

Correspondence Answered – 8/17/76 [2]

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ANS.
8-17-76

Jul 22, 1976

Mr. Hamilton Jordan
Campaign Manager
Jimmy Carter Campaign Headquarters
1795 Peachtree Road NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Subject: How to avoid strikes without paying an arm and a leg.

Wesley

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Gov. Carter's November election being reasonably certain, he will soon face our two main problems: inflation and unemployment. Their origin in collective bargaining should be therefore of interest.

We grant ourselves arbitrary rewards through a rigged process, and when the economy cannot sustain them the Government is expected to rush in with the necessary billions (which it must take out of the economy one way or another). It must show somewhere, and it does.

The fact is that we cannot postulate our standard of living (and wages) any more than a butcher can arbitrarily start taking more out of his cash register, though both can fool themselves for a while. Why don't poor countries simply legislate themselves rich?

Far from us trying to keep up with inflation, inflation is economy's way to keep up with us, and with our gimmicks. But not all of us are guilty. Charts and figures can show the ever growing share of national income needed to appease a voracious special interest group, the labor unions.

Because of their power politicians refuse to face the problem and escape into the complexity of High Economics. But is that really smart politics? Union membership amounts only to 25% of our work force. There is no solution to inflation and unemployment on union terms, and a 75% constituency is waiting.

Why not invite the unions publicly (after the election) to work out among themselves what piece of national pie each one should get? Put on the spot, they won't be able to refuse without losing credibility. Ask them for a table of coefficients that would proportion available income among members of different unions. They will strangle each other.

And how much do they intend to leave to the working majority of second class citizens without union card? Let facts and figures start coming out before the nation's eyes. Could there be a more exciting TV program (if well directed)? Nothing antilabor, of course - we are prolabor. Pro those 75%.

There is much more to it, naturally, but how does it compare so far with the hazy New Frontiers and Great Societies promising something for nothing? We can achieve a lot but not without paying the price. And the President could make history the first month in office.

1055 Washington Blvd.
Stamford, Conn. 06901

Sincerely,
Miro J. Piroutek
Miro J. Piroutek

poli·tics incorporated

ANS.
8-17-76
SN

July 21, 1976

Mr. Hamilton Jordan
Campaign Director
Carter Headquarters
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I might be thoroughly mistaken, but I believe that the residual resistance of many liberals stems from the lack of a clearly stated and-or perceived unifying theme in your campaign. On this assumption, I have taken the liberty of writing a short speech for Governor Carter which includes one possible such theme.

Feel free to use the speech, if you see any value in it. Apart from its substance, I believe that there is value even in the formal approach outlined there. John F. Kennedy and the New Frontier, Lyndon B. Johnson and the Great Society. These are more than slogans. In a world which is in constant haste, they define a campaign, an administration, and a man.

Your banner might be Jimmy Carter and Economic Security.

Even though it can be taken at many levels, I am sure you will not underestimate the importance of the commitment which such banner presumes.

Trusting your judgement, I shall be satisfied with whichever decision you take. I shall be at your disposal, however, should you feel the need for any further elaboration upon that theme.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Dr. Carmine Gorga

Enclosure
CG/jmm

politics incorporated

A Pledge: Economic Security

In 1776 our Forefathers declared our Political Independence. Today, in 1976, we must prepare the ground for a Declaration of Economic Independence.

Economic Independence means that no one, but no one, will evermore go hungry in our country - or will he suffer from lack of shelter and medical care.

Economic Independence means that no one, but no one, who is capable and willing to work will have to remain idle.

Economic Independence means that in the future no one, but no one, will have to suffer from inflation or deflation.

To eliminate poverty, to have full-employment, to have no inflation or deflation it requires that we be free to create our means of livelihood - and create them as plentiful and beautiful as we wish.

We did not achieve full political independence for all citizens in 1776. We simply declared our intention then; and we became a beacon to the world. We became "the best hope of the world." The fulfillment of that promise, the realization of that hope has taken a tremendously long time. That is a task which has occupied us for the first two hundred years; and, no doubt, will require our energies and attention in the future as well.

Economic Independence cannot be achieved in 1976. It cannot be achieved because the majority of the people do not believe it is their right to have. And Economic Independence cannot be achieved before a majority of the people will want it.

To want economic independence it requires, first of all, that we shall want to live within our means - all the while we are free to push those limits upwards. And who wants to do this today?

How many people are really free to push their own limits upward today? And among those who can, how many do it? And among those who are free to push their limits upwards and do take full advantage of their freedom, how many have been trained to live within their means?

It will take more than a declaration of economic independence to let us realize that if we want to live beyond our means, our forests will be destroyed at a pace faster than they can be replenished; the non-renewable resources of the world will be used for non-essential purposes; the landscape will be despoiled; and human beings will be exploited.

The campaign of education, the campaign of relentless care for the intelligent use of our resources - human and natural resources - will not be carried out in one day, one year, or even four years. If I am elected President, I pledge - not to issue a Declaration of Economic Independence, because this is a declaration which can be issued only by each and everyone of us individually. I pledge to work for Economic Security. I pledge to foster those measures which create economic security for as close to one hundred percent of the people as possible; and I pledge to oppose all those measures which threaten our individual economic security. I pledge to work for those public policies which create a climate in which each one of us can proclaim his or her Economic Independence.



NEW YORK STATE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

DIVISION FOR YOUTH

84 HOLLAND AVE.

ALBANY, N.Y. 12208

PETER B. EDELMAN
DIRECTOR

July 1, 1976

ANS.
8-17-76
SN

Mr. Hamilton Jordan
Carter Campaign Headquarters
P. O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia

Issues

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Enclosed are items which I have written relating to a National Service and Employment Program for Young People which Andy Young tells me would be of interest to Jimmy Carter.

I know how harassed you are, but if you have a chance to take a look, particularly at the brief Position Paper, and to raise the issue with Governor Carter at some appropriate time, I would appreciate it.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,


Peter B. Edelman
Director

Enclosures

POSITION PAPER
YOUTH SERVICE AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT
SUBMITTED TO GOVERNOR JIMMY CARTER

BY:

PETER B. EDELMAN, DIRECTOR
N.Y.S. DIVISION FOR YOUTH

AND

RICHARD BOONE
CITIZENS' POLICY CENTER
SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

Premises:

I. There are millions of youngsters in inner cities and rural areas all over America who have neither a job, a present hope of obtaining a job, nor the capacity, either financially or by way of their educational attainment, to pursue further education as an immediate matter.

II. There are millions of other young people, some from the group above and many others, who are cynical about their country and what it stands for, and who, given the opportunity, would make a constructive contribution to serving their fellow citizens.

III. There are others, overlapping with both groups above, who are hurt by the combined demands of America's educational system and labor market that they stay in school for twelve or sixteen or more consecutive years before their full participation in American life is desired. Many of these young people would see the utility of pursuing further education as a result of the focussing and motivating impetus of work and public service experience.

IV. There is meaningful service and work to be performed in America by young people rebuilding "bombed out" sections of American cities and providing badly needed roads and community facilities in rural areas, helping to take care of America's old, very young (in day care and Head Start centers), mentally retarded, and others, and helping to reclaim America's environment.

V. The worlds of education and work in American society are separate and distinct from one another, and this separation keeps far too many young people from meaningful activity between the ages of 16 and 22 and from finding their way into full participation in American Society in the manner that is most effective for them.

VI. Young people are maturing faster than ever, and are ready to assume greater responsibility than we currently offer them.

Proposals:

I. The National Youth Service Program

Every youngster in America who so desires should be guaranteed a year of service in some activity which would be of benefit to his or her fellow citizens. The program should be available to youngsters between the ages of 16 and 22. The stipend should be large enough, perhaps \$5,000, to make it worthwhile for a youngster who has no other source of income. Agencies or organizations wishing to enlist youth service volunteers would register with the appropriate state or local agency designated to administer the program, with federal certification by decentralized federal offices. Funds would be available, with appropriate guidelines, to support agency supervision of the volunteers and such things as building materials. The stipends of the young people would be 100 per cent financed by the federal government, while the assistance to the receiving agencies and organizations would be made available on a 75 per cent federal, 25 per cent State or local matching basis. Actual matching of the enrollee to the placement would be done by a local outlet of the federal agency assigned to administer the program. The program would take in, and build upon, the existing ACTION agency and such scattered programs as the Youth Conservation Corps.

II. Expanded Apprenticeships for Young People

Manpower projections show projected shortages in various skilled service areas, including a number not traditionally covered by unionization. Existing local programs reveal skilled crafts people in such fields as auto mechanics and electronics, who would welcome the prospect of training an apprentice and receiving his or her work in return on a subsidized basis, until the training is completed. Local manpower offices could be directed to develop registries of available apprenticeships and to recruit and place young people in such apprenticeships. This could be built on existing Labor Department programs, especially in the area of on-the-job training. Federal money should be provided on a matching basis for this effort.

III. Expanded Work-Study Opportunities

Colleges and universities, especially those interested in the rapidly expanding areas of undergraduate and master's level, public service and other professional studies are looking for places in which to give their students practical experience. Public agencies are looking for ways to receive the services of undergraduate and graduate students while they are still learning. Work-study programs in the past have mainly been used for the subsidization of campus-based work, in cafeterias and the like. An expanded and redefined work-study program would be a key way in which the current rigid separation between the classroom and the work place could be bridged. Equally important, an expanded work-study concept could reach young people who have stopped studying short of high school graduation, and who might well be induced to pursue their high school equivalency and beyond if this were offered in conjunction with work opportunities. Funds would be provided to support the educational aspects of the program as well as the stipends for the young people.

Special preference might be given in the apprenticeship and work-study areas to young people who had completed a year of national service. In-

deed, all three efforts could be combined in one agency at the federal level, so that potential placement sources could receive young people in all three categories.

Examples:

I. A State agency for the mentally retarded, or an individual program or school for the mentally retarded, might apply to receive either one-year national service volunteers, work-study students, or both. For the one-year placements, the applicant would have to demonstrate that the young people would be doing meaningful work with retarded people. For work-study, it would have to show an effective partnership with local education institutions, indicating how people in the program would be able to pursue their degrees, whether they were high school equivalency, college or graduate.

II. A housing or redevelopment agency, or an inner-city non-profit community development corporation might apply to receive young people in any of the three categories. The proposed work involved might be the rehabilitation of a block of housing in the community involved, or the building of a road or school or community center in a rural area.

III. A local day care or Head Start center, or a public agency which administers such programs, might apply to receive young people to work with small children, thereby extending the effectiveness of professional early childhood teachers. Again, they might either come on a one-year volunteer service basis, or be part of a larger effort which involves an educational combination.

IV. A social service agency or neighborhood multi-service center might utilize the young people to extend the effectiveness of drug and alcohol abuse treatment programs, or of probation, parole and aftercare workers whose caseloads so often are too large to allow for truly effective service.

Further Questions:

I. How much would the program cost and how would the money be allocated? For the one year national service program itself, there would be an open-ended appropriation, since the proposal is to accept every young person between the ages of 16 and 22 who wishes to participate. If a million young people a year were to elect participation at \$5,000 apiece, the cost of this open-ended appropriation would be \$5 billion a year. The matching federal funds for participating placement agencies, for the apprenticeship program, and for work-study should be provided on a formula basis. A portion of this should be allocated to each State, and a portion should be mandated to pass through to larger localities. It should also be mandated that the remainder of the counties in each State be treated as a unit for administrative purposes by the State government. To begin with, \$500,000,000 a year might be made available for the supportive service program, \$500,000,000 a year for the apprenticeship program, and \$2 billion for work-study. The total would therefore be \$8 billion but, since present appropriations of about \$2 billion would be folded into the program, the net additional cost would be \$6 billion.

II. Who would administer the program at the federal level? Preferably, the program should be administered by one agency, probably a new office within HEW, or possibly a part of the Executive office of the President.

III. Who would administer the program at the local level? States and localities should be mandated to set up Offices of Youth Affairs. Existing youth service agencies and youth bureaus could be designated as the single State or local administrative agency, but broader social service, welfare, and manpower agencies should not be permissible designees. Liaison with related agencies in education and manpower, and with constituent groups, should be required via advisory council mechanisms.

IV. How would local initiative be preserved? The choice of placement resources would be accomplished locally, with federal certification within a required brief time period. The distribution of apprenticeship and work-study moneys would be accomplished locally, again with a federal sign off. The only matter appropriate for direct federal administration would be the placement of the one-year volunteers, in order to assure cross-regional placement possibilities where that is appropriate.

V. How would private enterprise be involved? Private firms could apply as placement resources in the apprenticeship and work-study areas and, under carefully drawn guidelines, in the one-year national service category as well.

VI. How would participation of minority and low income youth be assured? Guidelines would require target percentage participation of such youth, but the program would also emphasize that young people of all backgrounds should work side by side in the various service and employment settings.



NEW YORK STATE DIVISION FOR YOUTH

81 Holland Ave.
Albany, New York 12208

Peter B. Edelman
Director

October 14, 1975

FOR A.M.S. RELEASE - 10/15/75

Direct inquiries to:
Donald Murray
Director of Communications
518-474-2899

NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y.--Linking rising unemployment to the prospect of an increase in the youth crime rate, Peter B. Edelman, director of the New York State Division for Youth, outlined a plan for a youth work program in a speech opening the first National Conference on Delinquency Prevention here last night (Oct. 14).

"Where there are no jobs, and where there is no hope of jobs, there will be more crime," Edelman said.

Citing the special crisis of unemployment among the young, Edelman called for a nationwide response to the growing problem.

Once a legislative adviser to Sen. Robert Kennedy, the recently appointed director of the Division for Youth recommended a rechanneling of public funds now going to "small receptacles labelled Neighborhood Youth Corps, Vista, University Year for Action, College Work Study, and all the rest, and let us combine them into a new significantly enlarged program of work, public service and educational opportunity, which is widely available to the young people of this country."

Edelman called for the formation of a national agency to distribute the redirected funds on a formula basis to states and localities, which would then redistribute the monies on a competitive basis to public agencies, private, non-profit agencies and private businesses, and in some instances to groups of young people directly. Every application, he said, would have to demonstrate a work and education component.

Although he envisioned the program as one to serve in major proportion unemployed young people, dropouts and youths from poverty areas, Edelman said the program should also emphasize that young people of all backgrounds can work side by side in jobs.

Edelman welcomed the delegates on behalf of Governor Carey, who was unable to attend because of other commitments.

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ADDRESS OF

PETER B. EDELMAN

DIRECTOR

NEW YORK STATE DIVISION FOR YOUTH

FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

NIAGARA FALLS, NEW YORK

OCTOBER 14, 1975

8:00 P. M.

Welcome. Welcome to New York. Welcome to Niagara Falls. Welcome on behalf of the New York State Division for Youth to this, the first National Conference on Delinquency Prevention.

This is an exciting and tremendously important occasion, for it represents the gathering of hundreds of people, and, through what you will take back to your local communities, the reaching of thousands more, on behalf of the proposition that the most effective way to deal with juvenile delinquency is to prevent it in the first place -- to put a fair measure of our resources and our efforts in the direction of stopping delinquency before it starts. We in New York have believed this for a long time as my New York colleagues will undoubtedly make clear more than once during this conference. I know the rest of you believe this too, or you would not be here.

Before I go further, let me also extend to you the warm greetings and best wishes of the Governor of the State of New York, the Honorable Hugh L. Carey. As many of you know, the Governor had hoped to be here this evening. Today's events in the daily drama unfolding at the other end of our State prevented his attendance. I know we all realize that the fiscal crisis of New York City directly affects our efforts on behalf of young people. So even though the Governor is not with us, he is working on our behalf. He asked me to convey his personal wishes for the success of this conference and his deep interest in hearing about the ideas and thoughts that emerge from the exchanges of the next few days.

A national conference to talk about delinquency prevention just now is a bit like being thrust onto a roller coaster, and trying to find something to hold on to, just as it is beginning its deepest plunge. For I need not tell you that America is facing its greatest economic crisis since the great depression, and if unemployment has reached 1 in 10 American workers generally, it is a way of life for more than half the young people in every inner city neighborhood in this country. For these young people the high hopes of the 1960's have come and gone, leaving hopelessness and desperation, made all the more intense by the memories of hope that still persist. But now, in 1975, there are thousands of young people on street corners, especially in the inner city, who have to know they may never have a job.

Where there are no jobs, and where there is no hope of jobs, there will be more crime. So if we are meeting at a perilous moment, it is also true that our convening could not be more timely.

We have a crisis, a crisis of unemployment, and especially a crisis of unemployment for our young people, that urgently needs and deserves response. And the response that should be developed must be a response as a nation. We can act individually, we can act in our localities, we can act as States. But what we need most of all is a response as a country. When we were fighting the great war, we responded by assembling the greatest group of scientific experts we had available and we unlocked the secret of nuclear fission. When we say it as our national agenda to put a man on the moon, we responded again, and the task, a science fiction dream at the outset, was accomplished.

Now we must respond again, for the safety of our communities and the life possibilities of millions of young people are at stake.

There is another problem, equally as important in its own way, which should be addressed simultaneously, for even as there are millions of young people who cannot find work, there are millions of others who have grown up with the war in Vietnam and after that a President who tried to interfere with and dismantle our fundamental democratic processes. These young people are by now deeply cynical and deeply mistrustful of our government and of our institutions. The flame of public service which burned so brightly through the Peace Corps and through Vista, and in a hundred other ways, is now but a faint flicker.

So we must respond, As Abraham Lincoln said "We must think anew. We must act anew. We must transcend ourselves".

How are we to respond? Let me begin by laying out some basic premises. First, there is real work to be done, real service to our country. Some of it is in caring for others. We have literally millions of people in America who cannot care for themselves - old people in homes for the aged and nursing homes; retarded people, especially children, kept in institutions; little children in day care, Head Start, and other early childhood programs; and children of school age who for some reason or another are not getting as much as they need from our schools.

There is also real work to be done in rebuilding our country, especially in the inner city, but often in forgotten rural areas. Go to virtually any large American city and you will find abandoned areas, devastated areas that look like parts of Germany or London after World War II, or go to Appalachia and you will find children who cannot get to school in the springtime because the roads up into the hollows where they live turn into seas of mud.

And there is work to be done in reclaiming our environment, in restoring forests and parks laid waste by man's carelessness, and in cleaning our lakes and rivers and streams. So let no one think that proposals to provide jobs for our fellow citizens will be make-work. Let no one think that we must set people to raking leaves in order to have work. There is real work to be done.

A second premise. The worlds of education and work have for too long been treated separately in our thinking. We have assumed, on the whole, that the American norm is 12 or 16 or more years of continuous schooling to be followed by a life of work. We have too often assumed that those who do finish school will automatically get a job. We have too often assumed that completion of a job training program will be sufficient to produce - magically, I would suppose - a job at the other end of the pipeline. Even our congressional committees are bifurcated, with one subcommittee in each house handling education and another handling questions of manpower and poverty.

If we have learned anything from the 1960's, it is that there is, or at least that there should be, no clear line between the world of schooling and the world of work, that it should be possible for work experience to be a part of education, so that the young man or woman can test out and apply the ideas that are offered abstractly and conceptually in the classroom.

We should have learned as well that the desire to learn is so often fueled by the need to learn, that people of all ages, and especially young people, will develop ideas for career advancement or career change based on their experience in the world of work and will make much better use of opportunities for school when they grow out of that work experience.

There is a third premise, one that is perhaps implicit in the second. Our young people are growing up faster and maturing faster in this electronic age. In simpler times when America was still struggling at the frontier, and when higher education was reserved for the elite of the elite, young people began working on the farm or serving as apprentices at very young ages. Partly for humanitarian reasons - witness the child labor laws, partly to extend opportunity, and possibly to delay the entrance of young people into the labor market of an industrial society, we gradually created what has for many young people come to be a period of marking time. As the recent report of the President's Science and Advisory Committee Panel on Youth, called Youth: Transition into Adulthood, tells us, and as we can see from looking around us, the pendulum has now begun to swing back, and properly so. Young people all over the country are chafing, ready to assume productive effort at an age younger than we have been willing to provide it.

These three major premises, as well as the twin underlying crises of unemployment and widespread youthful cynicism about America, lead me to my proposal. Let us take all the funds which are now in small receptacles labelled Neighborhood Youth Corps, Vista, University Year for Action, College Work Study, and all the rest, and let us combine them into a new significantly enlarged program of work, public service, and educational opportunity, which is widely available to the young people of this country.

How might this work? One national agency might be given a large appropriation which would then be distributed on a formula basis to States and localities. These entities would in turn be charged with distributing funds on a competitive basis, to public agencies, private non-profit agencies and private businesses, and in some instances to groups of young people directly.

Every application would have to demonstrate a work and an education component.

A State department of mental health might apply for funds to put young people to work in schools and community residences for the mentally retarded. The application would have to show the arrangements proposed for providing high school equivalency to those who lack it and arrangements for simultaneous college enrollment for those who wish it. The young people who enter therein would need to be assured that, for some of them at least, the open door is not merely to an entry-level dead-end job as a ward attendant but rather to a career if educational opportunities are pursued and competencies demonstrated.

A college or university might apply, demonstrating the arrangements it has made to place its students in work situations related to their education - whatever career area might be involved. It might also show how it planned to reach out to involve young people not yet ready for college.

A local housing or redevelopment agency, or private community development corporation might be another sort of applicant. Such an agency might indicate a vacant area of a city which it wishes to rebuild or a block of houses which it wishes to rehabilitate or a rural area which needs a road or a school or a community center. Provision should be made for the involvement of local trade unions in the training and supervision of the young workers. Funds would have to be made available for the necessary building materials and other capital necessities involved. The same requirements for educational opportunities would apply.

