

only a tenth of all U.S. arms sales, military sales require no congressional authorization. Under current law, Congress must be informed by a letter of all proposed arms deals of more than \$25 million. If, within 20 days Congress passes a concurrent resolution objecting to the sale, it cannot be completed. However, this has not been an effective restraint on arms traffic because the procedure is so difficult: on the other hand, if Congress does nothing at all, the sale is automatically approved. To date, Congress has not used this law to disapprove a single arms transaction.

As the Director of the Defense Security Agency, Lt. General H.M. Fish, told Congress recently, "Probably the most significant trend in arms transfers in recent years is the declining use of grant aid to supply the needs of our friends and allies, and the increasing reliance upon Foreign Military Sales credit and cash sales." According to General Fish, U.S. Foreign Military Sales, which rose to more than \$9 Billion for FY 1975, now account for 90 percent of the total of U.S. arms transfers.

In a departure from past practice, the United States is selling foreign governments some of this country's most advanced weapons. One result of this policy has been to stimulate regional arms races; another at least as significant to U.S. interests, is to require the presence of U.S. technicians, both military and civilian, to maintain this sophisticated equipment and to teach the troops of the client government how to operate it. This practice is particularly common in Middle Eastern countries, such as Iran and Saudi Arabia, which have been buying large amounts of new U.S. weaponry. Most of these military technicians are what the Pentagon calls "reimbursables." That is, the host country pays the expenses of the U.S. military personnel.

Treaties and Agreements

According to the State Department, the United States has regional and bilateral "Collective Defense Arrangements" with 42 nations. The regional arrangements, or treaties, include the North Atlantic Treaty, the Rio Treaty, the Southeast Asia Treaty, and ANZUS (with Australia and New Zealand). The bilateral treaties are with the Philippines, Japan, South Korea and the Republic of China (Taiwan).

Of these treaties, only the Rio Treaty, signed with 21 nations in Latin and South America, commits the United States to military action in the event of an attack on any of the signers. All the others, including the North Atlantic Treaty, stipulate that in the event of an attack, each member shall decide what action to take. Although the Senate must ratify all treaties, frequently actions are taken in the name of the treaty that are not actually part of the agreement. For example, in no case does a treaty require the United States to station troops in another nation.

The United States has Executive Agreements on military matters with a total of 84 nations. These include agreements on U.S. bases in foreign countries, gifts of U.S. military equipment, money for military equipment, sales, mutual defense, mutual weapons development programs and the stationing of U.S. troops in foreign countries. Executive

agreements are made without the advice and consent of Congress.

A list of executive agreements is contained in a State Department publication entitled "Treaties in Force". The law requires that all agreements with other nations, including both treaties and Executive Agreements, be published each year. However, as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has observed, "The executive . . . has made it a practice to withhold those agreements which, in its judgement, are of a 'sensitive' nature. Such agreements, often involving military arrangements with foreign countries, are frequently not only 'sensitive' but exceedingly significant as broadened commitments for the United States."

Total Costs

According to figures supplied to Congress last year by Secretary Kissinger, the United States spent \$20 Billion in fiscal year 1975 in support of its foreign commitments. That included \$6.8 Billion for foreign assistance, \$8.8 Billion for U.S. forces in Europe and \$4.4 Billion for our troops in Asia.

Kissinger's totals, however, included only direct costs. As a result, his totals are low, because military operations, particularly, require a great deal of indirect support including such services as communications, supply, administration and training. A more accurate total would also include the costs of weapons that are built primarily for use abroad. The greater part of U.S. conventional forces, which in turn comprise 75 percent of the DOD budget, are in fact, intended for use in foreign conflicts. Assistant Secretary of Defence Leonard Sullivan made the same point this year when he told Congress, "Practically no U.S. forces are planned to fight on or over the soil of our own continent."

The Center for Defense Information estimates that

preparation for U.S. overseas military operations costs \$55 Billion a year. Approximately \$35 Billion of that is for Europe; \$20 Billion is for Asia. When this is added to the amount that the Administration is requesting for foreign assistance this year, the total annual cost of U.S. commitments and foreign involvement is at least \$62 Billion.

Although the primary purpose of U.S. military forces is to protect the United States against a military attack, it is becoming increasingly clear that in many cases the deployment of our forces has little relationship to the defense needs of the United States. Many of the troop deployments were set shortly after World War II. The world has changed considerably during the past quarter-century, but our forward deployments have been relatively stable. The same may be said in most cases for other types of military involvements: Too often our military and foreign policies do not contribute to the defense of the United States; they only add unnecessary risks.

