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achieve stipulated goals. Any calculation of the stakes involved in the present North-South confrontation which measures those stakes solely in terms of Southern "demands" and Northern "concessions" runs the risk of overly discounting the longer-term cooperative patterns which might well result from a constructive handling of the upcoming dialogue.

If an exercise in measuring the probable costs of U.S. policy responses to continued deadlock is undertaken, the results may do more to deflate the rhetoric presently characterizing the approaches of both the U.S. and the Group of 77 than any other form of preparation. And that might not be a bad prelude to a constructive negotiation. For while neither the United States nor the Group of 77 can guarantee the success of the upcoming conferences which will begin in New York in September of 1975, either party can guarantee a failure if it so chooses. Given the potential costs of continued deadlock, that is both a sobering thought and a heavy responsibility.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> In this essay the term "North" is used as a shorthand description of the world's "developed" or "industrialized" countries; the term "South" encompasses the "less developed" countries, ranging from the newly rich but nonindustrialized members of OPEC to the poorest and "least developed" countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

<sup>2</sup> Branislav Gosovic, *UNCTAD: Conflict and Compromise* (Leiden, Holland: A.W. Sijthoff, 1972), p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> See "The Dakar Declaration," Conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials (Dakar, Senegal, February 4-8, 1975), U.N. Doc. TD/B/C.1/L.45., February 17, 1975.

<sup>4</sup> See *Report of the Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization* (Lima, Peru, March 12-26, 1975), U.N. Doc. ID/CONF. 3/31, May 30, 1975.

<sup>5</sup> Certainly not all demands fit this characterization. Particularly in the trade field, many demands are for systemic reforms which would increase the efficiency of global resource allocation and, in so doing, increase Southern growth opportunities.

<sup>6</sup> For a fuller discussion of these issues, see Guy F. Erb, "Trade Initiatives and Resource Bargaining," in James W. Howe and the staff of the Overseas Development Council, *The U.S. and the Developing World: Agenda for Action, 1975* (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1975), pp. 87-104.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of the shortcomings of the present distribution of the IMF's Special Drawing Rights, see James W. Howe, *Special Drawing Rights and Development: \$10 Billion for Whom?* Development Paper No. 9 (Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1972). Reprinted from *Foreign Policy*.

<sup>8</sup> For a particularly lucid discussion of the inconclusiveness of the empirical evidence in two major areas of North-South controversy, see Robert O. Keohane and Van Doorn Ooms, "The Multinational Firm and International Regulation" and Charles R. Frank, Jr., and Mary Baird, "Foreign Aid: Its Speckled Past and Future Prospects," *International Organization*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Winter 1975).

<sup>9</sup> Individual Southern countries, especially those which are resource rich and have large internal markets, may make major gains without any Southern solidarity. But the developing world as a whole can make major gains only through systemic reforms. In order to achieve such reforms, a great deal of "Southern solidarity" will be needed in a series of international negotiating arenas.

<sup>10</sup> OPEC commitments to the developing countries approximated \$8 billion in 1974; disbursements probably exceeded \$2.5 billion.

<sup>11</sup> For an excellent analysis of major problems relating to rural-sector development see

William R. Cline, "Policy Instruments for Rural Income Redistribution" (Paper delivered at the Conference on Income Distribution in the Developing Countries, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., September 1974).

<sup>12</sup> Some of these new facilities are in operation; others are still being negotiated. Furthermore, some of them—for instance, the Third Window of the World Bank—would prove more beneficial to the middle range of developing countries than the poorest, since an interest rate in the range of 4 per cent would be charged on Third Window loans. But even such new sources of borrowing for the middle-range developing countries would help to assure that only the least developed countries would be eligible for the most concessional financing, e.g., funds provided by the International Development Association (IDA).

<sup>13</sup> Even this lending has been concentrated in a few Southern countries.

<sup>14</sup> Report of the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System, *A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Co-operation*, U.N. Doc. E/AC.62/9, May 28, 1975.