Still another applicant might be a local multi-service center or an agency which runs social services. Young people could be employed to extend the effectiveness of drug and alcohol abuse treatment programs, of probation, parole and aftercare workers and others whose case loads, as we all know, are so large they cannot effectively serve all whom they are supposed to serve.

Think about day care centers. As many of you know, debate is raging nationally concerning the maintenance of strict guidelines on the ratio of child-serving personnel to children served. Why not extend the effectiveness of the more expensive early childhood teachers by using the young people who would be participants in our youth employment program?

Job programs in the private sector were popular briefly in the 1960's. If we are willing to use the Internal Revenue Code to subsidize the acquisition of needed plant and equipment, I see no reason why we could not also make an investment in the human side of the equation - not by fits and starts we we have in the past, not on a last in, first out basis, but on the basis of subsidizing the initial employment of young people as they acquire needed further education, in return for a commitment to continue a just percentage of them as a part of the permanent labor force.

Guidelines would have to be established to ensure that the unemployed young people, the dropouts, if I may use the terminology of the '60's, the young people from poverty areas, are the majority of those served, but the program should also emphasize that young people of all backgrounds can work side by side in jobs - in many cases in the beginnings of careers which are productive for themselves and will serve society at the same time.

...the rough contours of the plan. It is obvious that many details will have to be discussed and worked out. How do we offer adequate protection to existing employees? How do we ensure that we do not undermine principles of collective bargaining? How do we provide for the adequate infusion of capital investment where that is necessary? What is the nature of the partnership which must be developed between the serving agencies and the schools, colleges and universities which would have to be the primary resource for the educational program involved? And there are many, many more.

Nonetheless, I believe this is a practical and viable approach and I know that it is both urgent and essential. What is needed now is for people like all of us to begin the process of debate and discussion, among ourselves and with our representatives in Washington, in both the legislative and executive branches.

You have many other things before you in the coming days, all of them important, but I urge you to make this a priority item on your agenda, both formal and informal. I urge you to take the question of employment and public service for our young people back to your communities and have further discussion and development to see that it gets to Washington.

We can do no less. All of us must continue to do everything possible to keep families together, to work with young people individually who are on the verge of trouble, and to provide decent and humane services to those who do get into trouble. But I cannot stress too strongly that all of these efforts will ultimately be far more difficult if we do not join together and get others to join us in replacing the hopelessness with hope, replacing desperation with opportunity, and replacing the necessity of crime with a chance for change.

ANS.
8-17-76
SN

July 21st. 1976

Issue

How. Hamilton Jordan
Carter Campaign Managers
Atlanta, Georgia

Campaign Issues

My Dear Mr. Jordan:

You have invited citizen input, and as a life long Democratic activist and early Carter contributor, I offer these suggestions.

1. Because there are 93 million employed as contrasted to 10 million unemployed, and because each person holding a job tends somewhat to a more conservative philosophy, the Campaign issues on spending for welfare and unemployment should bear a tilt more toward center. This era differs from 1932 in that, then, no man was certain of his job.

2. Welfare Programs: there are entirely too many, and, in a number of cases, duplicative. From actual experience on Boards, I find much of them eaten by Administration expenses and patronage, with little trickling down to the poor. I sense a general disgust with the situation and believe the Public would welcome a candidate who would propose (1) universal, or close to it, standards of relief, to prevent migrations to the North West cities for higher rates; (2) one payment, sufficient to provide a liveable coupled with some work conditions for those able to work. In so doing, one fixed annual sum would permit a substantial reduction in the vast Bureaucracy administering these programs. Stamps, breakfasts, etc. would no longer be necessary.

Page 2

Campaign Issues & Suggestions

The rebuilding of American Railroads with Government financial assistance, is an example of the type of private enterprise offering much employment very close to the public sector, and ~~is~~ acceptable by the public.

Abortion: this is a straw issue. The Church's hierarchy support has only in a relatively small but vocal minority (mostly female) and fearful legislators. The vast in migration of poverty Black and Spanish peoples to the Northern Cities has excited the blue collar residents to far more expensive living in the suburbs, and, in my opinion, their views on the subject have changed.
As proof: Phila.'s State Rep. Martin Mullen, the official Church spokesman in the Penna. Legislature Campaigned for Governor squarely on the abortion and birth control issues and was defeated 4 to 1 (20%) by Shepp in the last election. (note: Penna. is believed to have a majority of Catholic voters).
I congratulate Gov. Carter on his perception of the need for birth control as the basic remedy for our over population.

Tax Reform: While most of the hundreds of 'loopholes' favor high income and big business groups, there are some which reach or trickle down to the lower bracket people, such as house taxes and mortgage interest. I suggest that the candidates be specific in their promises of reform; only as to a dozen or so of the more glaring high income escapes. These tax payers vote Republican in any event. Of the proposals advanced are too broad, the lower bracket people will become nervous and alienated.

Campaign Issues and Suggestions

Illegal Immigration: estimated to be as much as 1,000,000 a year with 7 to 8 millions here already. Senator Eastman has time and again, on behalf of big agribusiness, tabled legislation beefing up the Immigration Service. However, it would be a most popular subject of political scrutiny and attack on several grounds, viz: (1) Taking jobs from our own citizens at much lower wages (under threats of exposure to Immigration Service.); (2) increasing our huge welfare cost as friendly service people blanket them in; (3) posing an unnecessary threat to Social Security system; and (4) further adding to the decay of our cities.

Presently, it would seem that the Caribbean and Latin American populations with their 3% birth rate are moving en masse here. If left unchecked, this tide will prevent any reduction in the unemployment figure.

Very Truly Yours
Henry Gouley

July 23, 1976

ANS.
8-17-76
SN
[Handwritten signature]

Jimmy Carter
c/o PO Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Governor Carter:

AMEX-Canada is an eight-year-old magazine published by American deserters and draft resisters exiled in Canada. I write on behalf of our Editorial Board, on the instructions of Stuart Eizenstat. The following outlines our position on amnesty for war resisters and other of the war's victims, the position we hope you will come to embrace as well, and will implement upon assuming the presidency.

NEEDING AMNESTY

War-era veterans with less-than-honorable discharges:

790,000

Draft non-registrants (Selective Service figures):

500,000 - 1.7 million

Indicted or indictable draft resisters (Justice Department figures):

4,400

Deserters-at-large:

8,000 - 40,000

Civilian resisters with "criminal records" or still imprisoned:

unknown tens of thousands

Former Americans newly naturalized to other citizenship (e.g. Canadian) now excluded or excludable from the U.S.:

unknown thousands

VETERANS WITH BAD DISCHARGES

790,000 war-era veterans with-less-than-honorable discharges suffer lifetime hardships for their acts of resistance to the war within the military, desertion from the military, or their victimization by arbitrary military "justice." Less-than-honorable discharges are literally life sentences to under- or unemployment and the loss of such basic civil rights as union membership, loans, insurance, VA benefits including treatment for war injuries, and sometimes even voting. In addition to opposing the U.S. role in Southeast Asia, these vets frequently rebelled against the racism endemic to the military, particularly a military fighting against a Third World "enemy." Less-than-honorably discharged veterans are far disproportionately from black and other minority communities. In 1972, the only year

for which such records are available, black GIs made up approximately 12% of the services, yet received 33% of that year's Dishonorable Discharges, 21% of its Bad Conduct Discharges, 17% of its Undesirable Discharges, 20% of the General Discharges, and only 9% of the Honorable Discharges.

Over 90% of these less-than-honorable discharges were issued "administratively," with no semblance of due process, on the word or whim of a commanding officer, frequently without the GI even knowing the real reason for the discharge. These life-destroying discharges were issued for a variety of unchallengeable "reasons" such as "apathy," "unsuitability," or "insubordination," frequently masking antiwar organizing and resistance. No GI was ever charged with being "antiwar." Less than 10% of these discharges relate to what can be called actual crimes. Over 90% are for "offenses" that have no parallels in civilian law, but are rather infractions of purely military procedures or discipline. For those relatively few who actually committed serious crimes, a bad discharge is an additional, lifelong punishment piled on top of prison sentences already served, after they have already "paid their debt to society." Nobody "deserves" a bad discharge.

The discharge system itself is an unjust extension of military authority into our civilian lives. The military should not be permitted to brand Americans as "undesirable" for civilian employment and unworthy of basic civil rights. A true amnesty would leave no veteran permanently stigmatized with a less-than-honorable discharge, whatever the individual circumstances of the case. All such discharges should be upgraded to the only discharge that is not a lifetime punishment: Honorable Discharges. The current discharge system should be replaced with one that employs a single type of non-stigmatizing discharge.

DRAFT NON-REGISTRANTS

According to the Selective Service System, the number of people who refused to register for the draft at the age of eighteen or thereafter is between 500,000 and 1.7 million. If discovered, these people face the same punishment as any draft resister: five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. They live essentially underground lives in the nations rural areas and urban ghettos, without real names or security, and will continue to do so until they are granted amnesty.

INDICTED OR INDICTABLE DRAFT RESISTERS

In early 1975 the Justice Department released its "final list" of indicted and indictable draft resisters, numbering 4,400. Draft resisters are those whose acts of resistance to participation in the military occurred before induction: they resisted being drafted. They are perhaps the best known of those in need of amnesty, but represent, as a group, not only the smallest constituency needing amnesty, but also the only group that is mainly white, middle class, and highly educated.

Whether one's act of resistance occurred before or after induction is largely a function of class and race. More privileged people were exposed to the antiwar movement in universities while their service was being deferred, had ample access to draft counseling and legal assistance, and faced the decision in their mid-twenties prepared to refuse induction. These are the draft resisters. Poorer, disproportionately black and other

minority people, faced the draft at eighteen, without exposure to the antiwar movement, and without draft counseling or access to deferments. These are the deserters and vets with bad discharges. They went in, learned about the war firsthand, and very frequently decided to resist on the inside or desert. The peak war years saw over 100,000 desertions per year. 800,000 war-era vets have less-than-honorable discharges. These are the working class and minority forms of resistance. Draft resistance is a middle class form. "Blanket" treatment of draft resisters with case-by-case consideration of deserters and no one else eligible for your amnesty/"pardon" is inherently discriminatory on the basis of race and class.

DESERTERS

According to the Pentagon, there were over 423,000 acts of desertion during the war. Most of these deserters have since either been caught or turned themselves in. They are now among the 790,000 war-era vets with less-than-honorable discharges, permanently stigmatized and permanently unemployable. Honorable Discharges are the only real "pardon" for deserters, and both those deserters still "at large" and those who have already been caught and now have less-than-honorable discharges, often in addition to prison sentences, must get Honorable Discharges if your amnesty/"pardon" is to be more than rhetoric. Stuart Eizenstat told me "... whether (Carter's "pardon") means you then retroactively give (deserters) Honorable Discharges I sort of doubt, frankly." (AMEX interview, June 18, 1976) Yet that is exactly what your pardon of deserters, both those still "at large" and those already caught, punished, and double-punished with bad discharges must be if we are truly to relieve these people of lifelong stigma, loss of rights and unemployability.

It is difficult to estimate the number of "deserters-at-large." The Pentagon now admits to 4,400 (only a few months ago DoD figures indicated 7,200. In late 1974, President Ford spoke of 30,000. The statistics of the Ford "Clemency Program" do not explain these differences). During the Ford program it became clear that the files of many, perhaps most returning deserters were not filed as "deserters," but were in active duty files. Extrapolating from the percentage of deserters' files still officially "active duty," we estimate between between 8,000 and 30,000 "deserters-at-large." Around one-third are exiled, mostly in Canada and Sweden. Two-thirds of these deserters are underground in the U.S.

The following is excerpted from the AMEX interview with Stuart Eizenstat of June 18, which presumably represents your current thinking on a program to deal with this issue:

Eizenstat (speaking about the projected criteria for the eligibility of deserters in your amnesty program): "First would be whether in fact their desertion was due to their opposition to the war as opposed to other things. That's the sine qua non, without which nothing can be done. And secondly would be the circumstances surrounding the desertion, whether it was under fire or not under fire, the precise circumstances."

Let us separate these two "reasons" for case-by-case review of deserters. First, to require deserters to demonstrate or "prove" their antiwar motivation when those far better equipped by their educational backgrounds to articulate such motivations -- the middle class draft resisters -- are not required to do so is clearly discriminatory on the basis of race and class. How are deserters to "prove" their motivations for acts that took place up to a decade ago, at a time when GIs who voiced or recorded antiwar views

were inviting a trip to Vietnam or the stockade? For the great majority of deserters, such "proof" does not and cannot exist. Thus, despite many studies conclusively linking each escalation of the war with meteoric leaps in desertion rates, the military will be able to use this projected case-by-case review to "prove" its own traditional contention that people leave the Army essentially for "personal reasons." If "proof" of specific antiwar motivation for desertion is indeed to be the "sine qua non, without which nothing can be done (for deserters)" than it can safely be assumed that little or nothing will be done for these people.

Once again, whether one absented oneself from the military before or after induction (draft resistance vs. desertion) is largely a function of class and race. To assume the antiwar motivation of largely campus-bound draft resisters, but require demonstrations of such motivation from those who had direct experience with combat veterans or the war itself is to draw an illogical and artificial distinction, and one objectively discriminatory on the basis of race and class. Furthermore, to do so is to assume that academic study of secondhand information is a sturdier basis from which to draw conclusions than is direct experience with reality. To demand antiwar articulation from those least prepared by their educational backgrounds to do so successfully (non-white and/or working class CO applicants were almost invariably denied CO status by local boards), while assuming the antiwar motivations of those best equipped to articulate them is neither logical nor just.

As for the second aspect of Stuart Eizenstat's formulation, that case-by-case judgment is necessary to separate out those who deserted under battlefield conditions and jeopardized the lives of their compatriots: according to the Pentagon itself, the percentage of Vietnam-era desertions which took place under battlefield conditions was under 1%. According to the final report of the Presidential Clemency Board that recently processed thousands of war-era deserters, the percentage of battlefield desertions was under .1%. Are the lives of hundreds of thousands of war-era deserters, most already captured and now suffering under less-than-honorable discharges, along with tens of thousands of "deserters-at-large" to be tied up in legal procedures for years while a "hearing officer" seeks to probe the largely unrecorded psychological motivations for acts that occurred years ago, and seeks to sift out the .1% of deserters who left under battlefield conditions? Surely not. All deserters, and all those veterans who resisted the war in other ways (e.g. refused orders to Vietnam, distributed antiwar literature, etc.) and now bear the permanent punishment of less-than-honorable discharges for such acts must receive the only discharges which are not punishing: Honorable Discharges.

CIVILIAN RESISTERS

Unknown tens of thousands of Americans have municipal, state or Federal criminal records, and many have Federal conviction records, for putting their bodies in the path of the U.S. war machine. Some raided draft boards; others obstructed the movement of munitions or troops. Most were simply antiwar demonstrators. A convicted Federal felon faces severe employment hardship, is barred from public office and forbidden to vote. Your amnesty should release antiwar civilian resisters still imprisoned, and expunge the criminal records of these and other civilian resisters so that they, too, can have a chance to compete for employment, to vote and hold office, etc.

"UNDESIRABLE ALIENS" EXCLUDED FROM U.S.

Section 212 a (22) of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Act allows the Immigration bureaucracy to make the "non judicial determination" (i.e., without hearing, trial, or due process) that war resisters with new (e.g., Canadian) citizenship be permanently barred from entering the U.S., even when there are no civilian or military charges against them, on the grounds that they have become "undesirable aliens."

According to Canadian government sources, more than 7,500 American males, of whom several thousand are undoubtedly war resisters, have acquired Canadian citizenship since 1970. Thousands more have not yet taken out Canadian citizenship but are eligible to do so.

Most of those excluded or excludable under this section have never been charged with any crime. Others have had charges dropped or have won their cases in court. Whatever the individual's legal status, these former Americans can be and are being denied access to their native country if they take out new citizenship. If your amnesty/"pardon" does not specifically address this problem, you will "pardon" exiled draft resisters and deserters, yet thousands will remain exiles, barred from their home country by this vindictive application of immigration law.

On a different subject, many war resisters have taken out new (e.g., Canadian) citizenship in order to secure employment, to be psychologically "rooted," to bear moral witness to their opposition to the war, and for other reasons. Some of these people want to reclaim their American citizenship, their birthright, and their capacity to live and work in the U.S. Some vehicle must be provided by your amnesty/"pardon" that will make it possible for these people to become again legally what they were and have remained in their hearts, through long years of seemingly interminable unjust war -- Americans.

That's it, for now. I hope this position paper is clear, concise, and persuasive. I further hope, along with those with whom I work, that you will enact the amnesty that justice demands, along the lines of the above analysis.

cc: Stuart Eizenstat
Peter Bourne
Walter Mondale
George McGovern
Andrew Young
Vernon Jordon
Jody Powell
Hamilton Jordon

For Universal, Unconditional Amnesty,



Steve Grossman, for the Editorial Board
AMEX-Canada magazine

ANS.
8-17-76
SN

815 9th Avenue N.
Edmonds, Washington
98020
(206) 778-1383

Dear Mr. Dees,

I am a recent graduate of the George Washington Law School. During the past year, I have been deeply involved with the Institute for Public Interest Representation on federal election law matters. This work has included regular comment on proposed regulations of the Federal Election Commission and attendance at Federal Election Commission proceedings. Also during the past year I have prepared instructional materials for and participated in a series of continuing education seminars at Georgetown Law School on the regulations and administration of federal election campaigns.

If Governor Carter is in need of any assistance in complying with the statute and the Commission's regulations, my services will be available on a volunteer basis after I have completed the Washington State Bar Examination. I plan to return to Washington, D.C. during the first week of August.

If you should be interested in my services, you may contact me before August 1st at the above Washington state address. After that date, I may be reached in Washington, D.C. at (202) 635-3594.

Enclosed is a copy of our most recent comments on proposed regulations which were submitted to the Commission.

Appropriate references are available upon your request.

Sincerely,
Karl J. Sandstrom
Karl J. Sandstrom

INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC INTEREST REPRESENTATION
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LAW CENTER

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June 14, 1976

COMMENTS OF THE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC
INTEREST REPRESENTATION ON THE
PROPOSED REGULATIONS UNDER THE FEDERAL
ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT, ISSUED ON MAY 26, 1976

In response to an invitation published in the Federal Register on May 26, 1976,^{*/} the Institute for Public Interest Representation ("Institute") submits to the Federal Election Commission ("Commission") the following comments on its proposed regulations. These regulations are the first step in the full implementation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, in 1974 and again in 1976 (the "Act"), and as such, they span a broad spectrum of regulated activity. The Institute commends the Commission on the comprehensiveness and workmanlike quality reflected in these proposed regulations.

The Institute turns its attention first to those provisions for which the Commission has expressed particular

^{*/} 41 Fed. Reg. 21572.

interest in receiving comment. The regulations will be discussed in the order in which they are listed in the preamble to the proposed regulations at 41 Fed. Reg. 21572.

1. Section 100.7(b)(5)(i) -- Relating to the reporting of internal communications by a membership organization or a corporation.

(a) The exclusion from the definition of "expenditure" intended by the proposed regulations should be expressly limited to internal communications which are reasonably calculated to reach only the members or stockholders of the respective organization or corporation. This would foreclose the printing and wide distribution of an organizational newsletter or even resort to other forms of media ostensibly "aimed" at an organization's members or corporation's stockholders but which in fact is designed to reach a far larger audience.

(b) The regulation also suffers from a shortcoming carried over from the statute, that is failing to state with clarity whether the \$2,000 figure is per communication per election or is an aggregate sum for all such communications per election. The Institute suggests that treating the \$2,000 limitation as an aggregate would be more in keeping with the Act's general policy of full disclosure.

(c) The Institute believes that the Commission may find the "principal purpose or effect" test of subsection (c) too subjective to apply in a meaningful way. In its place, the Institute suggests consideration of a narrowly drawn and more easily applied exception for union and corporate newsletters for which the exclusion from the reporting requirement was intended. A more general definition for other organizations would allow the Commission to restrict the more difficult case by case analysis to a much more limited body of communications also attempting to qualify under the exclusion.

2. Sections 100.14(c)(iii) and 110.3(a) --
Defining common control for the purpose
of determining when committees are
affiliated under the Act.

(a) In general the definition of common control remains somewhat elusive, perhaps more so than is necessarily the case. For example, it is unclear whether the regulation (§ 100.14(c)(iii)) would allow the executives of a corporation (as long as corporate funds are not used) to set up a political committee which would be treated as unaffiliated with a political committee set up by the corporate entity itself. Similarly, does the regulation permit the officers or members of a local union, as long as union funds are not used, to set up a political committee which would be considered unaffiliated with

any political committee set up by the local itself (or by its national)? If these results in fact follow from the regulations, notwithstanding, the Act's attempt to prevent the proliferation of committees, the definitions should be further tightened.

3. Part 109 -- Defining independent expenditure.

(a) We wonder if there is some danger in the proposed definition of independent expenditure, whereunder one's right to incur an independent expenditure could be cut off by a candidate or his agent suggesting, requesting, or ratifying the expenditure.

(b) Because "independent expenditure" is a term of art for the purposes of the Act, its use in subsection 109.1(b) (4) (i) (A) should be eliminated and "an expenditure expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identifiable candidate" should be substituted for it.

(c) It is unclear to us what the Commission has in mind in stating that an expenditure will be presumed to be made with the consent of a candidate if the candidate's ratification of a prior expenditure "causes the person to make similar such expenditures in the future."

4. Part 110 -- Covering expenditure and contribution limitations.

(a) Subsection 110.1(d) of the proposed regulation which applies the contribution limitation to contributions made to committees making independent expenditures is of questionable legality. The effect of the regulation is not only to favor wealthy individuals who can afford on their own to make large independent expenditures; it also appears to run counter to the reasoning in Buckley v. Valeo, where the Court found the sole justification for contribution limitations to be corruption prevention and also found that justification when applied to independent expenditures to be substantially attenuated.

