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*Redaction*

Post Office Box 212  
Middleburg, Virginia 22117

January 7, 1974

Mr. Paul Miltich  
Press Secretary for the Vice President  
of the United States  
Room 281  
Old Executive Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20501



Dear Mr. Miltich,

Thanks so much for reviewing my resume and recent samples of some writing I have done for Congressman Conlan. I am enclosing about six speeches, several floor statements, and some weekly columns.

I can provide some bylined columns and editorials that I wrote for The Arizona Republic if you would like to see them.

My office phone is 225-3361, or I can be reached in the late evening at home at (703) 687-6089.

Cordially,

*George*  
George H. Archibald

R E S U M E

RESUME OF: George Henry Archibald

EMPLOYMENT OBJECTIVES:

Employment as speechwriter or staff member for legislative office, legislative committee, or political committee specializing in writing, press relations, and research.

PHILOSOPHICAL/POLITICAL COMMITMENT:

Conservative/Republican



EDUCATION:

Hillsbrow Preparatory School  
Redhill, Surrey  
England

(August 1952 to May 1956)  
College preparatory

Loudoun County High School  
Leesburg, Virginia

(September 1957 to June 1962)  
Diploma, college preparatory

Randolph-Macon College  
Ashland, Virginia

(September 1962 to June 1963)  
30 semester hours towards  
liberal arts degree

Chowan College  
Murfreesboro, N.C.

(September 1963 to June 1964)  
30 semester hours towards  
liberal arts degree

Old Dominion University  
Norfolk, Virginia

(September 1964 to June 1967)  
85 semester hours towards  
liberal arts degree; diploma,  
bachelor of arts, with major  
in political science and  
minor in history

RESUME OF:  
George Henry Archibald

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EDUCATION (cont'd):

Air University  
Gunter AFB, Alabama

(February 1968 to August 1968)  
U.S. Air Force information  
specialist extension course;  
certificate of completion

Arizona State University  
Tempe, Arizona

(June 1971 to August 1971)  
6 semester hours towards  
teaching certificate and  
master's degree

WORK EXPERIENCE:

Congressman John B. Conlan  
429 Cannon Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515

(January 1973 to present)  
press secretary



Liaison with news media; research and draft news releases;  
write weekly column for 25 district newspapers; write speeches  
and floor statements; writing and layout for constituent  
newsletter; plan and execute radio and television exposure; daily  
briefings on local, state, and national news; maintain comprehensive  
issue files; specialized correspondence and messages.

The Arizona Republic  
120 E. Van Buren  
Phoenix, Arizona 85004

(March 1971 to December 1972)  
editorial writer

Wrote two or more editorials daily; edited syndicated columns;  
prepared makeup and layout, wrote headlines for editorial page;  
edited letters to editor; wrote bylined column, occasional book  
review, or news story. (Writing samples available upon request.)

U.S. Air Force  
3525th Pilot Training Wing (ATC)  
Williams AFB, Arizona

(November 1967 to June 1971)  
information specialist

Noncommissioned officer in charge (NCOIC) of Public Information  
Section: Collected, prepared, and distributed news and feature  
material for military and civilian news media; wrote speeches for  
wing commander. Editor, base newspaper. Member of wing  
commander's NCO/Airman Advisory Council.

RESUME OF:

George Henry Archibald

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WORK EXPERIENCE (cont'd):

Republican Party  
Norfolk, Virginia

(June 1967 to November 1967)  
campaign coordinator

Coordinated campaign media effort, wrote and distributed news releases for seven candidates for the Virginia General Assembly.

The Mace and Crown  
Old Dominion University  
Norfolk, Virginia

(September 1965 to June 1967)  
editor-in-chief

Editor-in-chief of weekly student newspaper, an elected position; managed staff of 25 writers and editors; wrote editorials and news stories; edited all copy; makeup and layout of 12 to 16 pages weekly; oversight of printing.

Hertz, Inc  
Washington, D.C.

(June 1965 to September 1965)  
rental agent; night bookkeeper

Chesapeake Petroleum and Supply, Inc  
Washington, D.C.

(June 1964 to September 1964)  
sales clerk; truck deliveries;  
warehouseman

Fulton Lewis, Jr  
Washington, D.C.

(June to September, 1962 and 1963)  
research; newsletter subscription  
clerk

CIVIC ACTIVITIES:

Basic Goals Commission for  
Social Studies

(July 1972 to December 1972)  
chairman; lay member

Twenty-seven member commission appointed by Arizona State Board of Education to develop courses of study for the teaching of social studies in Arizona public schools, kindergarten through 12th grade.



RESUME OF:  
George Henry Archibald

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CIVIC ACTIVITIES (cont'd):

Westside Area Career Opportunities Project (WACOP) (September 1971 to December 1972)  
Phoenix, Arizona lecturer

State project in Phoenix public schools to bring professional and career people into classrooms to talk about their jobs and educational and cultural prerequisites for obtaining them.

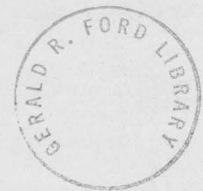
Americans for Effective Law Enforcement (AELE) (May 1972 to present)  
charter member; board of directors

Arizona Young Americans for Freedom (February 1968 to present)  
member, state advisory board

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES:

Paradise Valley Young Republicans Club  
member

Young Americans for Freedom  
member



MILITARY SERVICE:

Active duty completed with U.S. Air Force, Nov. 8, 1967, to June 4, 1971. Honorably discharged at rank of E-5. Completed service in inactive reserves on Nov. 7, 1973.

HOBBIES AND INTERESTS:

Reading (mostly nonfiction); writing; public speaking; music (classical and popular); bicycling; hiking; sightseeing; films, plays, and musicals.

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George Henry Archibald

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AWARDS AND HONORS:

Presented the American Legion Oratorical Award in 1962 by the late General Douglas MacArthur for taking second place in statewide public speaking contest in Virginia; winner of 16 debating awards in inter-collegiate forensic competition; elected Best Speaker of the House at the 1964 North Carolina State Student Legislature; best debater, Chowan College, 1963-64; named among top 10 students at Old Dominion University in 1967 by editors of Troubadour (student yearbook); nominated as a White House Fellow in 1970; commended on floor of U.S. Senate by Sen. Milward Simpson (R-Wyo), Sept. 2, 1965, for response to Women Strike for Peace anti-Vietnam teach-in at American University and broadcast over WAMU-FM.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE:

French: read, fair; comprehend, poor; speak, poor

PERSONAL REFERENCES:

Edwin S. McDowell  
Editorial Department  
The Wall Street Journal  
22 Cortlandt Street  
New York, New York 10006

John R. Coyne, Jr  
Assistant to the President  
Old Executive Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Rep. John B. Conlan  
429 Cannon Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Eugene C. Pulliam  
The Arizona Republic and  
Phoenix Gazette  
120 E. Van Buren  
Phoenix, Arizona 85004

Rep. G. William Whitehurst  
424 Cannon Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Frederic S. Marquardt  
The Arizona Republic  
120 E. Van Buren  
Phoenix, Arizona 85004

Rep. and Mrs. Jim Skelly  
2221 E. Indianola  
Phoenix, Arizona 85016

John M. McGowan, II  
Office of the Attorney General  
State Capitol  
Phoenix, Arizona 85007

Col. A.K. Koeck  
2303 E. Loyola Drive  
Tempe, Arizona 85282



RESUME OF:  
George Henry Archibald

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PERSONAL DATA:

Date of birth: July 23, 1944

Birthplace: Newmarket, Suffolk, England

Marital Status: Single

Relatives: George W. Archibald (father)  
Buckland Farm  
Warrenton, Virginia

Angela G. Archibald (mother)  
P.O. Box 212  
Middleburg, Virginia

Valerie A. Embrey (sister)  
Middleburg, Virginia

General Health: Excellent

Height: 5'8"      Weight: 130

Citizenship: U.S. (naturalized)

Current address: P.O. Box 212  
Middleburg, Virginia 22117  
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Washington, D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-3361







United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

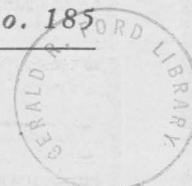
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 93<sup>d</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 119

WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1973

No. 185

## House of Representatives



**DON'T PANIC—AMERICA CAN SURVIVE THIS ENERGY CRUNCH**

**HON. JOHN B. CONLAN**

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 30, 1973

Mr. CONLAN. Mr. Speaker, now that the full impact of our energy crunch is becoming a painful reality, many people understandably wonder why we have been caught with fuel shortages that threaten our standard of living.

The most frequent question during my Thanksgiving visit with Arizonans was why industry and Government in the world's most consumer-oriented nation had failed to head off impending shortages with increased supplies to satisfy rising consumer demand.

After all, we have not come close to running out of fuel in the physical sense. There is plenty of tolerably clean fuel still available in the world. Thus far, it looks like the energy crisis is a self-inflicted wound—that Uncle Sam's shortsightedness is to blame, not Mother Nature.

Frankly speaking, this energy crisis that has caused some talk in terms of possible wholesale fuel rationing and other unwise Government measures that fail to get at the root issue of increasing fuel supplies, was caused by Government mismanagement in the first place.

Government officials were glad to oblige oil companies that several decades ago asked for special privileges, such as oil import quotas, price fixing, and oil prorationing. This gave the bureaucracy a chance to regulate and control yet another area of our economy.

But it was this sort of imprudent Government meddling in the development and marketing of fuel that initially threw our energy industry out of joint and al-

lowed consumption to outstrip both current production and expansion of capacity.

The natural gas industry—first to be hit really hard by supply problems last year—is a classic case in point. Through most of the 1960's, the Federal Power Commission held a tight rein on the price of gas at the wellhead—so tight that producers found it unprofitable and gradually stopped exploring for new gas.

They picked up their rigs and went abroad, where the chance of making a profit in that very risky business was better than it was at home. The number of new wells drilled dropped year by year, and by 1968 the United States was using more gas each year than was being discovered. The problem of shortages, then, resulted less from inadequate resources than from ill-conceived regulation.

Mr. Speaker, Congress has, likewise, missed the boat by failing before now to encourage development of so-called exotic energy sources—atomic fusion, solar energy, coal gasification and liquefaction, geothermal energy, tidal and wind power, and magnetohydrodynamics.

Until the new House Energy Subcommittee, of which I am a member, was organized this year, none of the six or so committees and subcommittees concerned with energy had constructively set out toward a long-term program to develop these new energy sources to carry us forward in the event of fossil fuel shortages or depletion.

Even though our Energy Subcommittee is now moving full steam ahead to pursue solar energy and the other exotics, because this was not started a decade ago, we have been caught without alternative energy sources during the immediate fuel shortage problem.

This has been aggravated by the Midwest oil cutoff and the fact that oil from Alaska is still 4 years away. As a result, we are in for some discomfort and belt-tightening for the next several years.

My urgent hope is that the American people persevere as they always have—that they remain calm and do not panic because of the current energy squeeze. Sloganeers and big government advocates will call for unwise Government measures such as fuel rationing and so forth to see us through this crisis. But we must avoid allowing ourselves to be buffaloes by further attempts at bureaucratization.

This energy crunch will be relieved by restoring the time-tested free market demand and supply balance, thus allowing fair competitive forces to establish realistic prices for natural gas at the wellhead and gasoline at the pump. It will not be permanently relieved by more Government edicts and regulations.

We must also remember our own contribution as consumers to the critical demand for energy. While we work toward long-range solutions on a national level, as we now are in the Congress, we must also eliminate squandering of energy resources through inefficiency and extravagance.

We must expect of industry an increased efficiency in such areas as energy conversion, automotive design, and airline management.

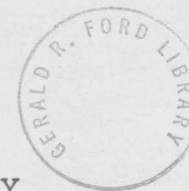
We must expect of ourselves moderation in such areas as heating and air-conditioning our homes and buildings, and driving our cars and other motor vehicles.

Individual prudence in the use of energy at home, at work, and at play can make a great contribution in moderating the energy demand curve.

We all have ample reason to trust the ability of American commonsense and technology to solve the long-term energy crisis. We must each trust the other to exercise that restraint necessary to ease the burden of the short-term energy crunch.

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN B. CONLAN TO THE PRESS FOLLOWING HIS ELECTION AS 93RD CLUB PRESIDENT ON WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1973.

WHERE WE STAND



CONGRESSIONAL REFORM AND CONTINUED FUNDING OF U.S. MILITARY OPERATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA HAVE DOMINATED WASHINGTON DISCUSSION SINCE THE 93RD CONGRESS CONVENED LAST WEEK.

THESE VITAL ISSUES ARE OF GREAT CONCERN TO US ALL. AND THEY ARE OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO THOSE OF US AMONG THE 53-MEMBER FRESHMAN CLASS OF REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN.

BUT UNLIKE SOME OF OUR COLLEAGUES ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE AISLE, WHEN WE REPUBLICANS THINK OF CONGRESSIONAL REFORM WE ARE NOT THINKING OF THE USUAL STRAW MEN SET UP TO DIMINISH CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORITY AND PRESTIGE.

SUCH ISSUES AS THE CONGRESSIONAL SENIORITY SYSTEM, CLOSED CAUCUS MEETINGS, FILIBUSTER RULES, AND SO FORTH ARE TOPICS ON WHICH REASONABLE MEN HOLD DIFFERING OPINIONS. BUT THEY ARE NOT CRUCIAL TO A TRUE REFORM OF OUR LEGISLATIVE PROCESS.

WE FRESHMEN REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE 93RD CONGRESS THINK OF REFORM IN TERMS OF THE COMPLETELY UNREALISTIC WAY THAT CONGRESS NOW COLLECTS TAXES AND SPENDS REVENUE, WITH LITTLE MIND TO THE ELEMENTARY BUSINESS PROPOSITION OF RELATING EXPENDITURES TO INCOME.

WE THINK ABOUT THE HYPOCRISY OF THOSE WHO COMPLAIN ABOUT EXECUTIVE POWER, BUT WHO AT EVERY TURN VOTE FOR CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION THAT INCREASES SUCH POWER.

AND WE THINK OF THE BUCK-PASSERS AMONG US -- THOSE WHO DECRY INFLATION, HIGH TAXES, AND ADMINISTRATION FISCAL POLICIES, BUT WHO PROMOTE AND VOTE FOR EXORBITANT FEDERAL EXPENDITURES WHILE CONTRIVING TO BLAME THE MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE FOR TAX INCREASES AND A DETERIORATING ECONOMY.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM IS DESPERATELY NEEDED, DON'T MISUNDERSTAND ME. BUT IT IS NOT THE TYPE OF REFORM GENERALLY CONSIDERED.

IT IS REFORM LIKE THAT PROPOSED BY TENNESSEE'S REPUBLICAN SENATOR BILL BROCK, WHICH WOULD ESTABLISH A MECHANISM WITHIN CONGRESS TO COORDINATE AND CONTROL CONGRESSIONAL TAXING AND SPENDING. CONGRESS HAS FOR TOO LONG TAXED WITH ITS LEFT HAND AND SPENT WITH ITS RIGHT, WHILE NEITHER HAND EVER HAS A NOTION WHAT THE OTHER HAND IS DOING.

WE NEED A SMALL JOINT BUDGET COMMITTEE WITHIN THE CONGRESS, WITH A LARGE ENOUGH PROFESSIONAL STAFF TO KEEP A TIGHT REIN ON THE ENTIRE TAXING-SPENDING PICTURE. SUCH A COMMITTEE, WHILE COORDINATING TAXING AND SPENDING, WOULD FREQUENTLY RE-EVALUATE EVERY FEDERAL EXPENDITURE AND PROGRAM.

THE TIME HAS COME TO STOP SIMPLY TALKING ABOUT THIS SCANDALOUS BUDGET SITUATION. CONGRESS, THIS YEAR, MUST DO SOMETHING CONCRETE ABOUT IT. FRESHMAN REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN CAN BE COUNTED ON TO SUPPORT THAT EFFORT.

