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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 5, 1976

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT  
FROM: JAMES E. CONNOR *JEC*

The attached papers were returned in the President's outbox with the following notation:

"Are we favorable?"

Please follow-up with appropriate action.

cc: Dick Cheney

Attachment -

Release by the House of Representatives 7/31/75  
re: "A Resolution to Call an Atlantic Convention"

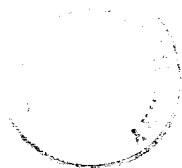


THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Brent Sparrowcraft

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Are we formidable?



94TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

JULY 31, 1975

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN...  
Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 606

A RESOLUTION TO CALL AN ATLANTIC CONVENTION

Whereas a more perfect union of the Atlantic Community consistent with the U.S. Constitution and the Charter of the United Nations gives promise of strengthening common defense, assuring more adequate energy resources, providing a stable currency to improve commerce of all kinds, and enhancing the economic prosperity, general welfare and liberty of the people of the member nations, Now therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That

(1) The Congress hereby establishes a delegation, composed of eighteen eminent citizens, and authorizes it to organize and participate in a convention made up of similar delegations from such North Atlantic Treaty parliamentary democracies as desire to join in the enterprise, and other parliamentary democracies the convention may invite, to explore the possibility of agreement on--

(a) a declaration that it is the goal of their peoples to transform their present relationship into a more effective unity based on federal or other democratic principles;

(b) a timetable for transition by stages to this goal; and

(c) a commission or other means to facilitate this transition.

(2) The convention's recommendations shall be submitted to the Congress for action under Constitutional process.

(3) (a) Six of the delegates shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, after consultation with House leadership and the Committee on International Relations; six by the President of the Senate, after consultation with Senate leadership and the Committee on Foreign Relations; and six by the President of the United States. Not more than half of the delegates selected by each appointing authority shall be from one political party.

(b) Vacancies shall not affect its power and shall be filled in the same manner as the original selection.

(c) The delegation shall elect a Chairman and Vice Chairman from among its members.

(d) All members of the delegation shall be free from official instructions, and free to speak and vote individually in the convention.

(4) The delegation shall cease to exist at the expiration of the three-year period beginning on the date of the approval of this resolution.

(5) To promote the purposes set forth in section (1), the delegation is hereby authorized--

(a) to seek to arrange an international convention and such other meetings and conferences as it may deem necessary;

(b) to employ and fix the compensation of such temporary professional and clerical staff as it deems necessary: Provided, that the number shall not exceed ten and that compensation shall not exceed the maximum rates authorized for committees of the Congress; and

(c) to pay not in excess of \$100,000 toward such expenses as may be involved as a consequence of holding any meetings or conferences authorized by subparagraph (a) above.

(6) Members of the delegation, who shall serve without compensation, shall be reimbursed for, or shall be furnished, travel, subsistence and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties under this joint resolution, upon vouchers approved by the Chairman of said delegation.

(7) Not to exceed \$200,000 is hereby authorized to be appropriated to carry out the purposes of this resolution, payments to be made upon vouchers approved by the Chairman of the delegation subject to the laws, rules, and regulations applicable to the allocation and expenditure of appropriated funds. The delegation shall make semiannual reports to Congress accounting for all expenditures and such other information as it deems appropriate. (over)

## Congress of the United States

### House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

CO-SPONSORS OF H. J. RES. 606

94TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

JULY 31, 1975

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Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.)	Richard F. Vander Veen (D-Mich.)
Philip H. Hayes (D-Ind.)	G. William Whitehurst (R-Va.)
H. John Heinz III (R-Pa.)	Charles Wilson (D-Tex.)
Henry Holstoski (D-N.J.)	Jim Wright (D-Tex.)
Frank Horton (R-N.Y.)	Gus Yatron (D-Pa.)
Allan T. Howe (D-Utah)	Clement J. Zablocki (D-Wis.)