(b) It should be noted that the proposed regulations fail to cover dual candidacy for state and Federal office. Particularly because many states do not have contribution limitations or other effective regulatory requirements, this may be a matter which the Commission should address more fully through separate accounts requirements, etc.

(c) The Institute seriously questions whether the regulations' treatment of minor children in subsection 110.1(i)(2) is adequate. Minor children are necessarily under the direction of their parents and the Institute questions whether they are

capable of exercising independent judgment with regard to political contributions, at least when under a certain age. A rebuttable presumption would offer a solution here.

(d) In line with comment (a) above, the application of the annual contribution limitations in subsection 110.5 to independent expenditures is of questionable legality.

5. Part 114 -- Relating to corporate and labor organizational activity.

(a) "Internal communications," defined in subsection 114.3, should be expressly limited to communications reasonably calculated to reach only the permissible group. (See comment to section 100.7(b)(5) above.)

(b) Subsection 114.4 allows corporations and labor unions to support non-partisan registration and get-out-the-vote activities as long as these activities are initiated and implemented without regard to political preference. But the political preference of any given geographic area where a corporation or labor group might undertake such activities is usually of general knowledge. In short, the "nonpartisan" limitation seems somewhat naive and the Commission should consider adopting some appropriate guidelines.

(c) Under subsection 114.9(e) of the proposed regulations, a candidate is permitted to use airplanes or other means of transportation owned or leased by a corporation

or labor organization as long as the candidate reimburses the corporation or labor organization for the use. The Institute believes alternative (1), which would foreclose such use unless the corporation or labor organization is licensed to offer commercial transportation, is more in keeping with the general intent of the Act to prevent corporation and union involvement in the electoral process.

(d) The Institute expresses no strong preference between alternative 1.(c) and alternative 2.(c) to subsection 114.10, governing the extension of credit and settlement of debts by a corporation to a candidate or political committee. It would, however, seem the wiser course to follow alternative 1.(c) until experience shows this approach to be unnecessary or unduly burdensome.

The following observations or suggestions on other provisions are also passed on for the Commission's consideration.

6. Section 100.4 -- Definition of contribution

(a) The Institute is uncertain what the Commission has in mind when it excludes from the definition under § 100.4(a)(1)(iv) "gifts of a personal nature." Sizable gifts can be used by a candidate to free his own income for campaign use. Such use would in effect circumvent the

contribution limitations. Accordingly, we suggest greater specificity here, and the tightening of this unnecessarily vague terminology. As we have earlier suggested, perhaps the use of examples in the regulations might be of value.

(b) An important question left unanswered by the proposed regulation is how the Commission intends to treat the use, while on the government payroll, of White House and Congressional staff in a candidate's campaign. The Commission needs to clarify under what circumstances, if any, will such use be treated as a contribution and/or an expenditure. This is an important potential loophole, which cannot be ignored simply because of the sensitivity of the subject matter.

7. Section 100.7 -- Definition
of expenditure

By treating as an expenditure the repayment of the principal of any outstanding obligation which itself constituted a contribution, the proposed regulation apparently result in double counting -- once when the original proceeds from the loan are spent, the other when they are repaid. Perhaps our concern over an unduly harsh result for candidates who must rely upon loans for their campaign is misplaced, but if so, the regulations should be revised to eliminate any ambiguity.

8. Section 102.9 -- Accounting for contributions and expenditures

(a) The Institute suggests that the requirement under § 102.9(e) that a candidate use his or her best efforts to obtain the required information should be specifically applied to preclude the use of certain solicitation and fund raising techniques, such as the "passing of the hat" at a fund raising event where the amount of cash being given cannot be effectively monitored, the value of the technique is marginal and the opportunity for abuse is great.

9. Part 134 -- Relating to examinations, audits and repayments

(a) Under the repayment section the Institute urges consideration of a regulation which would treat any item of significant enduring value, e.g., motor vehicles, buildings, duplicating equipment, etc., as part of a surplus campaign fund. This would help to prevent Treasury funds from being used for a candidate's personal aggrandizement through the subsequent sale, or even use, of tangible items which have a value extending well beyond the campaign's completion.

(b) As another means of preventing candidates from personally benefitting at the Treasury's expense from running

for office, the Institute suggests that all expenditures be treated as initially coming from campaign contributions and only after their exhaustion, from matching funds. Thus, as an alternative to subsection 134.3(c)(2), this approach would require repayment to the Treasury of surplus funds to the extent of any matching funds the candidate has received. The concept of matching funds was designed to enable candidates who might otherwise be unable to run for office, or who might be forced in their quest for campaign funds to become obligated to special interests, to participate more freely in the electoral process. Upon completion of the campaign, there is no rationale for an arrangement which allows a candidate to become personally enriched through the retention of federally provided funds. Any candidate who breaks even on the basis of private contributions and some portion of matching funds has gotten what he has bargained for and should get no more.

In conclusion, the Institute expresses its appreciation for the Commission's consideration of its comments and hopes they may be of some help to the Commission in implementing this extremely complex but important act.

Respectfully submitted,

Charles E. Hill

Charles E. Hill

Karl Sandstrom CED

Karl Sandstrom

600 New Jersey Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
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ANS.
8-17-76
SN

July 3, 1976

base

Dear Mr. Jordan;

I'm sorry to keep intruding on your valuable time because I'm sure everyone is trying to get your ear but I would rather have you initially feel "Oh, my gosh, not another letter from that guy in Arizona" than for me to hold back information which I think is important just because I might be a little embarrassed and hesitant to present it to you for your consideration.

In my last letter I brought up the fact that in some way Senator John Glenn was associated with the issue "The decline of the Family" which was mentioned by the delegates so many times in the survey I sent out. Also over the years I have tried to develop the habit of reading the major columnists - liberal & conservative - attempting to keep an open mind (at least as much as possible) & gradually over the past year this issue kept coming out in their views. They haven't made a big issue of it & sometimes it is only a paragraph or so in a major article. However, you can

that they are fishing around and kind of trying it out for size - not really sure themselves how it fits into the big picture. This has become more and more apparent. What I'm trying to say is I've drawn these observations by using a wide spectrum of highly intelligent men whose business is taking the pulse of the country.

In analyzing why "The Decline of the Family" appears to be such an underlying fear of many people, the best way I can describe this fear is as follows:

Since the dawn of time the family or tribe has been the basic building block of all societies - the basic unit of its structure. The nomads which roamed the earth began as small tribes. Even Genghis Khan & his Mongols had the family unit as its basic structure. At the beginning of the Roman Empire the strongest force was the Roman Senate - its strength was based around the family and it was even stronger than its allegiance to the Empire. As the Roman family & Senate declined in importance so followed the Empire. Even the Visigoths & Huns the same. Through out the Middle Ages the knights & local lords employed the family as its ^{foundation} step by step increased their power & influence until they formed France, England, Spain &

Germany. Scotland had its clan. Crossing the ocean to the new world even the Indians had their tribes. America was built & expanded across the continent with the family as its underlying foundation.

However, it is just recently, the last 15 or 20 yrs, a number of forces have come into play that have weakened & threatened our country's basic foundation - the family.

We have become a highly mobile society; our old ties have been weakened by this uprootness & our old values have been temporarily discarded & put in jeopardy. They also have been affected by our rapid advancement into a technological society; TV has had its influence; we have had difficulty in adjusting to Womens Lib., the pill has had its effect, our welfare laws have penalized the man as the head of the household & numerous other factors have played their part.

Basically, these changes have come too fast & in such a short space of time that as individuals & as a society on the whole we have not had enough time to adjust to them.

As a result the family for the 1st time in history has been under attack. I believe that you will find this has become a great fear in the minds of the average

American. People fear that the rug is being pulled out from underneath him. In the past when the chips were down, one secretly always felt he could count on his brother. Today, there is a question about even this. It is this feeling which is in the minds of the average person & I sense that this is the reason that the "Decline of the Family" will become one of the main issues in '76 and why John Glenn is associated with this issue.

Sincerely,

Ted Kratzet

Ted Kratzet
Box 776
Phoenix, Ariz., 8501

ANS.
8-17-76
SN

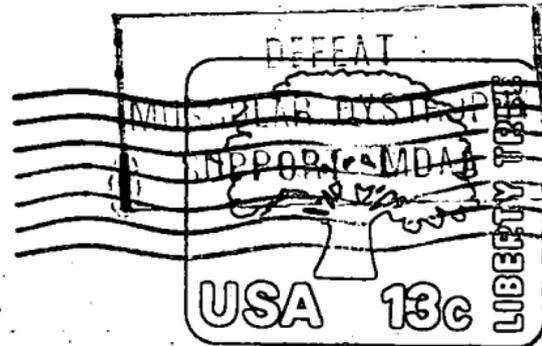
The Honorable Jimmy Carter
Our next President of the U.S.

Dear Jimmy
yes america is sick, sick, sick,
and will continue to be until you
do something the Bureaucrats, and
dirty Lobbyist in Washing
each and ever one I talk to
thru no good giveaway and Looney
subjects they deal out our tax
dollars for, a hundred thousand dollars
to see how mice act when drunk, flue
or how a frog jumps, and how a
Lizard crawls, why people like each
other, all this and thousand other projects
are crazy, we the tax payers are
are sick of our present government
and (distrust no wonder)
I hope you can find time to read some
the material I have sent you

With my close and hopeful
Respect
Cincerely

Mack A Taylor
Box 156
Ellerille GA
31806

Wadsworth W. Mount
154 Mountain Ave.
Warren, N. J. 07060



PERSONAL

Hon. Jimmy Carter
Plains, Georgia

To: Hon. Jimmy Carter - You may want to have this in your arsenal of "new ideas".

July 5, 1976 *W Mount*

RESEARCH
DEVELOPMENT
MANAGEMENT

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154 MOUNTAIN AVENUE
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AREA CODE 201
647-3151

VALUE ADDED TAX BASE

*ANS-76
8-17-76
SN*

March 22, 1971.

The fiscal difficulties now facing all branches of government, and the people, are so interrelated that serious consideration should be given to a new method of taxing. This method is fully illustrated by the following proposed FORM for a "NEW JERSEY VALUE ADDED BUSINESS TAX".

This value added tax would be paid by each business unit and by the self-employed, quarterly, on a cash basis, on the difference between total business receipts and the total business disbursements paid to outsiders. (This is NOT the European version "VAT", which is levied as a sales tax, at differing rates, and complex.)

Since this is a tax on all new income produced by the people, levied at the source, with everybody helping, the rate is extremely low. Therefore, it is most equitable and efficient only when applied with no exceptions and as a complete substitute for other forms of taxation. Every form of tax has to be paid by the consumers; either directly, indirectly in higher prices, or in lessened personal incomes. The tax-inflation of prices is clearly outlined when the recent increase in N. J. Bell Telephone rates is described by the statement, "The \$79 million would produce about \$38 million after taxes".

A rate of 100% would take over the people's entire income; therefore a low rate on Value Added can meet the needs of a State budget. In NEW JERSEY, the entire current budget could be met by applying a rate (on the following FORM) of approximately 6-1/2%. An increase or decrease in budget requirements could be immediately handled by changing the uniform rate, applicable with equal effect on all. A \$50 million increase would require a rate increase of 1/4 of 1%.

We very much need a "fiscal speedometer" which clearly shows the people and their representatives how much new wealth is currently being produced, so that they can soundly decide what percentage of this total is to be taken and managed by government. The returns from the State Value Added Tax would more clearly indicate this ratio. A logical result could be to encourage people to start up and expand their business activities due to the simplicity and universal fairness of this Value Added Tax; while now they look increasingly to the State for economic aid. This value added tax would remove the uncertainties and high overhead costs of complying with needless tax complexity (which costs are, in effect, additional tax not benefiting the State). This seems more logical a solution than revenue-sharing when Representative Sandman says, "New Jersey residents pay \$1.62 in federal taxes for every dollar they get in federal aid".

This VALUE ADDED TAX is levied on the broadest possible base, on the total production of new wealth. After it is paid the remainder is then distributed as wages, salaries, dividends and interest on invested capital, and reserves. It is paid on behalf of all the people connected with each business unit (all of whom vote). It is as simply charged and paid as are utility bills. By its use a State can obtain the confidence of its people and a sure means of paying its own way.

Encl: N. J. FORM-1968

CONSOLIDATED
NEW JERSEY VALUE ADDED BUSINESS TAX

Business or Professional Name and Address

QUARTERLY RETURN FILED _____ 19

1. Personnel headquartered
in New Jersey..... _____
- Total personnel
in the United States..... _____
- N. J. Percentage of Total
(Enter on Line 7a)..... _____ %

2. ()Corporation; ()Partnership; ()Individual

LINES 3 THROUGH 7 COVER ENTIRE OPERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES
OF THIS REPORTING TAXPAYER

3. Received for Goods and Services sold, this Quarter..... \$ _____
(Includes receipts from professional fees, from the sale, rental or use
of capital assets, including patents. Does not include dividends or
interest, except for banking businesses.)

4. Credit, if any, carried over from Line 9 on last Quarterly return... \$ _____

5. Paid out for Outside Goods and Services purchased, to other busi-
nesses or people not a part of this reporting business (including
payments for capital acquisitions, other taxes) in this Quarter... \$ _____

6. Enter sum of Lines 4 and 5 here..... \$ _____

7. If Line 3 is greater than Line 6, enter the difference here..... \$ _____
THIS IS THE VALUE ADDED FIGURE FOR THE ENTIRE BUSINESS

7a. Amount of Line 7 subject to N. J. tax on Value Added.
Multiply the sum in Line 7 by the percentage _____ % from Line 1..... \$ _____

8. Multiply Line 7a by 1/2 of 1% (current rate established by the New Jersey
Tax Adjustment Board) and enter tax being paid with this return
opposite this applicable Quarter:

NOTE: Each 1/2 of 1% will raise First Quarter Tax due by April 15 \$ _____
\$100 million per year Second " " " " July 15 \$ _____
in New Jersey. Third " " " " Oct. 15 \$ _____
Fourth " " " " Jan. 15 \$ _____

9. If Line 6 is greater than Line 3, the difference is a Credit and is to be
entered here and carried over to Line 4 on the next Quarterly return..... \$ _____
(This "Credit" is the net amount by which payments made to others
outside this reporting business exceed the amount received from the
sale of Goods and Services.)

Signature of Taxpayer and Title

Date

Signature of Preparer Other than
Taxpayer

Date

Mail this Return, together with payment in full of total amount due (Line 8);
and even if no tax is due this Quarter (evidenced by a sum entered on Line 9);
to:

Presented as a substitute for existing taxes, to the
Joint Committee on Taxation, at the public hearing
in Trenton, on March 27, 1968.

W. W. M.
March 1968.

NOTE: This is NOT the way this tax is being applied in Europe.

7 Admiral Tait Road,
Marlborough,
Salisbury,
RHODESIA.

29th June, 1976.

ANS.
8-17-76
SN

Dear Mr Carter,

One always hopes that newly elected statesmen will be better informed than the outgoing incumbents, please therefore read the letter enclosed and at least think about the facts before consigning it to the w.p. or very sensibly sending it to the editor of a United States newspaper.

A fact-checking tour could be a much needed holiday for yourself and your family after your strenuous campaign, and eminent Americans like yourself are treated like V.I.P.'s by the Americans resident in Rhodesia.

Yours sincerely,

Karin Wood

Mrs Karin Wood
Retired Librarian.

The majority rule chorus you have been hearing is communist psychological warfare against Rhodesia, a country in which black Africans have provincial self-rule as well as participating in the central government and therefore are not interested in communist style dictators, coups, etc. hence the chorus.

Come and see for yourself and like us marvel at the statesmen who are brainwashed by the chorus and dance to the tune like puppets.

Afraid of terrorists? You will be quite safe. The tets are communist trained thugs and murderers referred to as guerillas and freedom fighters (freedom to impose communist rule of course) who are eliminated at the sharp end by our forces. Infiltrating hit and run tets murder and mutilate more Africans than whites therefore there are more African soldiers than Europeans in our well trained army and police force, and we also have our air force guarding our borders with Zambia and Mocambique.

You will enjoy visiting this beautiful country and its friendly people, the country so greatly coveted by the communists for its natural resources.

When you come please tell us how you Americans cope with the give-me's within your borders, the give-me's who think the world, the state, the municipality and you yourself owe them something merely because they breathe. We don't quite know how to cope with our lot and are about to conduct experiments.

Why not visit South Africa as well? Being so much larger than Rhodesia she is a federation of self-governing black and white states and likewise not interested in communistic dictatorships, hence the psychological warfare apartheid chorus. The brainwashed statesmen positively gyrate to that tune.

Like you and like us South Africa has give-me's and recently they were incited to riot by professional agitators and smashed the very amenities they had demanded and been given for free, thousands of dollars worth.

The communists are of course desperate to control first Rhodesia and South West Africa and then South Africa, in order to control the Cape sea route and thereby gain a strange hold on world trade. Your country will have to get along somehow without minerals and other imports, and of course exports.

Don't take my word for anything, check the facts for yourself but you won't get the facts from the news media orchestra playing the majority rule and apartheid choruses.

Mrs Karin Wood
(Retired Librarian)
7 Admiral Tait Road,
Marlborough,
Salisbury,
Rhodesia.

7 Admiral Tait Road,
Marlborough,
Salisbury,
RHODESIA.

29th June, 1976.

The Hon. George McGovern,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C. 20515,
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

Would you please be so very kind as to let Mr Jimmy Carter have the enclosed letter, which could information-wise be of interest to him.

I naturally do not have Mr Carter's address, and thank you for your courtesy.

Yours faithfully,

Karin Wood

Mrs Karin Wood
Retired Librarian.

ANS.
8-17-76
SN

5444 Provincial
Grand Blanc, Mich. 48839
July 7, 1976

Carter Campaign Committee
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

Dear Sirs;

I received Mr. Carter's Chicago speech on his foreign policy statement and was very glad to receive it. I and the people I represent, both Americans of Greek descent and Americans of all other descents, were very impressed by Mr. Carter's stand against Kissinger's personal and secret conduct in the important area of foreign policy. We agree with Mr. Carter that he has become much too powerful and independent of the American people's representation, the Congress. We are happy to hear that when elected Mr. Carter will work with Congress and keep our policies open, honest and fair.

I would again like to suggest you reconsider your stand on the Cyprus crisis which is a very large part of the crisis in foreign policy Mr. Carter discusses in his speech. There are three areas that the Cyprus crisis centers on. The first is what is known as "The Rule of Law." This means that our law states one thing and the president's duty is to enforce and uphold that law. At present we have Secretary Kissinger, with Ford's approval, acting above and over the law. This is extremely serious especially as we have lately experienced the dangerous domestic crisis with the Nixon administration over the Watergate issue. The president is not "sovereign" nor is the Secretary of State above and over the law.

The U.S. Foreign Assistance Acts state that NATO arms and aid are given on condition they be

2.

used for defensive purposes and not aggressively against any friendly or allied nation. But in Cyprus Turkey used U.S. arms illegally to invade and subjugate nearly half of the island. These arms, tanks, jet bombers, etc., were not nearly matched against the old and sparse weapons the Greek Cypriots had to defend themselves. Under our laws Turkey should not receive any more aid until the 40,000 troops leave the island of Cyprus, and Kissinger encourages them to stay rather than to leave by promising to give them more aid.

Which leads to the second area ~~that~~ the crisis centers on, the Ford-Kissinger tilt towards Turkey. Your recent statement given in Detroit pertaining to our relationship with Turkey, Greece and Cyprus leaves me feeling very concerned. It does not fit in with statements you have made that our foreign policy should be based on self-determination and justice for all, or that it "ought to be based on the fact that we are right, decent, honest, truthful, predictable and respectful."

I strongly urge you to re-consider the events in Cyprus' recent history because I am confident you will find that from the very moment Cyprus obtained independence they were denied a just and representative constitution and it was this misfortune that led to the catastrophic Turkish invasion. The British used the Turkish Cypriots as their ally against the Greek Cypriots who fought for self-determination. They urged the Turk Cypriots, who had previously been satisfied and peaceful neighbors with the Greeks, to demand partition of the tiny island. Later the Turkish leaders in Ankara continued to pursue this policy. The big powers tried to use this unjust situation for their own advantages with the Soviet Union and the

United States alternately encouraging or discouraging the Turks from this unjust ambition. Whether it is called bi-zonal federation or partition, it is an extreme and unjust idea and is no solution to the Turk-Greek Problem. No truly just American, black or white, would condone the partition of the United States into a segment 40% of the country for blacks to live in -- least of all the most economically viable areas remaining in the hands of the minority. It would not be fair, honest, right or decent. Then there is no reason why this country should condone such an extreme action in Cyprus.

The Greek Cypriots have been more than fair to the Turkish Cypriots. They have had to live in peace under a constitution imposed by Britain, Greece and Turkey which gave the 18% Turkish minority nearly 50% of the rights. In civil service they had 30% of the jobs; in the police force they had 40% and in five major towns they were given partition. Most severe was the vice president, who was to be Turkish Cypriot, had the right to veto anything. Overreacting, the veto was used so often that the government's ability to function was seriously affected. Any longing the Greeks had to unite with Greece was squelched by Turkey's threats to invade if Cyprus tried to unite with Greece.

It is common knowledge in Cyprus that the Ankara government paid Turk Cypriots to remain in Turkish enclaves. They were economically and socially pressured by their own Turkish leaders to have nothing to do with the Greek Cypriots, neither to do business with them nor to live in Greek towns. ~~that~~

This leads to the third area of the Cyprus crisis which surrounds the misfortune of the people of Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriots are now suffering at

the hands of the Turkish armed forces. They were forced to labor for them, they were raped and looted by them. The Turkish Cypriots' leaders do not represent them but instead they are the mouthpiece of Ankara.