<sup>15</sup> C. Fred Bergsten, "The Response to the Third World," *Foreign Policy*, No. 17 (Winter 1974-75), pp. 14-15.

## ON NATURAL GAS PRICES

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. President, at every turn we are told that the President, the regulatory agencies, and the gas and oil industry demand the deregulation of natural gas. President Ford announces that there will be a shortage of gas this winter, and it gets front-page headlines.

These cries of shortage are reported as fact. Yet there is another side which says that the shortage is really curtailment by an industry interested only in increasing its revenues. Even limited investigations have cast serious doubt on the truthfulness of the gas industry's reports of actual reserves. This side of the story gets little coverage, and a discouraged public is left to believe that no one is willing to protect them against the greed of the gas industry. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a brief letter to the New York Times which makes clear the public's need for a regulated natural gas industry be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, July 20, 1975]

## ON NATURAL GAS PRICES

TO THE EDITOR:

Recently, The Times published reports indicating that eleven major producers of natural gas and the American Gas Association may have deliberately underreported natural gas reserves. Representative John E. Moss's House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations has produced evidence that some natural gas producers may have deliberately withheld natural gas supplies from the interstate market. If nothing else, these reports indicate that there is no truth to the Ford Administration's claims that the natural gas shortage has been caused by "artificially low prices" set by the F.P.C.

There is, however, evidence to indicate that the major oil companies which control most of the nation's natural gas reserves and which stand to reap billions of dollars in profits if gas is deregulated, have the ability to constrain gas supplies, create the appear-

ance of a shortage and pressure Congress to approve deregulation.

Because the industry is not workably competitive, a fact affirmed by the Supreme Court, a decision to deregulate prices will mean higher prices for consumers with no guarantee of increased supplies. Under the Natural Gas Act, the F.P.C. is required to set a "just and reasonable" price which compensates producers for all their costs including a 15 per cent rate of return. Neither the Administration nor the gas producers have been able to explain why such a rate is insufficient.

Producers know that shortages cause hardships among people who work in industries dependent on interruptable natural gas supplies. The industry hopes that consumers will begin telling their representatives that getting gas supplies is more important than maintaining lower prices. Any legislator, however, who buys this argument capitulates to the kind of arbitrary economic and political power made famous by OPEC.

The solution to the problem of natural gas supply and price is to maintain cost-based regulation. The Congress must also bring the unregulated intrastate market under F.P.C. regulation. More importantly, before any further pricing decisions are made, the Congress must have access to information (on reserves, production, costs, degree of competition) which is reliable and valid. Once in possession of accurate and reliable information, Congress can pass natural gas legislation which will protect consumers and assure producers of fair returns on their investments.

CHARLES F. WHEATLEY, JR.,  
General Counsel,  
American Public Gas Association.  
WASHINGTON, July 14, 1975.

## DADDY TUCKED THE BLANKET AROUND MAMA'S SHOULDERS. TEARS WERE DROPPING OFF HIS CHEEKS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I would like to take a few moments to call to the attention of my colleagues a forceful and moving article that recently appeared in the New York Times.

The article, "Daddy Tucked the Blanket Around Mama's Shoulders. Tears Were Dropping Off His Cheeks," written by Randall Williams appeared in the New York Times, July 10, 1975. Mr. Williams' article is a timely reminder of the special kind of suffering that poverty causes to children and their parents. It is a beautifully written article that conveys the unique pressures on children living in substandard conditions, and serves to put our Nation's economic problems into perspective.

I ask for unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DADDY TUCKED THE BLANKET AROUND MAMA'S SHOULDERS. TEARS WERE DROPPING OFF HIS CHEEKS

(By Randall Williams)

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

About the time I turned 16, my folks began to wonder why I didn't stay home any more. I always had an excuse for them, but what I didn't say was that I had found my freedom and I was getting out.