(over)

International Movement for Atlantic Union  
1736 Columbia Rd., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20009

## NEWS FLASH

Special Supplement to #4a, Nov. 1, 1975

To expedite Atlantic Convention Resolution:

HIGHLIGHTS IN CASE MADE AT HOUSE HEARING BY 3 SOLONS, 2 AMBASSADORS & 2 AUTHORS

We condense here, on two sheets, a few of the main points made by the 7 who testified for urgent enactment for the Atlantic Convention resolution (HJR 606--610), at the International Organizations Subcommittee hearings chaired by Dante Fascell (D-FL) held Sept. 8. (On the next day it unanimously urged the full International Relations Committee to send the bill to the Floor.) Our quarterly, FREEDOM & UNION, will run a much fuller text this winter. These excerpts are drawn from the official transcript, some uncorrected by the speaker. They follow in the order in which the witnesses spoke.

REP. ALLEN T. HOWE (D-UT), one of the 4 chief sponsors, now in his first term: "Some feel a federation should be the outcome of the convention. I am not one of them. Federation is not realistic at this time. There is great value, however, in calling the Convention. (It) could review our existing institutions, recommend reforms to strengthen them and new institutions. (The) important is that we have some agreed-upon framework to act swiftly to resolve mutual problems and give unity to promotion of freedom throughout the world . . . There could be no more appropriate time for us to talk about this than as we embark on our third century as a nation."

DR. WALTER JUDD, chief House R. conservative sponsor of this proposal in 1949, when first introduced in Congress, and thereafter until replaced in 1963 by Donald Fraser (MN), a chief House D. cosponsor since (1965): "Congress should vigorously explore all possible avenues for 'a more perfect union' with like-minded countries. I urge this subcommittee and the full committee to approve (it). It would authorize an American delegation, committed to no pre-conceptions, to discuss possible options with similar delegations from other countries sharing our fundamental political concepts and institutions. Such an effort would cost us nothing politically, little financially, and just might find a way to save everything."

\* \* \* "If these 580 million people were really united, with their industrialization, resources, productive capacity, advanced institutions, then we (would be) reasonably secure--but we are not united, and that is the crying need at present."

"How can we find means (to) get political federation,--a common foreign policy for the defense of western civilization and ourselves? That is what this resolution is about. It doesn't commit us to anything. \* \* \* I think this is an historic opportunity. Our people are more acutely aware (now) of the need, and I think, with Congress' leadership, (we) can mobilize the desire and willingness to take the steps necessary."

\* \* \* "To many, 'conservative' means 'reactionary.' They want to go back. I am a conservative in order to go ahead. I want to conserve the system on which we have got farther than any other country (in) going ahead. Conservative doesn't mean standpat, stand still. It means progress. I look upon this (bill) as not a departure from basic American policies; this is a further step along the same lines that have proved successful."

\* \* \* "What sovereignty would we be 'losing?' What sovereignty do you have if you don't have the choice as to whether you go to war? Japan decided that we go to war, not we. Could we have won the war by ourselves? No. How are we going to keep this 'sovereignty'? What is it going to be worth? I want to get greater security which, I say, is greater sovereignty. If we are intelligent enough in a war to find ways to cooperate with other countries to win, I am convinced we are intelligent enough to find ways to cooperate to handle successfully these problems."

REP. LEO RYAN (D-CA), cosponsor and 1. R. committee member: 2. "Just back from Lisbon, Madrid, Rome, Germany, (Scandinavia), I think there will be civil war in Portugal; the communists there will (not) give up. Though they haven't got the numbers, they will use guns before the (others) do. . . . Italy (must) have parliamentary elections before 1977. We have in Naples our Mediterranean naval base for NATO purposes. The chances of the communists winning are so great that we need to be terribly worried about the future of NATO. (Italy's) communists are saying the same thing (Hitler said when he was by a plurality)--(in that case) they (will insist on naming) all the ministries. . . . Greece's position in NATO is anybody's guess. Turkey? I voted (for) raising the arms embargo. They will not remain (in) NATO (if it isn't raised.) (In) all the southern tier of NATO we are going to have serious problems. . . . I don't believe NATO is effective to fight against invasion from the East. You can't depend on Britain because of their problems."