Eventually, the U.S. must decide which of its overseas involvements are in the national interest and withdraw from the others. We must begin now to examine fundamental assumptions and policies. It is particularly important that the services not be allowed to expand their combat strength and increase forward deployments at this time. Yet that is precisely what all three services are attempting to do.

The Army is proposing to increase the number of combat divisions from 13 to 16 and expand combat forces in Europe by two brigades. The Air Force plans to increase from 22 to 26 fighter wings. And the Navy is in the process of establishing new bases at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean and Tinian in Micronesia, as well as other smaller bases in both parts of the world. Surely, if this is the "wrong time" to reduce our overseas commitments because of uncertainties about our foreign policy, it is also the wrong time to undertake any new commitments.

Diego Garcia: The Making of a Commitment

Last year the Congress refused to go along with Defense Department plans to expand naval and air facilities on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. This year the Pentagon is back for another try and the Congress is considering again the important Diego Garcia proposal that could lead to substantial new military commitments and the building of a three-ocean navy for the United States, adding billions to the military budget.

Since the end of the October 1973 Middle East war, the U.S. has increasingly been displaying its military power in the Indian Ocean. Prior to that time, U.S. policy followed a sound pattern of low profile and minimal military involvement. State Department officials reiterated on a number of occasions that U.S. interests did not require an expanded military presence in the Indian Ocean.

Much has been made in recent weeks of the existence of

Soviet military facilities at Berbera in Somalia. The final story is not yet in on what the facilities actually consist of and whose they are. In any case, these facilities do not make up for the important constraints on and weaknesses of the Soviet Navy in the Indian Ocean and the relative advantages of the U.S. Navy to support and deploy naval forces overseas without extensive shore facilities. The U.S. has far more oilers, repair ships, and underway replenishment vessels for distant deployment than does the USSR.

Whenever the U.S. wishes to deploy a carrier task force in the Indian Ocean, it has instant military superiority over any Soviet naval forces in the region. In general, occasional patrols into the Indian Ocean would suffice to show the U.S. flag and military presence on those relatively rare occasions when that is warranted. The U.S. requires a base in the region only if it contemplates a substantial military presence in the area.

M. Murphy

Dictatorships That Get U.S. Aid

Afghanistan	Gabon	Mali	Saudi Arabia
Algeria	Ghana	Mauritania	Senegal
Bolivia	Guatemala	Morocco	Spain
Brazil	Guinea	Nepal	Sudan
Burma	Haiti	Nicaragua	Taiwan
Burundi	Honduras	Niger	Tanzania
Central Africa Republic	Indonesia	Nigeria	Togo
Chad	Iran	Oman	Tunisia
Chile	Ivory Coast	Pakistan	Upper Volta
Congo	Jordan	Panama	Uruguay
Cyprus	Korea	Paraguay	Zaire
Dahomey	Lesotho	Peru	
Egypt	Liberia	Philippines	
Ethiopia	Malawi	Rwanda	

This list, which was placed in the Congressional Record by Sen. Alan Cranston, is based on data from the Library of Congress, Freedom House, the Center for Defense Information and the State Department. The 54 authoritarian governments, said Cranston, "exert various degrees of repression in restricting the liberties of their people. They range from one man or one-party rule to out-and-out police states and 18 governments which the State Department itself classifies as 'military dictatorships.'"

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Ford's Trouble With Reality

November 17, 1975 — The Atlanta Journal



ROWLAND EVANS
and ROBERT NOVAK

Washington
THE GAP between rhetoric and reality was getting him in trouble again became evident to Ford last Wednesday night. He encountered Sen. Dewey D. Bunker White, a conservative Republican oil-producing Oklahoma, at a House dinner.

White was a member of the House conference that had just passed a compromise energy bill by the Ford administration. President asked the senator his opinion of the bill. Bartlett replied neither he nor any other Republican on the conference committee had a word to say on the report. Mr. Ford was silent, using an expression that could only be described as grim.

White might well be grim, for Bartlett's complaint began a furious campaign by the oil industry and its congressional allies to veto a bill that would end the oil price control system then condemned by Mr. Ford. But White, repudiating commitments by the President's own deputies, scarcely could do so.

Such more than the energy bill is being done here. Mr. Ford's accelerating economic decline may be partially due to his playing the righteous, inflexible conservative on the campaign trail and the pliable congressional compromiser in Washington. A stark duality is developing on the New York crisis and is threatened in the coming battle over tax cuts.