I went through four years of high school in semirural Alabama and became active in clubs and sports; I made a lot of friends and became a regular guy, if you know what I mean. But one thing was irregular about me:

I managed those four years without ever having a friend visit at my house.

I was ashamed of where I lived. I had been ashamed for as long as I had been conscious of class.

We had a big family. There were several of us sleeping in one room, but that's not so bad if you get along, and we always did. As you get older, though, it gets worse.

Being poor is a humiliating experience for a young person trying hard to be accepted. Even now—several years removed—it is hard to talk about. And I resent the weakness of these words to make you feel what it was really like.

We lived in a lot of old houses. We moved a lot because we were always looking for something just a little better than what we had. You have to understand that my folks worked harder than most people. My mother was always at home, but for her that was a full-time job—and no fun, either. But my father worked his head off from the time I can remember in construction and shops. It was hard, physical work.

I tell you this to show that we weren't shiftless. No matter how much money Daddy made, we never made much progress up the social ladder. I got out thanks to a college scholarship and because I was a little more articulate than the average.

I have seen my Daddy wrap copper wire through the soles of his boots to keep them together in the wintertime. He couldn't buy new boots because he had used the money for food and shoes for us. We lived like hell, but we went to school well-clothed with a full stomach.

It really is hell to live in a house that was in bad shape 10 years before you moved in. And a big family puts a lot of wear and tear on a new house, too, so you can imagine how one goes downhill if it is teetering when you move in. But we lived in houses that were sweltering in summer and freezing in winter. I woke up every morning for a year and a half with plaster on my face where it had fallen out of the ceiling during the night.

This wasn't during the depression; this was in the late 60's and early 70's.

When we boys got old enough to learn trades in school, we would try to fix up the old houses we lived in. But have you ever tried to paint a wall that crumbled when the roller went across it? And bright paint emphasized the holes in the wall. You end up more frustrated than when you began, especially when you know that at best you might come up with only enough money to improve one of the six rooms in the house. And we might move out soon after, anyway.

The same goes for keeping a house like that clean. If you have a house full of kids and the house is deteriorating, you'll never keep it clean. Daddy used to yell at Mama about that, but she couldn't do anything. I think Daddy knew it inside, but he had to have an outlet for his rage somewhere, and at least yelling isn't bad as hitting, which they never did to each other.

But you have a kitchen which has no counter space and no hot water, and you will have dirty dishes stacked up. That sounds like an excuse, but try it. You'll go mad from the sheer sense of futility. It's the same thing in a house with no closets. You can't keep clothes clean and rooms in order if they have to be stacked up with things.

Living in a bad house is generally worse on girls. For one thing, they traditionally help their mother with the housework. We boys could get outside and work in the field or cut wood or even play ball and forget about living conditions. The sky was still pretty.

But the girls got the pressure, and as they got older it became worse. Would they accept dates knowing they had to "receive" the young man in a dirty hallway with broken windows, peeling wallpaper and a cracked ceiling? You have to live it to understand it,

but it creates a shame which drives the soul of a young person inward.

I'm thankful none of us ever blamed our parents for this, because it could have crippled our relationships. As it worked out, only the relationship between our parents was damaged. And I think the harshness which they expressed to each other was just an outlet to get rid of their anger at the trap their lives were in. It ruined their marriage because they had no one to yell at but each other. I knew other families where the kids got the abuse, but we were too much loved for that.

Once I was about 16 and Mama and Daddy had had a particularly violent argument about the washing machine, which had broken down. Daddy was on the back porch—that's where the only water faucet was—trying to fix it and Mama had a washtub out there washing school clothes for the next day and they were screaming at each other.

Later that night everyone was in bed and I heard Daddy get up from the couch where he was reading. I looked out from my bed across the hall into their room. He was standing right over Mama and she was already asleep. He pulled the blanket up and tucked it around her shoulders and just stood there and tears were dropping off his cheeks and I thought I could faintly hear them splashing against the linoleum rug.