ON THE SUBJECT OF VIETNAM AND THE PRESIDENT'S CURRENT POLICIES,  
I KNOW THAT I SPEAK FOR ALL NEW REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WHEN I SAY THAT WE SUPPORT PRESIDENT NIXON'S EFFORTS TOWARD AN HONORABLE  
SETTLEMENT OF THAT CONFLICT AND AN END TO U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST  
ASIA. THOSE EFFORTS ARE NEARING A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

THE KEY TO ANY CONGRESSIONAL ACTION MUST BE TO CONTINUE SUPPORTING  
U.S. TREATY COMMITMENTS -- SPECIFICALLY THE SOUTHEAST ASIA COLLECTIVE  
DEFENSE TREATY AND PROTOCOL, SIGNED FOR THE UNITED STATES IN SEPTEMBER  
1954 BY SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN FOSTER DULLES, MONTANA SENATOR MIKE  
MANSFIELD, AND NEW JERSEY CONGRESSMAN H. ALEXANDER SMITH, AND OVERWHELMINGLY  
RATIFIED BY THE U.S. SENATE IN FEBRUARY 1955.

ANY ACTION BY CONGRESS TO MODIFY OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO DEFEND SOUTH  
VIETNAM FROM COMMUNIST AGGRESSION AND POSSIBLE TAKEOVER, AS AN ALTERNATIVE  
TO THE COURSE CHARTED BY THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION, RUNS COUNTER TO THAT  
TREATY'S REQUIREMENT THAT THE U.S. GIVE A FULL YEAR'S NOTICE TO RENOUNCE  
ITS FORMER PLEDGE TO SOUTHEAST ASIAN ALLIES.

ANY ACTION BY CONGRESS TO CUT OFF APPROPRIATIONS NECESSARY TO  
CONTINUE U.S. ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WILL PREJUDICE THE PEACE  
NEGOTIATIONS AND WILL BE A REPREHENSIBLE BLIGHT UPON OUR NATION'S HONOR  
AND TRUST WITHIN THE COMMUNITY OF FREE NATIONS.

FRESHMAN REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN ARE COMMITTED TO UPHOLD OUR NATION'S  
HONOR AND TO SUPPORT PRESIDENT NIXON'S POLICIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, AND  
WILL DO SO UNTIL THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT IS BROUGHT TO AN HONORABLE  
CONCLUSION.

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REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN B. CONLAN TO THE CAMELBACK KIWANIS CLUB AT  
THE BEEFEATERS RESTAURANT IN PHOENIX ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1973.

THE BATTLE OF THE BUDGET



I APPRECIATE THE CONCERN OF MANY OF YOU THIS TIME OF YEAR ABOUT  
CRIME IN WASHINGTON.

I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT THE MUCH-PUBLICIZED INCIDENCE OF VIOLENT  
CRIME IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL. I'M TALKING ABOUT THE INSIDIOUS CRIME  
OF THEFT FROM HARD-WORKING TAXPAYERS, PERPETRATED IN CONGRESS IN THE  
NAME OF HUMANITARIAN CONCERN FOR THE OPPRESSED AND UNDERPRIVILEGED.

THERE IS A LIMIT TO THE AMOUNT OF TAX MONEY THAT THE FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO CONFISCATE FROM INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS.  
PATRICK HENRY ONCE COMPLAINED ABOUT TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.  
HE WAS FORTUNATE NOT TO HAVE LIVED LONG ENOUGH TO EXPERIENCE TAXATION  
WITH REPRESENTATION.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT COULD ACTUALLY TAKE A LESSON FROM THE  
TYPICAL WASHINGTON PICKPOCKET. AT LEAST WHEN THE PICKPOCKET STEALS YOUR  
WALLET, HE DOESN'T WASTE YOUR VALUABLE TIME BY REQUIRING YOU TO COMPLETE  
SEVERAL DOZEN COMPLEX FORMS FOR HIM BEFORE HE RELIEVES YOU OF YOUR  
HARD-EARNED CASH.

INCOME TAX TIME IS THE SEASON OF THE YEAR WHEN WE DISCOVER THAT  
WE OWE MOST OF OUR SUCCESS TO UNCLE SAM. I FIND MYSELF IN AGREEMENT  
WITH THE CYNIC WHO OBSERVED THAT WHEN THE TIME COMES FOR THE MEEK TO  
INHERIT THE EARTH, TAXES WILL BE SO HIGH THAT THEY WON'T EVEN WANT IT.

2-2-2-2-2

BUT PRESIDENT NIXON AND FISCALLY RESPONSIBLE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAVE DECIDED TO PUT A STOP TO THIS SEEMING INSISTENCE OF BIG SPENDING POLITICIANS TO SEND ALL HARD-WORKING CITIZENS TO THE POORHOUSE.

FOR OUR PART -- THOSE OF US IN CONGRESS WHO HAVE DECIDED THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO REDUCE THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY AND RETURN POWER AND MONEY TO PEOPLE AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL -- WE WILL FIGHT FOR CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET REFORM AND RESPONSIBILITY.

IF WE FAIL -- IF DEMOCRAT BIG SPENDERS OUT-VOTE US AND CONTINUE SPENDING MONEY NEEDLESSLY ON PORK BARREL LEGISLATION THEY EXPECT YOU TO PAY FOR -- PRESIDENT NIXON WILL VETO THEIR DECISION. WE WILL VOTE TO SUSTAIN SUCH VETOES, AND THE PRESIDENT HAS COURAGEOUSLY ANNOUNCED HIS INTENTION TO IMPOUND CERTAIN APPROPRIATED FUNDS -- TO REFUSE TO CONTRIBUTE TO INFLATION AND FORCE THE INEVITABILITY OF HIGHER TAXES.

NO ONE CAN DENY THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT -- ITS ROLE IN OUR EVERYDAY LIVES -- HAS GROWN WAY OUT OF PROPORTION. THE TIME HAS COME TO UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO CONDUCT THEIR OWN AFFAIRS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. AND THAT MEANS A VAST REDUCTION OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS MUST BE THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS DURING THIS SESSION OF CONGRESS.

FEDERAL POWER HAS ONLY GROWN TO ITS CURRENT AND UNWIELDY AND DANGEROUS LEVEL SINCE 1960. PRIOR TO 1930, THERE WERE ONLY 10 FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS -- MOSTLY CONCERNED WITH LAND GRANT COLLEGES, HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, AND STATE EXPERIMENTAL STATIONS AND EXTENSION SERVICES.

3-3-3-3-3

ONLY 20 NEW FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR AIRPORT AND HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION, URBAN RENEWAL, AID TO IMPACT-AREA SCHOOLS, SEWAGE TREATMENT, AND LIBRARY SERVICES WERE STARTED IN THE POST-WORLD WAR II PERIOD THROUGH 1959.

BUT DURING THE 1960s -- THE YEARS OF THE NEW FRONTIER AND THE GREAT SOCIETY -- A BURST OF FEDERAL LARGESSE AND A BYPASSING OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN DISPENSING IT CAME INTO EXISTENCE WITHOUT PARALLEL.

THE NUMBER OF SEPARATE FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS JUMPED FROM 44 TO 430 -- ALMOST TEN-FOLD -- FROM THE YEAR OF THE LAST EISENHOWER BUDGET TO THE DAY PRESIDENT NIXON TOOK OFFICE IN 1969. THE FEDERAL OUTLAY FOR THESE PROGRAMS JUMPED FROM \$6 BILLION IN 1960 TO \$27 BILLION FOUR YEARS AGO -- AN INCREASE OF 450 PER CENT IN JUST EIGHT YEARS.

PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE NEW KENNEDY-JOHNSON PROGRAMS OF THE 1960s WERE FUNCTIONALLY ORIENTED, WITH POWER, MONEY, AND DECISIONS FLOWING FROM PROGRAM ADMINISTRATORS IN WASHINGTON TO PROGRAM SPECIALISTS IN REGIONAL OFFICES TO FUNCTIONAL DEPARTMENT HEADS IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

THIS LEFT CABINET OFFICERS, GOVERNORS, COUNTY OFFICIALS, AND MAYORS LESS AND LESS INFORMED AS TO WHAT WAS ACTUALLY TAKING PLACE AND MADE EFFECTIVE HORIZONTAL POLICY CONTROL AND COORDINATION INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT.



WELL, MY FRIENDS, ALL THAT HAS GOT TO CHANGE. MILLIONS OF HARD-WORKING CITIZENS LIKE THOSE OF YOU HERE TODAY ARE JUST SICK AND TIRED OF SEEING THEIR HARD-EARNED MONEY CONFISCATED FOR QUESTIONABLE PROGRAMS BY WASHINGTON. THEY BELIEVE, AS I DO, THAT THE MONEY WILL BE USED WITH MORE CARE, AND PROGRAMS OPERATED MORE EFFICIENTLY AND LESS WASTEFULLY, BY OFFICIALS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S BUDGET MESSAGE LAST MONTH PROPOSED MAJOR CUTS IN SOCIAL PROGRAMS THAT HAVE PROVED INEFFECTIVE OR CAN SERVE NO FURTHER USEFUL PURPOSE. IF ADOPTED BY CONGRESS, HIS PROPOSED CUTBACKS IN SOCIAL, URBAN, AND FARM PROGRAMS AND SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING PROGRAMS FOR THE CITIES AND EDUCATION WILL SAVE TENS OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS.

BUT THE PORK BARREL SPENDERS IN CONGRESS HAVE ALREADY SERVED NOTICE THAT THEY WILL FIGHT TO CONTINUE THEIR FAVORITE LIBERAL SOCIAL AND URBAN PROGRAMS. NOT SATISFIED WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S RECORD OF FAILURE IN JOB TRAINING AND HOUSING, AND RELUCTANT TO END EXPENSIVE PROGRAMS THAT ARE NO LONGER NEEDED, THEY HAVE PROMISED TO CONTINUE AND EXPAND SUCH PROGRAMS, REGARDLESS OF COST OR CONSEQUENCES TO THE ECONOMY.

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS A CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE TO CONCERN HIMSELF WITH THOSE ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS AND THE EFFECT OF CONGRESSIONAL PROFLIGACY ON YOUR TAX BURDEN AND THE PRICES YOU PAY FOR GOODS AND SERVICES.



5-5-5-5-5

IF CONGRESS IS IRRESPONSIBLE IN THE CONDUCT OF ITS BUSINESS, COMMITTING THE NATION TO EXPENDITURE OF MORE FEDERAL FUNDS THAN ARE AVAILABLE WITHOUT INCREASED TAXES OR INFLATION, HE HAS AN OBLIGATION TO VETO SUCH EXPENDITURES OR IMPOUND FUNDS FOR LOW PRIORITY PROGRAMS.

THERE IS NO CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S RIGHT TO VETO LAWS HE DEEMS INAPPROPRIATE. BUT A CONSIDERABLE HUE AND CRY HAS BEEN RAISED BY HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS OVER THE PRESIDENT'S RECENT IMPOUNDMENT OF APPROPRIATED MONEY AS A WAY TO HOLD DOWN FEDERAL SPENDING.

CRITICS OF IMPOUNDMENT SAY THAT THE PRESIDENT IS ASSUMING POWER NOT DELEGATED TO HIM BY THE CONSTITUTION. THEY SAY THAT HE IS REQUIRED TO SPEND MONEY APPROPRIATED BY CONGRESS FOR FEDERAL PROGRAMS.

THE PRESIDENT'S SUPPORTERS, ON THE OTHER HAND, ARGUE WITH EQUAL VEHEMENCE THAT, AS GUARDIAN OF THE NATION'S ECONOMIC HEALTH, HE HAS A RESPONSIBILITY NOT TO SPEND MONEY FOR PROGRAMS APPROVED BY CONGRESS IF SUCH SPENDING WILL SPUR INFLATION OR FORCE DAMAGING AND UNPOPULAR TAX INCREASES.

THE WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE SUPPORTS THE PRESIDENT'S IMPOUNDMENT OF FUNDS.

THE CONSTITUTION CLEARLY GIVES THE PRESIDENT THE RIGHT TO CONDUCT THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT.

6-6-6-6-6

WHEN FUNDS ARE PUT AT HIS DISPOSAL FOR PARTICULAR PURPOSES, IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN ASSUMED THAT HE WOULD SPEND THEM AS DIRECTED. BUT WITH A FEDERAL BUDGET OF HUNDREDS OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS, THE ONLY TEST OF WHETHER THE MONEY SHOULD BE SPENT MUST BE THE EFFECT OF SUCH SPENDING ON THE GOVERNMENT'S ENTIRE FINANCIAL POSITION AND THE STABILITY OF THE NATION'S CURRENCY, WHICH WE HAVE AGAIN THIS WEEK HAD TO REVALUE.

THE PRESIDENT HAS A CLEAR RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT THE STRENGTH OF THE DOLLAR AND TO SEE THAT INFLATION IS NOT ENCOURAGED. WHEN CONGRESS OVERSPENDS, IT IS THE PRESIDENT'S DUTY TO RECTIFY THAT MISTAKE UNTIL THE PEOPLE CAN REPLACE IRRESPONSIBLE REPRESENTATIVES.

I SHOULD POINT OUT TO YOU THAT, EVEN THOUGH THE NATION OVERWHELMINGLY RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT NIXON LAST NOVEMBER ALONG WITH AN ENTIRELY NEW HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND A THIRD OF THE SENATE, THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS TODAY HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO CONTROL OVER MORE THAN 70 PER CENT OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET.

SUCH THINGS AS INTEREST ON THE NATIONAL DEBT, UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS, AND MANY SOCIAL PROGRAMS CANNOT BE AFFECTED BY LAWS WE WILL PASS. WE WERE COMMITTED TO THEM IN YEARS PAST. AND AS I HAVE SAID, ALMOST THREE-FOURTHS OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET -- AT LEAST \$202 BILLION -- IS AN UNCONTROLLABLE OUTLAY.

7-7-7-7-7

WE CANNOT REPEAL LEGISLATION THAT COMMITTED US TO SUCH PROGRAMS. TO DO SO WOULD BE TO BREAK FAITH WITH PEOPLE WHO RELY ON THEM. BUT WE CAN REFUSE TO EXTEND OR EXPAND PROGRAMS THAT HAVE EXPIRED OR ARE WASTEFUL. AND THAT IS WHAT WE SHOULD DO.

CONGRESS HAS GOT TO ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FEDERAL SPENDING. BIG-SPENDING POLITICIANS IN CONGRESS CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE VOTING FOR INCREASED FEDERAL EXPENDITURES THAT THE NATION CANNOT AFFORD, FORCING THE PRESIDENT TO ASSUME THE POLITICAL LIABILITY OF VETOING SUCH LEGISLATION OR IMPOUNDING THE APPROPRIATIONS.

I PROPOSED WHEN I WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE INCOMING GROUP OF 43 REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN THAT CONGRESS HAD TO REFORM ITS BUDGET PROCEDURES. MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ARE HORRIFIED BY THE CURRENT HODGE-PODGE SYSTEM OF RAISING AND SPENDING MONEY, WHERE THE LEFT HAND THAT COLLECTS MONEY HAS NO IDEA WHAT THE RIGHT HAND THAT SPENDS IT IS DOING.

IT IS AN IDEAL SYSTEM FOR THE BIG SPENDER WHO WANTS TO SUPPORT HIS OWN PET, PORK BARREL PROGRAMS WITHOUT BEING PUBLICLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES.

IT IS GOOD TO KNOW THAT THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET HAS JUST ISSUED ITS INITIAL REPORT PROPOSING JUST SUCH A REPLACEMENT OF THE PIECEMEAL BUDGETING PROCESS THAT NOW OBTAINS IN DOZENS OF OTHER UNCONNECTED CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.

8-8-8-8-8

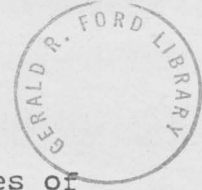
THE COMMITTEE HAS PROPOSED CONSIDERATION OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET AS A WHOLE THROUGH A SINGLE, GENERAL APPROPRIATION BILL, AND A CONGRESSIONAL VOTE EARLY IN EACH SESSION TO FIX A TIGHT CEILING ON TOTAL SPENDING.