If Cyprus is to be a viable independent country there must be true representation and mutual respect by a fair democratic and truly representative constitution.

I have not even mentioned the demoralization and squalor of the 200,000 Greek refugees. There are no jobs, no homes, except for tents and shacks and the memory of their homes, and they live in constant fear that Turkey will attack again. The CIA continues to be involved in the internal political affairs and gives aid to the right wing factions that wish to unite Cyprus with Greece at any cost. The 2500 missing are still gone without an explanation from the Turks. These people who have lived for thousands of years in the same villages and towns deserve to go back to their homes. Lamentations of the Bible describes their sorrow and they still hope in God. I know because I have received communications from them. Psalm 37 also comes to mind; "Fret not yourself because of evildoers..."

In every letter I have received from the refugees they express their hope in God and in the United States. Because I believe with God's help we can and must do right I am writing this letter.

It would be nice if Turkey had remained a true and faithful ally. But she has not. One day she was our friend and the other day our enemy who threatens to close down our bases. If we should ever truly require her help I doubt if we could depend on her. Her past and present record reveals this that she has

5.

always gone against us when we needed her most. In World War I she fought against us. In World War II she was more anti-US than neutral, allowing free use of her railroads to the Germans. We have paid her to stop growing poppies for heroin and this has not prevented her. We gave her use of our arms and made her our friend and she has broke our agreements and laws.

I wish more than anyone else that we could keep all our allies and even achieve more and more friendships. But I believe that we create laws, laws, to keep our foreign policy fair, just and a reflection of our ideals -- just as Mr. Carter also believes. The foreign assistance act is a just and good law made to be a safeguard of liberty and justice. If an ally breaks this law we have no choice but to use whatever sanctions provided, in this case total withdrawal of arms and aid. Turkey's belligerency and hegemony will eventually turn us off. Our country stands for law, justice and liberty. I believe in the "Rule of Law". I know you do too. It is difficult to stick to one's convictions but I must and I hope you will too.

P.S. I think you will find the enclosed copies of articles and statements informative

Sincerely,

Helen Yiannatzi
Secretary, National Cypriot
Association.
Member of A.H.F.P.A. and the
American Hellenic Congress

REMARKS BY ADMIRAL ELMO R.
ZUMWALT, JR. AT COMBINED
SUPREME LODGE AND CYPRUS
COMMITTEE MEETING

I have been asked to speak to you about the Turkey-Greece situation in the Mediterranean from the standpoint of a military man. I feel that I can do so with complete openness and frankness as one who is out of office and one who knows the extent to which administrations sometime go to mold the opinions of those in office. In looking at the situation that we face in relation to the problems of Greece today, it is important for us, as Americans, to go back and remind ourselves of the situation that occurred at the end of World War II. We all remember, of course, the courageous fight that the gallant Greeks put up against the German invasion and the tremendous weight the Germans put on the strategic significance of the Island of Crete, putting the largest airborne force of the entire war into the effort to seize it. We recall the resistance that continued in Greece throughout that war. We recall the position of overwhelming superiority of the United States by the end of World War II. We recall that under popular pressures and in another period of "detente" with "good old Uncle Joe," the U.S. demobilized almost overnight, and that the Soviet Union did not. Within a matter of a very few months we had changed our situation from that of the world's most powerful nation to one which had as insurance against attack only the fact that we were then in exclusive possession of atomic weapons.

With conventional ground force superiority of overwhelming degree, however, Stalin proceeded with a combination of power and policy to overrun and occupy one nation after another in Eastern Europe until, as Mr. Winston Churchill suggested, an "Iron Curtain" descended over Europe. We recall that the newly liberated nation of Greece embarked upon an effort to reconstitute itself and that a rebellion was initiated from outside: the Communist insurgency within Greece. We know now from the book, *Conversations with Stalin* written by Milovan Djilas, the Yugoslavian compatriot of Tito, that Stalin said to his fellow Praesidium members at the time that the Anglo-American powers would never suffer their sea lines of communication in the Mediterranean to be severed. Nevertheless, like some Machiavelian mother whose children were spawned by the devil, he proceeded to let his Praesidium members play with this insurgency at the expense of countless lives in Greece until a combination of factors—the cooling of the relationship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union; the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine; the bringing of supplies across the thousands of miles; the demonstration by the United States Navy that through our capabilities we could bring the docks of New York closer to the insurgency than were the boondocks of Yugoslavia—finally led Stalin to step in and liquidate the insurgency, saying to his people in office: "Enough is enough. This thing has gotten dangerous." The insurgency was liquidated with thousands of Greek children carried away. The pressures were removed from the nation of Turkey. Those two nations were preserved for the free world.

There emerged subsequently the decision on the part of the United States Congress to provide the billions to reconstitute war-torn Europe through the Marshall Plan. There emerged the NATO Alliance as the economies of Europe were refurbished. Armies, air forces, navies began to reappear. The NATO Alliance

made it possible to draw a line of containment to stop the expansion by the Soviet Empire.

Then, we recall, in the Cuban missile crisis, when the Soviets in the effort suddenly to overcome a generation's advantage on our part in the strategic field, by greatly increasing the megatonnage that they could bring to bear and greatly cutting the warning time, the United States laid down the gauntlet, they found themselves facing not only strategic nuclear superiority on our part, on the order of 4 to 1, but also they found themselves facing maritime superiority around the Island of Cuba. And when they examined their options elsewhere they found a tough integrated NATO Alliance ready to respond to any type of pressure they might bring to bear. The Soviets concluded that they just simply did not have viable options; they did the only thing that a rational, inferior, military empire can do—they accommodated. We gave them a graceful and face-saving way in which to accommodate. They embarked, as a result of that setback, on three programs. The first was another period of "detente"—the test ban. The second was to commence the largest, strategic construction program in history, one which continues to this very hour unchecked by any act of the current or previous administration, for each SALT agreement has permitted the Soviets to build to the level of their capability during the period of agreement. Third, they began the second largest maritime construction program in history, one exceeded only by our own World War II maritime expansion. That program continues to this day. As a result, we have found through a series of strategic negotiations that the Soviet Union has been given the opportunity to achieve the strategic missile superiority that we used to have. The Soviet Union—without negotiations, having out-spent us since 1971 as Secretary Schlesinger announced recently—has achieved conventional military superiority over the United States.

Now, let me just try to demonstrate for you what that means in terms of the crises through which this nation has had to go.

The first, with which I had to deal when I became the Chief of Naval Operations, was the Jordan crisis of September 1970. We recall that in that crisis the Soviet Union was convinced that they were now perceived as superior, but being careful, being rational, not wanting to risk war, they tested this perception through the Syrian invasion of Jordan. Three things went wrong with their calculus. First, the Jordanian army fought better than had been expected; second, the Israelis moved their forces northward, clearly ready to play a role, and third, the United States reinforced its Sixth Fleet with a third carrier task force and with marines embarked on board amphibious shipping. We recall that the Syrians were persuaded by the Soviet Union to withdraw—they were promised that their equipment would be replaced if they did withdraw. I went to the Sixth Fleet soon after and President Nixon came aboard the flagship. I remember how impressed he was, as was I, with the slides that demonstrated what would have been necessary to send U.S. Army forces into the Middle East. They would have had to fly out of Germany, into the North Sea, through the English Channel, through the Straits of Gibraltar, and then 2500 miles across the Mediterranean, landing only in Greece because no landing or even overflight rights had been granted by any other nation. The Army forces simply could not get there because we did not have the air tanker support to do it. So, we did the only thing we could do.

We used the Navy/Marine Corps team to show our hand and to provide the necessary power in that equation.

The Soviets went forward as they promised with the replacement of the Syrian equipment. The Syrians and Egyptians were trained in the art of strategic surprise. The strategy they used against Israel in October 1973 was Soviet strategy, identical to that which the Soviets used when they destroyed Czechoslovakia—exercises around the perimeter until they pounced. It fooled not only Israeli intelligence, but our own, and Israel was very nearly undone. Only the massive airlift and sealift of supplies made it possible to turn the situation around. The United States Navy scrambled to get ships into the Eastern Mediterranean with our commitments in Southeast Asia, with our Navy in a six-year period having been cut nearly in half. We could get only 65 ships into the Mediterranean. Those American ships faced a 50-percent numerical superiority in 98 Soviet ships.

Now, the situation was worse than that because of the capability of the Soviet Union to come at us with air strikes over four different axes of attack—out of Egypt, Syria, Crimea, and Yugoslavia. During that crisis, Soviet airlift aircraft were flying over the Peninsula of Turkey, directly over Turkish territory, to reinforce the Arabs while no airlift flights were permitted over Turkey on the part of the United States. During that crisis, Greece, however, permitted ships of the Sixth Fleet to continue to operate, as normally, out of Greek ports. I do not know how it would have been possible for the United States to show the degree of power it showed, had it not been for the fact that the Greeks were with us. Indeed, the then Chief of Navy of the Greeks happened to be with me in Newport at the time of the outbreak of that crisis, and he came to me and gave me his personal assurances, which I relayed to my Government, that regardless of any "window dressing" we could count on them to be with us throughout the crisis.

Now, you ask yourselves, what does this all add up to in terms of U.S. interest? In terms of the demonstrated tendency of one nation or the other, as between two allies, to stand with us, I think that you must come to certain conclusions.

But there is still more to the story. In two previous crises between Greece and Turkey, it has been positive action on the part of a President of the United States to send messages to his Ambassador to Turkey, his Ambassador to Greece, to his NATO Commander who in war would command Italian, Turkish, and Greek forces, and to his U.S. Sixth Fleet, that has produced the calculus of factors, that has prevented the invasion of Cyprus. In the current crisis, this was not done.

Before the Congress makes a vote on a decision as critical as the vote that is about to come up, it seems to me that this Administration owes the Congress and the people an explanation: (1) why the necessary actions were not taken prior to the coup in Cyprus; (2) why the necessary actions were not taken prior to the Turkish invasion; and (3) why the Turks were permitted, after the truce, to extend their territorial seizures beyond their present holdings, and to take territories that had never been at issue, as between the Turkish and Greek communities. It seems to me that what is needed in this situation, as in so many others over the last six years, is a "truth in packaging" foreign policy. The people of these United States and the Congress have got to understand the issues before decisions are made.

We are observing frequent violations of the agreed rules of "detente" between ourselves and the Soviet Union. Failure to

report these violations is adding to the euphoria of the American people and accelerating the rate at which we cut our defense budgets. The U.S.S.R. aided and abetted Hanoi in the conquest of Cambodia and South Vietnam in violation of the truce and of "detente." The Soviet Union urged the Arabs to apply the oil embargo, to quadruple the oil prices, to take their money out of U.S. banks. The Soviet Union has promised to assist the Arabs in the event of U.S. intervention and to help them with any marketing/production difficulties in the event of another embargo.

Why, in the face of this kind of "detente," is the Administration continuing not to report the facts to the American people? I believe that in this kind of false "detente," the NATO Alliance has never been of greater significance to us. I believe that it is absolutely mandatory for the United States to be able to retain its ties to both Turkey and Greece. But, like a father who has to choose between two sons, if I have to choose between two sons, if I have to choose between these two very important allies, there is absolutely no doubt in my mind that the United States has got to come down in favor of Greece.

If you look at the long line of stepping stones, the Azores, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey; if between those two nations one set of ties has to be cut, that set with the nation at the end of the line is strategically easiest to do without. We simply cannot reinforce Israel or come to the assistance of any other allies in the area, including, Turkey unless we have the facilities that Greece has always made available to us. In my judgment, there is nothing in Turkey that could possibly equate to the strategic significance of just one facility in the Island of Crete, Souda Bay, where we have a major anchorage for the Sixth Fleet and an airfield without which we simply could not maintain the readiness of our carrier air crews. This facility is the single most important facility in the whole eastern Mediterranean. In addition to that, the access of our Sixth Fleet ships to Greece is of far more importance than access to any other nation.

We surely should be able to count on the Greeks in the future as we have throughout ups and downs over the last 25 years, whereas the Turks have frequently stood aside. The strategic merits come down in favor of Greece. The political viability of alliance ties come down in favor of Greece. And finally, when one looks at the difference between the efforts of the two governments truly to come to an accommodation in Cyprus that is fair for all, this present government of Greece has gone far beyond half the difference to try to achieve an equitable settlement.

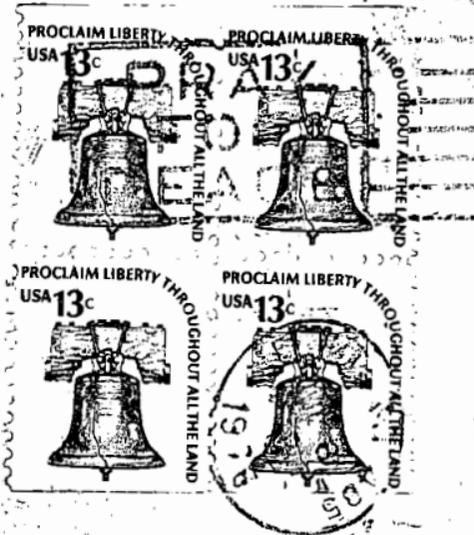
There are many unanswered questions that have got to be brought out by this Administration before an intelligent vote can be made by the Congress, or before intelligent declarations of intentions can be made by the constituents of congressmen. I think it is important to keep the pressure on to get a "truth in packaging" foreign policy with regards to the eastern Mediterranean as well as elsewhere. It is important to our political process that it be made clear to this Administration and the Congress that if we are to resume the important aid to Turkey, it should be as part of a general settlement in Cyprus to make it possible for this United States to retain, hopefully, both allies, but in any event the more critical of the two.



UNITED NATIONAL CYPRIOT ASSOCIATION

"UNCA"

P.O. Box 1248 Flint, Michigan 48502



Carter Campaign Committee
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Ga. 30301



EXCERPTS FROM
STATEMENT OF EUGENE T. ROSSIDES, SPECIAL COUNSEL
AMERICAN HELLENIC INSTITUTE PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN OPERATIONS
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE
MAY 4, 1976

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before the Subcommittee on behalf of the American Hellenic Institute Public Affairs Committee, Inc., and present views on certain items covered by the foreign aid appropriations legislation for fiscal 1977.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR CYPRUS

In its Congressional presentation on security assistance for fiscal 1977, the Department of State requests a "final" \$10 million for Cyprus refugee aid, in the form of security supporting assistance. Unlike most security supporting assistance transfers, however, the amount requested would not go to the government of the recipient nation but to multilateral agencies operating there (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and International Committee of the Red Cross). AID has not, however, categorically ruled out the possibility of extending some bilateral security supporting assistance to Cyprus during fiscal 1977. Under the legislation authorizing security supporting assistance, the Administration is empowered to extend such assistance to any nation, even one with which we do not have diplomatic relations (such as Syria) and with which we have no pertinent bilateral agreements in force (such as Syria).

Thus, there is no legal obstacle to the extension of security supporting assistance directly to the government of Cyprus at this time; the only impediment is the Administration's unwillingness to do so. Of the \$55 million appropriated for Cyprus aid since the July 1974 Turkish invasion, not one cent has been provided to the government of Cyprus on a bilateral basis. The Administration has seen fit to deny aid both to the legitimate government of President Makarios and the illegal regime of Mr. Denktash in the occupied zone. The diplomatic significance of this policy is not lost on close observers the world over.

Mr. Chairman, insofar as Cyprus refugee aid is designed to improve relations between the U.S. and Cyprus and the U.S. and Greece, the money is being largely wasted so long as it is provided on an exclusively multilateral basis. We are not improving matters by treating an outlaw regime and a legitimate government and its globally respected head of state the same. Moreover, the UNHCR & ICRC are geared to meet the immediate needs of persons victimized by natural and man-made disasters. It is now nearly two years since the tragic uprooting took place, and the government of Cyprus, given the economic resources, can administer refugee programs on its own or with the help of a small complement of personnel from multilateral institutions.

We therefore recommend that the legislation contain a proviso to the effect that at least 75% of any monies appropriated for security supporting assistance be provided directly to Cyprus on a bilateral basis.

We turn now to the amount of the Administration request.

We initially recommended the figure of \$60 million to be authorized for fiscal 1977 security supporting assistance for Cyprus. However, we recognize the climate of budgetary restraint may dictate a more conservative figure. We therefore urge a minimum figure of \$35-40 million of assistance in order to help meet the relief, rehabilitation, and recovery needs on Cyprus.

In spite of past efforts to aid the 200,000 refugees, the refugee problem remains a serious and tragic one. None of the 200,000 refugees have been allowed to return to their homes. Furthermore, there continues to be an outflux of Greek Cypriots from the Turkish-occupied areas: 12,000 have been ejected since November, 1974. Most recently, the Washington Post reported on March 4, 1976 that Turkey was building an air base in northern Cyprus eight miles east of Kyrenia and Turkish military authorities ordered villagers to leave within 14 days, as their villages will be used for the settlement of Turkish troops.

(MORE)

In the twenty months that have elapsed since the Turkish invasion, much has been done to alleviate the physical hardships of the displaced population. It is a credit to the Greek Cypriots that they have started to reconstruct a new community life in the southern part of Cyprus, passing up the "Palestinian" option of letting their refugees fester. The physical survival of the people may no longer be jeopardized, but the cost of supporting the refugees is considerable. There are still 162,500 people fully dependent on the Cyprus government for food and other necessities, while 90,000 continue to live in overcrowded conditions, and about 17,000 are still in tents.

The needs of the Cypriot refugees have been well-documented in the comprehensive report, Crisis on Cyprus 1976; Crucial Year for Peace, which was issued on January 19, 1976 by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Problems Connected with Refugees. Additional information was provided by a report from the Cyprus Red Cross Society on February 24, 1976 and by the Republic of Cyprus in their Emergency Economic Action Plan. All of the figures which follow are from the above sources.

When the refugees were driven out by the advancing Turkish army, they left most of their personal belongings behind. An estimated \$13.2 million is needed for the provision of clothing and household equipment for 1976. Approximately \$27.5 million is required for food supplies, supplemented by \$13.5 million for food allowances. Furthermore, all refugees receive free medical treatment and drugs from the Ministry of Health of the Government of Cyprus in cooperation with the Special Service for Refugees, which amounts to \$4 million annually. The refugee children receive free primary and secondary education, however, 41% of the school age population have been displaced from their schools and 42% of the school buildings are either in occupied areas, or are unsafe for use by children. The cost of replacing damaged or lost schools is \$50 million, which is beyond the means of the government, so classroom instruction continues to be conducted in tents. The humanitarian effort is directed toward relieving hardship by providing the minimum necessities of life, together with opportunities for gainful employment to as many refugees as possible. To this end, the Cyprus government reactivation program for 1976 is on the order of \$146 million. The various projects for reactivation and relief fall roughly into three main categories:

(1) The construction of temporary housing for the refugees, either wholly at government expense, or by grants under a self-help scheme in cases where a refugee family can secure land on which to build. Housing has been an acute problem for the Cyprus government with the vast majority of Greek Cypriot refugees living in crowded conditions, refugee camps, and tents and shacks. The Special Service for Refugees has undertaken a \$16.2 million program to build concrete block housing to house the 17,000 refugees now living in camps. Despite a number of delays and roadblocks, including questions raised by the American Embassy over the plan's first phase, construction has finally begun. However, approximately \$3-5 million will be required to upgrade the current refugees housing conditions during the next year.

(2) Development projects for the promotion of agriculture, tourism and the reactivation of the economy generally. This heading includes such projects as the improvement of the Larnaca airport, constructed overnight to meet the emergency created by the closing of the Nicosia International Airport; agricultural programs to bring under cultivation as much land as possible, and at the same time providing work for the refugee farmers; reforestation to replace as much of the pine forest as possible; and the provision of loans to help displaced industries and businesses to start afresh.

(3) Welfare relief projects, including the provision of 18 homes for the elderly. In a country where it is considered a matter of honor to care for one's aged, one elderly person in eight must be placed in an institution, for his family has been dispersed, or the breadwinner has been killed or is missing as a result of the Turkish invasion. Another pressing need is the establishment of Community Welfare Centers for children of pre-school age who are living in the cramped conditions of a tent or a shack -- 12 such centers are being planned. In addition, two homes for retarded children and one school for the deaf must be established since the existing institutions have been displaced by the occupation forces. Approximately \$13 million is needed for the welfare relief projects.

(MORE)

The human political tragedies produced by the Turkish invasion of Cyprus are well known. The devastation to the economy, one of the healthiest in Europe in 1974, must also be underscored. The Turkish invasion forces captured 40% of the island including the most productive and developed areas. The area now held by the Turks includes the most fertile districts and 65% of the cultivable land, which produced almost all the grain and olives and most of the fruit, vegetables, meat and milk. Since the invasion in 1974, the fields have been neglected and allowed to lie fallow.

Moreover, the Turkish invasion forces occupied a vast wealth of fixed capital assets, including the two biggest tourist resorts of Kyrenia and Famagusta (accounting for 80% of the hotel capacity); the two largest plains of Mesaoria and Morphou; the two invaluable sources of water at Kythrea and Lapithos (supplying 60% of the water used for irrigation); the island's biggest mine at Mavrovouni (providing 60% of the total mining output); the quarries on Mount Pentadactylos (supplying the island's entire output); and the port and factories of Famagusta (supplying 60% of all industrial production).