Nowhere is the gap between presidential rhetoric and reality wider than in energy. Convinced by economic advisers that oil price decontrol was the best way to encourage production and discourage imports, Mr. Ford has belittled the country excoriating the Democratic Congress for insisting on controls. The issue also fits the President's campaign theme of government deregulation.

When Mr. Ford faced the reality of decontrol in September by vetoing his veto of control legislation, he backed away from the abyss. To avert immediate decontrol, his advisers privately told the President to stifle fragile economic recovery. Thus, the Federal Energy Administration (FEA) began negotiations for legislation which reached its final form Wednesday night. That compromise has worked out between Democratic members of the Senate (led by Sen. Henry Jackson) and FEA deputy administrator John Hill, with Republican congressmen not deeply involved.

The end product has the flavor of a compromise far more than Jerry Brown's. It would roll back gasoline prices a few cents (a pet Jackson project), and maintain multitiered price controls for 40 months with nei-

ther a phaseout during that time nor guaranteed decontrol in the future. Marginally profitable "stripper" wells would be newly controlled, with provision for control of future Alaskan oil. General Accounting Office (GAO) federal investigators would have access to the books of the giant oil companies.

Worst of all, the bill departs from the Ford goal of energy independence by substantially increasing oil imports. "Let's call it the OPEC relief act of 1976," snaps one official at FEA.

"This bill contains about everything the President is against," a Republican congressional leader from a non-producing state told us. One middle-level FEA official caustically compared his agency's endorsement of the bill to former Sen. George Aiken's famous suggestion that the U.S. declare

the Vietnam war won and get out. Lacking Aiken's sense of irony, the oil industry is angrily demanding a veto.

Why then is FEA administrator Frank Zarb advising the President to sign the bill, with agreement from senior White House aides?

There are sound reasons. The Senate and House bills considered by the conference were far worse from the administration's viewpoint before the FEA's Hill began negotiating. Had he not negotiated, Mr. Ford would have vetoed the legislation leading to two unpleasant alternatives: either a veto override resulting in a highly regulated oil industry, or a sustained veto resulting in immediate decontrol. Besides, as FEA senior officials lectured oil lobbyists last week, this was the best they could hope for considering deepening public hostility.

Such logic might go down better had it not been for a year of high-

pitched energy pronouncements from Mr. Ford. Just last Tuesday night, the President addressed a Republican fund-raiser in Charleston, W. Va., with an exhortation of congressional "retreat from responsibility" in the energy bill for which he hinted a veto. Just 24 hours later, Mr. Ford's energy aides were approving a new bill, whose most important change was cosmetic: an increase in the composite oil price ceiling per barrel from \$7.55 to \$7.66.

Since it is unlikely the President would repudiate Zarb and his other advisers by vetoing the bill, he faces new hostility from the Republican right on the eve of Ronald Reagan's challenge. By angering liberals with hard-line promises on oil decontrol and then infuriating conservatives by compromising on them, President Ford once again has secured the worst of two worlds. — (c1975.)

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November 17

---Iowa fundraising dinner

Good luck with your fundraising efforts tonight in Manchester. In the coming weeks, during November and December, I hope to meet and talk with many of you as I campaign in Iowa. We are working very hard in all 6 districts. My wife Rosalyn has travelled through Delaware County and met many of you and I know of the fine work for the party being done here by your county chair Phyllis Hughes.

Sincerely -- Jimmy Carter

17-1

Columbia University in the City of New York | New York, N. Y. 10027

SCHOOL OF LAW

435 West 116th Street

Steve

August 5, 1975
(dictated from Aspen, Colorado)

Governor Jimmy Carter
Plains, Georgia 31780

Dear Jimmy:

At Peter Bourne's request, I am enclosing some material on the United Nations report we spoke about. Perhaps the most important point is the consultative procedures which might be applied in the political as well as the economic field in place of bloc voting. (See pages 97 - 103 of the enclosed report entitled "A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Cooperation.")

Also enclosed is another essay that may be of interest to you.

I am going to talk to Joe Slater about the Jerusalem study. His staff has instructions not to release it in view of its sensitive character. I'll see what I can do to get a copy for you.

I wish you were here to enjoy this lovely environment with Peter and myself.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Rick

Richard N. Gardner
Henry L. Moses Professor of Law
and International Organization

RNG/pm
Enclosures

*Fick -
Could you have
someone sit us up on
a fight a two on
this?*

May 21, 1975

*Jody I don't
have any time on this
except to send him a
copy of the hearing
statement
Yrs Truly
R.C.*

Mr. James M. Woodard
P. O. Box 1026
Santa Barbara, California 93102

Dear Jim:

Please excuse my delay in responding to your April 14 letter. My campaign schedule leaves me little time to answer my correspondence.