\* \* \* "(About) this resolution: Too long prime ministers (have been) meeting with prime ministers. We have never had a convocation of members elected to represent people in a free society--what we are supposed to be defending--to discuss where we ought to be going, what we ought to be doing, and how to do it better. That is what the resolution (offers.) We can (thus) indicate to other power blocs that we can get together, because we have common determination to remain free and able to elect our own (government.)

That kind of action--especially (we) the resolution permits over a period of ten



three years--might have a profound influence on our nations (and) on (adversaries.) It is in our best interests to put something as simple as this (resolution) through--(and) see if we can't come closer together."

AMBASSADOR THEODORE C. ACHILLES, assigned by State to work out with the Senate in 1949 the terms of the North Atlantic Alliance Treaty: "NATO is in deep trouble, as Rep. Ryan said, especially along the southern border. It is in trouble in other ways. \* \* \* (Nor) have we (avoided) worldwide inflation and recession. \* \* \* We have been groping a long time. (This) resolution (would explore) agreement on the goal of better unity, based on 'federal or other democratic principles.' There may be better principles than federal ones, if so, maybe we could find them. In the meantime, federal principles, the American way that made this country great, can do a great deal to make the world a whole lot safer and more prosperous."

"Many in Congress feel the Executive Branch (has) dominated Congress. Here is an extraordinary opportunity for Congress, particularly the House, to take the lead. .... I have worked with the House Republican Group on NATO, some of whose members are still in the House--Congressmen Findley and Quie, for example. Some have infiltrated the Executive: Mr. Morton, Mr. Laird and Gerald Ford! All (this group sought) ways to strengthen NATO. (This Atlantic Convention proposal is) a striking example of Congressional initiative (from) the House (as was the Atlantic treaty from the Senate.) Here is Congress, naming two-thirds of the delegates to (this Convention), and the Executive, one-third. I devoutly hope (all) will pick people of the importance the occasion demands."

"Congressional initiative (will give this convention) credibility abroad. If President Ford or Secretary Kissinger (called) such a convention, the reaction would be: What chance does the Executive have of getting this through Congress? (Here) Congress has the initiative all the way--naming the delegates, getting the report back, and taking or failing to take action on the result."

"1776 sparks the 200th anniversary of our independence. 1989 will mark the 200th anniversary of our Constitution, the enactment of federal principles, which have proved remarkably flexible in vastly different situations (for) 200 years. I would hope that, if Congress could take the initiative this year, call such a convention as these resolutions provide in 1776, then by 1989 we might develop a new basis of federal relations on an intercontinental scale, which would chart the American way for us, give us a long shot at the next 200 years."

AMBASSADOR ADOLPH W. SCHMIDT, delegate to the Atlantic Exploratory Convention of NATO Nations in Paris, 1962, governor of T. Mellon & Sons bank, Pittsburgh: "I believe our country is in danger and our people are unaware of the extent of the danger. (At) the apex of power after World War II. . . the U.S. (thereafter faced) three major (Soviet) challenges in Korea, Cuba and Vietnam--and, in my opinion, suffered ignominious defeat in all three. A fourth aggression is now (on) in the Middle East. If opening the Suez Canal permits linking the Soviet Mediterranean and Pacific fleets to control tanker fleets leaving the Persian Gulf, (so) that oil could be denied Europe, Japan and the U.S., it would (gain powerful) political leverage."

\* \* \* "The opportunity of another exploration with our Atlantic allies of basic issues of war and peace is now emerging; to achieve common goals by common action in new institutions will help Americans and Europeans achieve a solvent and relevant policy for the crucial years ahead."