Due to the Turkish invasion, the broad agricultural sector suffered a devastating blow, which reduced exports of basic agricultural products and displaced a large number of farmers from their land. For example, the occupied area comprises practically the entire wheat growing Mesaoria plain, the Karpass with its tobacco plantations, the rich citrus, olive and carob growing district of Kyrenia and the fertile plain of Morphou with its developed citrus groves. Apart from these tremendous resources, other major agricultural investments were occupied by force. Capital investments in the form of agricultural machinery, animals - stock breeding installations and equipment worth more than \$52 million fell into the hands of the invaders. More than 80% of the citrus groves are facing danger of irreparable destruction. One hundred square miles of forests were destroyed by fire-bombing.

In the mining and quarrying sector, 43% of the total investment in capital installations and equipment were seized. Apart from the destruction of a number of factories, the value of plant and machinery of the occupied industries is estimated at \$72 million. Moreover, the value of abandoned stocks of finished industrial products and raw materials is estimated at \$38 million.

Altogether, 70% of the island's total productive capacity is now in Turkish hands.

The New York Times reported on April 22, 1976: "The Turkish Cypriots have had trouble reviving the economy, however, and still depend heavily on subsidies from Ankara...last season many farmers were too confused or uncertain to sow their crops. The potato harvest, for instance, was only 3,000 tons, or one-third of what was needed. Through poor planning much of the crop was sold abroad, so the Turkish Cypriots wound up importing potatoes. Similar shortages in other crops have raised food prices about 50%. Since they were mainly a rural people, the Turkish Cypriots had little expertise in running factories or marketing their products. As a result, only about 15% of the industrial capacity abandoned by the Greeks in northern Cyprus is now being used."

The expropriation of Greek properties in northern Cyprus has proven problematic in other instances as well. In England, there were attempts to market properties owned by Greek Cypriots. Legal proceedings were threatened thereby halting the attempts. We are confident that appropriate corrective action will be taken if there is a recurrence of this abhorrent conduct.

Meanwhile, the Turks have been pursuing an illegal colonization policy, shipping in thousands of Turks from the mainland to occupy the homes of the displaced Greek-Cypriot refugees, exacerbating the high unemployment in the northern zone, and consolidating the Turkish military hold on the northern part of Cyprus through demographic changes. The same New York Times article of April 22, 1976 states: "The ethnic Turks were only 20% of Cyprus before the invasion, and afterward they found themselves with far more land than they could colonize. Accordingly, the Denktash administration has been encouraging families like the Keklikis to immigrate from Turkey and increase the Turkish population... Diplomats estimate that 15,000 people from the mainland are already here, and some groups of settlers are clearly organized and encouraged in Turkey." This systematic colonization of Cyprus with Turkish nationals violates Geneva Convention IV, Article 49, which prohibits the occupying power from transferring parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies. Such colonization policies reinforce the Turkish plan of consolidation in northern Cyprus and complicates the search for a peaceful settlement of the human tragedy on the island.

(MORE)

The Administration's present policy to reduce the fiscal 1977 Cyprus refugee aid from \$25 million to \$10 million and to eliminate all refugee aid after 1977 can only be characterized as callously misguided. The distinctive traits of the Cypriot refugees have been the courage and the dignity with which they have faced their plight. They have been uprooted from their homes and property, they have been deprived of the fundamental right to earn their living, and they have suffered the humiliation of having to depend on others for their most basic needs. Their anguish should not be compounded by a lack of adequate support from the U.S. We must not allow their anguish to become despair because despair is the worst counselor. We must help restore their self-sufficiency, their means of livelihood, and through this vehicle, their dignity. Simple compassion and human decency demand a continuation of generous aid for the Cyprus refugees. We urge the figure of \$35-40 million as the 1977 appropriation.

AID TO GREECE

We have urged assistance in the interests of the United States to the Greek democracy ever since its return on July 23, 1974. With respect to aid for Greece for fiscal 1977, the Administration is recommending a reduction in security supporting assistance for Greece from \$65 million - the amount requested and appropriated for fiscal 1976 - to zero.

The stated rationale for the drastic reduction is that the Greek economy has been substantially stimulated and requires no further support by the United States. This, unfortunately, is not the case. Speaking on economic developments in Greece in September, 1975, Dr. Xenophon Zolotas, Governor of the Bank of Greece, said: "Under present conditions, a moderate rate of growth (2-2.5%) appears to be possible for 1975. It should be noted that, in view of a serious threat of mass unemployment and social stress, the reversal of the recessionary process is essential for the consolidation of democratic institutions in Greece, especially during the present period of transition." Dr. Zolotas added that the unsound economic policies of the previous military regime had encouraged economic activity beyond the limits of safe expansion in 1972 and 1973. He continued to comment that the junta left Greece with an enormous deficit in the balance of payments. Imports exceeded exports by \$1.2 billion in 1973 and 1974. This burden coupled with increased crude oil prices has made recovery slow. Oil increases alone in 1973 and 1974 cost Greece an additional \$600 million. Dr. Zolotas also said that the estimated deficit for 1975 might reach \$1.4 billion.

It should also be emphasized that the importation of military equipment by Greece has increased dramatically. Approximately 25-30% of their budget is committed to defense items in view of Greece's need to protect its Aegean islands from Turkish threats. This large commitment to the defense budget does not contribute to the productive capacity of the economy, and gives a skewed perspective to the overall economy. In addition, Greece has sent aid to the government of Cyprus and the refugees in the amount of \$6 million for 1974, \$14 million for 1975, and \$11 million for 1976.

Greece's recent entry into the Common Market makes rapid development of the Greek economy particularly important. And if we want to give a signal to Eastern Europe that we support democracy in the Rule of Law, then there is no better example than aid to the new Greek democracy, the only democracy in the Balkans and Eastern Europe.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

SUNDAY, JUNE 27, 1976

Jack Anderson

The Cyprus Crisis and the Political Campaign

There is troubling evidence that President Ford is trying to make a campaign issue, Ronald Reagan style, out of the explosive Cyprus crisis.

Just as Reagan sounded the battle cry over the Panama Canal, Ford now appears to be clearing his throat for an attack on the Democrats over the Greek-Turkish-Cyprus impasse.

He is trying to maneuver Congress, apparently, into a showdown over Turkish arms. There are signs that he would like to force a vote on the \$1 billion Turkish arms pact in the middle of the election campaign.

It would be a "can't lose" tactic for the President. His pro-Turkish tilt has already cost him the support of the large Greek-American community. The Democrats in Congress, on the other hand, can't afford to alienate this powerful voter bloc.

There is little chance, therefore, that Congress would pass a Turkish arms pact in an election year. The Turks, humiliated once again, might close American bases permanently and turn to the Soviet Union for arms. Then the voters could expect to hear an almighty cry from Ford against the irresponsibility of the Democrats.

A little background is necessary to understand the political maneuvering. The Turkish army used American-made weapons, in violation of the military aid agreement, to invade Cyprus in July, 1974. No great protest was heard from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, but an angry Congress clamped an arms embargo against Turkey.

The embargo has now been partially lifted, and Kissinger has negotiated a few billion-dollar arms pact with the Turks. He deliberately did not include a Cyprus solution a condition. Thus the pact is wired with political dynamite.

The House, meanwhile, voted to extend aid to both Greece and Turkey through October, 1977. But the Senate voted to cut off aid to both nations a year earlier, on the theory that separate arms pacts will be ready this year.

Of course, Congress would never approve a Turkish arms pact, without a Cyprus solution, on the eve of the election. The practical effect of the Senate bill, therefore, would be to reimpose the Turkish arms embargo in less than four months.

Yet incredibly, the Ford administration endorsed the Senate bill. It looked as if the President was deliberately trying to force a vote on the controversial arms deal. The refusal of Congress to supply arms to Turkey almost certainly would alienate a staunch former ally. This would hand Ford a hot campaign issue. He could march across the country, Harry Truman style, damning the irresponsibility of Congress.

But at the last minute, the Ford administration relented and endorsed the House bill, which is expected to prevail. The Turkish arms agreement, nevertheless, could still become an election issue. There are signs that Ford may push for a quick vote anyway.

The defeat of the pact at least

wouldn't cut off the arms flow to Turkey until next year, thus avoiding an immediate arms embargo. But it would still be a humiliating blow to the Turks. The State Department, for its part, has formulated no backup plans in the event the Turkish arms deal is defeated. "We would simply have to punt," one high official said.

We have also learned that Kissinger, in pushing the Turkish arms agreement, has been feeding Senate-House leaders false information. At a recent White House meeting with the leaders, he sought to allay the fears of those who believe he is trying to isolate Cyprus as an issue. We have seen the confidential minutes of that meeting.

The "big issue" with both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, said Kissinger in his soothing, Teutonic tones, is "how much territory to Greece, how much to Turkey?" The positions of both sides, he assured the leaders, "are basically reconcilable."

Our associate Joe Spear recently returned from a news-gathering trip to Cyprus. He brought back solid evidence that the Kissinger statement is false. The overwhelming consensus among the experts on Cyprus is that the Greek and Turkish positions aren't reconcilable at all.

The basic issue, unquestionably, is territory. Although the Turks constitute only about 18 per cent of the population, they now control the northern 40 per cent of the island. There is evidence that they are digging in for keeps.

At least 12,000 to 15,000 Turks, according to unimpeachable intelligence sources, have been imported from the mainland to alleviate the labor problem and boost the Turkish Cypriots' claim to the territory. Many of the immigrants hail from the Black Sea area. They belong to an ethnic group called "Lazis," who are considered undesirable by mainland Turks.

In all the "intercommunal talks" on Cyprus, the Turks have refused to budge on the territorial issue. Spear crossed the "Green Line" between the Greek and Turkish camps and found both sides to be stubbornly uncompromising.

The Turks talked about "mutual concessions" but made it clear they would never give up any significant acreage. A top Greek official stated the Greek position with equal forcefulness: "We will have to live with the *de facto* situation, but we will never legalize it with our signatures."

There is some evidence that Kissinger, too, would welcome an election-year battle with Congress over Turkish arms. He has tended to view the Greek-Turkey-Cyprus issue as a personal fight with Congress over who should control foreign policy.

Congressional critics have met with him seven times and with President Ford five times in search of a Cyprus compromise. Ford and Kissinger, however, have proved as intransigent as the Turks.



HEADQUARTERS: FIDELITY NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
P. O. BOX 2978, BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA 70821

January 21, 1975

TELEPHONE
~~342-5229~~
383-5229

8/17/76
aw

Governor Jimmy Carter
Plains, Georgia

Dear Jimmy,

It was good to see you again on your trip to Baton Rouge.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Lord Macaulay to H. S. Randall in 1857 which has some comments (marked) which seem to me to have meaning today.

What I fear is that we are in an historical cycle typified in the Roman Empire when power was held in part upon sufferance of the populace and that sufferance was obtained through "bread and circuses."

It may be possible for us to hold government responsible for our individual prosperity and then live rather comfortably for a time. The question of government vs. free enterprise management for prosperity can be debated. I am not sure we can have such a system for any length of time without a loss of freedom.

As you develop issues for consideration by voters in the months ahead, perhaps you will want to give some thought to the concern I have raised here.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Edward W. Stagg
Executive Director

EWS/bfw
Enclosure

A Letter from Lord Macaulay

Because he had access to manuscripts that later were widely scattered, Henry Stephens Randall's Life of Thomas Jefferson remained for nearly a century the most detailed account of America's third President. Randall, an educator and agriculturist with a predilection for politics and political history, was an ardent Jeffersonian Democrat. Soon after completing his estimable study he sent a copy to Thomas Babington Macaulay, the distinguished English author and former member of Parliament. Here is a portion of Lord Macaulay's response.

Holly Lodge, Kensington,
London, May 23d, 1857.

Dear Sir,

... I have long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty, or civilization, or both. In Europe, where the population is dense, the effect of such institutions would be almost instantaneous. What happened lately in France is an example. In 1848 a pure democracy was established there. During a short time there was reason to expect a general spoliation, a national bankruptcy, a new partition of the soil, a maximum of prices, a ruinous load of taxation laid on the rich for the purpose of supporting the poor in idleness. Such a system would, in twenty years, have made France as poor and barbarous as the France of the Carolingians. Happily, the danger was averted; and now there is a despotism, a silent tribune, an enslaved press. Liberty is gone, but civilization has been saved. I have not the smallest doubt that if we had a purely democratic government here the effect would be the same. Either the poor would plunder the rich, and civilization would perish; or order and prosperity would be saved by a strong military government, and liberty would perish. You may think that your country enjoys an exemption from these evils. I will frankly own to you that I am of a very different opinion. Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by a physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World, and, while that is the case, the Jefferson politics may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity. But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as old England. Wages will be as low, and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birminghams, and in those Manchesters and Birminghams hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometimes out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. Distress everywhere makes the laborer mutinous and discontented, and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators who tell him that is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million, while another can not get a full meal. In bad years there is plenty of grumbling here, and sometimes a little rioting. But it matters little. For here the sufferers are not the rulers. The supreme power is in the hands of a class, numerous indeed, but select: of an educated class: of a class which is, and knows itself to be, deeply interested in the security of property and the maintenance of order. Accordingly, the malcontents are firmly yet gently re-

strained. The bad time is got over without robbing the wealthy to relieve the indigent. The springs of national prosperity soon begin to flow again: work is plentiful, wages rise, and all is tranquillity and cheerfulness. I have seen England pass three or four times through such critical seasons as I have described. Through such seasons the United States will have to pass in the course of the next century, if not of this. How will you pass through them? I heartily wish you a good deliverance. But my reason and my wishes are at war, and I can not help foreboding the worst. It is quite plain that your Government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority. For with you the majority is the Government, and has the rich, who are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. The day will come when, in the State of New York, a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a Legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a Legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith. On the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why any body should be permitted to drink Champagne and to ride in a carriage, while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessaries. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a working-man who hears his children cry for more bread? I seriously apprehend that you will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning: that you will act like people who should in a year of scarcity devour all the seed-corn, and thus make the next a year not of scarcity, but of absolute famine. There will be, I fear, spoliation. The spoliation will increase the distress. The distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stop you. Your Constitution is all sail and no anchor. As I said before, when a society has entered on this downward progress, either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth; with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions. . . .

I have the honor to be, dear sir, your faithful servant,

T. B. MACAULAY

H. S. Randall, Esq., etc., etc., etc.

5 April 1976

Governor Jimmy Carter
c/o Carter Presidential Campaign
Box 1976
Atlanta, GA 30301

*ans.
8/19/76
ED*

Dear Governor Carter:

I read with interest the recent Wall Street Journal report on your views, particularly your disinclination to engage in job-creation programs of the sort envisioned in the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill and your interest in stimulating jobs in the private sector. I would like to share with you an idea on which I worked while in the Department of Labor in Washington last year. It is called the Employment Tax Credit, was discussed fairly high up in the current Administration before being shelved, but was introduced in Congress last fall by Senator Bentsen and in slightly different form this spring by Senator Tunney.

The essential idea is to provide employers with a tax credit equal to some fraction of wages paid to all employees in excess of employment in some base period. The program would apply only to those persons who are hired out of unemployment, not to individuals who previously had been employed elsewhere. In practice, it might work as follows: A firm with 1000 employees in the base period, say 1975, hires a person who is currently unemployed and drawing unemployment insurance benefits. It pays the person \$8,000 per annum, for example. If the newly hired worker is the 1001st employee (or any higher number), the firm is entitled to an \$800 credit on its taxes (equal to 10 percent of the wages it pays to the worker).

The virtue of this idea is that it operates on the margin. Employees already at work are not subsidized, so tax dollars are not wasted inducing businesses to do something they would have done anyway, namely retain most of their employees. Only additional employment, that which might not otherwise have occurred, is subsidized. This contrasts with the investment tax credit, which provides tax relief on investment in all plant and equipment. Because it works at the margin, the Employment Tax Credit is a very efficient means of job creation. The actual figures depend on the definition of the base period and the percentage of new workers' wages that is subsidized. My

estimates, though, suggest that the Federal budget cost per job is about \$4,000. This contrasts to the estimated \$10,000 to \$20,000 cost per job of Federal programs to share revenue for job creation in state and local employment. Further, it ignores the budget savings resulting from lowered unemployment insurance benefits and the increased revenue from the Federal income tax paid by workers who are hired under this program.

As an emergency measure to accelerate the country's economic recovery without further enlarging the government sector, this program appears to have a lot to recommend it. I urge you to consider it as you define your program for the nation.

Sincerely yours,



Daniel S. Hamermesh
Associate Professor
of Economics

DSH:bd

Apartment 419
1199 Whitney Avenue
Hamden, Connecticut 06517
July 14, 1976

ans. 8/17/76
EO

The Honorable James Earl Carter, Jr.
c/o Americana City Squire Inn
790 7th Avenue
New York, New York 10019

Dear Governor Carter:

This letter is a plea to you to maintain the Democratic Party's stand against a constitutional amendment to ban abortions. The United States government has already taken upon itself the power to require involuntary and uninformed voluntary sterilization of persons whom the bureaucracy considered unfit for parenthood. These actions were properly condemned when made public.

However, granting to any government--local, state, or federal--the right to decide for an individual whether that individual should deliver a child would sanction such governmental abuse. The decision for abortion--as the decision to conceive--is an awesome one. But I would no more wish to be told that I may not end a pregnancy than that I must end it. The power to make that choice one way implies the power to make the opposite choice whether that power is invested in an individual or in a government.

The decision to continue or to discontinue a pregnancy must be the option and the responsibility of those who conceived the child. The government must neither usurp that option nor relieve the parents of the responsibility. We must educate parents and would-be parents; we must not coerce them.

Thank you for taking the time to consider my opinion.

Sincerely yours,

Sharyn B. Wilson

Sharyn B. Wilson

cc: Governor Wendell R. Anderson
Chairman, Platform Committee
Carter Headquarters, Plains, Georgia

2140 Belton St.
Long Beach, Calif 90801

6/30/76

Dear Mr. Gordon

enc. 8/12/76 Ed

As a concerned citizen I
enclose my views on
crime and unemployment.
I note that the "brain trust"
surrounding Mr. Carter
has similar but independent
opinions.

Mr. Carter has and will be
developing his own
strategem for which this
country may well follow
its destiny. I trust he may see
this paper. Thank you

Sincerely

Robert Waldman

Robert Waldman
6/29/76

Position Paper

CRIME AND UNEMPLOYMENT

It is analogous to say that crime and unemployment are indigenous to this country more than anywhere else in the world.

Crime is anarchy. Countries whose standard of living is less than the United States, in many cases, have little left for individuals to plunder (the poor stealing from the poor does not evoke attention except that people die everyday from starvation). Privation and repression promote revolution. In this country the closest thing to revolution to occur over the past decade has been the feeling of frustration and indignation fostered by the black population.

The danger becoming more apparent is that as crime rises a weakening of the fabric of society happens causing a continuous disruption of civil order and brings with it a demand to meet violence with violence.

If government is to promulgate a program which becomes viable in the shortest possible time it must redirect funds for crime prevention and unemployment together with additional funds soon to be earmarked toward employment programs into a solid energized program which deals with cause and effect and not a means to an end.

True, every crime will not be stopped as witnessed by what has happened recently in government as well as business, however, in addressing ourselves to the needs of our citizenry the country will survive its crisis if the decay and inequities are corrected by offering to them something more than rhetoric. "Full employment" will help abate the problems of segregation and civil rights.

There are those who can not work, those who will not work and those who have been unemployed due to economic reversals. The barometer of crime is heated by unemployment. Society can not stand for long under those conditions. Those mistaking the G N P for prosperity are not able to see beneath the facade for inflationary dollars are as cancerous as unemployment. Inflation is like fat choking off the life flow in the country's arteries. There is no choice between unemployment and inflation for with inflation there will be unemployment.

There are choices (priorities) to make, and domestic and foreign economic decisions to consider, however, full employment plans should take precedent and should be fulfilled.

There is a need for orderliness. It is delicate. Those who administer orderliness must keep in mind the need to direct rather than dictate; to administer rather than manipulate. In a free society it must be demonstrated that employment is a privilege and not a threat to self esteem. The fear of having to prove oneself should not be part of the plan.

A work program should be promulgated in such a manner as to evaluate, educate and to create employment for every sector of society. Participation in society produces concern for it.

The private sector can only do so much, the government has to be the catalyst. It can redevelop needed public work projects; redevelop support programs used in the private sector where on the job training took place unsuccessfully. Government supported trade schools can be established so that people can be schooled to some degree so that they can become, to some measure, productive. Being productive is important in any public work project, more important than the degree of productivity. The cost to government is not an issue as much as it is a duty. However, the mathematics will prove that

the income derived from being productive will produce taxes and buying power and will far outway the heavy cost of having an indolent, crime ridden society whose cost in welfare and crime prevention at this moment far exceed anything suggested. The side affects are ruinous in having to stall or reject health giving projects to the citizens of every persuasion at this very moment in time.

The taxes from the works programs will help to sustain them. The mental pressure on society will be immeasurably reduced.

Inflation should be dealt with in a separate text, however, limitations will have to be placed on business and labor. This should not affect profit or buying power, in fact limitations will enhance them.

