

KISSINGER URGES POOLED EFFORTS IN ENERGY CRISIS

By Bernard Gwertzman Special to The New York Times

Dec. 13, 1973

[CITATION: Henry Kissinger. (Dec. 12, 1973). Kissinger urges pooled efforts in Energy Crisis at Pilgrims Society London dinner. By Bernard Gwertzman (Dec. 13, 1973). The New York Times.]



See the article in its original context from December 13, 1973, Page 1 Following



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PILGRIMS SOCIETY SIDEBAR TRANSCRIPTION

The New York Times, Dec. 13, 1973

Pilgrims Society Seeks U.S.-British Friendship

Special in The New York Times

LONDON, Dec. 12 [1973] - The Pilgrims Society, where Secretary Kissinger spoke tonight, has been fostering British-American friendship since 1902, when it was founded to "promote good relations" between Britain and the United States.

Among its founders were Lindsey Russell of New York and Sir Harry Brittain of London, now as centenarian and a frequent and valued speaker at the society's annual dinners here. [Editor: This article very evidently omitted that the Robber barons J.P. Morgan (Rothschild mentored), Lord Rothschild, Henry de Worms 1st Baron Pirbright (Rothschild), Andrew Carnegie, Elihu Root, Lord Rosebery, Harry Levy Lawson, Lord Burnham, W.T. Stead, Herbert Asquith, Guglielmo Marconi, Lord Northcliffe, Philip Whitwell Wilson (Vladimir Lenin handler), Viscount Milner and Winston Churchill, David Lloyd George, were more prominent founders, among others too numerous to review here. This article is evident misdirection and underreporting so as not to associate Secretary Kissinger with the "new world order" agenda of the Pilgrims Society's more prominent founders.]

There are American and British chapters and the society's dinners are held in London and New York.

The Pilgrims' first dinner in 1903 was held in London. Chauncey Depew addressed it and Field Marshall Earl Roberts, the British Boer War commander, also among the founders, attended.

The society's presidents have usually been ambassadors. Members and guests are diplomats, high-ranking soldiers or other men of distinction in many fields.

LONDON, Dec, 12—Secretary of State Kissinger proposed tonight that the United States, Europe, Canada and Japan join in a united effort to attack the world energy problem for the long term and transform the current energy crisis into “the economic equivalent of the Sputnik challenge of 1957.”

In an address in London, Mr. Kissinger specifically called for the creation of an “energy action group” of “senior and prestigious individuals” to develop within three months an initial action program “for collaboration in all areas of the energy problem.”

Text of Kissinger's address is printed on Page 28.

“The producing nations should be invited to join” the action group from the beginning, he said, “with respect to matters of common interest.”

Europeans Criticized

On European-American political questions, Mr. Kissinger criticized what he saw as the failure of Europeans to consult fully with the United States—a complaint often made in reverse about Washington's behavior toward its allies—and said the trend toward European political unity, while, supported by America in principle, tended “to highlight division rather than unity with us.”

But he stressed—in advance of a crucial Common Market summit meeting in Copenhagen on Friday and Saturday—that the United States was “determined to continue a constructive dialogue with Western Europe.”

He said: “We have offered no final answers; we welcome Europe's wisdom. We believe this opportunity will not come soon again. So let us rededicate ourselves to finishing the task of renewing the Atlantic community.”

Mr. Kissinger made several references to the long-standing ties between the United States and Britain.

He took note of Britain's joining the Common Market and said she was “in a unique position” to make “another historic contribution in helping develop between the United States and a unifying Europe the same special evidence of intimacy that benefited our two nations for decades.”

“We are prepared to offer a unifying Europe a special relationship' for we believe that the unity of the Western world is essential for the well-being of all its parts,” he said, alluding to the fact that for years Britain and the United States had what was often called a “special relationship.”

The Secretary saved his proposal for the energy group for the end of his speech.

He said that the energy action group “would have as its goal the assurance of required energy supplies at reasonable cost.”