TO BE SURE, SUCH REFORMS ARE LONG OVERDUE. AND THOSE MEASURES WOULD ALLOW YOU, THE TAXPAYER, TO FIND OUT WHO AMONG YOUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES ARE THE CULPRITS FOR YOUR ENORMOUS FEDERAL TAX BURDEN AND INFLATION THAT IMPERILS THE ENTIRE NATIONAL ECONOMY.

# # # #

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN B. CONLAN (R-ARIZ) AT THE PINAL COUNTY  
REPUBLICANS LINCOLN DAY DINNER IN CASA GRANDE, ON MONDAY, FEB. 12, 1973

RETURNING POWER TO THE PEOPLE



When I speak on occasions such as this attended by scores of loyal Republicans, I am reminded of the old man who kept going regularly to church long after all his money was gone and his hearing had deteriorated.

He could neither contribute to the offertory nor derive anything from the experience.

His friends finally inquired of him one day why he continued going to church. He replied that he just wanted to show everyone which side he was on.

That's what we're all doing here this evening. We're proud to show which side we're on.

And so long as loyal Republicans like those of you here continue to reaffirm their devotion to the pro-American principles of the Republican Party, we will continue to win the kind of victory we received in the voting last November.

Since I have been in Washington, I have learned to respect the tremendous insight of that great Oklahoman, Will Rogers. There are some mighty peculiar legislative proposals being sponsored by Democrat members of Congress. And since for the time being Democrats outnumber us Republicans on the Hill, those proposals are likely to get more than passing notice.

Will Rogers once observed, "There is still a lot of monkey in us. Throw anything you want into our cage and we will give it serious consideration." I think the Democrats are committed to demonstrating the truth of that statement.

But President Nixon and the Republican leadership of the Congress are equally committed to responsible, limited government. And those of us in the Congress who share the Republican belief in individual responsibility, fiscal integrity, and local autonomy are committed to his sensible program to return power to the people and to decrease the scope and cost of federal programs.

Abraham Lincoln summed up the principle underlying this Republican effort when he said:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

2-2-2-2-2

And offering a lesson for today's creative Republicanism, Lincoln also said:

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves."

In his Second Inaugural address and budget message to Congress, President Nixon has urged us to disenthrall ourselves of ideas and concepts of government that have been tried in the breach and failed -- the idea that throwing countless tax dollars at any problem will make it go away; that a massive, overlapping federal establishment can deliver the goods to those who need help; that for every wound, large or small, real or imagined, there should be a federal bandage to bind it.

In his Inaugural Address, the President reached back to that early Republican philosophy, and describing the guidelines of his second term challenged us all to get with it, to do more -- not for government, but for ourselves.

And in his budget message, the President said that his own personal philosophy of government was summed up in the words of the last article of the Bill of Rights -- the Tenth Amendment -- which says:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

No one can deny that the scope of federal involvement in our everyday affairs has grown way out of proportion and that we must act decisively to return authority and revenue to state and local governments.

Federal power has only grown to its current unwieldy and dangerous level since 1960. A small number of federal land grants constituted the extent of federal aid throughout most of the 19th century. Cash grants to the states and localities -- a source of much of today's friction and frustration in intergovernmental relations -- began only after the federal government started taxing income in 1913.

It is difficult for some people to remember that the income tax has only existed for 60 years and that for more than two-thirds of our nation's history the federal government had to finance its programs on only one-fourth the amount of revenue that that tax provides.

Prior to 1930, there had been only 10 federal grant-in-aid programs. The programs had evolved slowly from the 1880s on. They covered land grant colleges, state experiment stations and extension services, highway construction, forestry cooperation, and vocational education and rehabilitation.

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3-3-3-3

During F-D-R's New Deal, 14 additional programs were initiated covering public welfare assistance, employment security, public and child health services, fish and wildlife, public housing, and school lunches.

During the post-World War II period running through 1959, 20 new programs were established. Of these, five were extensions of already existing programs. And the federal government started new programs for airport and hospital construction, mental health facilities, urban renewal, aid to federally-impacted school districts, sewage treatment plants, and library services.

These 44 federal aid programs in existence in 1960 -- remember, they've grown from 1880 through 1960, and they now total 44 -- cost \$6 billion. Of that \$6 billion, \$5 billion was for highways and welfare.

Now, my friends, get set for the deluge.

The 1960s -- the years of the New Frontier and the Great Society -- were the years when a burst of federal largesse and a bypassing of state and local governments in dispensing it came into existence without parallel.

By 1969, the year President Nixon came into office, the number of separate federal grant-in-aid programs had proliferated from 44 to at least 430. Approximately 25 programs were legislated during a single session of Congress in 1965, and many that had been enacted earlier were expanded and broadened.

Did this cost more money? Well, I'll say it did.

The federal outlay for grant-in-aid programs jumped from \$6 billion in 1960 -- the year of the last Eisenhower budget -- to \$27 billion for the last Johnson budget in 1969. That is an increase of 450 per cent in just eight years.

Practically all of the new grant programs of the 1960s were functionally oriented, with power, money, and decisions flowing from program administrators in Washington to program specialists in regional offices to functional department heads in state and local governments.

This left cabinet officers, governors, county commissioners, and mayors less and less informed as to what was actually taking place and made effective horizontal policy control and coordination increasingly difficult at all levels of government.

Well, all this has got to change. We now know that it doesn't take any imagination to dream up ways of spending and wasting the people's tax money. For a generation before 1968, that was the standard "solution" for every problem -- pour money on it, and maybe it will go away.

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4-4-4-4-4

That solution didn't work. In fact, it made many problems a great deal worse.

But in 1968 and again in 1972, the people told the big-spending politicians still living in the past that they wanted a change -- a big change.

The administration attempted a big step with its 1972 general revenue sharing legislation toward reversing the flow of political power. This session, the administration proposes to convert another \$6.8 billion now available to states and localities in the form of narrow categorical grants into broader purpose revenue sharing grants that would allow state and local governments to decide what projects the money is to be used for.

The money would be returned to the people for education, transportation, urban and rural community development, manpower training, and law enforcement. And under the President's proposal, there would be no requirement of state and local matching funds as is now the case.

This proposal that the federal government release some of its superior resources and at the same time transfer more decision-making power to state and local governments -- governments which are on the scene of action -- faces tough opposition from the empire-builders in Congress. But I assure you that the death notices -- or perhaps they're death wishes -- that you read and hear daily are exceedingly premature.

The program has great merit and polls show that the great majority of people all over the country support it in principle.

And so the lines are drawn.

On the one hand are the big spenders in Congress -- the disciples of the "Big-Government-Knows-Best" philosophy used to justify the New Frontier and Great Society paternalism.

These Big Government advocates don't think private citizens should be messing around with their federal empire.

They don't think you and I have any right to know what's going on there.

They are suspicious of their fellow citizens who want to save the taxpayers' money instead of spending it.

They cannot conceive of how an efficient government could still be a government responsive to the people's wishes.

On the other hand are the millions of hard-working taxpayers who are just sick and tired of seeing their hard-earned money, along with the right to decide how it should be spent, confiscated by Washington.

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5-5-5-5-5

These are the people who have built America -- with their hearts and minds and hands.

They are the backbone of the nation they love -- working people earning between \$5,000 and \$20,000 a year, supporting families with no handouts from Uncle Sam.

They have had to fight and scrimp to make ends meet.

Many of them moonlight at second jobs or have other members of the family working to supplement the family income.

Their real wages didn't go up one thin dime during the second half of the '60s, thanks to higher taxes and inflation, the legacy of their free-wheeling, patronizing Democrat political leaders.

These Forgotten Americans -- young and old, professional people and workers, farmers and city folks, white and black, red and brown -- have watched with trepidation and anger as the federal bureaucracy grew. And as it expanded, they saw it overwhelm and obliterate much of the power historically exercised by our towns and counties and states.

But far too few of us were troubled enough to arouse America against the inexorable flow of power away from the people to the federal professionals in Washington.

To be sure, we did sense the danger, though we failed to react soon enough to come to grips with it.

Thirteen years ago, the Gallup Poll asked Americans throughout the country to choose among Big Government, Big Labor, and Big Business as the greatest threat to the nation in the future. At that time, only 20 per cent picked Big Government.

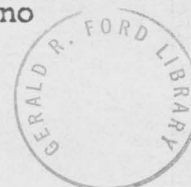
The same question was asked again three years ago -- after a decade of an expanding federal presence in our society, and, after a decade of Congress increasingly dominated by radical-liberals who welcomed its growth.

More than half -- 55 per cent -- of those responding named Big Government as the greatest single potential threat to the country.

I can understand their frustration. They know how the arrogance of power operates. Like me, and many of you, they have seen it in meetings where men assert that it would be somehow dangerous to allow state and local officials to run their own programs.

They have seen it in cavalier acts and judgments on the part of men who live thousands of miles from those of us in Arizona whose lives are directly affected by their decisions and pronouncements.

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6-6-6-6-6

They have seen it in the haughty demeanor of some bureaucrats, many of whom are vested with immense power, yet never face the test of the ballot box.

I know at least some of you have experienced this yourselves. For example, have you, as businessmen or farmers, ever tried to appeal a bureaucratic decision that deeply affected your company or farm?

Have you, as a senior citizen, ever tried to obtain legitimate benefits designed to help you in your need?

And have you, as a plainordinary guy, ever received a cold, bureaucratic rejection of a request for information -- or just no answer at all?

My friends, the time is now to reverse this flow of power to Washington. It is time to channel some of this excessive power back to the people.

A handful of anarchists have tried their best to take over and debauch the very good and proper meaning of the phrase, "power to the people." But it has too profound and important a significance to allow this to happen.

"Power to the People" was the fundamental principle that guided our founding fathers as they crafted the most perfect political document ever created by man.

Government, they believed, should serve the people. A free people should not serve the government.

Every phrase, every paragraph of the Constitution of the United States reflects in some degree that root thought.

One great issue of the 1972 campaign was which philosophy of government the nation would follow in the last quarter of this century. Our opponents had an approach that began with government. We Republicans pledged an administration that would begin with people.

And we have begun.

But for this "Power to the People" philosophy of the Republican Party to succeed, it must have the enthusiastic support of all creative Republicans. We must build a working coalition that will turn back the tide of centralization and bureaucratic stagnation.

To return power to the people, elected officials must make this philosophy a part of their everyday lives.

"Power to the People" means that representatives remain responsive to the voters of their state.

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7-7-7-7-7

It means not becoming indebted to Eastern radical-liberal slush funds, foundations, and other such vested interests.

It means that your representatives must speak for, must support, must vote for legislative measures which will further decentralize the federal bureaucracy.

It means fighting for innovative, basic reorientations of the federal system -- measures like reform of manpower training, welfare, and taxation.

"Power to the People" means that your congressman and senators must vote to eliminate -- that's right, cut out; not cut back -- any program that is no longer needed or that could be run better in the private sector.

It does not mean ignoring the administration's economy proposals. "Power to the People" means having representatives who respect the skill and the knowledge of every working man and woman in America, who understand how hard working people have to work for what they get -- representatives, therefore, determined to keep working people's taxes down.

It does not mean contempt for the working people of America as "unthinking masses" and spending their tax dollars as if they were federal property to be dispensed as federal largesse.

Finally, it means a senator or a congressman or a governor who practices the principles he preaches -- a man who makes you proud when you tell your children you voted for him.

Power to the People also depends on the healthy respect of every man, woman, and child in this great land of ours for the laws that protect and guide us all. A constitutional republic is only safe so long as it has a robust and strong civil social order premised on the rule of law.

Let us all, then, resolve to stand by and uphold the fairest system of law that the world has ever known. And in our resolve, let us call to mind the words of Abraham Lincoln, who said:

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the revolution, never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country and never to tolerate their violation by others ...

"Let reverence of the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap. Let it be taught in the schools, in seminaries, and in colleges. Let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs. Let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in the legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice.

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"And in short, let it become the political religion of the nation. And let the old and the young, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

You have been a patient audience. Don't rest on the laurels of last November. We have a message to spread and a tradition to uphold. And as our President has entreated us:

"Let us go forward from here confident in hope, strong in our faith in one another, sustained by our faith in God who created us, and striving always to serve His purposes."

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REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN B. CONLAN AT FLAG DAY CEREMONIES  
SUN DEVIL STADIUM, ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY, TEMPE, ARIZONA,  
ON SUNDAY, JUNE 17, 1973.



THE GREATEST SYMBOL OF FREEDOM

AS I LOOK OUT ON THIS FIELD AT THE IMPRESSIVE DISPLAY OF  
OUR NATION'S FLAGS, ALL THE FAMILIAR TRIBUTES TO THE SYMBOL OF  
THE WORLD'S GREATEST EXPERIMENT IN FREEDOM COME TO MIND.

ONE OF THE MOST MEMORABLE IS THAT OF PRESIDENT WOODROW  
WILSON, WHO SAID:

"THE FLAG WHICH WE HONOR, AND UNDER WHICH WE SERVE, IS THE  
EMBLEM OF OUR UNITY ... OUR POWER ... OUR THOUGHT ... AND OUR  
PURPOSE AS A NATION. IT HAS NO OTHER CHARACTER THAN THAT WE GIVE  
IT FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION ... AND YET THOUGH SILENT, IT  
SPEAKS TO US -- SPEAKS TO US OF THE PAST, OF THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO  
WENT BEFORE US, AND OF THE RECORDS THEY WROTE UPON IT.

"WE CELEBRATE THE DAY OF ITS BIRTH. AND FROM ITS BIRTH UNTIL  
NOW, IT HAS WITNESSED A GREAT HISTORY, HAS FLOATED ON HIGH, THE  
SYMBOL OF GREAT EVENTS, OF A GREAT PLAN OF LIFE, WORKED OUT BY A  
GREAT PEOPLE.

"TRADITIONALLY A SYMBOL OF LIBERTY, THE AMERICAN FLAG HAS  
CARRIED THE MESSAGE OF FREEDOM TO MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD."

HENRY WARD BEECHER SAID IT MORE SUCCINCTLY WHEN HE WROTE:

"A THOUGHTFUL MIND, WHEN IT SEES THE FLAG, SEES NOT THE FLAG  
BUT THE NATION ITSELF.

"AND WHATEVER MAY BE ITS SYMBOLS, ITS INSIGNIA, HE READS CHIEFLY IN THE FLAG THE GOVERNMENT, THE PRINCIPLES, THE TRUTHS, THE HISTORY THAT BELONG TO THE NATION THAT SETS IT FORTH.

"THE AMERICAN FLAG HAS BEEN A SYMBOL OF LIBERTY AND MEN REJOICED IN IT."

OF ALL THE SYMBOLS OF AMERICAN BELIEF, UNITY, AND SACRIFICE, THE FLAG IS EASILY THE MOST COMPELLING. AND I KNOW THAT I NEED NOT REMIND THIS AUDIENCE THAT WE OWE OUR LOYALTY TO THE ENDURING IDEALS OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND LIMITED, RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT THAT THE FLAG REPRESENTS.

LET US CONSIDER FOR A MOMENT WHAT THIS COUNTRY STANDS FOR.

IT STANDS FOR FREEDOM. IT STANDS FOR EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND FOR JUSTICE.

I REALIZE THAT THESE CONCEPTS IN THE FULLEST REALIZATION WILL ALWAYS BE IDEALS ... GOALS.

I REALIZE THAT THEY DO NOT EXIST IN PERFECTION HERE, OR ANYPLACE ELSE.

OUR PRINCIPAL MINORITIES STILL SUFFER FROM INEQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY. BUT WE HAVE IMPROVED GREATLY IN THE PAST TWO DECADES, AND WITH THE HELP OF ALL FAIR-MINDED CITIZENS WE SHALL CONQUER THIS DEFECT.

THE BEAUTY OF OUR SYSTEM IS THAT IT DRAMATIZES FLAWS RATHER THAN CONCEALS THEM.

AND DESPITE WHAT AMERICA'S DETRACTORS WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE, THIS COUNTRY, REPRESENTED BY THIS FLAG, IS PERHAPS THE GREATEST EXAMPLE THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN OF THE SUCCESS THAT FREEDOM BRINGS.