If public officials have two to twelve years to become effective they must have a strong leader with an eye toward a peacefull domestic society in order that the economic ills of the world become tranquil. The society which can survive will have to lead the world out of its chaotic condition of overpopulation, environmental deterioration, food shortages and illnesses

Robert Waldman
6140 Belen St.
Long Beach, California 90815

WILLIAM D. DAN JR.
1131 PEARL STREET
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA
32206

esous



JIMMY CARTER
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN
P.O. Box 1976
ATLANTA, Georgia
30301

ans 8/11/76
EO 4/1/76

DEAR Sinner, CARTER

Your Presidential Campaign Committee are moving along pretty smooth and mostly sweeping every primary after another. I was Campaign for you in the March 9 Primary and had wrote a letter on issues such as Segregation laws and unemployment, inflation. You have two primary coming up next week New York and Wisconsin. Right now if you become elected President are you going to provide jobs for every American that are out work especial the teenager are out the summer period and need work to continue his education I think it should be full time and part time work back to normal and not so many American people living on welfare as was during the early part of the seventies. I notice back in 1971 when former President Nixon was president he freeze wages for working American and inflation just really sky high. To my point view if you become elected President is to condize the inflation and increase the wages. Right now the minimum wages should be three dollars instead of two ten per hour because the unemployment and inflation are greater for American poor people for instant the average working family man with yearly income from 3 to 6 thousand dollar, have to work two jobs

in order to live and provide for his family and mostly American today are working seven days a week in order to survive the high cost of living today. I think it is too much working pressure on man or woman, girl or boy what I mean it's no time for relaxation or vacation. This Democracy we are living in and should stand the way it was when it was first made. Constitution, I think the American government don't turned its back on the American people. That's really need instead of foreign countries. The biggest problem now are between cities and states such as revenue sharing for example New York be fore it was about to go in fault if it was president than I would have pass a bill to grant New York money for the sharing. I think the revenue sharing should be used equal and trust worthy Federal and local government for states and cities it should be used wisely and basily such as too much money on it. I think the rural area of the states need more development such as industry and economic of the sharing than cities. To my opinion is that revenue sharing should be balance and not over drawn. Right now you biggest challenge is Scoop Jackson and Morris Udall but later on as the primary goes on they'll drop out.

Sincerely yours
W. L. H. H. H.

Drexel Burnham & Co.

INCORPORATED

Handwritten signature

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

60 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10004

July 6, 1976

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

Dear Jimmy:

I was pleased to attend the cocktail party for your benefit the other night at the Waldorf. Unfortunately, Helene and I have exhausted our ability to contribute, and as a "free rider" I felt constrained to stay out of the line although I did want to be there to shake your hand and to wish you well.

In accordance with the suggestion you made some months ago, I am enclosing a piece by The Washington Forum Inc., a subsidiary of our firm, which deals with American attitudes toward a number of problems which may be of some interest to you in formulating your programs.

Sincerely,

Handwritten signature of Mark N. Kaplan

Mark N. Kaplan

Enclosure

Wes

8/17/76
E.O.

2978 Plaza Terrace Drive
Orlando, FL 32803
June 1, 1976

Gov. Jimmy Carter
Carter for President Headquarters
Plains, GA 31780

Dear Jimmy:

First, let me introduce myself. I am the husband of Miriam Wise from Plains, who I am sure you and Rosalyn remember.

no retaliation to Phil Wise

Jimmy, I am disturbed over your proposed idea of being for Bill S-2387 Vertical Devestiture now being almost ready to vote on by the Senate. I hope you will re-examine your feelings toward this bill, come out against it, and if you are nominated and elected President, will oppose it.

Although this bill is aimed at only 12 to 18 big oil companies, its passing would effect many independent service station operators and the 15,000 petroleum wholesalers in the United States. It would also put around 500,000 extra workers on the unemployment list.

I am enclosing a modern parable which I feel applies to this bill. If you'll veto the bill if its passed under your administration, Miriam and I will be even happier to see you and Rosalyn get in the White House!

Thank you for your consideration of coming out against this terrible bill.

Sincerely,
R. Hugh Powell
R. Hugh Powell

Encl

No one really knows who wrote this updated version of the well-known fable. But it has been widely reprinted and even read in stockholders' meetings.

ONCE upon a time, there was a little red hen, who scratched about the barnyard until she uncovered some grains of wheat. She called her neighbors and said, "If we plant this wheat, we shall have bread to eat. Who will help me plant it?"

"Not I," said the cow.

"Not I," said the duck.

"Not I," said the pig.

"Not I," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen, and she did. The wheat grew

tall and ripened into golden grain.

"Who will help me reap my wheat?" asked the little red hen.

"Not I," said the duck.

"Out of my classification," said the pig.

"I'd lose my seniority," said the cow.

"I'd lose my unemployment compensation," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen, and she did.

At last, it came time to bake the bread. "Who will help me bake the



The Modern Little Red Hen

Condensed from
NATION'S BUSINESS

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BY NATION'S BUSINESS—THE CHAMBER
OF COMMERCE OF THE U.S., 1615 H
ST., N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

THE MODERN LITTLE RED HEN

bread?" asked the little red hen.

"That would be overtime for me," said the cow.

"I'd lose my welfare benefits," said the duck.

"I'm a dropout and never learned how," said the pig.

"If I'm to be the only helper, that's discrimination," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen. She baked five loaves and held them up for her neighbors to see.

They all wanted some—in fact, demanded a share. But the little red hen said, "No, I can eat the five loaves myself."

"Excess profits!" yelled the cow.

"Capitalist leech!" cried the duck.

"I demand equal rights!" shouted the goose.

The pig just grunted. Then they hurriedly painted "unfair" picket signs and marched around, shouting obscenities.

The government agent came and said to the little red hen, "You must not be greedy."

"But I earned the bread," said the little red hen.

"Exactly," said the agent. "That is the wonderful free-enterprise system. Anyone in the barnyard can earn as much as he wants. But, under government regulations, the productive workers must divide their product with the idle."

And they lived happily ever after. But the little red hen's neighbors wondered why she never again baked bread.



SP/4 & MRS. B.L. Young
Box 78 Fort Clayton
A.P.O. N.Y. 09827
ZIP CODE



PERSONAL

THE



HONORABLE JIMMY CARTER
c/o COMMITTEE FOR JIMMY CARTER
1795 Peachtree Rd. NORTH EAST
Atlanta, GEORGIA 30309

U.S.A.

21 July 76

ans 8/17/76
ED

THE Honorable
Governor Jimmy Carter
State of Georgia

Dear Sir,

I'm a former member of the Armed Forces of the United States. I am now residing in the Canal Zone with my husband, who is stationed here and also serving in the Army.

We have been keeping up with the National Election mainly because we are one of the main topics discussed in this election's Re: The New Panama Canal Treaty.

We have been very much impressed with your Campaign. Neither one of us have voted in our lives because we did not feel there was anyone worth voting for until now.

Everytime someone got in office, they would completely change their attitudes and what they intended to do. So, there was another mess. We just could not believe anyone anymore.

My husband and I are voting in this election and we are voting for you. We have seen what President Ford has done, but we feel more can and should be done. We felt at first

THEODORE A. ADAMS, Jr.

President

Unified Industries, Incorporated

205 S. Whiting St., Suite 201

Alexandria, Virginia 22304

Phone: (703) 751-2200

TELEX 89-2524

LIST OF MEMBERS ON THE
SBA AND SBIC LEGISLATION

The Honorable Neal Smith
Chairman
SBA and SBIC Legislation
House of Representatives
2361 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
202-225-5821

The Honorable Bob Bergland
House of Representatives
1414 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
202-225-2165

The Honorable Henry B. Gonzalez
House of Representatives
2312 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
202-225-3236

The Honorable James C. Corman
House of Representatives
2252 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
202-225-5811

The Honorable James M. Hanley
House of Representatives
106 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
202-225-3701

The Honorable Gus Yatron
House of Representatives
313 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
202-225-5546

The Honorable John Breckinridge
House of Representatives
125 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
202-225-4706

The Honorable J. William Stanton
House of Representatives
2466 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
202-225-5306

The Honorable Millicent Fenwick
House of Representatives
1610 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
202-225-7300

The Honorable William F. Goodling
House of Representatives
1713 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
202-225-5836

The Honorable William L. Hungate
House of Representatives
2437 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
202-225-2956

SUMMARY SHEET

MINORITY ENTERPRISE ACT OF 1976

*H. R. 12741

A Bill to amend the Small Business Act to expand assistance under such Act to minority small business concerns, to provide statutory standards for contracting and subcontracting by the United States with respect to such concerns, and to create a Commission on Federal Assistance to Minority Enterprise, and for other purposes.

SPONSOR: Honorable Parren J. Mitchell
 U. S. House of Representatives
 414 Cannon House Office Building
 Washington, D. C. 20515

INTRODUCED: Tuesday, March 23, 1976

*CONGRESSIONAL

RECORD REFERENCE:

Wednesday, March 24, 1976
Page H2364-H2367

*REFERRED(JOINTLY) TO:

Committee on Small Business
Government Operations Committee
Banking, Currency and Housing Committee

CONTACT:

Clarence T. Bishop
Senior Legislative Assistant
(202) 225-4741 or 225-9208

(H. R. 12741)

TITLE I

AMENDMENTS AFFECTING THE SMALL BUSINESS ACT.

PURPOSE: To amend the Small Business Act to expand assistance under such Act to minority small business concerns.

KEY FEATURES:

- A. Provides a legislative definition of "minority small business concern;"
- B. Establishes within SBA an Office of Minority Small Business Assistance Personnel under the authority of an Associate Administrator for Minority Small Business and Procurement Assistance
- C. Authorizes the Associate Administrator for Minority Small Business and Procurement Assistance to administer:
 - (1.) SBA 8(a) Procurement Program
 - (2.) SBA Equal Opportunity Loan Program, i.e., 7(i), 7(j), 7(k)
- D. Amends Section 7(a) Business Loan Program
 - (1.) increases maximum loan limits from \$350,000 to \$1,000,000
 - (2.) increase authorization from \$400,000,000 to \$600,000,000
 - (3.) requires that minority small business concerns receive at least 25% of all such loans
- E. Amends Section 8(a) Procurement Program
 - (1.) waves all bonding requirements for minority small business concerns under this program
- F. Costs
 - (1.) \$200,000,000.00 Increase in 7(a) Business Loan Program Authorization
 - (2.) 1,600,000.00 Reorganization and establishing Office of Minority Business Personnel
 - (3.) \$201,600,000.00 Total
- G., All amendments to take effect October 1, 1976

(H. R. 12741)

TITLE II

AMENDMENTS TO THE FEDERAL PROPERTY AND ADMINISTRATIVE
SERVICES ACT OF 1949

PURPOSE: To provide statutory standards for contracting and subcontracting
by the United States with minority small business concerns.

KEY FEATURES:

- A. Legislatively establishes the policy of the U. S. that "minority business enterprise shall have the maximum practicable opportunity to participate in the performance" of all U. S. contracts. . .
- B. Defines contractual requirements and elements of a minority business enterprise subcontracting program. . .
- C. Requires that minority business concerns receive the greater of:
 - (1.) not less than 2% of any contract exceeding \$1,000,000
or
 - (2.) not less than 5% of the total amount of subcontracts under any contract exceeding \$1,000,000 . . .
- D. Requires submission of Minority Business Enterprise subcontracting program plan by contractor prior to contract award. . .
 - (1.) plan must describe type and percentage of work to be performed by minority business . . .
 - (2.) after award, but prior to beginning performance, contractor must identify specific minority enterprises to perform work. . .
- E. Authorizes withholding of payments to any contractor who does not provide expeditious payments to any minority business enterprise performing under such contractor. . .
- F. Costs. . .

NONE

- G. All amendments to take effect October 1, 1976 . . .

TITLE III

COMMISSION ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO MINORITY ENTERPRISE

PURPOSE: To establish a Commission on Federal Assistance to Minority Enterprise.

KEY FEATURES:

- A. Commission to be **comprised of fifteen** (15) members appointed by the President and approved by the Senate for two (2) year terms.
- B. Membership of Commission to be primarily drawn from minority groups and representatives of minority-dominated enterprises, trade associations, community development corporations, etc.
 - (1.) SBA Associate Administrator for Minority Small Business and Procurement Assistance and the Administrator of OMBE are ex-officio voting members
- C. Commission to be supported by a fully funded executive staff
- D. Commission shall develop methods of:
 - (1.) securing financial assistance to minority enterprise
 - (2.) assisting minority enterprises in generating markets for goods and services
 - (3.) assisting minority enterprises in complying with Federal, State, and local law
 - (4.) evaluate efforts of agencies of U.S., and private business and industry to assist minority enterprise
 - (5.) providing effective business education to minority enterprises
 - (6.) other
- E. Empowers Commission to
 - (1.) hold hearings and receive testimony
 - (2.) secure information from executive agencies and departments
 - (3.) report to the Congress semi-annually
- F. Costs
 - (1.) \$748,000.00 to make Commission operable
 - (2.) \$748,000.00 Total

(H. R. 12741)

COST SUMMARY SHEET

Title I:	(a)	\$200,000,000.00	Increase 7(a) Business Loan Program Authorization
	(b)	1,600,000.00	Reorganization and establishing Office of Minority Business Personnel
Title II:	(c)	0.00	
Title III:	(d)	<u>748,000.00</u>	Commission of Federal Assistance to Minority Business Enterprise
Grand Total		\$202,348,000.00	

TESTIMONY OF THE HONORABLE PARREN J. MITCHELL (D-7TH-MD.)
BEFORE THE SBA AND SBIC SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE
COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1976,
10:00 A.M., 2362 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, IT IS
AN HONOR FOR ME TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU TODAY IN SUPPORT OF
H. R. 12741, WHICH I INTRODUCED ON MARCH 23, 1976.

THE BACKGROUND MATERIAL TO THE BILL IS PRESENTED
SOMEWHAT IN DEPTH BECAUSE, IN MY OPINION, A FULL UNDER-
STANDING OF THE BACKGROUND WILL FACILITATE FAVORABLE
CONSIDERATION OF THE BILL. I URGE YOU TO READ AND STUDY THE
BACKGROUND MATERIAL INTENSIVELY.

BACKGROUND

IN THE 1950's, THE CONGRESS PASSED THE SMALL BUSINESS
ACT. ITS PURPOSE AND INTENT WERE CLEAR, I.E., THE SURVIVAL
AND GROWTH OF THE NATION'S FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM WAS
PREDICATED UPON WIDESPREAD OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF
BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY AND AVOIDANCE OF TOO MUCH ECONOMIC
CONCENTRATION BY THE GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE MAMMOTH AND
EVER-BURGEONING BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL ENTITIES THAT HAD
HAD THEIR INCEPTION IN THE 1890's AND EARLY 1900's. GREATER
COMPETITION FOR GOVERNMENT, COMMERCIAL AND CONSUMER
MARKETS WOULD ULTIMATELY INSURE A CONTINUATION OF BETTER
PRODUCTS AND SERVICES AND A HEALTHIER DISSEMINATION OF THE
NATION'S WEALTH.

THE SMALL BUSINESS ACT AND THE SUBSEQUENT ESTABLISH-
MENT OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION INSURES THE GROWTH
OF SMALL BUSINESS THROUGHOUT AMERICA; AND, FURTHER INSURES
THAT A FAIR PROPORTION OF GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT AND
CONTRACTING OPPORTUNITIES ARE AFFORDED TO IT. IT IS CERTAINLY
NO ACCIDENT THAT MORE THAN 8 MILLION SMALL BUSINESSES EXIST
TODAY; BUT, IT IS, RATHER, BY DESIGN AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

(2)

COMMITMENT TO AN ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY OF FREE ENTERPRISE THAT SMALL BUSINESSES ARE FLOURISHING AND WILL CONTINUE TO FLOURISH.

MINORITY PARTICIPATION WITHIN THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC SYSTEM HAS BEEN PRIMARILY ONE OF CONSUMERISM. WITH THE EXCEPTIONS OF LAND AND HOUSING -- AND THAT TO MINIMAL DEGREES -- MINORITY OWNERSHIP HAS BEEN RESTRICTED TO CONSUMER PRODUCTS; AND, EVEN MORE SO, MINORITIES HAVE BEEN FACED WITH NON-OWNERSHIP, MATERIALIZED IN AN OVERALL "RENT AS YOU LIVE" PHILOSOPHY.

THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP HAS ALWAYS BEEN A MOTIVATING FACTOR BEHIND THE AMERICAN ETHOS OF "RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM" AND "SELF-DETERMINATION." CAPITALISM HAS THRIVED AS A SYSTEM BECAUSE PROFIT IS A MEANS BY WHICH ONE CAN MEASURE EFFORT. BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT HAVE PLACED THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION INTO THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE. THE COMPETITIVE SPIRIT BY WHICH WE LIVE HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR AMERICA'S EVOLUTION AS THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY ON THE EARTH AND ONE THAT HAS AFFORDED ITS PEOPLE THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF LIVING.

CONSEQUENTLY, THE WORKER WHO SINCERELY BELIEVES THAT HIS EMPLOYER ENHANCES THOSE PRECEPTS AND IDEALS WHICH HAVE MADE THE NATION GREAT, TRANSLATES THAT SINCERITY INTO CONSCIENTIOUS EFFORT AND ACHIEVEMENT, WHILE GENERATING A COMPETITIVE SPIRIT AMONG HIS PEERS.

THE KERNER REPORT OF THE LATE 1960's, IN THE WAKE OF ONE OF THE NATION'S MOST CIVIL ERUPTIVE AND DISRUPTIVE PERIODS, ALSO SPOKE TO THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP. IN THIS INSTANCE, HOWEVER, MINORITY OWNERSHIP WAS THE SUBJECT. IN SPITE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES; CREATION OF IMMENSE SOCIAL

(3)

WELFARE PROGRAMS; LEGISLATIVE REAFFIRMATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS...IT WAS FOUND THAT THE MINORITY PURSUIT OF OWNERSHIP WAS AS INTRINSIC TO THEIR PHILOSOPHY AS IT WAS FOR THEIR MAJORITY COUNTERPARTS. IT BECAME EQUALLY AS EVIDENT THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAD DONE LITTLE, NOR HAD PLANS TO DO MORE IN THE FUTURE, WITH REGARD TO MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT.

AS A RESULT OF THIS CONDITION, SOME IMMEDIATE STEPS WERE TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT TO, AT LEAST, MITIGATE THE PROBLEM, I.E., (1) SECTION 8(a) OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ACT WAS IDENTIFIED AS A LEGISLATIVE VEHICLE BY WHICH MINORITIES WOULD HAVE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT AND CONTRACTING OPPORTUNITIES, THUS THE EVOLUTION OF THE 8(a) PROGRAM; (2) THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION WAS FORMALLY ALERTED TO THE UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF MINORITY BUSINESSES AND AUTHORIZED TO ESTABLISH MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE PROGRAMS, GOALS, AND OBJECTIVES, AND MAKE AVAILABLE TO MINORITY BUSINESSES ALL PROGRAMS AND SERVICES OFFERED TO SMALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISES IN GENERAL; (3) THE OFFICE OF MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE WAS CREATED BY EXECUTIVE ORDER TO WORK EXCLUSIVELY FOR MINORITY BUSINESS CONCERNS AND IN COORDINATION WITH THOSE AGENCIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IMPACTING UPON MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE; (4) THE POSITION OF ASSOCIATE ADMINISTRATOR FOR MINORITY SMALL BUSINESS WAS CREATED WITHIN THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION; (5) SUBPART 1-1.13, MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISES, OF TITLE 41 - PUBLIC CONTRACTS AND PROPERTY MANAGEMENT WAS ATTACHED TO THAT AMENDMENT OF THE FEDERAL

(4)

PROCUREMENT REGULATIONS "TO FOSTER AND ENCOURAGE THE PARTICIPATION OF MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE IN THE SUBCONTRACTS AWARDED BY GOVERNMENT PRIME CONTRACTORS."

THE PERIOD FROM 1968 TO PRESENT HAS GIVEN RISE TO MUCH CONCERN ABOUT THE MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE ISSUE AND THE BROADER ISSUE OF MINORITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE QUESTION OF MINORITY "ECONOMIC PARITY" HAS BEEN ADDRESSED VIA VOLUMINOUS RESEARCH AND STATISTICAL DOCUMENTATION, NUMEROUS FORMAL GOVERNMENT AGENCY AND PRIVATE SECTOR DISCUSSIONS, AND PREVIOUS FORMAL TESTIMONIES TO COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS. WHAT HAS BECOME QUITE EVIDENT IS THE NEED FOR SPECIFIC AND IMMEDIATE LEGISLATIVE ACTION WITH REGARDS TO MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE. IN ADDITION, THERE IS A CRITICAL NEED FOR THE EFFICACIOUS IMPLEMENTATION AND ONGOING ANALYSES OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMING IN THE EFFORT TO INSURE MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, WHILE MOVING CLOSER TO THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF MINORITY "ECONOMIC PARITY."