"World wide inflating has brought floating exchange rates which negate the IMF's purposes. An Atlantic Convention would (permit) exploring a merger of the Federal Reserve with European central banks and (creation of) a new international central bank issue (with) national currencies convertible at fixed rates. Other areas in which the closest coordination between members is a necessity are energy, trade, law of the sea, and world population."

"Rather than slaughter each other, Western free men might work together in a new political institution; that could command such power and develop sufficient wisdom that it need not aggress on the Soviet Union, but hold the fort (long enough) to permit freedom to work from within that tyranny (and) eventually encompass the Russians by peaceful means."

JAMES HUNTLEY, co-author, "EUROPE AND AMERICA: THE NEXT 10 YEARS": "Congress is considering an act of historic importance here, of exceeding difficulty and complexity. The risks involved are considerable, but the opportunities are even greater. The resolution offers an opportunity to break out of a straitjacket (resulting from) reverses such as Vietnam. Personally, I favor a much closer union between the Atlantic democracies. Federal principles are probably the best kinds to use. I favor very extensive search for whatever means to bring about closer union."

"We (must) fashion better means to take collective decisions and carry them out, in certain very important but limited areas. Eventually, some union with that capacity will be essential--perhaps sooner than later. The resolution and convention would be valuable (because): 1) it would educate the American people further; 2) it would educate the Europeans and show we still care about Europe and want a better relationship; 3) it would (shores) to think problems through and come up with better solutions."

NRW....



CLARENCE STREIT, President, International Movement for Atlantic Union: (Given more space here because subsequent events have strengthened the main points): This resolution's strongly improved position in Congress comes when the situation as regards both depression and war makes it more urgent than ever that it be enacted promptly. In 1948, when I first testified on this subject, I stressed our basic dilemma: that these two dangers are so interlocked that we must avert both, but the U.S. cannot do this by itself--and I forecast:

"To double our armaments expenditure, add a draft, and arm the free in Western Europe while spending \$5-billion on European recovery will not free us from our dilemma. This is not enough to do the job, but more than enough to raise prices. This makes for worse inflation, here and in Europe, and inflation makes for dictatorship. We risk seeing them, when it hurts us most, deliver to some dictator their arms, their bases. Yet, to speed recovery at the cost of defense is to risk seeing the Red Army one day take over with no more of a battle than in Czechoslovakia. . . Nor can we escape by a security pact. [The NATO one began a year later.] Experience teaches that one cannot depend on an ally. By leaving no doubt that all of freedom's industrial, sea, air power is tightly united, the Union could enjoy much more effective defensive power at far less cost. I estimate it could do this at a saving of at least \$5-billion a year." [See Note at the end.]

In 1951 General Eisenhower told me -- off the record then -- "I believe that if we got effective political unity in the Atlantic we could cut our defense costs by half." We figured, when we published this in 1969, that a total of about \$500-billion could have been saved since 1952 by Atlantic Union then. The saving for the 6 years since 1969 would make the total at least \$750-billion, by Ike's guesstimate, or 6 times the total saving by my own guess of \$5-billion a year.

After having thus greatly under-estimated how much Atlantic Union would reduce defense costs, and their inflationary effect, my 1948 statement ended by urging Congress to call a convention of the Atlantic democracies to explore the federal solution of our basic dilemma. Since then, I have repeatedly stressed that dilemma and the need of such a convention to explore this way to avert both world depression and war. But never has that dire dilemma faced us with both horns, as now.

THE DEPRESSION HORN: Today--September 8--New York City stands on the brink of default on nearly \$1-billion due this month. That would devastate the U.S. market in municipal and state tax exempt notes and bonds, in which more than \$200-billion is invested. We have here the makings of a panic on a far worse scale than the private bankruptcies of 1929. At this very hour the New York State Legislature is debating a very drastic plan to gain three months time by the State risking its own credit to meet the city's current shortages, plus \$2-billion due in October, November, December. \* \* \* But, thereafter, the city will be short \$1,364,000,000 in January, in February \$638-million, in March \$853.