“It would define broad principles of cooperation, and it would initiate action in specific areas,” he said. He then listed the following goals:

- ¶ To conserve energy through more rational use of existing supplies.
- ¶ To encourage the discovery and development of new sources of energy.
- ¶ To give producers an incentive to increase supply.
- ¶ To coordinate an international program of research to develop new technologies that use energy more efficiently and provide alternatives to petroleum.

“The United States is prepared to make a very major financial and intellectual contribution to the objective of solving the energy problem on a common basis,” Mr. Kissinger said.

“There is no technological problem that the great democracies do not have the capacity to solve together,” he said, “if they can muster the will and the imagination.”

Referring to America's response to the Soviet launching of the first space satellite — a response that produced the historic first step on the moon in 1969 — Mr. Kissinger said:

“The energy crisis of 1973 should become the economic equivalent of the Sputnik challenge of 1957. The outcome can be the same. Only this time, the giant step for mankind will be one that America and its closest partners take together for the benefit of all mankind.”

Envoy Gives Kissinger His Nobel Peace Prize

LONDON, Dec. 12 (UPI)—Thomas R. Byrne, the United States Ambassador to Norway, today presented to Secretary of State Kissinger the Nobel Peace Prize he accepted on Mr. Kissinger's behalf in ceremonies Monday in Oslo.

Secretary Kissinger was unable to attend the Oslo ceremony because of his current talks with European leaders and his projected Middle East tour beginning tomorrow.

There has been criticism of the award, conferred jointly on Mr. Kissinger and Le Duc Tho of North Vietnam for their efforts to negotiate a cease-fire in Vietnam, because the accord has not ended the hostilities. About 500 Norwegian students demonstrated outside Oslo University Monday as King Olav V of Norway was presenting the award for Mr. Kissinger.

Mr. Kissinger was the guest at a dinner of the Pilgrims, a prestigious all-male British-American society.

Lord Harlech, former, Ambassador to the United States, praised Mr. Kissinger's energy initiative as “a very important statement for the Western world.”

The Secretary was introduced to the black-tie audience of 500 by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the British Foreign Secretary, who assured him that “the common interests and feelings of Europe and the United States are vastly more important and enduring than the occasional friction” within the alliance.

Leaves Today for Mideast

Mr. Kissinger, who arrived in London last night after smoothing some of the strains with allied officials in Brussels, leaves tomorrow on the Middle East phase of his current trip.

Algeria was added to his itinerary today and he will meet for a few hours tomorrow morning with her President, Houari Boumediene, on the way to Cairo.

The proposal for the energy action group, while unexpected, parallels similar, but largely fruitless American efforts in recent years to galvanize action within the framework of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, an international organization formed in 1961 to achieve high economic growth for its 23 member countries.

Mr. Kissinger's plan, however, comes at a time of heightened world interest in energy problems caused by the

Middle East war, and will probably arouse much more interest than past American suggestions.

The Secretary devoted much of the speech to a detailed discussion of the problems and prospects for American-European relations.

At times, his remarks seemed aimed at refuting European arguments about American intentions, and at other times, at reassuring the Europeans about Washington's policies.

Kissinger Is Frank

Throughout, his approach was frank, similar to his speech in New York last April when he created a stir in Europe by calling for "a new Atlantic charter" to redefine the goals of the alliance in light of the changes in Europe and America since the early postwar years when a weak Europe was dependent on the United States for protection and assistance.

Among the points made were the following:

¶The United States welcomes the trend toward European unity as long as it strengthened the alliance, but Mr. Kissinger criticized the Common Market political machinery for failing to take account of American concerns and not permitting enough consultation with the United States before decisions were made.

¶The United States has at times not consulted adequately with its European allies, but what is crucial is not so much the consultative machinery, but a “common vision and shared goals,” the intangibles that form “the real sinews” of the alliance.

¶The United States has no intention of restricting Europe's international role to regional matters; rather, unification should allow Europe to take on “broader responsibilities for global peace.”

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¶The United States feels that affirmation of American-European interdependence in economic, political and military affairs was the justification “for conciliatory solutions” at the highest political levels and maintaining the presence of United States troops was not used as “a device for blackmail” in the economic and political areas.