Now they're divorced.

I had courses in college where housing was discussed, but the sociologists never put enough emphasis on the impact living in sub-standard housing has on a person's psyche. Especially children's.

Small children have a hard time understanding poverty. They want the same things children from more affluent families have. They want the same things they see advertised on television, and they don't understand why they can't have them.

Other children can be incredibly cruel. I was in elementary school in Georgia—and this is interesting because it is the only thing I remember about that particular school—when I was about eight or nine.

After Christmas vacation had ended, my teacher made each student describe all his or her Christmas presents. I became more and more uncomfortable as the privilege passed around the room toward me. Other children were reciting the names of the dolls they had been given, the kinds of bicycles and the grandeur of their games and toys. Some had lists which seemed to go on and on for hours.

It took me only a few seconds to tell the class that I had gotten for Christmas a belt and a pair of gloves. And then I was laughed at—because I cried—by a roomful of children and a teacher. I never forgave them, and that night I made my mother cry when I told her about it.

In retrospect, I am grateful for that moment, but I remember wanting to die at the time.

#### THE MORMON FAITH

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I wish to speak for a moment on this day simply as a member of the Mormon faith. Today, July 24, is an important date in the history of our church, on this day 128 years ago, a tired and somewhat ragged band of pilgrims, weary of persecution and looking only for the freedom to worship as they wished, entered the Salt Lake Valley.

Those early Mormons were, as their descendants remain today, typical Americans in their courage, dedication, spiritual strength, and their sense of community. Like other Americans who came before and after them, they came through hardship to a promised land and with their labor made it bloom. Now, as

I am sure Senators know, the Mormon faith, the teachings of Joseph Smith, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is no longer confined to the American West, nor even to the United States. Mormon missionaries have carried and now carry the spirit and strength of this uniquely American religious faith throughout the world.

Coming from that promised western land to which the Mormon pioneers trekked with such hardship so many years ago—a land that is prosperous now beyond their wildest dreams, I am honored to bring to you this brief reminder of their survival and success.

I know Senators will join me in paying tribute to their memory and to the distinctively American qualities of faith and courage embodied in the Mormon religion and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

#### JAMES A. FARLEY

Mr. EAGLETON. Mr. President, we live in the post-Watergate era in which the word "politician" is suspect and by reason thereof each of us as practitioners of the art of politics is suspect.

As Members of the Senate, we have a moral as well as a selfish responsibility to do what we can to cleanse the stigma attached to our profession.

Fortunately we are not alone in this effort. Other men and women of pre-eminent ability and respectability by their thoughts and habits are laboring in the same cause. One of those is the great Jim Farley of New York.

The record and accomplishments of this remarkable man are known to everyone in this body. Recently Jim Farley visited my State. I should like to share with my colleagues an article from the Kansas City Times of June 14, 1975, which describes the Farley visit to Kansas City. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Kansas City Times, June 14, 1975]  
JAMES A. FARLEY—THE COMPLEAT DEMOCRAT  
(By Repps B. Hudson)

What it comes to political tycoons, James A. Farley was one of the biggest.

A party loyalist since casting his first ballot in 1909 and former Democratic national committee chairman, Farley has shaken hands with more American political history than the mind can imagine.

He was Franklin D. Roosevelt's confidant and campaign manager in 1932 and 1936, his postmaster general from 1933 until 1940 and served as party disciplinarian.

Now raconteur of party vignettes and distant observer of Democratic affairs, Farley has a solid reputation as a political soothsayer. In 1936 he accurately predicted that only two states would go for F.D.R.'s opponent: in 1972 he said Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) would be smothered in the worst landslide since 1936.

Farley, 87, is here to attend the wedding today of a granddaughter at Christ the King Catholic Church, 8510 Wornall. In his room yesterday at the Hotel Muehlebach he was asked to talk about his party's immediate future.

He generally is not too excited about the array of presidential hopefuls in the party