As a European correspondent of The New York Times, I had reported the events leading to and following the Great Depression. My concern with the depression as a danger to peace has grown ever since I saw it bring on Hitler and World War II. I recall no depression set off by a bankruptcy involving anything near the huge amount a New York City default would involve. Although 4,770 U.S. cities defaulted during the Great Depression, none threatened to trigger it. The total debt of the cities in default during it was \$2.6-billion--only about a third of the total to be feared now from New York City alone. Let me give other comparisons to show the enormity of this danger:

1. In addition to the city's \$8-billion, many more billions would be affected if New York State decides [as it did later] to risk its own credit to save the city.\* \* \* The \$206-billion of State and municipal debts in the U.S. were incurred to finance past and current building and maintenance of educational institutions, highways, hospitals, housing, sewers, etc. Cancellation would increase unemployment incalculably, including such vital services as those of policemen, nurses, sanitation workers. Panic would surely spread to corporation bond markets and stock exchanges here, and abroad.

2. Note how the default threat has grown since 1971: Last Fall, panic from default of the Franklin National Bank was so feared that the Federal Reserve risked \$1.75-billion to stave it off. Now it is resisting pressure to divert a default 4 times greater. There are limits to what this "lender of last resort" can do. A 1971 panic, feared from default by brokerage houses, was averted by drastic action by a Stock Exchange committee whose chairman, Felix Rohatyn, was the "pivotal figure," to cite The New York Times, in those rescues. New York's Mayor and Governor called him in last June to help avert the city's bankruptcy. He has been credited in the press and elsewhere as the "father" of the rescue plan known as "Big MAC" and the current State Emergency plan.

He happens to be our son-in-law. I mention this because it led me, before the November 1963 FREEDOM & UNION ran my article: "The Danger to the Dollar--and How to End It," to show it to him, to benefit from his knowledge of finance. Its opening words summed it up: "Facing not only the danger of a default, but the real danger of a depression, we face now. It is worse than war in its advantages to communism. Current conditions are eminently similar to those in 1931 that turned the 1929 depression into the Great Depression." I then mentioned the stock market, and the Atlantic Federal Reserve.

(OVER)





Like most experts in that field, Felix strongly doubted that the danger was great and near, and if so, that Atlantic Union could avert it. He told me a few years later that events had led him to agree with me. Since 1967 he has been among the five strongest annual financial supporters of our cause. (I should explain that all references here to him are made without his knowledge.) His experience since 1970 has put him in a rare position to see how the bankruptcy door to depression has grown, and how hopes roused by temporary gains have led to worse nightmares.

But he has had an encouragement to continue striving to gain time, which others without his belief in the federal solution, lacked. Since 1970 he has seen the resolution for an Atlantic Convention to explore that solution come nearer and nearer enactment, despite frustrations, while economic disaster has come ever closer. This must also hearten other Atlantic Federalists who battle to gain time. Certainly this helps keep me doing my bit to get the lessening time used to speed enactment. This race against disaster reminds me of the movie "Perils of Pauline." But the present race is on a scale of such vital importance that it requires a Shakespeare to do it justice.

THE WAR HORN: We also face today military dangers on an exceptional scale in the Mideast, and Atlantic. True, Secretary Kissinger has produced another miracle in the Sinai accord. True, the communist leaders have been forced out in Portugal. Both events are to be welcomed, but remain time-gainers. I believe Russia won't take these setbacks lying down.

Bonn and London barred our using our bases there;  
In 1973/the only way we could meet our obligations to Israel was through our Azores base. I think either there will be a coup--when Kerensky had a great democratic majority in the Duma, Bolshevik military force overthrew it; that could happen in Portugal--or it could choose neutrality, to play safe with Moscow. We couldn't use our base then, even if there is no violent take-over in Lisbon. On the war side, we are in dire jeopardy. The only thing I believe might hold Russia off is the imminence of economic catastrophe here. They can rightly expect to gain much from that.