TO TRULY GRASP THE FULL MEANING OF MINORITY "ECONOMIC PARITY" AND, YET, UNDERSTAND THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THE ISSUE REQUIRES ONE TO WADE THROUGH AN OCEAN OF STATISTICS AND OVERCOME THE TIDAL WAVES OF ITS COMPLEXITIES. FOR, IT IS A FACT THAT MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE HAS EXPERIENCED GROWTH; HOWEVER, SUCH GROWTH IS ONLY AS RELEVANT AS ITS PARALLEL RELATIONSHIP TO NATIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH. STATISTICAL DATA FROM A 1969 REPORT ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE ON MINORITY-OWNED BUSINESSES INDICATED THAT THERE WERE APPROXIMATELY 322,000 MINORITY-OWNED BUSINESSES, COMPRISING 4.3 PERCENT OF THE 7.5 MILLION BUSINESSES IN AMERICA. IN ADDITION, THE REPORT STATED THAT

(5)

THE TOTAL MINORITY BUSINESS RECEIPTS CONSTITUTED \$10.6 BILLION OR 0.7 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL 1967 RECEIPTS OF \$1.498 TRILLION REPORTED BY ALL BUSINESSES. THE 1972 SURVEY OF MINORITY - OWNED BUSINESS ENTERPRISE - BLACK (MB72-1), A SPECIAL REPORT ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATISTICS ADMINISTRATION, AND THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF SPECIAL REPORTS ON MINORITY-OWNED BUSINESSES, INDICATED THAT THERE WERE SOME 195,000 BLACK BUSINESSES IN THE NATION GENERATING \$7.1 BILLION IN GROSS RECEIPTS. THE AVERAGE RECEIPTS PER BLACK FIRM WAS \$13,000 PER ANNUM. IN COMPARISON VARYING POPULATION STATISTICS INDICATED THAT MINORITIES COMPRISE BETWEEN 17 PERCENT AND 20 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL U. S. POPULATION -- THOSE STATISTICS ARE HIGHLY SPECULATIVE, FOR BLACKS ALONE MAY COMPRISE MORE THAN 15 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION. CONSEQUENTLY, IF ONE WERE TO ADDRESS THE MATHEMATICS OF THE SITUATION, ONE COULD ASCERTAIN THAT THE RATIO OF BUSINESS DOLLARS GENERATED BY MINORITIES AS EQUATED WITH THE MINORITY PERCENTAGE OF THE NATION'S POPULATION IS ALARMLY DISPROPORTIONATE. IN THIS REGARD THE VERITY OF MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE GROWTH BELIES THE REALITY OF AN INADEQUATE GROWTH PATTERN AND THE ROAD TO MINORITY "ECONOMIC PARITY" CONTINUES TO BECOME LONGER AND MORE CIRCUITOUS. IF WE ARE OF THE OPINION THAT MINORITY "ECONOMIC PARITY" WILL COME AS A RESULT OF NORMAL ECONOMIC EVOLUTIONARY TRENDS, WE NEED QUICKLY CHECK OUR PREMISE. FOR, THE LONGER WE PROCRASTINATE IN STARTING THE MACHINERY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM, THE MORE FUEL WILL BE REQUIRED. IN THIS VEIN, I AM SPEAKING OF DOLLARS AND HOW TO BEGIN TO SOLVE A PROBLEM WITH MILLIONS RATHER THAN WAIT UNTIL IT WILL LATER COST US BILLIONS.

THE SUBSTANCE OF THE LEGISLATION

IN THIS LIGHT, I HAVE RECENTLY INTRODUCED THE "MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE ACT OF 1976," H. R. 12741. AND, AS I HAVE STATED PREVIOUSLY, "I CONSIDER THIS BILL, UNQUESTIONABLY, THE MOST IMPORTANT PIECE OF LEGISLATION THAT I HAVE INTRODUCED SINCE COMING TO THE CONGRESS IN 1971." I BELIEVE IT TO BE THE CULMINATION OF MY EFFORTS AND UNTOLD EFFORTS OF MANY PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE NATION AND THOSE IN THE CONGRESS WHO HAVE COURAGEOUSLY STRUGGLED TOWARDS THE SUCCESS OF MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE OVER THE LAST DECADE.

THIS BILL LAUNCHES A THREE-PRONGED ATTACK ON THE REAL PROBLEMS OF MINORITY ENTERPRISE, GENERALLY AS FOLLOWS: TITLE I OF THE BILL SEEKS TO AMEND THE SMALL BUSINESS ACT TO EXPAND ASSISTANCE TO MINORITY SMALL BUSINESS CONCERNS. AMONG OTHER THINGS, AN ASSOCIATE ADMINISTRATOR FOR MINORITY SMALL BUSINESS AND PROCUREMENT ASSISTANCE WOULD BE "LEGISLATIVELY" ESTABLISHED TO CORRAL AND ADMINISTER THOSE EXISTING SBA PROGRAMS WHICH IMPACT GREATEST ON MINORITIES. TITLE II WILL PROVIDE MUCH NEEDED STATUTORY STANDARDS FOR CONTRACTING AND SUBCONTRACTING BY OUR GOVERNMENT WITH MINORITY SMALL BUSINESS CONCERNS. IT MANDATES THAT MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISES HAVE A MAXIMUM OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FUTURE BUILDING OF OUR NATION AND OBTAIN THE FINANCIAL BENEFITS OF SUCH PARTICIPATION. TITLE III ESTABLISHES A COMMISSION ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO MINORITY ENTERPRISE TO DEVELOP METHODS AND MODES TO GUARANTEE THE SURVIVAL AND GROWTH OF THE MINORITY BUSINESS COMMUNITY WITHIN OUR LARGER ECONOMIC CONTEXT.

(7)

IN ADDITION, THE "MINORITY ENTERPRISE ACT OF 1976" REQUIRES REORGANIZATION, TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY AND PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION WITHIN AN ALREADY EXISTING AGENCY OF THE GOVERNMENT - THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, AN ENTITY ESTABLISHED MORE THAN 20 YEARS AGO AND DESIGNED TO ADDRESS THE MYRIAD OF PROBLEMS FACED BY SMALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISE. THE FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS TO ORGANIZATIONALLY EFFECTUATE VIABLE MINORITY ENTERPRISE PROGRAMMING IS NOMINAL AND THE OTHER ASPECTS OF THE BILL ARE AS FAR REACHING AS THEY ARE EXACT. IT IS A BILL WITH TEETH AND I OPENLY SOLICIT SUPPORT FROM MY COLLEAGUES TO ASSIST ME IN THIS GREAT ENDEAVOR.

ATTACHED TO MY TESTIMONY IS A SUMMARY OF H. R. 12741 WHICH SETS FORTH THE KEY PROVISIONS OF THE LEGISLATION.

I URGE THE COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT FULL HEARINGS ON THIS BILL. I URGE YOU TO HEAR FROM THE SMALL BUSINESSMEN WHO CAN BECOME COMPETITIVE AND VIABLE IF THIS BILL IS ENACTED.

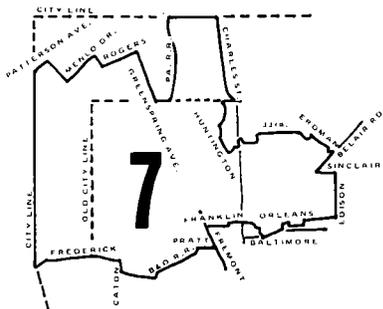
I CHALLENGE THE CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT ALL PEOPLE WITHIN THE NATION HAVE A RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM AND SHARE EQUITABLY IN THE NATION'S WEALTH. IF WE ARE TO MAKE THE ATTEMPT, THEN LET US GO ALL THE WAY AND WITH OUR BEST EFFORTS.



NEWS FROM

**CONGRESSMAN
PARREN J. MITCHELL**

7th Congressional District, Maryland



414 Cannon Bldg. • Washington, D.C. 20515 • Phone: (202) 225-4741 • Not Printed At Government Expense 

FOR RELEASE ON MONDAY, MAY 24, 1976 (#76-25) 10:00 A.M.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE PARREN J. MITCHELL (D-7TH-MD.) ON BEHALF OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS ON THE INTRODUCTION OF THE "MINORITY ENTERPRISE ACT OF 1976," (H. R. 12741, 13784 and 13785) 2222 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 24, 1976

As a matter of survival, minority groups are being forced to seek control of a greater part of America's economic activity.

An objective review of the Administration's 1977 Fiscal Year Budget requests clearly indicates the intent to pursue a course of abandonment of human need/human resource programs. Many of the human service programs which face drastic curtailment are essential to bettering the quality of life for the Nation's socially and economically disadvantaged.

Further, despite efforts to the contrary by the Congress, the Administration continues to support policies which maintain high levels of unemployment. Although they need not be rehearsed here, time and time again unemployment figures reveal a disproportionately high impact on minority groups.

Unquestionably, continuous unemployment bears a direct correlation to the need for human resource programs -- the very same programs which are being squeezed out of existence or "reformed" into meaninglessness. Therefore, minority groups are being boxed in and the only viable exit is the route of economic development.

Jobs must be created, particularly in the minority sector, as the forced alternative to dependence on human resource programs. The creation of employment through strong economic development moves people from the level of "pure consumer" to the all important plateau of "consumer-producer."

Minority economic development has not been viable to this point. Minority groups are far from achieving economic parity in this country.

If we are at all serious about a better America, especially in this Bicentennial Year, the Federal Government must make an unalterable commitment and policy to stand behind minority economic development.

Toward that end, the Congressional Black Caucus has endorsed in the House of Representatives the legislative vehicle to challenge the Congress and the people to demonstrate that all people within the Nation have a right to participate in the free enterprise system and share equitably in the Nation's wealth. That legislative vehicle is the "Minority Enterprise Act of 1976," H. R. 12741, 13784 and 13785.

This Bill launches a three-pronged attack on the real problems of minority enterprise, i.e., capital and operational finance as well as access to contracting and subcontracting opportunities, generally as follows:

Title I of the Bill seeks to amend the Small Business Act to expand assistance to minority small business concerns. Among other things, an Associate Administrator for Minority Small Business and Procurement Assistance would be "legislatively" established to corral and administer those existing SBA programs which impact greatest on minorities. Title II will provide much needed statutory standards for contracting and subcontracting by our Government with minority small business concerns. It mandates that minority business enterprises have a maximum opportunity to participate in the future building of our Nation and obtain the financial benefits of such participation. Title III establishes a Commission on Federal Assistance to Minority Enterprise to develop methods and modes to guarantee the survival and growth of the minority business community within our larger economic context.

In addition, the Minority Enterprise Act of 1976 requires reorganization, transfer of authority and program implementation within an already existing Agency of the Government - the Small Business Administration, an entity established more than 20 years ago and designed to address the myriad of problems faced by small business enterprise. The financial requirements to organizationally effectuate viable minority enterprise programming is nominal and the other aspects of the Bill are as far reaching as they are exact. (A summary of the Bill along with a listing of supporting organizations is attached to this statement.)

The Minority Enterprise Act of 1976 is a Bill with "teeth." For example, one of the stronger provisions of the Title addressing the area of Executive Agency procurement activity sets up "achievable target designates" by stating that: "With respect to any Government contract which may exceed \$1 million, minority business shall, to the extent possible, be awarded not less than the greater of 2% of the total amount of the contract or 5% of the total amount of subcontracts under such contract."

If we look only at the program acquisition costs by weapons system for the Department of Defense, as an application of this provision, the Department spends approximately \$20.3 billion. In this case, the 2% minority business share would be \$406.8 million. Or, if we assume that 60% of the total DOD weapons system acquisition costs were subcontracted, i.e., \$12.2 billion, minorities would receive 5% or \$610.3 million.

These dollars would mean more jobs and less need for human resource programs, in the long run.

The Congressional Black Caucus fully realizes that, unfortunately, there is a direct relationship between the strength of a Bill and the difficulty in obtaining final enactment. We are advising supporters that a "Herculean" effort will be required to gain final passage -- an effort similar to that which forced through the Voting Rights Act and an effort similar to that which will gain acceptance of the Full Employment Act.

However, the Minority Enterprise Act of 1976 is the culmination of the untold efforts of many people throughout the Nation and those in the Congress who have courageously struggled towards the success of minority business enterprise over the last decade. It is crucial to the survival and growth of minority business enterprise in the future. It must be enacted!

The Black Caucus is confident that with the support of those assembled here today, the embryo of a snowballing national support, success can be attained.

A Companion Bill entitled the "Equal Opportunity Enterprise Act of 1976," S. 3427, has been introduced in the Senate by Senators Edward Brooke and Jacob Javits, indicating bi-partisan support.

A new wave of an old struggle has begun.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Folklore Institute

504 NORTH FESS STREET

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401

Journal of the Folklore Institute
Folklore Monograph Series
Folklore Archives
Indiana Folklore

TEL. NO. 812—337-5864

July 17, 1976.

Dear Mr. Carter:

finished

I write in response to your acceptance speech: it's the best such speech I've heard. Your choice of words shows that you are a perfectionist. You used short words, direct words, easy words; and avoided the high-falutinisms that political style often swells to. Eric Sevareid didn't like the style, for it's not ponderous enough to suit him; but good stylists of all ages have told us that the best style is the plainest, and you have gotten their point. You showed a good instinct, in introducing your quotation from the Declaration of Independence with the words *that all people* ("are created equal . . ."), rather than quoting exactly, "that all men are created equal. . . ." Bravo. There is hardly a word that needed changing. (I'd have avoided *evolve* in a transitive sense, and used a non-Latin word, like *make*, in its place.) You'd have had my vote anyway, but I'll be doubly glad to support someone who speaks plainly.

I enclose some remarks by the Rev. Peter J. Gomes,—the first black, and the first Baptist, to be Preacher to the University, & Plummer Professor of Christian Morals (at Harvard).

I teach a course of about 250 undergraduates, in Folk Music of the World. This summer, I took a poll, and you won, 2-to-1, against any Republican. I'll take another in the fall. If I can help you, let me know.

Yours sincerely,

Jacob Wainwright Love

Jacob Wainwright Love,
Asst. Prof. of Folklore.

On big things and little things

Once again, we have managed to survive the platitude season: that time from mid-May to mid-June when commencement speakers, who ought to know better, tell commencement audiences that "the best is yet to be" and that the current crop of soon-to-be-turned tassels is just what this tired old world has been waiting for. That this outrageous fiction should be perpetuated year after year is one of the wonders of the modern world.

If the purple prose of these generally self-indulgent exercises bore any resemblance to reality, there would be fewer and fewer problems for each succeeding class to resolve, resulting in little left for them to do, and less left for the speakers to say about it—a thoroughly agreeable prospect on every score. Needless to say, that is hardly the case.

Despite the allegation that the class of 1976 is brighter than the class of 1975, which in turn was brighter than the class of 1974, and so on back to the Flood, the world into which all this undistilled intelligence has come seems strangely unimproved. Positive peace, rather than the mere absence of war, remains unrealized in much of the world. The poor are still with us, and the public trust and private integrity suffer from a profound lack of confidence. More people can read, but spelling is in a state of utter decline. With this state of affairs, what does one say to the hungry mouths that are looking to be fed?

When Edward Everett Hale was chaplain of the United States Senate, he was asked, "Dr. Hale, do you pray for the Senators?" To which he replied, "No. I look at the Senators and pray for the country."

Perhaps if we told the class of 1976 and their successors that they more than likely were not up to the requirements for the world's salvation, and that even if they were, they would soon be out-

Peter J. Gomes is minister in the Memorial Church at Harvard.

flanked by their successors, it might make for a bit more sober honesty in these days. As it is now, what was said in error about one Harvard preacher's sermons could be said of the college classes: *each one gets better than the next.*

To some, the problem is as simple as so-called "grade inflation" on one hand, and the "information explosion" on the other. There is too much to learn, and too much credit given for what little we master.

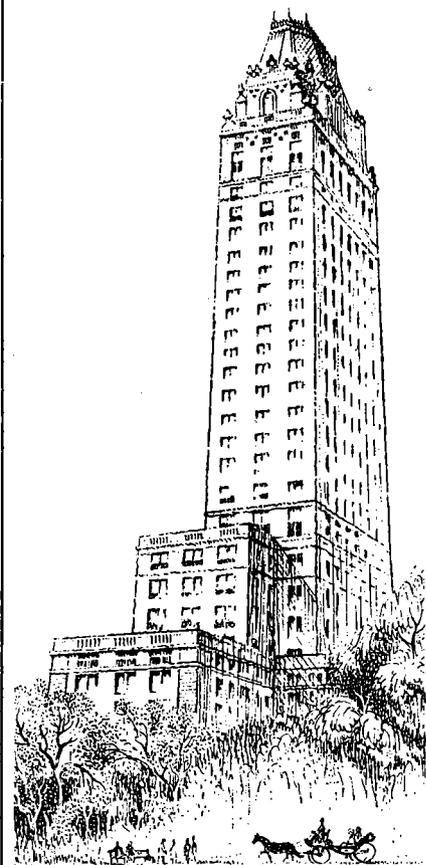
The problem, I believe, is both larger and simpler than that. It is not the large things that need our attention, but the little things. Chesterton once observed:

We do not need the learned man to teach us the important things. We all *know* the important things, though we all violate and neglect them. Gigantic industry, abysmal knowledge are needed for the discovery of the *tiny* things—the things that hardly seem worth the trouble.

More and more, I am convinced that it is the tiny things—the things that hardly seem worth the trouble—the little and apparently insignificant things of this mortal life, that make the difference between civilization and chaos, war and peace, heaven and hell. My day is made or broken, not so much by Henry Kissinger's latest tête-à-tête with world *dignitari*, as it is by a door held open, a courteous toll-booth operator, or the scent of mock-orange blossom in my dooryard.

Reverence, we have been told, is the response to awesome might and power. It may be so, although reverence is hardly the sentiment I feel when I behold the giant nuclear power station in Plymouth, where our forefathers landed and where I live. I would suggest that reverence is more than that. It is the response to the interstices of creation itself, the cracks and crannies in which and through which life struggles to assert itself. And reverence is the response in the face of that infinite and ultimate network of hopes, aspirations, beauty, and power, whose

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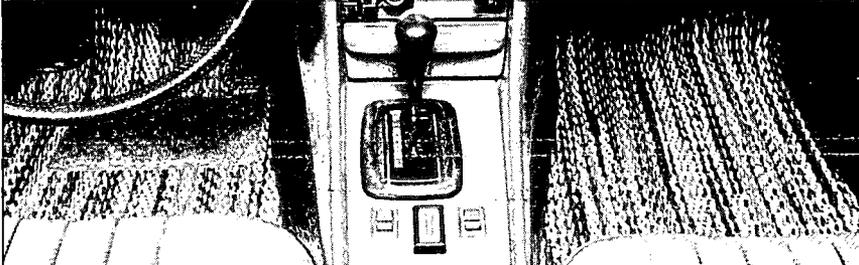
the-going-gets-tough... stuff of which commencement orations are made. But such things compose the true knowledge by which we are nurtured. At Harvard and most other universities, this realization brings a few dozen people to brief services of morning prayer during term time. In almost less time than it takes to walk to the chapel, we and our predecessors have confronted and cultivated those little things that hardly seem worth the trouble.

True, we embrace the cosmos, and we try to relate what-we-do and who-we-are to what-we-ought-to-do and who-we-may-become. But it is the little things, the modest steps, that begin our great journey. Through secret prayer and public word, we seek the strength of little things: the burdensome kindness, the necessary hope, the faltering intimacy.

Our heavy crosses we can lift. It is strength for the little ones that brings us to our knees, and sometimes to prayers, each day. We want the courage to look toward those little things that are the test of our faith, and which confirm in us the promise of St. Luke: *He who is faithful in a very little is faithful also in much.*

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TELEPHONE
(312) 641-1944

July 16, 1976

Gov. Jimmy Carter
Plains, Georgia

Finished

Dear Governor Carter:

My wife and I watched your speech last night on television and were impressed with both its substance and form.

In line with your promise to make the President more responsive to the people, I suggest that, if elected, you establish a program of regular meetings with citizens of all ages and backgrounds, possibly by random selection. These meetings could take place either in Washington or in the various states. The individuals invited would be invited to bring up topics of concern and to comment on topics suggested by the President. This program would have several advantages to the President, and among them would be the following:

1. The President would be exposed directly to a wide range of viewpoints, thereby giving him a better feel for the people and combatting the isolation that seems to go with his office.
2. The program would be a visible method of delivering on a key campaign promise.
3. The meetings could be easily covered by the news media. The coverage would probably be most positive when local reporters covered meetings in the states which were attended by local residents.
4. The positive reaction should be continuous and cumulative. Those attending will be unlikely to forget the time that the President solicited their views. Friends, neighbors, family, fellow workers and even mere acquaintances would probably be reminded again and again for years to come.
5. These relatively small meetings at locations chosen by the President would be relatively easy for the Secret Service to secure.

I strongly urge you to adopt such a program of meetings with the President. Good luck in the campaign.

Morris Seeskin
Morris Seeskin

WILLIAM M. ROGERS, N.H.A.

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July 16, 1976

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Honorable Jimmy Carter
Candidate for the Presidency of the United States
Plains, Georgia

Dear Governor Carter,

It was my good fortune several years ago to come in possession of a book written in 1923 by Wayne C. Williams and entitled "William Jennings Bryan." In the front and back cover I was astonished to find two letters hand written by Mr. Bryan. They were written October 25, 1923 - one instructing the Editors to deliver a copy of the book to a young friend and the other is a letter to his young friend. The latter is a very sincere and unique expression of faith by one of the greatest men our Nation has produced. Certainly, you will agree with me in that he might well be remembered as the most influential, within the party, that the Democratic Party has had. I am attaching a copy of this letter in the belief that you will appreciate it. In addition, I have a sincere feeling that your thoughts along this line would parallel those of Mr. Bryan.

Should our paths evercross - I would be honored to have you see the two original letters. To me they are priceless or I would take the chance of sending them for you to return later.

Congratulations on your nomination and best wishes for your election in November.

Sincerely,

William M. Rogers

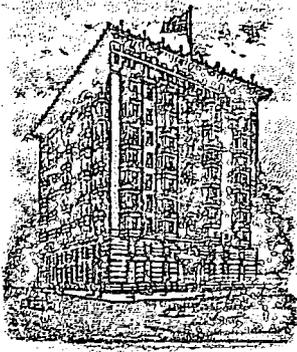
WILLIAM M. ROGERS
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WRM/ss
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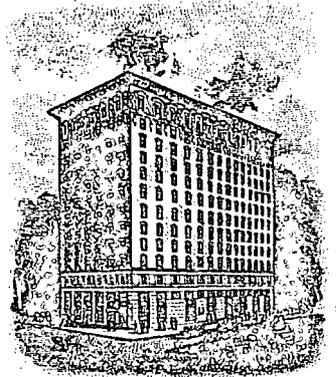


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confidence in the people ^{these three} ~~it~~
plain such success as I have
achieved. To lead one must believe
in the triumph of the truth and he
can not do this unless he be-
lieves in God. To lead one must
also know the truth and Christ.

is the "way, the truth and the life"
To lead one must be going
in the same direction as the
people and to do this he must
not only sympathize with them
but trust them.