BUT THE MEN WHO FOUNDED OUR COUNTRY DID NOT FIND A READY MODEL FOR THEIR CONCEPTS OF FREE GOVERNMENT. BECAUSE FREEDOM AT THAT TIME WAS LANGUISHING.

THERE WAS A KING IN ENGLAND. THERE WAS A KING, LATER A DICTATOR, IN FRANCE. THERE WAS AN EMPRESS IN RUSSIA AND AN EMPEROR IN CHINA. SELF-GOVERNMENT DID NOT EXIST IN ANY MAJOR COUNTRY IN THE WORLD AT THE END OF THE 18th CENTURY.

THE MEN WHO FOUNDED THIS NATION THEREFORE DREW THEIR CONCEPT OF FREEDOM IN LARGE PART FROM THEIR READING OF ANCIENT LITERATURE, OR FROM READING AUTHORS WHO WERE THEMSELVES INFLUENCED BY READING THE ANCIENTS. THE EXAMPLE OF A GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE DID NOT EXIST FOR THEM IN THEIR CONTEMPORARY WORLD, BECAUSE IT HAD BEEN EXTINGUISHED WITH THE FOUNDING OF THE ROMAN PRINCIPATE 1,800 YEARS BEFORE.

SO WE SEE WHAT A RARE THING FREEDOM REALLY IS ... HOW FEW NATIONS AND HOW FEW PEOPLE IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ENJOY IT.

EVEN TODAY, A GREAT PORTION OF THE WORLD IS NOT FREE. THE VAST MAJORITY OF PEOPLE ARE SLAVES UNDER TOTALITARIAN GOVERNMENTS THAT DO NOT ALLOW THEIR PEOPLE TO MOVE AND TRAVEL FREELY, TO MAKE THEIR OWN DAILY DECISIONS, TO BUY AND READ WHATEVER THEY LIKE, TO WORK AT TRADES OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING. THESE PEOPLE ARE SUPPRESSED BY REGIMES THAT HAVE EXTINGUISHED INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND HAVE ENFORCED A SYSTEM OF UNIFORM POVERTY ON THE POPULACE.

STATISTICS INDICATE ONLY THE BONES OF THE SOCIAL BODY, BUT THEY DO NOT INDICATE ITS STRENGTH.

IF WE WERE TO COMPARE THE PROPORTIONS IN EACH THOUSAND OF OUR POPULATION WITH THOSE OF THE MOST ADVANCED NATIONS OF THE WORLD, WE WOULD FIND SOME REASSURING EVIDENCES OF OUR STRENGTH.

WE HAVE, FOR INSTANCE, A THIRD MORE OF OUR CHILDREN A LONGER TIME IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS THAN CHILDREN IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND JAPAN. WE HAVE PROPORTIONALLY THREE TIMES AS MANY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND SIX TIMES AS MANY IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

WE HAVE A FAR WIDER DIFFUSION AMONG THE PEOPLE OF BOOKS, MAGAZINES, AND NEWSPAPERS THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

IN PROPORTION TO OUR NUMBERS, WE HAVE DEVELOPED 10 TIMES AS MANY LABORATORIES OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND INVENTION. OUR APPLICATION OF SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY HAS GROWN AT A PACE FAR BEYOND THAT OF ANY OTHER NATION. WHILE IT HAS INCREASED OUR PROBLEMS, YET WITH THE INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY FROM IT HAS COME THE ENLARGEMENT OF LEISURE AND THE EXTENSION OF CONSTRUCTIVE RECREATION.

WE HAVE COME INTO A FULLER LIFE FOR ALL OF THE PEOPLE, HAVE GIVEN INCREASING SCOPE TO CREATIVE POWER AND THE EXPANSION OF EVERY MAN'S MIND.

MORE THAN ANY OTHER LEADING COUNTRY, WE HAVE ADVANCED THE REALITIES OF HUMAN JUSTICE -- NOT ALONE IN EDUCATION BUT IN A VAST SERIES OF PROTECTIONS TO CHILDREN, TO PUBLIC HEALTH, TO CONDITIONS OF LABOR, MAKING FIRM THE OPEN DOOR OF OPPORTUNITY.



AND OUR SYSTEM OF LIBERTY -- THROUGH ITS STIMULATION OF COMPETITIVE INDIVIDUAL EFFORT, ITS CREATION OF ENTERPRISE, ITS DEVELOPMENT OF SKILL, AND ITS DISCOVERIES IN SCIENCE AND INVENTION WHICH COME FROM INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM -- HAS PROVED THE VERY MOTHER OF PLENTY.

THIS IS WHY I AM PROUD OF THAT FLAG. IT IS A FLAG TO CHERISH, NOT TO DISDAIN. THE ENDURING IDEALS FOR WHICH IT STANDS -- INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND LIMITED, RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT -- ARE IDEALS THAT MEN HAVE FOUGHT AND DIED FOR, AND WHICH, GOD HELP US, THEY WILL ALWAYS BE WILLING TO FIGHT AND DIE FOR.

AND SO WE CELEBRATE THE BIRTH OF OUR NATION'S FLAG, LET US ALSO CELEBRATE OUR NATION'S UNPRECEDENTED ACHIEVEMENTS. LET US UNDERSTAND THAT AMERICA WENT FORWARD BECAUSE AMERICA LOOKED OUTWARD ... THAT HER PEOPLE PUT PURPOSE -- A LIFE OF HIGH ADVENTURE AND INDIVIDUAL EXCELLENCE -- ABOVE PROSPERITY AS A LIFE FORCE.

IN CLOSING, I LEAVE WITH YOU THE MEMORABLE WORDS OF PRESIDENT BENJAMIN HARRISON:

"GOD PITY THE AMERICAN CITIZEN WHO DOES NOT LOVE THE FLAG ... WHO DOES NOT SEE IN IT THE STORY OF OUR GREAT FREE INSTITUTIONS, AND THE HOPE OF THE HOME, AS WELL AS THE NATION."

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REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN B. CONLAN AT THE PINAL COUNTY  
FOSTER GRANDPARENT RECOGNITION LUNCHEON, CENTRAL ARIZONA  
COLLEGE, COOLIDGE, ARIZONA, 12 NOON, JUNE 16, 1973.



GROWING YOUNG TOGETHER

THERE IS AN OLD STORY ABOUT A MAN WHO WENT TO HIS DOCTOR  
ONE DAY AND ASKED WHAT HE SHOULD DO SO THAT HE COULD LIVE  
TO BE 100.

THE DOCTOR'S RESPONSE WAS THAT THE MAN SHOULD GIVE UP  
EVERYTHING. HE SHOULD GIVE UP HIS WORK, GIVE UP HIS PLAY,  
AND GIVE UP HIS FRIENDS. AND HE SHOULD DO ABSOLUTELY NOTHING  
THAT WOULD CAUSE HIM TO EXERT HIMSELF.

THEN THE MAN ASKED, "AND THEN YOU CAN PROMISE ME I WILL  
LIVE TO BE 100?"

"NO," SAID THE DOCTOR. "BUT IT SURE WILL SEEM LIKE IT."

WELL, YOU KNOW, THE DOCTOR HAD A POINT. FOR NOTHING  
AGES A PERSON FASTER THAN THE FEELING THAT HE IS UNNEEDED,  
HE IS UNWANTED, AND HE IS UNPRODUCTIVE.

SENATOR CARL HAYDEN ONCE PUT IT THIS WAY: "MOST PEOPLE,"  
HE SAID, "SAY THAT AS YOU GET OLD YOU HAVE TO GIVE UP THINGS.  
I THINK YOU GET OLD BECAUSE YOU GIVE UP THINGS."

I THINK MOST OF YOU WOULD AGREE WITH THAT. BUT WHAT I  
WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT TODAY IS THE FREQUENT FAILURE OF OUR  
SOCIETY TO PUT THIS WISDOM INTO PRACTICE . . . TO INVOLVE  
OLDER PEOPLE IN THE LIFE OF OUR AMERICAN SOCIETY . . . TO COPY  
THE EXAMPLE YOU ARE SETTING IN PINAL COUNTY, WHERE YOUNG  
PEOPLE AND SENIOR CITIZENS GROW YOUNG TOGETHER.

THIS IS A GREAT TRAGEDY. IT MEANS THAT OLD AGE, WHICH SHOULD BE A TIME OF PRIDE AND FULFILLMENT -- PRIDE AND FULFILLMENT LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD -- IS TOO OFTEN A TIME OF ISOLATION AND WITHDRAWAL. RATHER THAN BEING A TIME OF DIGNITY, IT IS OFTEN A TIME OF DISAPPOINTMENT.

AND THE GROWING SEPARATION OF OLDER AMERICANS ALSO MEANS THAT WE ARE NOT TAKING FULL ADVANTAGE OF A TREMENDOUS RESERVOIR OF SKILL AND WISDOM AND MORAL STRENGTH THAT OUR NATION DESPERATELY NEEDS AT THIS MOMENT IN ITS HISTORY.

THERE IS ONE THING I KNOW ABOUT THE OLDER GENERATION IN AMERICA. THEY BELIEVE IN THIS COUNTRY.

THEY HAVE FAITH IN THIS COUNTRY.

THEY HAVE THE MORAL STRENGTH AND CHARACTER THAT WE NEED . . . THAT ALL AMERICANS NEED.

THERE HAS BEEN MUCH TALK IN RECENT YEARS ABOUT THE GENERATION GAP. BUT WHILE THIS GENERATION GAP BETWEEN THE YOUNG AND THEIR PARENTS HAS CAPTURED OUR ATTENTION, AS IT SHOULD, THE GENERATION GAP BETWEEN OLDER AMERICANS AND THE REST OF OUR PEOPLE HAS OFTEN JUST BEEN IGNORED. IT HAS BEEN SLIGHTED.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD OLD AGE IN AMERICA.

THE TIME HAS COME TO CLOSE THE GAP BETWEEN OUR OLDER CITIZENS AND THOSE WHO ARE NOT YET OLD.

THE WAY TO DO THIS, I BELIEVE, IS AS YOU ARE DOING IT: IT IS TO STOP REGARDING OLDER AMERICANS AS A BURDEN AND TO START REGARDING THEM AS A GREAT RESOURCE FOR AMERICA.

THIS MEANS THAT THE ATTITUDE YOU EXPRESS THROUGH THIS FOSTER GRANDPARENT PROGRAM IN PINAL COUNTY MUST BE BUILT UP THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY . . . A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD OLD AGE WHICH INSISTS THAT THERE CAN BE NO RETIREMENT FROM LIVING, NO RETIREMENT FROM RESPONSIBILITY, NO RETIREMENT FROM CITIZENSHIP.

THERE ARE COUNTLESS WAYS IN WHICH THE EXPERIENCE AND THE ENERGY OF RETIRED PERSONS CAN CONTINUE TO BE TAPPED. THIS PROGRAM IS FAR AND AWAY ONE OF THE BEST I KNOW OF.

THERE IS NO GREATER SATISFACTION FOR SENIOR CITIZENS, I AM SURE, THAN THE TREMENDOUS EXPERIENCE AND THRILL OF HELPING MENTALLY RETARDED OR OTHERWISE HANDICAPPED OR UNDERPRIVILEGED CHILDREN. AND SENIOR CITIZENS LIKE YOU WHO PARTICIPATE IN A PROGRAM SUCH AS THIS BRING TO IT SOMETHING THAT MONEY JUST CANNOT BUY: COMMITMENT AND CARING.

WHERE OLDER PEOPLE ARE WILLING TO DO THAT, WHERE THEY WANT TO DO THAT, WE HAVE GOT TO GIVE THEM A CHANCE. THE COUNTRY NEEDS THEM. THEIR SERVICE NOT ONLY MAKES A TREMENDOUS CONTRIBUTION TO THE LIVES OF OTHERS, BUT ALSO GIVES A NEW PRIDE AND PURPOSE TO THEIR OWN EXISTENCE.

OUR NATION HAS A HIGH OBLIGATION TO A GENERATION WHICH HAS GIVEN SO MUCH TO ITS SERVICE. THE NATION'S COMMITMENT TO ITS OLDER CITIZENS, HOWEVER, ALSO GROWS OUT OF A MORE SELFISH CONSIDERATION, AND THAT IS THIS: WE NEED YOU.

WE NEED YOUR EXPERIENCE. WE NEED YOUR PERSPECTIVE. AND, ABOVE ALL, WE NEED YOUR SENSE OF VALUE.

BECAUSE, YOU KNOW, THIS CAN BE A STRONG NATION ECONOMICALLY. IT IS -- WE ARE THE RICHEST NATION IN THE WORLD.

IT CAN BE A STRONG NATION MILITARILY -- IT IS THE STRONGEST IN THE WORLD.

AND IT CAN BE AN EMPTY SHELL IF WE FORGET THAT THOSE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES, TO WHICH YOUR GENERATION IS SO DEEPLY COMMITTED, ARE ALSO THERE.

I HAVE ALWAYS FELT RATHER FORTUNATE -- PARTICULARLY FORTUNATE, I SHOULD SAY -- THAT MY OWN PARENTS HAVE LIVED RELATIVELY LONG LIVES. THEY SHARED A LOT WITH ME WHEN I WAS YOUNG, AND STILL SHARE MUCH WITH ME NOW THAT I AM OLDER AND REPRESENTING MY FELLOW CITIZENS IN THE CONGRESS.

MY FATHER, WHO WAS A NATIONALLY-KNOWN MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL PLAYER AND UMPIRE, USED TO SPEND A LOT OF TIME WITH ME AS A BOY. HE LIKES TO TELL THE STORY ABOUT MY SAND-LOT BASEBALL GAMES, WHICH HE WOULD RUSH TO SEE AFTER CALLING SEVERAL MAJOR LEAGUE GAMES OF HIS OWN.

I WASN'T A GREAT HITTER. IN FACT, I RARELY MADE IT TO FIRST BASE. AND AFTER A PARTICULARLY DISAPPOINTING GAME, MY DAD CAME UP TO ME, PUT HIS ARM AROUND MY SHOULDER AND GAVE ME HIS TREMENDOUS "DAD KNOWS BEST" LOOK.



"SON," HE SAID, "YOU'RE NEVER GOING TO MAKE IT IN BASEBALL. DO YOURSELF A BIG FAVOR, AND STICK TO THE BOOKS."

I ACTED ON THAT ADVICE AND DAD ENCOURAGED ME IN EVERY WAY TO PURSUE MY STUDIES. THANKS TO THAT ENCOURAGEMENT, I WENT TO NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, FROM THERE TO HARVARD LAW SCHOOL, ON TO THE HAGUE ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, INTO THE U.S. ARMY, AND BACK TO ARIZONA FOR EIGHT YEARS IN THE STATE SENATE, AND ON TO WASHINGTON TO SERVE YOU IN THE CONGRESS.

THERE WERE TIMES WHEN THE GOING GOT ROUGH, AND BUT FOR MY PARENTS' ENCOURAGEMENT AND LOVE I MIGHT HAVE STOPPED SHORT OF COLLEGE DURING MY YOUNGER YEARS BEFORE I HAD THE WISDOM TO SEE THE IMPORTANCE OF THAT EDUCATION AND WORLD TRAVEL.

BUT THAT SHOWS WHAT THE OLDER GENERATION CAN DO TO YOUNGER PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT BEEN THROUGH AS MUCH, WHO MIGHT GIVE UP. YOU CAN SEE WHY WE NEED YOU, WHY YOUNGER PEOPLE NEED YOU, YOUR ADVICE, YOUR WISDOM, YOUR STRENGTH, YOUR PERSPECTIVE, AND ESPECIALLY YOUR LOVE.

IF WE ALLOW OUR SOCIETY TO BECOME FRAGMENTED, SO THAT YOUNGER AMERICANS ARE CUT OFF FROM OLDER AMERICANS, THEN EACH MEMBER OF OUR SOCIETY WILL ALSO BECOME FRAGMENTED, WITH YOUNG PEOPLE CUT OFF FROM THEIR PAST AND OLDER PEOPLE FROM THE FUTURE.

I HAVE MET MANY WISE MEN AND WOMEN -- SOME OF THEM WORLD LEADERS -- IN MY TRAVELS TO MORE THAN 80 COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD. I DID NOT AGREE WITH ALL OF THEM, BUT I LEARNED FROM ALL OF THEM, YOUNG AND OLD.