I hope my shhedule will permit me to tape a segment of the "Youth in the 70's" sometime soon. My scheduler will keep this is mind.

Tim Kraft is coordinating our efforts in Iowa and I'm sending him a copy of your letter. He should be contacting you soon about our organization and strategy there.

Jody Powell, my press secretary, will be forwarding to you some comments and statements from me on real estate subjects. Please correspond with him directly whenever you need statements from me for your news column.

Thank you for your interest. With your help, our campaign will be successful.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter.

JC/j
cc: Tim Kraft
✓ Jody Powell

→ The WOODARD AGENCY
Communications ←

MAIL: P.O. Box 1026, Santa Barbara, California 93102 • Phone (805) 965-9521

April 14, 1975

Gov. Jimmy Carter
391 W. Paces Ferry Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gov. Carter:

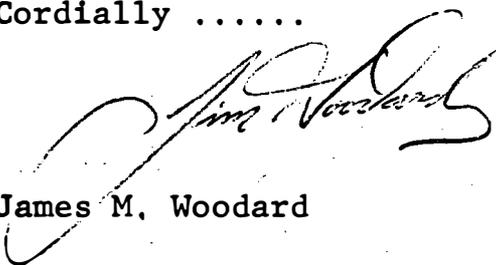
Enclosed is a copy of a letter I sent to Tory
Hartmann in San Francisco.

In my "third suggestion", on page two, I mention
the up-coming move of my Agency office to the
Midwest. This will take place in the latter part
of June.

At this point, I am attempting to define my new
client responsibilities in the Midwest. If there
is a possibility of serving your PR/liaison needs
from my new office in Des Moines, I'd appreciate
hearing from you soon.

In any event, I wish you the very best in your
campaign. You're the kind of a knowledgeable,
perceptive fellow this country needs as its leader.

Cordially



James M. Woodard

JMW:vw

Encl.

March 25, 1975

Mrs. Tory Hartmann
COMPASS ASSOCIATES
785 Market Street - Suite 904
San Francisco, Calif. 94103

Dear Tory:

I appreciate your very fine cooperation in trying to line up the participation of Jimmy Carter as a featured guest on our "Youth in the 70s" TV program. Even though it did not work out on this trip, I was impressed by your efficient handling of the situation.

I attended both the Mayor's Prayer Breakfast and the Channel City Club meeting at which Jimmy Carter spoke. At both functions, he delivered a really great talk -- and received a warm response from the audience, during and after the meetings.

His approach to life and means of solving the most pressing problems in our country today are precisely on-target, I feel. He's my kind of man. This leads me to suggest three things:

First ... The next time he's in this area, I'd like to video tape a special "Youth in the 70s" TV program. I already have some sharp young folks who have prepared questions they would like to ask Mr. Carter about the political leadership of our country. If I have a week or two notice, we can arrange a taping time at his convenience. Please advise if this is possible.

Second ... I write a nationally distributed newspaper column on real estate subjects. I would like to know his thoughts and opinions re matters relating to real estate, e.g., new laws and regulations that would save energy in the operation of a home (he mentioned in his talks here the use of solar energy in heating and cooling homes). I'd like to quote him in my newspaper column, if and when I have the input.

(more.....

Mrs. Tory Hartman/page 2

Third ... This coming June I will be moving with my family to the Midwest, opening an office of The Woodard Agency in Des Moines, Iowa. The primary reason for the move is to give our kids a chance to experience life in Mid-America before they're all grown and flown the coop. They've never lived in a "snow" area or seen the changing colors of Fall. To keep bread on the table, I'll be handling a few select accounts. Would be glad to work with you in promoting Mr. Carter's candidacy in the Midwest, if such a need exists.

Thanks again for your good work and great cooperation.

Cordially

James M. Woodard

JMW:vw

Honorable Jimmy Carter,
Candidate for President,
P. O. Box 1976,
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

N/A File

Dear sir:

Since you welcome comments which might be helpful to your campaign, this is a followup to my letter of November 22. It offers recommendations for setting up machinery to correct practices detrimental to proper and efficient operation of government.