\* \* \*Recently I spent a few days in the Sun River mountains, Montana. One day a sonic BOOM led me to look up. I saw Montana's "Big Sky" marred by three equidistant white bars. . .jet trails drawn by Air Force warplanes. Montana and North Dakota are the only two states in our 50 that are No. 1 Soviet targets. . .because their land is armed with Anti-Ballistic Missiles, and U.S. soldiers must stay alert to defend the U.S. against attack by intercontinental missiles with atomic warheads that Russia may launch any moment. . .when the Kremlin feels detente has lulled us off guard. Only in the Montana wilderness have I heard the sonic BOOM's sudden reminder of the ominous world science and technology have created. . .with no little help from unrealistic political thinking and snailish action by the governments and media of the NATO allies. \* \* \*

\* \* \*I had read in Montana of the dangerous uncertainties about our Azores base. We still need to fear that, when the crunch comes in the Mideast, we may not be free to use the base that proved decisive in the 1973 confrontation. Montana and North Dakota will then be our front line, more than now. But the people in the other 48 States and in our NATO allies have no cause to fear that the Governments of Montana and North Dakota --independent in all State affairs--will bar use of U.S. bases there. They will not defect for they are bound to the U.S. not by alliance but by Federal Union.

Such is the double urgency now of the Atlantic convention to explore whether we and our allies can agree our goal is a . . ."more effective unity based on federal principles."\* \* \*  
The time gained by each time-gainer since 1948 was not only mis-used; it has grown shorter, and shorter. Now it may be only a few months, as regards financial default in New York or military default in the Azores, and the Iberian peninsula.

If this committee, and Congress, uses it to enact this resolution, we can turn Congress's hesitations for 26 years to explore the federal answer into an asset. How? Because it reflects how important this matter is to Congress. If Congress enacts it now, the impact psychologically on our democratic allies, and on all the world--especially Portugal, the Mideast, Russia--will be greater, the most healthy we can hope for.\* I pray that we use this time to explore, at least (and at last) the most time-tested, democratic and effective way of uniting democratic countries militarily, monetarily, politically, morally--the way based on our own federal principles.

CHM. FASCLL: "Certainly your earlier (1948) words were prophetic. I agree with the sense of urgency you transmit. I appreciate the fact that you support the resolution, though it doesn't go as far as you would like it to go. As you point out, it is strictly exploratory."

NOTES: The printed 6,000-word 1948 Streit statement may be had for 50¢ postpaid from IMAU Suite 402, 1736 Columbia Rd., D.C. 20009. The wife of Maj.Gen. W.I. Miller, present then, wrote next day: "These thoughts will be root. . . No one who heard you will be quite the same again. No one could help but notice the stillness afterward. We were carried out of our smallness, even the smallest of us." \*For more on "Why Atlantic Union would prevent lastingly another crash--and passing this bill would begin the undoing", ask Bill for free reprinted copy, (and headed, free Streit statement at 71 Bob's hearing on this bill.



# We Americans have never yet reached the limits of our power

in any field. We never know the tenth of what we can easily do until some leader who has faith in us raises our sights toward what the task really requires.

That has already been proved in air power, naval power, land power, productive power, atomic power—in every important field save one,—the one where our sights have not as yet been raised,—the moral-political field. Here alone our generation has done nothing breath-taking. Yet it is in this field that our greatest genius lies. Here our forefathers wrought America's mightiest achievement...the United States itself.

In naval, land, productive and scientific power we were long behind other countries, and have only recently forged to the front. But we have

never been behind others in the moral-political field of freedom and union. We have been the leaders in it ever since the United States began 160 years ago, through the discovery of the great principle of Freedom through Federal Union of the Free.

For us Americans to lead a dozen democracies to form an organic union now as Virginia led a dozen free states to do in 1787 would be an epochal achievement. Yet necessity demands nothing less from us. And we can achieve this wonder, too, if only we will raise our sights up to what we need to do in the field where our greatest genius lies.