I REMEMBER THAT SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, AFTER WORLD WAR II WHEN HE HAD BEEN REPUDIATED BY THE BRITISH PEOPLE AND THEN CALLED BACK TO SERVE THEM AS THEIR PRIME MINISTER, HAD SAID IN HIS REMINISCENCES ABOUT HIS PUBLIC LIFE SOMETHING ABOUT HIS FAVORITE QUOTATION FROM SOPHOCLES, THE GREEK POET.

HE SAID, "ONE MUST WAIT UNTIL THE EVENING TO SEE HOW SPLENDID THE DAY HAS BEEN."

I WANT ALL OF YOU IN THIS AUDIENCE TO KNOW THAT WE WANT THE EVENING OF YOUR LIVES AND THE EVENING OF ALL LIVES OF OLDER AMERICANS TO BE GOOD EVENINGS, FINE EVENINGS.

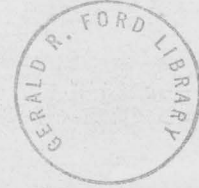
WE WANT YOU IN THE EVENING OF YOUR LIVES TO BE ABLE TO LOOK BACK AND SAY, "HOW SPLENDED THE DAY HAS BEEN."

AND WE WANT THE CHILDREN WHO COUNT ON YOU SO MUCH DURING THE DAY WHILE THEIR PARENTS WORK TO BE ABLE TO SAY AS THE RESULT OF THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH YOU AND THEIR LIVES AT HOME, "HOW SPLENDED THE DAY IS."

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REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN B. CONLAN AT THE VOICE OF AMERICANISM DINNER, HERITAGE HOUSE, GLENDALE, CALIFORNIA, ON FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 1973.



COMING TO GRIPS WITH OUR WELFARE SCANDAL

I KNEW BEFORE I WENT TO WASHINGTON THAT ONE OF THE BIGGEST SCANDALS FACING THIS COUNTRY IS THE WELFARE MESS.

BUT IT WASN'T UNTIL I DELVED SERIOUSLY INTO THE VARIOUS STUDIES OF FEDERAL WELFARE PROGRAMS THAT THE ASTONISHING MAGNITUDE OF THIS MESS BEGAN TO TAKE SHAPE.

THE WEARY TAXPAYER READS ABOUT SUCH THINGS AS FOOD STAMPS, JOB TRAINING, PUBLIC HOUSING, RENT SUPPLEMENTS, MODEL CITIES, COMMUNITY ACTION PROJECTS, LEGAL SERVICES, NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH CENTERS, MEDICAID, AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN, MANPOWER TRAINING, AND ON AND ON.

WE KNOW THAT PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS ARE COSTING TAXPAYERS MORE THAN \$16 BILLION OF FEDERAL MONEY EACH YEAR, WHICH AMOUNT IS DOUBLED WHEN STATE AND LOCAL MONEY IS ADDED TO THE TOTAL.

WE KNOW THAT MORE THAN 15 MILLION AMERICANS -- MANY OF THEM ABLE-BODIED AND CAPABLE OF WORK -- ARE RECEIVING MONEY UNDER ONE OR MORE WELFARE PROGRAMS.

AND WE KNOW FROM SURVEYS THAT HAVE BEEN TAKEN THAT AT LEAST A FOURTH OF ALL PUBLIC ASSISTANCE CASES INVOLVE FRAUD . . . THAT HARD-WORKING TAXPAYERS ARE BEING BILKED HAND-OVER-FIST OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS BY UNSCRUPULOUS WELFARE CHISELERS WHO CRIMINALLY SUBSIST OFF THE PUBLIC TROUGH.



IT WAS ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO THAT CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCHERS PUT TOGETHER A COMPILED TOTAL OF WELFARE FUNDS A FAMILY COULD RECEIVE FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IF THAT FAMILY TOOK NORMAL ADVANTAGE OF ALL AVAILABLE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.

THIS IS A HYPOTHETICAL FAMILY OF FIVE -- A MOTHER AND *four* CHILDREN . . . ONE A PRE-SCHOOLER, ONE IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, ONE IN HIGH SCHOOL, AND ONE IN COLLEGE.

THIS FAMILY COULD COLLECT \$2,800 FROM PUBLIC ASSISTANCE; \$618 FROM MEDICAL ASSISTANCE BECAUSE OF AID FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN; \$336 IN CASH VALUE FOR FOOD STAMPS; AND ABOUT \$200 FROM OEO FOR LEGAL SERVICES AND HEALTH CARE.

THE FAMILY WOULD ALSO BE ENTITLED TO PUBLIC HOUSING OR RENT SUPPLEMENTS RANGING IN VALUE FROM \$406 to \$636.

THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD WOULD BE ENTITLED TO ENTER HEADSTART, THE AVERAGE COST BEING \$1,050 FOR EACH YOUNGSTER.

THE CHILD IN HIGH SCHOOL WOULD BE ELIGIBLE FOR \$1,440 WORTH OF SERVICES FROM UPWARD BOUND, AND THE YOUNGSTER IN COLLEGE WOULD BE ELIGIBLE FOR AN EDUCATION OPPORTUNITY GRANT WORTH ANYWHERE FROM \$500 to \$1,000.

THE COLLEGE STUDENT WOULD ALSO BE ELIGIBLE FOR A NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION LOAN, WHICH HAS A SO-CALLED FORGIVENESS FEATURE IF YOU STUDY IN CERTAIN FIELDS THAT AMOUNTS TO AN OUTRIGHT GRANT OF \$520.

HE WOULD ALSO BE ELIGIBLE FOR A WORK-STUDY PROGRAM COSTING IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF \$475. IF THE MOTHER WANTED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE JOB OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM, THIS WOULD BE WORTH \$3,000.

SO THIS AVERAGE WELFARE FAMILY -- A MOTHER WITH FOUR CHILDREN, INCLUDING TWO THAT ARE EMPLOYABLE -- WOULD BE ABLE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF GRANTS AND SERVICES WORTH ALMOST \$12,000 FOR THE YEAR.

A MOTHER WITH EIGHT CHILDREN -- EVEN IF FIVE OF THEM ARE EMPLOYABLE -- COULD TOTAL AN ANNUAL WELFARE INCOME OF MORE THAN \$21,000.

I SHOULD REITERATE AT THIS POINT THAT ONLY DIRECT PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS ARE INCLUDED IN THIS \$16 BILLION ANNUAL FEDERAL WELFARE PACKAGE THAT I HAVE JUST DISCUSSED.

THERE ARE MORE THAN 168 PROGRAMS GEARED IN WHOLE OR IN PART TO COMBATTING POVERTY, ACCORDING TO FEDERAL BUREAUCRATS. THE TOTAL FEDERAL SOCIAL WELFARE EXPENDITURE EACH YEAR IS \$92 BILLION, OR MORE THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE TOTAL FEDERAL BUDGET.

WITH THIS TREMENDOUS COMMITMENT OF TAX REVENUE TO WELFARE PROGRAMS, IT IS PAST TIME TO BE TALKING ONLY IN TERMS OF "WELFARE REFORM."

IT IS TIME FOR COURAGEOUS POLITICAL LEADERS TO ASK IN BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER WHO FOOTS THE BILL FOR THESE PROGRAMS WHETHER THE PRINCIPLE BEHIND THESE PROGRAMS IS VALID, AND IF IN FACT THE PROGRAMS ARE HELPING LOW-INCOME PEOPLE BREAK AWAY FROM THE POVERTY CYCLE.

THE REASON I SAY IT IS PAST TIME TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER FORTHRIGHTLY IS BECAUSE AT THIS TIME THERE IS NOT ONE, SINGLE PIECE OF LEGISLATION BEFORE CONGRESS TO REFORM THE WELFARE SYSTEM.



WE KNOW THAT TAXPAYERS ARE BEING ROBBED IN ONE OUT OF FOUR WELFARE PAYMENTS. BUT WHAT IS BEING DONE TO STOP IT?

WE KNOW THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS SPENT MORE THAN \$42 BILLION FOR JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS AROUND THE COUNTRY, YET WE STILL HAVE AROUND THE SAME UNEMPLOYMENT RATE. HOW MANY OF THOSE SO-CALLED "TRAINED" PEOPLE ARE STILL WORKING? HOW HAVE THESE PROGRAMS HELPED THEIR EARNING SKILLS?

WE KNOW THAT UNEMPLOYMENT IS HIGH AMONG LOW-INCOME PEOPLE. BUT WE ALSO KNOW THAT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SKILLED AND UNSKILLED POSITIONS REMAIN UNFILLED IN THE JOB MARKET AT THIS VERY MOMENT. WHY AREN'T THE INDIGENT UNEMPLOYED TAKING THESE POSITIONS?

HAVE WELFARE PAYMENTS FROM VARIOUS WELFARE PROGRAMS BECOME SO LUCRATIVE THAT THESE PROGRAMS ACTUALLY NOW DISCOURAGE WORK? HAS OUR PENCHANT TO BE GOOD CHRISTIANS -- TO BE OUR BROTHER'S KEEPER -- MADE US EASY TARGETS FOR SOCIAL ENGINEERS WHOSE SOCIALIST IMPULSES OPPOSE THE WORK ETHIC AND MILITATE AGAINST OUR CAPITALIST SYSTEM?

ARE WE, IN EFFECT, DESTROYING OURSELVES . . . DIGGING THE GRAVE OF OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM THAT HAS PROVIDED MORE FREEDOM AND CREATURE COMFORTS FOR OUR CITIZENS THAN ANY OTHER DEvised BY MAN?

THERE ARE TWO THINGS THAT WE MUST DO, AND WE MUST DO NOW, TO STOP THIS TREND TOWARD NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY EMBODIED IN THE WELFARE STATE PHILOSOPHY OF THOSE WHO AUTHORED GREAT SOCIETY AND WAR ON POVERTY PROGRAMS.

FIRST, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST CATEGORICALLY AFFIRM THAT WELFARE IS NOT AN AUTOMATIC RIGHT. IN MILTON FRIEDMAN'S PHRASE, WE MUST NOT BE ASHAMED TO SAY, "THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A FREE LUNCH."

THERE ARE ONLY A SMALL NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO NEED TAX-SUPPORTED ASSISTANCE: THE DISABLED AND HANDICAPPED, ESPECIALLY VETERANS, DEPENDENT CHILDREN, AND A FEW OTHER CATEGORIES OF CHARITY CASES.

EVERY OTHER CLASS OF WELFARE RECIPIENT . . . THOSE WHO ARE ABLE-BODIED INDIGENTS RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE . . . MUST WORK AT GOVERNMENT PROJECTS TO RECEIVE PAYMENTS, MUST ACCEPT JOB TRAINING, AND MUST ACCEPT JOBS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR WHEN THEY ARE AVAILABLE.

THIS WORK REQUIREMENT MUST BE WRITTEN INTO LAW AND BECOME A CONDITION FOR ALL WELFARE ASSISTANCE AT BOTH THE FEDERAL AND STATE LEVEL. LET'S GET AWAY FROM THE DOLE-ITIS THAT HAS AFFLICTED US FOR SO LONG. YOU AND I HAVE TO EARN OUR WAY IN LIFE. WHY MUST THAT CONDITION BE WAIVED FOR ABLE-BODIED MEN AND WOMEN WITH THEIR HANDS EXTENDED FOR TAX-SUPPORTED CHARITY?

ONCE WE HAVE ACCEPTED THAT AS A PREMISE FOR OUR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, WE CAN THEN SERIOUSLY UNDERTAKE THE HERCULEAN TASK OF CLEANING UP THE ADMINISTRATION OF WELFARE AT BOTH THE FEDERAL AND STATE LEVEL.



FOR THAT TASK, THE NATION CAN TAKE SEVERAL PAGES FROM THE WELFARE CASEBOOK OF YOUR OWN GREAT STATE OF CALIFORNIA, WHICH, UNDER THE ABLE GUIDANCE OF GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN, HAS ESTABLISHED AN ENVIABLE RECORD IN DRAMATICALLY TURNING AROUND A STAGGERING WELFARE CRISES.

THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE OFFICIAL WHO WILL TAKE ON THIS JOB IN WASHINGTON IS CALIFORNIA'S OWN ROBERT CARLESON, FORMERLY GOVERNOR REAGAN'S STATE DIRECTOR OF WELFARE, AND NOW COMMISSIONER OF WELFARE AT HEW.

CARLESON'S WELFARE REFORMS IN CALIFORNIA RESULTED IN A SHARP CRACKDOWN ON WELFARE CHEATERS, REDUCED INTERFERENCE FROM HEW, SLASHED PAYMENTS TO THOSE ENRICHING THEMSELVES ON WELFARE, AND VASTLY REDUCED CONTROL OVER WELFARE PROGRAMS PREVIOUSLY HELD BY PROFESSIONAL WELFARE DOLE ADVOCATES.

THERE ARE NOW A QUARTER MILLION LESS WELFARE RECIPIENTS IN CALIFORNIA THAN THERE WERE THIS TIME A YEAR AGO.

THIS REDUCTION IN CALIFORNIA'S WELFARE PROGRAMS, WHICH HAS RESULTED IN SLASHES IN FOOD STAMPS, MEDI-CAL, AND OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES, HAS ALLOWED 42 OF THE STATE'S 58 COUNTIES TO REDUCE THEIR PROPERTY TAXES. SIMILAR REFORMS ON A NATIONWIDE LEVEL COULD CUT THE COST OF WELFARE BETWEEN 30 AND 50 PER CENT.

WEST VIRGINIA IS ANOTHER STATE THAT HAS FOLLOWED CALIFORNIA'S LEAD ON THE WELFARE FRONT.

GOVERNOR ARCH MOORE HAS FULFILLED HIS PLEDGE TO REDUCE WELFARE COSTS, TAKE PEOPLE OFF WELFARE AND PUT THEM INTO PRODUCTIVE WORK, AND IMPROVE SERVICES FOR THOSE WHO REALLY NEED THEM.

SINCE MOORE TOOK OFFICE FOUR YEARS AGO, THE NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED FATHERS RECEIVING WELFARE HAS BEEN REDUCED FROM OVER 5,000 TO JUST OVER 1,000.

HEW FIGURES FOR THE 22-MONTH PERIOD FROM DECEMBER 1970 TO SEPTEMBER 1972 SHOW THAT WEST VIRGINIA LED THE NATION FOR 19 MONTHS IN REDUCING ITS ASSISTANCE CASELOAD.

THE STATE PIONEERED A PROGRAM REQUIRING WOMEN ON WELFARE TO WORK. AND THROUGH ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS, 93,000 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN TAKEN OFF WELFARE ROLLS IN A STATE THAT HAS ONLY 1.8 MILLION PEOPLE.

THE KEY TO THESE SUCCESSES IN CALIFORNIA AND WEST VIRGINIA HAS BEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WELFARE PHILOSOPHY AIMED AT SPECIFIC PROGRAM OBJECTIVES -- SOMETHING THAT JUST DOES NOT EXIST IN REALITY UNDER THE "DOLE" CONCEPT IN MOST GOVERNMENT AGENCIES.

THE MAINSTAY OF THE REFORMS HAS BEEN THE REVOLUTIONARY NOTION THAT I DISCUSSED BEFORE -- THAT WELFARE IS NOT AN AUTOMATIC RIGHT, THAT IT SHOULD BE AVAILABLE ONLY TO THE REALLY "DOWN AND OUT," AND THAT IT SHOULD BE KEYED TO PREVENT PERMANENT DEPENDENCY.

TAXPAYERS HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT SIMILAR REFORMS ON A NATIONAL SCALE.

PEOPLE WHO PAY THE BILLS FOR OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT DESERVE NO LESS THAN RESOLUTE ACTION TO END THE "BREAD AND CIRCUSES" PHILOSOPHY THAT HAS GREASED THE BUREAUCRATIC WASHINGTON WELFARE MONSTER FOR MORE THAN A DECADE.



ELECTED AND APPOINTED OFFICIALS MUST COME TO GRIPS WITH THIS WELFARISM GONE WILD.

BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, ALL OF US MUST REASSERT THE NOTION OF SELF-RELIANCE . . . THAT TO GIVE ACCOUNTABILITY BEFORE GOD, BEFORE ONE'S FAMILY AND BEFORE ONE'S COUNTRYMEN, ONE IS OBLIGED TO WORK HARD AND LONG.

THAT PRINCIPLE, SINCE THE DAWN OF WELFARISM, HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY ERODED. IT IS UP TO THOSE OF US WHO STILL LIVE BY IT TO CHAMPION IT.

THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS PRACTICE THE WORK ETHIC IN THEIR EVERYDAY LIVES. THEY BELIEVE IN IT. NOW THEY MUST CHAMPION IT AS THE BASIS OF OUR SUCCESS AS A NATION.

BUT HAVING REKINDLED THE WORK ETHIC AS THE MOVING FORCE OF OUR LIVES, WE MUST THEN UPHOLD THE EQUALLY VITAL PRINCIPLE THAT ENJOYING THE FRUITS OF ONE'S OWN LABOR IS THE FOUNDATION OF OUR PRECIOUS INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM.

WITHOUT THE REWARD OF OUR LABOR, THERE IS NO INCENTIVE TO CARRY ON. WE REST OUR MATERIAL SUCCESS AS A NATION AND PEOPLE ON THE FOUNDATION STONE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

WE ARE ALL NOW WELL AWARE THAT IT IS INCREASINGLY THE ATTITUDE OF SOME PEOPLE WHO RUN GOVERNMENT THAT AMERICANS ARE IN ALL ECONOMIC MATTERS WARDS OF THE STATE.

I DON'T THINK IT HAS EVER OCCURRED TO SENATOR MC GOVERN THAT IT IS AN ALMOST EVIL PRESUMPTION FOR THE STATE TO REACH INTO THE LIFE OF THE AVERAGE CITIZEN IN THE WAY GENERALLY SANCTIONED BY SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN SPENDS 40 HOURS A WEEK WORKING. DURING THAT TIME HE EARNS HIS PITTANCE, OR HIS THOUSANDS. SOME OF IT NEEDS TO BE TAXED TO RUN CORPORATE ENTERPRISES THAT ONLY THE STATE CAN FEASIBLY ADMINISTER.

BUT THE ARGUMENTS GENERALLY ACCEPTED NOWADAYS DO NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THE PRESUMPTION AGAINST TAKING MONEY FROM PEOPLE FOR PURPOSES WILDLY UNRELATED TO THE SURVIVAL OF SOCIETY. SOME POLITICIANS TALK ABOUT PEOPLE'S EARNINGS AS THOUGH THE EARNINGS WERE THEIR'S AT THEIR SUFFERANCE.

ALL THAT MUST CHANGE.

WE MUST CONTINUE THE NOBLE TRADITIONS OF SPIRITUAL DEDICATION, THE CENTRAL PLACE OF THE INDIVIDUAL, THE WORK ETHIC, AND PRIVATE PROPERTY.

PROPERTY IN A FREE SOCIETY IS EARNED, NOT STOLEN. AND THIS NATION'S WELFARE SYSTEM, AS A HALLMARK OF OUR NATIONAL MALAISE, HAS BECOME A CAREFULLY CALCULATED SYSTEM OF LEGALIZED PLUNDER THAT IS NOT APPRECIABLY IMPROVING THE LOT OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED, BUT WHICH IS FAST MAKING YOU AND I SLAVES OF A VAST BUREAUCRATIC ARMY IN WASHINGTON AND STATE CAPITALS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

I HAVE NO INTENTION OF SITTING BY WHILE ALMOST 200 YEARS OF THE WORLD'S MOST PERFECT EXPERIMENT IN FREEDOM IS DESTROYED BY THESE UNELECTED SOCIAL ENGINEERS. BUT LIKE OTHERS IN THIS FIGHT WITH ME IN THE CONGRESS, WE CAN'T DO IT ALONE. WE NEED YOUR HELP.

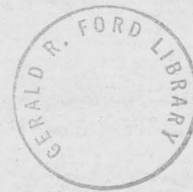


COMMIT YOURSELVES. EDUCATE YOURSELVES. FOLLOW YOUR  
LEADERS. AND LET'S TURN THIS COUNTRY AROUND AND RETURN TO  
THE FREE SOCIETY THAT WE ALL LOVE SO WELL.

THAT GREAT AMERICAN POET EDWARD EVERETT HALE SAID IT  
FOR US WHEN HE WROTE:

"I AM ONLY ONE, BUT I AM ONE,  
I CANNOT DO EVERYTHING, BUT I CAN DO SOMETHING,  
AND WHAT I CAN DO, THAT I OUGHT TO DO,  
AND WHAT I OUGHT TO DO,  
BY THE GRACE OF GOD, I SHALL DO!"

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I do not know how we can balance off some of our recent history. But I do know that we can do the correct and moral thing now. Let us hurl the Arab threats back into the teeth of those who utter them. Let us prevent the Jackson-Vanik amendments from being weakened. We can do no less.

#### DREAM GREAT DREAMS

### HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 20, 1973

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, recently the Perspective magazine of the Chicago Tribune reprinted excerpts from a speech given by George Johnson to the graduating class of Xavier University in New Orleans.

Mr. Johnson is president of Johnson Products Co. In 1954 he borrowed \$250 to start his business. This year he expects his company's sales to reach \$25 million.

The speech is directed to the young black American but the thoughts that Mr. Johnson puts forth as his credo for success are ones we would all do well to observe.

I would like to share this article with my colleagues as I feel it represents ideas and ideals which can be of benefit to all our young people.

The article follows:

"DREAM GREAT DREAMS"—BLACK BUSINESS-MAN'S CREDO FOR SUCCESS  
(By George Johnson)

I fully understand the impatience of young black Americans. It is abundantly clear why so many young people have attempted to accelerate, thru new and innovative efforts, affirmative change within the establishment.

Our job ahead is to produce more and more and more black Americans who are ready, willing and able to do their jobs in an excellent way.

Our objective must be to produce more who have planned and prepared to go into the world and conquer it—while realizing full well that the real world is not the world we wish.

It just happens to be the only world we have. It is the arena in which we must compete.

I kid you not, that arena is complicated, complex, and frequently deceptive. It is fraught with many pitfalls, not the least of which are the twin evils of segregation and discrimination. In order to beat the odds . . . black graduates must wear the mark of excellence at all times.

Today, 1973, we, as a racial group, are half way to democracy. For instance, we have half as many young people in college as we should have, we earn a little more than half of the earnings of our white brothers and have three times as many in jail as we should have.

That we survived and have fought and struggled to this half-way point, in just four generations, is no matter of shame. It is a record of the magnificence of a people about whom we can all be justly proud.

You are children of destiny. Therefore, we have to expect the very best from you in order that those who follow will have a better chance. All this is in your hands:

#### DO NOT STOP LEARNING

This is commencement—the time of commencing—the time to add to your fund of knowledge. Most of you want to change the American system for the better. Good. But, no one is qualified to alter a system he does not understand.

Be curious.

Discover all you can about yourself, your job, and this world. Learn not only from text books and teachers, but also from friends, enemies, and above all, remember that every life experience has something to offer. Be especially curious about our economic and political systems.

They control and run our country, and I am thoroughly convinced that these avenues present the best, and perhaps the only strategies to fulfill our aspirations for freedom and liberation.

#### BE READY

Take advantage of all opportunities—not only when opportunity knocks at your door—but be ready to knock on opportunity's door.

#### DO NOT HATE

Hate is unproductive. It creates nothing of value, and has a much more corrosive effect on the hater than the hated. Love is the only antidote to hate.

#### HARBOR NO ENVY

Envy, like hate, is self-destructive. It is wise to emulate those who are successful. Strive to be like your models. But, never covet your model's possessions.

#### NEVER BE VINDICTIVE

Do not hold a grudge. A grudge is inside one's self where it distorts the beauty of the spirit.

#### BE PROUD

Never be arrogant. No matter how great your success or your achievements, always treat others with the dignity due them by reason that they are human beings so endowed by the creator regardless of life station. All achievers are proud people.

#### DREAM GREAT DREAMS

Then plan and work to fulfill them. There are those who belittle dreamers. I don't. For, I know he who never dreamed, never had a dream come true.

#### MAKE NO SMALL PLANS

Continue to develop your mentality of success. Establish the highest goals for yourselves and strive to achieve them. May I suggest to you that we never exceed our goals. We at times—temporarily fall short of the high goals. But, over the long haul, we never do better than we set out to do.

#### BE DETERMINED TO SUCCEED

Do your job—every bit of it—exquisitely. Even do well the parts of the job you don't like. Some of the immature among us, speak of "doing their thing" which I have discovered is doing only that part of their life's work they enjoy.

Do your thing—and do it well, but be mindful that the unemployment offices are filled with those who only did "their thing."

#### BE DISCIPLINED

Plan, prepare, establish, and meet targets. Be punctual and make regularity an inviolate habit. Keep in mind the important things in life are the things we do all the time—not the "sometime" activity.

#### WORK FOR INTEGRATION, BUT UNDERSTAND

#### IT WELL

The simplistic but misleading definition indicates personal relationships, usually of blacks moving to mingle with whites. My definition denotes integrating with opportunity. I advise all to go to opportunity wherever it is, and don't care who else is near it.

#### BE HONEST

With yourself and with others at all times. Integrity is an absolute necessity for anyone in the pursuit of excellence.

#### ALWAYS, REMEMBER WHERE YOU CAME FROM

Remember those who helped you grow and develop, and achieve from early life. Remember the university that helped you acquire the fund of knowledge which has brought you thus far on your way.

Don't forget where you learned to think—in an orderly and disciplined fashion. . . . As you progress, remember where you came from. And never fail to reach back and help others as you have been helped.

#### HAVE FAITH IN YOURSELF

Be a person of worth, and know it.

#### HAVE FAITH IN GOD, AND IN THE GOODNESS OF LIFE

Members of the greatest fraternity in the world, composed of good men and women of all generations, past and present, and of all races, who have given their lives in the quest for truth and in the service of humanity, have known that both life and power come from a supreme being.

The eternal law of justice and love governs the universe. Whoever breaks this law succeeds only in breaking himself. Once we lose reverence for God, we lose reverence for man and nature.

#### FREE PRESS IMPERILER BY JOURNALISTS THEMSELVES

### HON. JOHN B. CONLAN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 20, 1973

Mr. CONLAN. Mr. Speaker, many of us in the Congress have become all too familiar with the growing active involvement of the news media in the actual affairs of government.

Many members of the fourth estate, committed to a particular ideological position, have earnestly sought to become more than news reporters and commentators. They have become intimately involved as protagonists in public events, promoting them, shaping them, and then reporting them as they see fit.

This trend became apparent during the early days of the civil rights movement almost 20 years ago. But it has reached almost limitless proportions during the unfolding events of Watergate, in which correspondents and reporters are as much participants and actors in the drama as most key figures themselves.

As a result, many Americans now seriously question the objectivity and accuracy of news coverage and reporting, both in newspapers and on radio and television. Rightly or wrongly, the American press is now viewed by many as a growing threat to our free institutions by becoming a social engineer or change agent seeking to remake American society according to the ideological biases of some journalists and correspondents.

The editors of the Tucson Daily Citizen have stated their concern about this trend in their profession. They see advocacy and participatory journalism, where newsmen are protagonists in news events, as a serious and fundamental threat to freedom of the press itself. And they have



concluded that responsible members of the news profession themselves must end this abusive trend and return American journalism to standards of balance, fairness, and responsibility that originally were its proud hallmarks.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD at this point an excellent editorial from the Tucson Daily Citizen and an equally poignant column written by Paul McKalip, the Citizen's editor, characterizing the danger of these abuses to the news profession.

With them, I would also like to include an article by Thomas Collins, of Newsday News Service, that succinctly details the extent of unethical press involvement in the Watergate inquiry.

This commentary appeared in the Citizen on August 29, and deserves the most serious attention of all public officials and citizens, as well as members of the journalism community:

[From the Tucson (Ariz.) Daily Citizen, Sept. 29, 1973]

**ANOTHER WATERGATE ABUSE: REPORTERS AS PROTAGONISTS**

The press, which through the efforts of some of its members achieved one of its finest hours in the uncovering of the Watergate scandal, now is seeing itself become tarnished by ensuing events.

Both the "Letter From The Editor" on this page and the principal story on the adjoining Perspective page reveal the extent to which some members of the press have become involved as actors in the Watergate affair.

It is axiomatic that when a newsman becomes a protagonist in a news event, objective coverage of that event flies out the window.

That is why one of the first lessons a budding journalist must learn, in school or on the job, is to avoid personal involvement. Such involvement by those who report the news is always to be shunned—and most newspapers strive to keep it that way.

The ideal is not always attained. There are occasional slips by individual reporters and various members of the media. Newspaper people are human, too.

But what has been going on in the coverage of the Watergate saga appears to be mass dereliction of the duty to remain objective. The intended justification for departing from the role of observer-reporter and becoming a participant is that it is being done in order to bring out the whole truth.

In other words, it's the old—and always faulty—story of the end justifies the means.

It is no secret that the "end" of bringing down President Nixon would satisfy many persons who have the privilege of reporting the news to the American people. In this case, the target is so toothsome for them that they are willing accomplices.

Not only have reporters fallen into this trap, but so have various newspapers and television outlets—an even greater blow to the credibility of the nation's news media.

Therefore, it was not without regret that the Tucson Daily Citizen decided to publish the Perspective page analysis, written by Thomas Collins of Newsday, of the role played by the press thus far in the Watergate events.

Although the Citizen strongly supported Richard Nixon in the last two presidential campaigns, that did not keep this newspaper from editorially denouncing the Nixon Administration for this tawdry chapter in presidential affairs.

Still, it is the Citizen's hope that President Nixon will survive the Watergate catastrophe and continue to govern the nation effectively.

Because of that hope, the Citizen undoubtedly is more sensitive to unfair news

treatment of the President than anti-Nixon newspapers would be.

Recognizing all of that, we nevertheless are persuaded that the abuses that have resulted because members of the press have become participants in the Watergate drama must be pointed out.

Not only that, these abuses must be denounced and attacked until they are halted.

Otherwise, the free press of America will come to be known as an unfair press—and with the serious consequence of jeopardizing its own freedom.

**LETTER FROM THE EDITOR: "PRESS" ON THE PROWL**

(By Paul McKalip)

I do not claim that the Tucson Daily Citizen is "the press" any more than I accept the misconception that the Washington Post and the New York Times are "the press."

Nevertheless, I concede that the Post-Times axis comes close to being "the press" on the Washington scene where their reporters are in full cry in a fox-and-hounds chase with President Nixon as their quarry.

There is another force on the Washington news front, however, a force that should be providing a balanced report of the news. It is made up of the professional journalists who comprise the capital staffs of the two national wire services, Associated Press and United Press International.

Every segment of "the press," virtually all of the daily newspapers in all the 50 states, relies on either or both AP and UPI for complete on-the-scene news coverage. The Citizen, desiring to have the fullest possible national reporting, takes both AP and UPI services. The double cost is reflected in added value for Citizen readers.

Regretfully to say, both AP and UPI have seemed on occasion to forget their larger responsibility for full and fair coverage. I refer, as you might surmise, to Watergate news coverage.

One glaring error of omission on the part of both wire services has been explored thoroughly by us in recent weeks.

On June 14, Sen. Carl Curtis, R-Neb., in a speech in the Senate, made a strong indictment of Democratic majorities on Senate investigating committees. He was speaking from personal experience earlier as a member of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration when it investigated the Bobby Baker scandal during the Johnson administration.

That committee was charged with probing the machinations of Bobby Baker's rise from fair-haired page boy to multimillionaire while operating under the Capitol dome (and under Johnson's patronage).

Sen. Curtis declared in his June speech that every effort to tear the lid off the Baker case had been blocked "by a straight (Democratic) party vote."

For anyone interested in honesty in politics and government, which is what the current Watergate committee investigation is supposed to be about, Sen. Curtis' speech was timely and pertinent.