The recommendations are based on general observations as a citizen and on specific experiences accumulated during 40 years as a postal employee. Some of the experiences would be unbelievable to persons unfamiliar with government but they emphasize the need for corrective measures. It seems to the writer that providing continuous information from sources with the minimum bias is the best way to get corrective action.

Legislation probably would be needed to put the visualized plan into operation. Here are the recommendations.

1. For each department of government and for each major independent bureau, let the president appoint 3 co-ordinators, inspectors, or whatever designation would be appropriate.
2. Let such co-ordinators serve for 15 years except in the beginning have one serve 10 years and one serve 5 years in order to stagger the terms. No person should be permitted to serve more than one term whether long or short except persons serving not more than 1 year of an unexpired/be eligible to serve a full regular term in addition. term
3. Provide that such co-ordinators be confirmed by Congress before taking office and that removal be only through impeachment for misconduct or negligence of duties to insure the maximum freedom from pressure.
4. Provide that such co-ordinators have access to all functions - including the employees - and to all records of the department or bureau to which assigned.
5. Let each co-ordinator select the base from which to work such as Washington, Bangor, Chicago, Spokane, or Plains and be independent of the other two in order to obtain maximum exercise of talents. Provide however that they could work together on such occasions as circumstances might warrant with the decision left to each co-ordinator.
6. Require each co-ordinator to file a written report each week on activities.
7. Require that weekly reports normally carry irregularities noted and recommendations for improving procedures and practices whether or not irregularities should be noted. Provide the option however of omitting the specific nature or details of any particular study until completion of such study.
8. Require that reports of each co-ordinator should go to the head of the department or bureau to which assigned; that copies go to the chairman and ranking minority member of the appropriate senate committee; to the chairman and the ranking minority member of the appropriate house committee; and that copies of all reports go to the White House.
9. Require that within 60 or 90 days, the department or bureau head make ^{replies/}written/ to such reports and state actions taken if any, and if none, the reasons why.
10. Require that all such reports be published UNLESS a majority of each committee of Congress vote not to publish specific reports.

- continued -

There seems to be widespread agreement that millions of citizens have lost faith in government. All the blame can not rest on those in government since they represent a cross section of the people and share the people's limited virtues and less limited vices.

However the blame should be allocated, there appears to be a desperate need to restore the faith in government. The writer believes that providing continuous information from sources with the minimum bias is the best way to restore the faith in government. The head of government would be demonstrating his belief in the people's right to know.

Congress needs to be kept informed in order to legislate properly and such a continuous flow should be helpful. It could be instrumental in avoiding some sensational investigations which tend to destroy faith in government.

Such a continuous flow of information should also be beneficial to top administrators because they would be apt to get information which might not reach them otherwise. On many irregularities, they would be able to take corrective action before the irregularities became public knowledge. They would also get a better insight into practices and procedures which need changing.

Naturally, there would be concern about sensitive matters being revealed. Section 10 should provide the maximum insurance against that should there be a need. It would be reasonable however to expect the president to exercise the same care in selecting co-ordinators as would be used in making other appointments such as the judiciary.

~~Under section 10, the provision for letting each co-ordinator select his or her base from which to operate would permit the most flexible working conditions and keep many in the field and thereby in closer touch with the people. Therefore, a co-ordinator could work from any point selected.~~

On sensitive matters, co-ordinators could be relied on to exercise judgment in making reports or to mark them as being restricted. With congressional committees acting as a final safety check, revealing matters best kept secret should be held to the minimum. Compare that with leaks to newspeople some of whom are more interested in a sensational story than in national welfare.

Under section 5, the provision for letting each co-ordinator select his or her base from which to operate would permit the most flexible working conditions and keep many in the field and thereby in closer touch with the people. Therefore, a co-ordinator could work from any point selected.

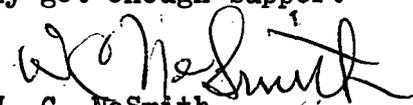
Under section 6, the weekly reports would tend to eliminate neglecting the job since such reports would constitute the work record. It would be to the advantage of each co-ordinator to show justification for being on the payroll.

Under section 9, requiring the head of the department or bureau to make written replies within a reasonable period would go a long way toward correcting the procedures which are called bureaucracy - namely delays and inaction.

The fact of having conscientious people making regular checks would be similar to having a policeman on the block. Such presence does not eliminate irregularities or crime but most people would agree that it is effective in reducing them.

The candidate who proposed such a program could conceivably get enough support to carry all the way to the White House.

Respectfully,


W. C. NeSmith,
1350 Nicholson Road,
Jacksonville, Fla. 32207
December 5, 1975.