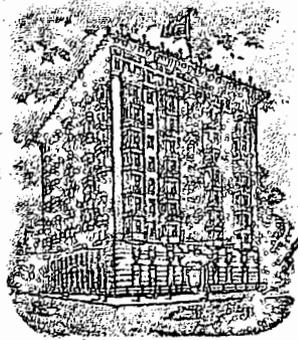
Please give my kindest
regards to your parents
yours truly
W. B. Bryan

See also notes

May

June

W. B. Bryan
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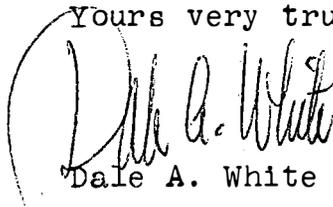
Governor James Carter,
Plains,
Georgia,

*done
8/17/76
ED*

Dear Mr. Carter:

There may be a remote possibility that if this letter reaches your desk and that you may be able to crowd the reading of it into your very heavy schedule. If so, there may be a good possibility that you may attach a great amount of value to it's content in formulating an approach to the challenge of recuing the American Family Farm before it is too late.

Yours very truly,


Dale A. White

DAW/dw

Encl.
An article
from
Acres, USA

CONVERSATIONS WITH A CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERAL

ed wimmer

Those who know Ed Wimmer can expect a quotation from Thomas Jefferson at the drop of a hat. This is not to say that Wimmer looks into the past more than into the future. As a matter of fact, the durable old youngster is about as buoyantly optimistic about the future as one can get. For more years than most of us have been on spaceship earth, Wimmer has been telling audiences to "get back to Jefferson, back to the Constitution, back to genuine private enterprise"—that is, enterprise free of monopoly power and dependence on government or welfare. At times he wondered aloud whether the American nation would make it to July 4, 1976, the 200th birthday. As you read these lines, the 200th birthday will have come and gone, or be at hand. There could be no more fitting issue in which to print an interview with Ed Wimmer.

Ed Wimmer began his fight for the preservation of the family farm, independent enterprise and local financial institutions as the "three pillars of a free enterprise society" in 1932, when hunger marches and bankruptcy stalked the land, and when faith in private enterprise and representative government was at its lowest ebb all over the world. "It isn't the system that has failed," wrote Wimmer in 1932, "but men who have failed the system," and from that time on it has been platforms, Congressional hearings, microphones and more written and spoken words than a hundred other men could account for—words appealing to Americans to "return this country to the teachings of the Founding Fathers and their spiritual concepts."

Ed Wimmer joined early pioneers in campaigns to save the family farm and independent enterprise, men such as Wright Patman of Texas, Burton K. Wheeler of Montana and O'Mahoney of Wyoming. He fought on the sideline or such milestones in legislation as the Robinson-Patman Act, the Public Utility Holding Company Act, the Bank Holding Company Act, Fair Trade laws and other reforms that saved countless thousands of family farms, local businesses and banks.

Between 1946 and February of 1972, Ed was Vice President and Public Relations Director of the National Federation of Independent Business, covering all 50 states and Canada with his lectures and broadcasts, predicting that the continued liquidation of the family farm, independent enterprise and the self-reliant, hard working people who were the backbone of the American middle class, would end in millions becoming more and more dependent upon the federal government, and finally the ushering in of the welfare state. Ed was dismissed from NFIB because he failed to "cool it." From the Acres U.S.A. chair it appeared as if NFIB existed simply to make the temperature of rural and small town discontent, and that doing something about anything didn't belong.

Ed Wimmer founded Forward America, Inc. in 1932. His son, Ed, Jr., has been aiding him in his work, and also denotes a determination to make Forward America an "Independence Hall" where anyone who wants to "ring a Liberty Bell for freedom," will find a



FORWARD AMERICA PHOTO

ED WIMMER

way to do it. His mailing address: P.O. Box 1776, Covington, Kentucky 41012. "I am a radical conservative," he says. "I want to eradicate those things that are bad and conserve those that are good."

Ed Wimmer is an affable man with a booming voice. He speaks to almost everybody. Ed is six feet tall and has graying hair and blue eyes. He always wears "5-gallon" hats—another of his trademarks. Ed has no time for hobbies.

"Am I even tempered?" he storms. "Who could be even tempered today in the face of all the injustices taking place. If you were even tempered you might be complacent."

Ed has an "unswerving conviction" that free enterprise was born on Main Street, U.S.A., and that Main Street is becoming its burial ground. "This leaves no room for anything but to dedicate yourself to stopping the funeral," he says.

Other Wimmer preachments are: "All America can give a salute to the capitalistic system whenever they see the opening of a small new business, especially by someone under 25."

"Why this motto: 'The teachings of Christ or Chaos?' I believe that religion and morality are synonymous with individual dignity and freedom at all levels of society. They alone, religion and morality, preserve family life and make public office a trust."

"Only morality and religion stand in the way of predatory robbers of trade, and without their protection, free society disintegrates, and dissolution of family life and public office begin. People sunk in moral depravity always bring the free society to its grave."

Recently, we had a few more questions for Ed Wimmer. Our questions and his answers are printed below.

ACRES U.S.A. Mr. Wimmer, was Jefferson a liberal?

WIMMER Yes. I think you have to put this in the context of the times, however. Jefferson's liberal was a man interested in individual liberty. As you

know, the idea of liberty first gained a toe-hold in the area of religious liberty. Religious ferment in England gave us Puritanism, and in the 17th century Puritanism projected a political movement with members contemptuously called Whiggamores—a word pretty much equivalent to *cattle thieves*. The king's men were Tories—*highway robbers*. The Whigs worked for individual liberty and progress. The Tories defended the old order of the king, the landed aristocracy, the naked power of the established government over people. The Founding Fathers were basically Whigs. In Jefferson's view, the end of a free society was to give people the fullest expression of their lives. This was liberalism. I am a liberal in that I want government to act only as such action expands the domain of liberty for all persons alike. Today the terms *liberal* and *conservative* ought to be dropped. There is no understanding of what they mean. *Yes, Jefferson was the true liberal*. If we had enough Jeffersonian liberals in this country today, we wouldn't have this giant government our so-called liberals run and maintain on a platform of welfare.

ACRES U.S.A. The free lunch?

WIMMER Yes. The free lunch idea. It has become unfashionable to be against the free lunch. This is what brands the conservative as being too far to the right, as though he had no sympathy for the poor, no sympathy for the sick, and so on. A conservative to me is one who wants to conserve that which is good and eradicate that which is bad.

ACRES U.S.A. What was Jefferson's attitude toward the down-and-outer?

WIMMER Jefferson's principal statement I think went something like this. He said, *The care of every man's soul belongs to himself. What if he neglects it? Well, what if he neglects his health, or his estate. Will the magistrate make a law that he will not be sick or poor. God Himself will not save man against his own will.* I think Jefferson would have been just as opposed to helping people who don't help themselves as are our conservatives. I think Jefferson would have sought every means possible to decentralize power as one of the approaches to the problem of finding opportunity for self help to be family farmers, to be independent business people. I think Jefferson's fear of power was based on the idea that he was a complete and total decentralist. Decentralization, as we all know, is the cure for concentration.

ACRES U.S.A. Of course Jefferson's idea of decentralization was based on the idea that a democracy needed broad-based ownership of land—family farmers, in short.

WIMMER Yes. And Jefferson was the great agronomist, the scientific farmer. Too, he said, *In questions of power, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief with the chains of the Constitution.* He said the families that till their own soil are the most precious part of the state. *And let their numbers be constantly increased.* Well, this has been your objective. And it has been mine also. From that standpoint we're Jeffersonites.

ACRES U.S.A. Now, 200 years later, we seem to have lost the battle. Have we also lost the war, so to speak?

WIMMER The numbers have certainly vanished. Yet where can you find

a unit in society that is more efficient or better for the country than the family farm. Yet our American people don't know this. They don't understand the subject Press—radio, TV, newspapers—even our candidates, how many bring out the importance of the family farm? How many understand the need for a balanced exchange equation between raw materials production and the rest of the economy? You haven't heard Carter, you haven't heard any of them say anything yet.

ACRES U.S.A. What do we do about it?

WIMMER I believe the feeling toward breaching up too much power—business, labor, government, agriculture, finance—is rising to a point in this country where the next two to three years will see a complete turn-around. It may not be an all-at-once U-turn, but it is going to be a curbing, then a turning back. We're going to see moves in Congress to break up all of the big corporate combines. I think we will see a move to do something about stopping the corporate farm, and I believe you're going to see a strengthening of bank holding company legislation—all for one reason. The guys in Congress and the people at the state government level are getting scared. And nothing happens until they get scared.

ACRES U.S.A. This isn't dependent on who is elected president?

WIMMER I don't think so. I've talked to Reagan, and he says that every time he mentions that giant business, giant labor, giant government are ruining the country, it never makes the papers. He has said this over and over and over, and it has not been reported. President Ford has been talking about small business, about the family farm, and very few of his remarks in this area make the papers. Carter has brought it up, Brown has brought it up, but no major publication or major network is making an issue out of it. This is why it is so tough for your paper and *Rural Times* and *Forward America* to do this job. We do not have the support of the chief outlets of public opinion makers.

ACRES U.S.A. The public opinion makers themselves are giant corporate enterprise.

WIMMER That is certain. The People's Bicentennial Commission has been battling this dependence on big business. I'm not against big business. I'm against abuses in the system. I'm against the oversize. Oversize almost always means trouble in anything. And that especially applies to agriculture. You're doing what Jefferson said. He said to ferret out the people in their homes and look into their kettles and lower on their beds under pretense of resting, but in fact to find out if they are soft. They—the people. We've got a pretty soft population.

ACRES U.S.A. Let's get back to your comment on bigness. *Acres U.S.A.* has always charged that bigness has upset the exchange equation, and this has required the society to move into agriculture with programs, and these programs have been misnamed "subsidy." Any comment?

WIMMER I wrote a letter to one of the congressmen this week. He felt the family farm shouldn't be "subsidized"—in quotes! I said, *In an economy where the farmer is the victim and the* see next page

ed wimmer...

from previous page

seller, in an economy that is controlled by a dozen or less corporations in every single field, the farmer is not operating in a fair market under a free enterprise system. He's operating the way small people had to operate in competition with the king's corporations in the day of Adam Smith—back when the liberals cried for liberty. The fact that Campbell Soup buys 85% of the vegetables that go into soup, that in itself is a frightening situation. Take the Ralston-Purina people and 95% of the broiler business being in the hands of a half dozen corporations. Our highways used to be lined with small poultry and dairy farms. They're gone. And those people were the backbone of the towns, and the towns were the backbone of the cities. The big chains are closing up a lot of stores because they are proving to be uneconomic operations. Conglomerates are in trouble. All these things are going to add, I think, to our attempt to get decentralization for this country in its third century.

ACRES U.S.A. You're not as pessimistic as Arnold Paulson of National Organization for Raw Materials?

WIMMER. Well, Paulson scares me. I'm trying to cure him of his pessimism because he does a tremendous job. If we could get a guy like Paulson as Secretary of Agriculture, we'd have had it made a long time ago. We've never had a good Secretary of Agriculture in my lifetime, and I'm 76. We have not had one Secretary who has been truly sympathetic and understanding of the importance of the family farm. Can you come close to agreeing with that?

ACRES U.S.A. *Acres U.S.A.* can agree because we have not had one Secretary who has seemingly understood the exchange equation. They simply can't understand that there has to be equity of exchange between microbe and food, between plant and soil, between food and man, between rural and city, between American and world economies—and there has been no such equity in part because the economic managers—Secretaries of Agriculture included—do not understand the name of the game.

WIMMER. The farmer is producing food at \$1.25 an hour for a guy who is making \$6.25 an hour, and the industrial worker is paying \$1.25 an hour prices for food that he consumes. Do you know an exception?

ACRES U.S.A. Not since the UAW issued a policy paper in connection with the passage of the Employment Act of 1946. That was the last time. At that time it was stated that labor could not expect a greater parity than agriculture. *Acres U.S.A.* asked Leonard Woodcock, *How come agriculture has never rated a mention since the Employment Act of 1946 was passed in policy statements of the United Auto Workers?* We didn't get much of an answer. Just a shrug of the shoulders. It is possible to take the position that this is deliberate. Unions are taking the same position being taken by big business.

WIMMER. Each time big business and big unions sit down at the table, they look like they're fighting like cats under a porch, making all kinds of racket, and while this is really going on they're making kittens. Labor and big business are making more for themselves all the time, and they finally end up kissing and agreeing on whatever the union wants.

Ed Wimmer is at his best on July 4. Here are extracts from a July 4 talk given some eight years ago in the little town of Corning, Iowa during a day-long celebration sponsored by the National Farmers Organization and the Iowa Independent Business and Professional Men.

A reporter covering the signing of the Declaration spoke of the deadly heat of that day. He said the horse flies from a nearby stable bothered the signers who were pledging their lives, fortunes and sacred honor to the establishment of a government of the people, for the people and by the people, dedicated to liberty, justice and the pursuit of happiness for all. The reporter wrote: "The Declaration has been signed. The deed is done, and if true independence is to come, America will have great responsibilities thrust upon her. The question is, will Mr. Jefferson's works strike fire again and again in the hearts of the people. Will succeeding generations preserve the freedoms set forth this day, and continue to deserve their blessings?"

Lest those merchants, business and professional men of today forget—I would remind them that Thomas McKeam, a signer little known to our day, was hounded by the British so much he had to move his family constantly. He served in Congress without pay. His possessions were taken away from him, and poverty was his final reward.

Lest the labor leaders, strikers, civil rights marchers, chain store monopolists, political leaders forget—I remind them of Jim Hart, the signer of the Declaration who was driven from his wife's bedside as she was dying. His 13 children had to flee for their lives. His properties were laid waste. He lived in caves and fought in the forests. When he returned home his children had vanished. A few weeks later he died from exhaustion and a broken heart.

Norris and Livingston suffered equal fates. These men were not ruffians, creators of strife or racial hatreds, hide bound Tories like the ones we have running in and out of the White House today—looking for special privileges—or protection against the loss of the special privileges they now hold. They were men of culture and education; but they loved liberty enough to pledge in the name of Divine Providence, their possessions, homes, lives—and yes, their sacred honor.

Alexander Hamilton, who later feared that the people would never preserve their freedoms if left to their own ways, was only 19. James Monroe, 18. Aaron Burr, who later killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel, was 20. James Madison, who came to warn future Americans to hang on to all programs, moral and rational, that kept power decentralized, was 25. Thomas Jefferson, whose teaching could put this country on a road leading to the greatest and longest period of spiritual, economic, social and political progress the world has ever known, was 33 years young, and like Madison, he feared concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the few, as the destroyer of all freedom—and unfettered, would someday destroy the Republic they had created.

ACRES U.S.A. And this is being done at the expense of the general public and at the expense of the balance of the economy? And, not least, at the expense of the farmer?

WIMMER. Correct. And big government sits there, hovers over the whole thing, and looks at the voting record and discovers that more people in the union vote as a block than there are people representing big corporations. So you have big government leaning toward labor unions all the time. I don't think government should lean in any direction. I think these settlements between big unions and big business with government sitting in are getting out of hand.

Ed Wimmer uses all forms at his command to tell the one story that needs telling most—the story of Americanism. Here is a typical broadcast—The Tyranny of Bureaucracy.

I have hit pretty hard lately on the argument that what we are getting in this country today—the inflation, confiscatory taxation, teacher and public employee strikes, loss of integrity, labor unrest, energy shortage, by-products of the same kind of concentrated economic power that preceded the fall of Rome and the rise of Adolph Hitler.

Rome fell when she taxed her small farmers and middle class out of existence. Hitler rose to power on the same kind of ruin in Germany, and you will find the same seeds of power behind the present situation in Britain.

Someone wrote me recently that I should be putting more emphasis on what big government is doing to the country, and less emphasis on the big chains, big combines, big banks, and big unions—but: in all history I have been able to get my hands on, too much government has always been the result and a by-product of too much economic power.

John Ashbrook, a fighting Congressman from Ohio, C.C. Moseley, L.T. Patterson, and others, are right on target when they say that little by little, we are being brainwashed through government semantics. That little by little, as Ashbrook says, we are coming to believe that government action and control is good, while individual action is bad. Mr. Ashbrook says that "one of these days we will wake up in the belief that individual freedom is tyranny, and government control is really liberty."

It's happening. But it is only a by-product that ends up with its own wombs. The wombs of bureaucracy now being deplored by millions of Americans who have yet to learn the reason why.

had it. Our whole Constitution and Declaration of Independence, and we can throw in the Sermon on the Mount, were written, developed and aimed toward developing personality and soul and people by giving them a chance to develop themselves instead of government setting up agencies to do it.

ACRES U.S.A. Then you feel the bicentennial July 4, 1976 is a time for rejoicing, not mourning?

WIMMER. I think we should rejoice over the fact that we are still the most envied country in the world, that we still have more people that own things, that we have more money in the banks! If America isn't the best hope in the world, no other country is. Britain is gone. Russia is no hope. China is no hope. Germany, none of those places are big enough, or rich enough to be a center for rehabilitation of social, spiritual, economic and political values. This country is it. And the eyes of the world are on us. I also think July 4, instead of being a climax, is really the launching pad for the real meaning of the Declaration and the Constitution. I think we're really going to get underway after July 4, rather than on that date.

ACRES U.S.A. Decentralization, then, is the means for continuation of democracy in the U.S., in your opinion?

WIMMER. Indeed, it is. The end product of decentralization is a free people, free men and women in their own right. I mean self reliant and independent men and women in quantity, not just in quality. I include strong communities and regions rich in the essentials of life, even as they used to be. I mean decentralization with an atmosphere of personal moral responsibility. It is the only road to economic democracy. It is the only road to personal security.

ACRES U.S.A. What could be the shocker that would bring about this kind of thinking?

WIMMER. Failure of the Post Office. Railroads headed for nationalization. The talk of nationalizing energy. Each step that you take toward nationalization—regardless of what field it is in—can only be taken because there is too much concentration of economic power in the hands of the few. It can't come any other way. You can't take over a million farms. You can't take over a million people running small business. But how simple it is to take over five big grain operators that are handling all the grain all over the world. How simple it would have been to take over the utilities, except for the fact that holding companies were broken up in 1938. There were 16 men in control of the public utilities all over the United States. If Roosevelt had wanted nationalization, he would have had no problem with utilities. But he said, *Let's break them up.*

ACRES U.S.A. We do have the dilemma of government stepping in with centralized agencies to police every business—large and small—with OSHA. OSHA reaches into every one man shop in the country. We do have a judicial tyranny afloat in this country that legislates, runs school districts, and makes public policy regardless of the political feelings of the people. In some cases this has brought on near and actual revolt—as in Boston and Louisville. How do you square what you're saying with these developments. Judicial tyranny has taken off without the benefit of prior centralization?

WIMMER. It is true, there was no monopoly in education, and yet a federal court steps in and legislates.

And this is bankrupting communities. I think we have to consider that people in Boston and Louisville and Detroit and some other places are not going to give up until the judges gives in. I believe it is a sign that the people are developing an *anti* feeling on this business of federal control, and being told how they're to raise their kids. This land control thing is another big problem.

ACRES U.S.A. Mr. Wimmer, we've suggested a remedy, and we'd like to run it up the flagpole for your comment. As it stands now, people want to pass a constitutional amendment every time an unpopular piece of legislation comes out of the Court. This is supposed to undo the latest ruling of the court. It is, however, our opinion that the Court never had the constitutional right to make these rulings in the first place. The Court merely arrogated to itself the right to decide what is constitutional. Machiavelli once said that *only the usurper can understand the realities of power*. And, of course, the court has become a usurper. The Court took this power, retained it, and uses it without reference to the opinion of the body politic. Since the court took these powers without constitutional mandate, the people have only to take them back in the following manner. *Pass a constitutional amendment that sets up a Council of Government whose sole function will be to pass on constitutional issues and the constitutionality of laws that have been passed. Such a Council would have to be responsive to voters and limited in term of office. And such an amendment should make it easily possible for referral to popular national referendum great issues that are political in nature.* Courts should be limited to deciding each case under laws developed by due legislative process. Certainly bussing for the purpose of social manipulation ought to be decided by national referendum. Logic out of the Court has become more feather-brained with the years. Even hod carriers could develop equally valid rationales on issues of great social importance.

WIMMER. Yes. The Court is much like the bureaucracies, such as OSHA you mentioned. Those people become trial judge, prosecutor, the whole system. What do I think of your solution? I think this would be a good thing to put in boldface type in your paper. And I think perhaps Harold Minor and I would like to put it in *Rural Times*.

ACRES U.S.A. You mentioned your optimism a bit earlier. Give us something we can hang our hat on.

WIMMER. I spent several days in Washington recently with the SBA. We've been trying to get the SBA to look upon the farm as a small business, and then to look upon the family farm as the backbone of small businesses up and down the main streets of America, which SBA is supposed to help. There was more talk about the importance of the family farm—calling the family farm a small business, thinking of them as small business, than ever in any agency in Washington. All the small business organization the SBA administration has been thinking about is helping the small manufacturer, the retailer, never giving any thought whatsoever to the part that agriculture was playing in the lifeline of all the smaller businesses, especially in rural America. I think the work that Forward America and others like yourself have been doing got SBA started on this thing.

ACRES U.S.A. Let's wrap this up. Any parting shots?

WIMMER. Well, I hope we can stay optimistic. I like to remember Harry Truman. He had that sign on his desk, *The Buck Stops Here*. I think we ought to have signs on all the Congressmen's desks and all the governors' desks for all the chisellers who want something for nothing. It would sure discourage a bunch of them.

•There's nothing like a little experience to upset a theory.