The Citizen and hundreds of other newspapers did not carry a word about the Curtis speech—because they did not receive the stories they should have received from either of their responsible Washington news sources, AP or UPI.

We learned about the speech much later and indirectly. Finally, the Citizen developed its own complete story and published it July 20.

Then we wrote stern letters to top executives in New York of both AP and UPI.

H. L. Stevenson, editor of UPI, responded with a renewed pledge of "dedication to the fairness doctrine."

Conrad Flink, assistant general manager of AP, gave us a two-page report and admitted: "Simply stated, we booted it." He added:

"We have reviewed this (mishandling) with our staff to make certain there is no repetition."

The explanation of how AP "booted it" came more clearly into focus when we received a special article from our Newsday service on the subject of Watergate news reporting.

The Newsday article, which is published today on the Perspective page opposite this page, stands as a credit to "the press" in the full sense of that term. The article exposes clearly the way in which those who are "the press" in Washington have taken unto themselves a "proprietary interest" in Watergate.

In so conducting themselves, professional journalists have breached their trust as members of the separate and independent Fourth Estate. Newsday analyst Thomas Collins goes so far as to compose this indictment:

"Besides being a physical presence on the scene, the press is playing an active role in the proceedings and may shape the outcome in ways that have not yet been measured."

That kind of involvement, whether born of bloodlust for a hounded Nixon or spurred by individual dreams of journalistic glory, is not just unbecoming of those who represent newspapers and their readers all over the country. It is downright unacceptable conduct in the eyes of many of us who also claim a share of being "the press."

We in Tucson, together with many others in newspapers elsewhere, will hope that our wire service forces in Washington will return to the Watergate story, when the hearings resume, with a regained sense of balance, fairness and responsibility.

**ETHICS OF JOURNALISM VIOLATED: PRESS ENJOYING "FREE-FOR-ALL" WITH WATERGATE STORY**

(By Thomas Collins)

The Watergate press corps has been dug in on Capitol Hill for the past few months like an army holding a strategically vital position. It holds the high ground, so to speak, in the Battle of Watergate, and its presence symbolizes the fact that the press has a proprietary interest in this story as it seldom has had before.

So entangled has the press become in Watergate that it sometimes breaches its own doctrine of the separation of powers. Notes passed from newsmen to Senate committee aides not infrequently result in questions put by the senators to witnesses in the television-lit caucus room. Senators solicit the superior information the press has about many of the details and nuances of Watergate.

The two sides sometimes trade information, and the press, unhappy about a line of questioning, will try to initiate an area of inquiry through the stories it writes or by a word dropped to a committee staff member.

Members of the Watergate press corps are distinguished by their stamina, and by the fact that many of them have been covering the story for more than a year and the Senate hearings since they began.

They can remember the date of the McCord letter and can probably recite the names of all seven Watergate defendants. They can recall pretty accurately who contradicted whom, what Ehrlichman said, what Mitchell said. Some of them, as a wire service editor said, are walking repositories of the thousands of pages of testimony and documents that are so much a part of Watergate.

**FATIGUE AND PANIC**

They are also wrist-weary from taking notes for six or seven hours a day and panicky about getting caught in Washington traffic at deadline. Some of the newsmen and women sitting in the Caucus Room have made the White House "enemies list." They work 12 to 18 hours a day, neglect their fami-

lies and tend to lie around the house on weekends. They go to sleep with Watergate voices in their ears and Sam Ervin's eyebrows dancing in their heads.

At lunch time they can be found at the Carroll Arms restaurant around the corner from the Old Senate Office Building or typing up their notes in the Senate press room within the sound of the tourist lines.

Mary McGrory, the syndicated columnist for the Washington Star-News, who has been audited twice by the Internal Revenue Service, carries a sandwich to a nearby park and lets the greenery blow Watergate from her mind. "It's reviving," she says.

There is no composite picture of the Watergate reporter that would not be unjust to some, but in general they are an anti-Nixon crowd who, at the same time, pride themselves in attempting to report the story accurately and fairly.

They generally regard the proceedings in the Caucus Room as show business or "good theater" and have developed a cynical tolerance for the "star" value of Ervin & Co., which has resulted in the blossoming of "Uncle Sam" sweatshirts, presidential digrams for Sen. Howard Baker and boxes of cigars for Sen. Herman Talmadge.

Most Watergate-hearing reporters knew the Senate committee members before they became TV personalities and are as irreverent toward them as they are toward Nixon.

Physically, the newsmen and women are tired, but not unhappy. Watergate is the benchmark of their journalistic lives as well as a way of life itself. It seems to go on and on.

"I think I'll be involved in it for the rest of my life," says Ben Bradlee, the executive editor of the Washington Post. "We won't see the likes of it again."

#### STORIES NEGLECTED

Like most reporters and editors in Washington, Bradlee worries about the stories that are being neglected because of the resources being used on Watergate. If government work is slowed down because of the scandal, some of the work it is doing is getting short shrift from the press.

One government agency official complains that he cannot get the coverage for his programs that he did in the past. "I've been told there are no camera crews available or any photographers. Watergate is taking up all the manpower."

In size and numbers the media have thrown almost as many troops into the story as into the Vietnam War. It would be safe to say that at least a third of the entire Washington press corps is on the story, either through the hearings or its related strands.

#### PARTNER, NOT WITNESS

United Press International uses up to half of its Washington staff of 70 each day on Watergate and related stories, turning out about 25,000 words a day, including the transcript of testimony and texts of documents. Most newspapers are so preoccupied with Watergate that many Washington stories are being left to the wire services.

In all there are about 285 accredited correspondents covering the hearing and about 150 radio and television technicians, at least half of whom are usually present in and around the Caucus Room.

But besides being a physical presence on the scene, the press is playing an active role in the proceedings and may shape the outcome in ways that have not yet been measured. It is more than a silent witness and recorder of Watergate; it is a full-fledged partner in the event.

During the hearings newspaper articles have been offered into evidence and studied for information. Cameras relentlessly recorded the proceedings. The press kept the story going when it appeared from time to time that it would die, and the press has been

consistently injected into the story by the committee, by the witnesses and by its own efforts to get at the facts.

The administration plants stories to discredit former presidential counsel John W. Dean III and tries to use the press to smear George McGovern and the peace demonstrators of 1972. The Senate Watergate Committee seeks out the press for information and trades it for leaks, and the newsmen leap over the traditional barriers that divide participants from spectators.

The result is a media free-for-all.

CBS newsmen Daniel Schorr has even been approached by Senate aides soliciting questions to feed to their bosses, but he has turned them down. "I stay away from the senators," he says, "I have a great fear of television influencing the event, of staging things."

#### CHAFING AT GAPS

During the hearings it was perhaps inevitable that newsmen—interrogators themselves—found themselves chafing at gaps in the questioning of witnesses and tried to fill the gaps wherever they could. One way they found to do it was to get their questions to the committee and hence to the witness in a sort of circuitous news conference.

Schorr, for instance, when Haldeman was on the stand, expressed dissatisfaction to Samuel Dash, the majority counsel, with the questioning of Haldeman about the White House tapes. He ticked off a number of questions that he said were unanswered.

Later, he said it was "just about the first time I have ever done that, and it was done out of frustration and more to find out if Dash had answers to my questions, I'm looking for information; I'm not trying to inspire questions."

Other reporters covering the hearings pass notes through the committee attorneys or senators' press aides. Not all the reporters do it, and the exact number doing so is impossible to determine, but if the White House tried to plant questions with reporters at a news conference, the press would be the first to object.

Most of the questions get asked, according to Dick Magowan, press aide to Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, R-Conn. Magowan regularly receives the questions and channels them to Weicker.

An aide to Sen. Howard Baker, R-Tenn., said he got "two or three" such notes a week and passed them on. While he was standing in the committee room, he took one out of his jacket pocket. It was unsigned.

"I haven't had a chance to pass this on yet," he said. The question was for former Central Intelligence Agency Director Richard Helms, who was testifying that day. "Has the CIA perfected the psychiatric profile into a useful domestic tool?" it read.

#### "THEIR BABY"

An attorney for the majority staff also confirmed that the practice existed. "They pass notes up here all the time," he said. "Whether they're used depends on how good they are. They (reporters) are bright guys, and they want to be useful. After all, they broke the story, we didn't. This is their baby."

One reporter found an old news article that she thought contained information important to the committee. "Get this to Inouye (Sen. Daniel Inouye, D-Hawaii) right away," she said. "He should know about that," asked whether she thought the press should have that kind of relationship with the committee, she said, "Well, it goes on all the time. Don't print that, or you'll get me in trouble."

Trading information developed early as both the committee and the press were digging for the story. In one example of the quest for information, two senators on the committee tried to make a deal with the

Washington Post. They approached Post Executive Editor Benjamin Bradlee to discuss it.

"They wanted to play a little 'show and tell,' Bradlee said. "We'll tell you and you tell us," I told them to buzz off." The Post is still pursuing Watergate with five investigative reporters, including Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, who dug up most of the original revelations about Watergate. The Post's court reporter is covering the hearings.

Opinions vary among newsmen about the propriety of suggesting questions and trading information. Bradlee says flatly that the practice is bad. "True journalists belong in the audience, not on the stage, with all their independence intact," he said. "That's a cardinal ethic."

James Squires of the Chicago Tribune, who is covering the hearings, said he found it difficult to condemn the practice of trading information because of the intense pressure in the pursuit of the Watergate story.

"If you step back, you may see some good purpose in bringing out the truth. I don't see any danger in trying to get the story out. If you were suppressing a story, that would be a danger and would raise a serious question of ethics."

#### BETTER INFORMED

Mary McGrory points out that "reporters have been covering the story for so long they are more familiar with it than the senators, and there are such gaps of information. The reporters can't get at it, and they hope the senators can get it for them."

One method the press uses to get questions asked is to mention the unanswered questions in the articles they write, enabling the committee to pick them up. That method is favored by James Naughton of the New York Times, who questions the propriety of passing notes and said he was unaware of the practice.

"I have qualms about doing it surreptitiously," he said, "because it might create the appearance of collusion between the press and the committee, that they were out to get somebody. It's better to do it in print."

#### NO VENDETTA

The press insists that it does not want to get anybody; and to its credit it has been playing both sides against the middle: It takes leaks wherever it can get them.

"The story boils down to two things," Squires says. "Nixon's guilt or Nixon's innocence. If you pursue stories about Nixon's innocence as much as you do stories about his guilt, you have nothing to worry about. I don't know of a single guy who wouldn't go after a pro-Nixon story as quickly as he would an anti-Nixon story."

One aspect of the press' attitude was perhaps summed up by a wire service reporter who said he did not care whether Nixon was guilty or not, just that Watergate was one heck of a story.

His only interest in the possibility of impeachment was, "I've never covered an impeachment before."

#### A TRIBUTE

### HON. CLEM ROGERS McSPADDEN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 20, 1973

Mr. McSPADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the contribution of television station KTUL-TV in Tulsa, Okla., which serves not only Tulsa, but much of Oklahoma's Second District, to the impressive Jerry Lewis Labor Day Telethon on the behalf of the



U.S. Congressman

# John B. Conlan Reports



FOR USE DURING THE WEEK OF  
NOV. 18-24, 1973, OR THEREAFTER

A TIME FOR GIVING THANKS



WASHINGTON -- These are disturbed and contentious times, at home and throughout the world. Troubling issues confront us, and there is plenty of bad news to fill any newspaper, radio, or television report.

But do we Americans ever truly reflect upon our many blessings? Do we really understand how fortunate we are? Are we so obsessed with news of badness that we sometimes forget about the goodness in our land?

Thanksgiving Day 1973 is a good time to draw a long breath and give grateful thanks.

After all, where else would we be better off? If we could have chosen a time and place to be born, who would not have chosen the 20th century in the United States of America?

I do not speak only in terms of material things, although we have them in abundance. It is difficult to minimize the fact that our country is among few places left where anyone who wants can launch any lawful occupation or business, and, if he or she is willing to work hard enough, can succeed.

Or that we have the highest paid jobs in the world; that we take care of our sick and poor, orphans and elderly, better than almost any other nation on earth; and that we have more and better labor-saving devices than workers anywhere else, and as a result live longer and better and stay younger and healthier.

Or that we have so much free education, open elections, and unlimited opportunities.

But when I say that few of us would rather have been born somewhere other than the U.S., at some other time, I have more in mind than these abundant material blessings. There are the things of the spirit that count for so much more.

Behind the bickering over political campaign abuses and the current tug-of-war between branches of government over Watergate matters, for example, is our system of free elections and constitutional government.

Behind the quarrel over media accuracy, fairness, and charges of sensationalism as it relates to issues involving public and private individuals lies the abiding concept of equal and impartial justice for all under law.

People denounce and defend the President; it is the exercise of free speech. At home, we are secure against a midnight pounding at the door common in totalitarian societies. Small-town and large-town churches representing a multitude of different faiths abound; we are free to worship God as we please.

It is easy to accent the negative . . . to constantly criticize ourselves for less than adequate housing for the poor, other inequities, and our failure to harness all our energy and inventiveness and ambition to erase the nation's lingering problems. But good Americans must never allow that criticism to overshadow what we have done materially and spiritually to provide millions with lives so rich in quality.

A single Thanksgiving Day is not enough to adequately show our gratitude for all our many blessings. But this time of year is a good time to reflect on where we are, where we are going, and whether the immigrant Pilgrims who started it all almost four centuries ago would be proud of us now.

As former Senate chaplain Frederick Brown Harris once observed, the stairway might just as well have been our national emblem -- a stairway kept open from top to bottom, up which any individual could climb who was ready to pay the cost in effort.

My gratitude this Thanksgiving week will go in part to the countless millions of good Americans climbing this stairway by living within their incomes, obeying the law, working and studying to improve themselves, their communities, and their nation.

Such good people don't often make the news in these troublesome times. But the fact that they exist and keep going despite the odds is what will keep this country free and great.





U.S. Congressman

# John B. Conlan

## Reports



FOR USE DURING THE WEEK OF  
NOV.25-DEC. 1, 1973, OR THEREAFTER

UNITY AGAINST A DO-NOTHING SPIRIT



WASHINGTON -- There is little doubt about the outcome of next week's expected vote on the confirmation of Gerald Ford as the nation's 40th vice president.

Ford has done an outstanding job in the Congress. His voting record is entirely consistent with the national election mandate of 1972. And hearings on his nomination have shown him to be an exceptionally well-suited person for the office of vice president.

The Michigan congressman will be confirmed with ease, losing only the votes of those traditionally highly partisan members of Congress who line up against a recommendation of the President almost the minute it is made.

Gerald Ford is a man of considerable talent, experience, and personal charm. He was an outstanding student and athlete at the University of Michigan, and later earned his law degree at Yale. His four years as a naval aviation operations officer, two of them on a carrier in the Pacific, tested and matured him in the area of military and foreign affairs.

During his 25 years in the House of Representatives, Ford has shown himself to be a responsible, hard-working, non-doctrinaire conservative, thoroughly grounded in national defense matters and domestic problems.

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In the last 11 years, he has voted 90 per cent of the time, and has earned a 75.5 per cent average rating from the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action and a 9.5 per cent average rating from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action.

Confirmation of Jerry Ford as vice president will clear the way for election of Arizona's own John Rhodes as House Republican leader. Rhodes will almost certainly be the unanimous choice of the 192 Republican members of Congress to replace Ford.

Congressman Rhodes is also an exceptionally talented and experienced lawmaker. He is one of the best-liked and most-admired men in the U.S. Congress. He is expected to use the Republican leader's office, and the Republican congressmen as a team, to generate forward-looking legislative proposals -- beyond just "carrying the mail" for the White House and the Executive Branch.

Once these changes are final, and Vice President Ford and House Republican Leader Rhodes are formally installed in their new leadership roles, many members of Congress are optimistic that we can get the nation's legislative program off dead center.

Congress has not yet tackled the important problem of budget reform, which was the big issue of the day when the 93rd Congress convened last January.

Most of the administration's seven-step energy program, first proposed in the President's comprehensive energy message two years ago and repeated last April, has been ignored by the Democrat leadership.

Pension reform and trade legislation is only just making its way to the floor for action by the entire Congress.

The urban revenue sharing program to replace existing categorical grant programs and important community development proposals are still in committee.

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There is little doubt that many members of Congress have been too engrossed in getting political mileage for themselves, spending entirely too little time on vital issues and problems that should have received our attention months ago.

We still have a lot of unfinished work to complete before adjournment. With the leadership of John Rhodes, fresh unity among serious-minded legislators, and pressure from voters throughout the country to complete our work, I am confident that we can overcome the do-nothing spirit that has infected many members of Congress since just before our summer recess.

-30-





U.S. Congressman

# John B. Conlan

## Reports



FOR USE DURING THE WEEK OF  
DEC. 9-15, 1973, OR THEREAFTER

REGAINING THE POWER OF THE PURSE



WASHINGTON -- Someone once said that government is like a baby -- it has an alimentary canal with a big appetite at one end, and no sense of responsibility at the other.

That observation clearly describes the taxing-spending system Congress has been using for almost two centuries. Taxation has reached the point where many people now wonder if the federal government's appetite has any limit. And spending has been clearly out of control for several decades.

Two events in Congress last week, however, gave the big spenders in Washington some badly needed fiscal toilet training.

Sen. James Allen, in a filibuster against legislation to raise the national debt ceiling to \$475.7 billion, forced the Senate into its first Sunday session since before the Civil War when the current \$465 billion ceiling expired, leaving the federal government with no cash on hand to pay its salaries and outstanding bills.

Allen opposes the big spending habits of many of his fellow Democrats, and effectively demonstrated by holding up the debt limit bill for three days that the nation faces bankruptcy unless Congress curbs its irresponsible spending spree and starts balancing the budget.

-more-

The House of Representatives then considered vital budget reform legislation, and passed long overdue measures proposed by 54 freshman Congressmen from both parties in special debate I led in the House chamber last spring.

Key provisions of the budget reform package include:

- \* A requirement for Congress to set a firm ceiling on federal spending each year.

- \* Formation of special budget committees in both houses to coordinate taxing-spending measures of Ways and Means and Appropriations Committees, and to control programs requiring federal funds within other committees.

- \* A change in the term of the current July 1-June 30 fiscal year to Oct. 1 to Sept. 30, allowing Congress more time to consider major policy choices and reducing the likelihood of continuing resolutions caused by failure to complete action on appropriations bills before the start of the fiscal year.

This budget reform package still does not immediately solve the problems of federal deficit spending. But it is nonetheless a good start towards controlling federal taxing and spending and creating a constant review of all federal programs.

Most importantly, the new budget procedures will enable Congress to control so-called "uncontrollable" spending -- expenditure items enacted in previous legislative sessions -- and backdoor spending, such as contract and loan authority of federal agencies and open-ended federal commitments based on formulas affected by population and the cost of goods and services.

"Uncontrollables" now constitute almost three-fourths of the federal budget. They include interest on the national debt, farm-price supports, public assistance grants, certain veterans benefits, Social Security, unemployment benefits, Medicaid and Medicare costs, railroad and civil service retirement, and nearly 1,000 independent trust funds operated by the federal government.

While "backdoor spending" in the form of contract authority has the advantage of supplying necessary lead time for construction and other activities stretching over a number of years, it hopelessly fragments the appropriations process. So does loan authority generally used for commercial-type activities and revolving funds where it is expected the money will be repaid to the Treasury, and open-ended entitlements that ensure beneficiaries of assistance as the law guarantees.

So long as more than half of all federal spending is outside the regular appropriations process, and three-fourths of the total federal budget is uncontrollable, Congress has no hope of bringing revenue and spending decisions together.

Budget control measures approved by the House of Representatives last week will hopefully eliminate these several dozen wild cards in the federal government's \$300 billion game of poker. If all goes well, Congress may regain the one Constitutional power that stands above all others -- the power of the purse.





U.S. Congressman

# John B. Conlan

Reports



FOR USE DURING THE WEEK OF  
DEC. 23-29, 1973, OR THEREAFTER

FOREIGN AID ABETS WORLD HUNGER AND TERRORISM



WASHINGTON -- George Bernard Shaw once remarked that a government which robs Peter to pay Paul can always depend on the support of Paul. Shaw might have thought differently had he lived during the heyday of U.S. foreign aid.

American taxpayers have spent more than \$220 billion on foreign aid since World War II, including interest on what we have borrowed to give away.

During 1972 alone, when we spent almost \$6 billion on about 4,400 foreign assistance projects, some portion of the U.S. foreign assistance program was operating in about 100 foreign nations, with almost 55,000 individuals on the payroll. These included U.S. and foreign personnel and participants.

Far from being cut, as many Americans would like to see in this time of belt-tightening at home, foreign aid is increasing apace. The many different U.S. foreign aid programs planned for the coming year will total many billions.

In addition to the \$5.5 billion authorized by the Senate last week, there is almost \$25 billion of unspent or unobligated money in the so-called foreign aid pipeline -- money appropriated in past years that is still sitting around in government accounts or world development banks.

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I shall vote against the current foreign aid appropriation proposal when it comes before Congress for a final vote. My "no" vote will be based on two indisputable facts: Despite our past generosity, people in recipient nations are no better off, and often worse off, than before we helped them. And governments of recipient nations are generally hostile to the U.S. and support hostile acts against us and our people.

U.S. foreign aid has failed, because it has worked against material progress of many recipient nations. It has enabled them to pursue any number of unwise economic and political policies that discourage capital formation within their own borders and from foreign investors.

U.S.-backed development grants and loans have allowed foreign nations to avoid seeking commercial loans that, instead of being wasted on such national monuments of vanity as steel mills, unprofitable state airlines, and heavy construction projects, would have been geared more closely to agriculture and regional and national market conditions.

Our foreign aid has allowed foreign governments to perpetuate their collectivist economic folly, which has resulted in massive unemployment and hunger throughout the world. It has discouraged private enterprise, hard work, and attitudes of thrift and savings necessary for a sound money economy.

More importantly to our own national interests, foreign aid has won us enemies, not friends. We can't even count the times that less-developed nations receiving billions of U.S. taxpayer dollars over the years have kicked us in the teeth in the U.N. or through their support of our enemies.

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Five countries receiving our foreign aid have given outright cash assistance and asylum to members of Black September, the Palestinian guerrilla organization responsible for more than 15 international incidents of murder and sabotage, including last week's horrible bombing of a Pan American jet at Rome that killed 29 people.

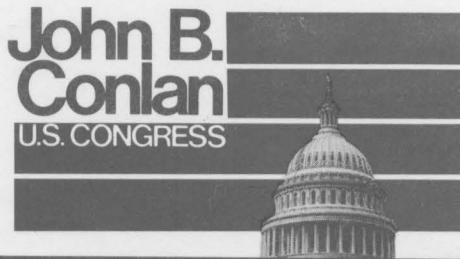
Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Libya have given cash subsidies and have made training bases available to these Arab guerrillas. U.S. taxpayers provided these countries with \$21 million in foreign aid last year alone.

Syria and Lebanon have often provided sanctuary to Black September following their raids and kidnappings around the world. These countries received \$37.3 million in U.S. foreign aid in 1972.

On the basis of this record, I can see no reason to vote more billions in foreign aid giveaways. It just doesn't make sense to subsidize bankrupt economic policies and world terrorism. The money can certainly be put to better use at home.







# NEWS RELEASE

SUMMARY OF REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN JOHN B. CONLAN, PRESIDENT OF THE 93RD CLUB (REPUBLICAN), AT A NEWS CONFERENCE ON TUESDAY, MARCH 6, 1973.

## FRESHMAN CONGRESSMEN PUSH BUDGET REFORM



There has been a quaint and ancient custom, we are told, that freshman congressmen are to be seen and not heard.

Although we have great respect for our elders, nevertheless we freshmen Republican congressmen are unafraid to break the stale crust of custom.

As president of the 43-member Republican freshman class, I am here to state that freshman Republican congressmen are going to the floor of the House of Representatives to make an unprecedented plea to Congress for a ceiling on federal spending, for reform of archaic congressional budget procedures, for an advance to fiscal responsibility.

We believe we have reached the point where we must call an immediate halt to reckless spending policies that have driven this country towards a half trillion dollar national debt.

We believe this Congress must now reverse that trend, unless it is prepared to force a substantially heavier tax burden on hard-working citizens who must pay the bills for our profligacy.

The fight for fiscal sanity is at its heart not between the Congress and the President. The struggle is between the bureaucracy and the working people of America. Both the President and the Congress need to be united and well-equipped to take control of the bureaucracy before it devours America as it has France and other countries.

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While there are varying approaches to reform that Congress can adopt, we strongly support the interim work of the Joint Study Committee on the Budget, which is this very week holding hearings on its interim report.

We are united in our support of its recommended ceiling on expenditures and budget authority.

Congress must find a way for its members to cast statesmanlike votes on expenditures that will have a direct relation to estimated federal revenues.

At the present time, each congressman is pressured by special interests to vote "yes" on each of numerous spending bills, only to wake up at the end of the year finding that Congress has plunged the country further into debt and fueled the merciless fires of inflation.

This scatterbrained system has got to change. No business corporation could succeed using the antiquated procedures and tools with which the Congress is fumbling.

Congress is facing a challenge that will directly reflect on its ability to effectively continue its legislative function for the nation.

I want my colleagues in Congress to know that the new Republican congressmen are up to that challenge. We urge senior members of Congress to set the example by acting now to control federal spending and reform Congress' own budget process. It is our Constitutional duty, and we can do no less.

And we cordially invite the freshman Democrats, if they are truly as interested in reform as we young Republicans, to join us in a bipartisan effort toward responsible congressional reform.





Profile by ASU professor

# 'The tribune of Mid-America'

By GEORGE H. ARCHIBALD

**THE IMPUDENT SNOBS: Agnew vs. the Intellectual Establishment, by John R. Coyne Jr. (Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y., 524 pp., \$8.95)**

There is little doubt that Spiro Agnew is among the most quotable of American vice presidents — ranking in erudition and style for his day with men like John Adams, John C. Calhoun, and Theodore Roosevelt.

But accounts of the vice president in most newspapers and magazines, and discussions about him on radio and television, would automatically lead one to believe that he ranks more appropriately with Hannibal Hamlin and Andrew Johnson, two of his most wretched predecessors.

John R. Coyne Jr., a former associate editor of National Review and briefly an Agnew staffer before he joined Arizona State University's mass communications department last year, has done much in his current volume to set the record straight.

**HIS BOOK**, released this month, is a thoroughly engrossing profile of Agnew's ascendancy as the Nixon administration's workhorse to counter left-oriented news bias (which itself explains the intemperate view of him held by many noted journalists and liberal intellectuals).

And like "The Kumquat Statement," Coyne's earlier book about radicalism at UC Berkeley, it is written in a refreshingly informal style that is fun to read and with which he emerged as one of the brash new breed of piquant conservative writers.

As a sequel to Edith Eron's "The News Twisters," a trenchant study of network television news bias against Republican - conservative-right candidates and issues throughout the last seven weeks of the 1968 presidential campaign, it is an equally in-

cisive analysis of liberal media bias and dishonesty directed against Vice President Agnew and the Nixon administration both before and after the 1968 GOP election victory.

**AND TWO-THIRDS** of the book is an appendix of 94 complete Agnew speeches, given from Aug. 4, 1968 (at the GOP national convention in Miami) to June 25, 1971 (when he spoke to the Young Republican national convention in Phoenix).

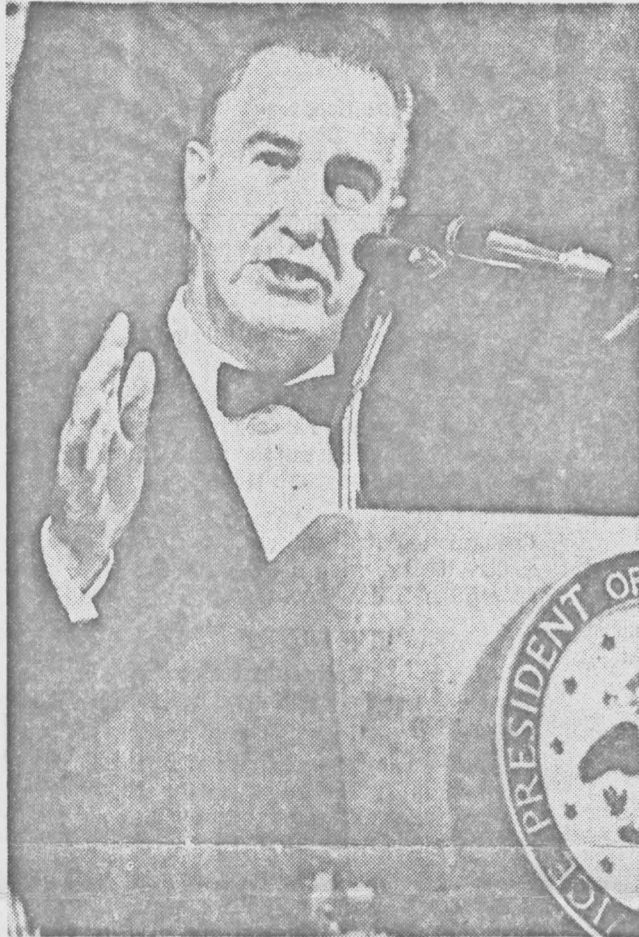
In sum, "The Impudent Snobs" is a close and accurate look at news media dishonesty and the ideas of a man now appropriately regarded by many as "the tribune of Middle America."

The author explains that President Nixon's low profile during his first nine months in the White House, because his program was vehemently opposed and distorted by the nation's news media, made it impossible for the administration effectively to communicate its message to the people.

**THIS WAS ESPECIALLY** true of post - 1968 U.S. Vietnam policy, which was treated to a consistently one-sided broadside by pundits and former LBJ advisors who had returned to college facilities and the foundations.

Spiro Angew was the logical man to enter the fray to carry the administration's program directly to the people, Coyne observes. And the vice president took off the rhetorical gloves in New Orleans on Oct. 19, 1969 — a full month before his hard - hitting Des Moines speech attacking network news bias — with a frank and thoughtful discussion of factors contributing to the disintegration of our national values and moral direction.

It was during this speech that Agnew declared: "A spirit of national masochism prevails, encouraged by an effete corps of impudent



Vice President Spiro Agnew

snobs who characterize themselves as intellectuals."

**AND ELABORATING** on that general theme 10 days later in Harrisburg, Pa., after liberal newsmen and academics decried his reference, Agnew said:

"Now we have among us a glib, activist element who would tell us our values are lies, and I call them impudent. Because anyone who impugns a legacy of liberty and dignity that reaches back to Moses is impudent.

"I call them snobs, for most of them disdain to mingle with the masses who work for a living. They mock the common man's pride in his work, his family and his country.

Pentagon Papers, and several malicious stories filed by newsmen accompanying Agnew as he travelled before and after the election — carefully exposes the liberal establishment's commitment to mendacious reporting and calumny to protect its monolithic ideological control over mass communications.

This is the first hardbound compilation of Agnew speeches, which were all carefully transcribed from tape recordings to ensure publication exactly as they were delivered.

And the volume is an invaluable collection of the vice president's piquant utterances on government and politics, intellectuals, education, youth, radicals, the draft, news media, minorities, civil disorder, crime, law, economics, world trade, urban development, employment, science and technology, space exploration, private vs. the public sector, world peace, communism, patriotism, and citizenship.

**THE SPEECHES** quickly put the lie to claims of liberal pundits that Agnew is lacking in scholarship, bigoted, or an enemy of the Bill of Rights. They demonstrate, rather, that he is an erudite, compassionate man, anti-elitist rather than anti-intellectual, witty and urbane, who lives for the preservation of ideas historically basic to every free society.

"All Agnew's best talks center on ideas," Coyne notes. "And as Max Lerner points out, Agnew may be the only politician on the American scene today of whom this can be said to be true."

There is a hint of hyperbole in that claim. But it is warranted. This volume clearly testifies that Vice President Agnew, unlike almost all his predecessors of this century, has addressed himself squarely and is committed to the norms of order, justice and freedom.

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC  
**Spotlight**