Mr. Kissinger also took note of the meeting in Copenhagen this weekend of leaders of the Common Market nations.

He said he wanted the Europeans to know that the United States favored détente with the Soviet Union, but not at the price of undermining “the friendships which made détente possible.”

On the question of mutual defense, he said that the allies must share the burdens and must define the kind of security “that our peoples can support and that our adversaries will respect in a period of lessened tensions.”

He stressed that the United States wanted to continue a “constructive dialogue” with Western Europe, including the completion of the declarations of principles that have been worked on for several months both within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and between the Common Market and the United States.

Sir Alec, in his remarks, told Mr. Kissinger that “if you ever had any fear that Europe seeks a position halfway between the Communist powers and the United States—dismiss it.”

“We are not a third force,” he said. “We are a second force on your side.”

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE CITY EDITION

Weather: Cloudy today; rain likely tonight. Clearing, mild tomorrow. Temp. range today 31-46; Wed. 32-49. Additional details on Page 94

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KISSINGER URGES POOLED EFFORTS IN ENERGY CRISIS

In London, He Asks Europe, U.S., Canada and Japan for Long-Term Solution

'ACTION GROUP' PLANNED

Secretary Says Washington Will Continue Its Dialogue With Atlantic Allies

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

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Representative Wilbur D. Mills, right, chairman, and Senator Russell B. Long, vice chairman of the panel looking into the President's taxes, after yesterday's meeting.

Plan for Allocating Fuels Outlined by Energy Office

By EDWARD COWAN

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12—The Administration outlined today a tentative master plan for allocating scarce supplies of fuel this winter.

Priorities were awarded to essential community services, such as fire-fighting and health care, to farming, manufacturing, passenger and freight transportation, delivery of mail and the production of energy, especially fuel for electric utilities.

"This is not rationing," said William E. Simon, the Government's new energy chief, "but rather a system to insure equitable distribution at the wholesale level."

Mr. Simon gave no hint as to how the Administration was likely to resolve the gasoline-rationing issue. Its self-imposed deadline for a decision is the end of this month.

Meanwhile, the House of Representatives voted tonight to require approval by Congress of any energy conservation plans that the Administration devises to head off gasoline rationing. The vote to retain Congressional oversight of the Administration's energy proposals was a strong rebuff for the President. [Page 26.]

As the White House said last month, the program contemplates a reduction in the availability of gasoline. Officials said that the shortage at the pump would be 15 to 25 per cent compared to "normal."

They said that a good part of the shortage of gasoline and diesel fuel had already occurred and brought with it long lines of cars at filling stations,

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TAX PANEL PLANS COMPLETE REVIEW OF NIXON RETURNS

Congressional Unit Extends Its Inquiry Beyond 2 Areas Specified by President

By EILEEN SHANAHAN

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12—The Congressional Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation decided today to look into every aspect of President Nixon's tax returns for the years of his Presidency, not just the two items that Mr. Nixon asked the committee to review.

Committee members agreed, at a two-hour closed meeting, that it would be impossible to review part of a tax return, according to Representative Wilbur D. Mills, Democrat of Arkansas, the chairman. He noted that the committee ordinarily looked at an entire tax return if it looked at any part.

Mr. Nixon asked the committee to review only two matters: Whether he was right in not declaring a taxable capital gain on the 1970 sale of some land in San Clemente, Calif., and whether he made a gift of his Vice-Presidential papers to the National Archives before a change in the law in mid-1969 that ended the tax advantage from such gifts.

Could Owe \$267,000

Mr. Nixon's attorneys have calculated that he could owe as much as \$267,000 in back Federal income taxes if the committee decided he was wrong on both points. Mr. Nixon has pledged to pay whatever back taxes, if any, the committee decides he owes.

Whether any problem could develop between the White House and the committee because of the committee's decision to look at every aspect of the Nixon tax returns was not clear.

Mr. Mills made public a letter written to him by the President, dated last Saturday, in which Mr. Nixon pledged the "full cooperation" of his office with the committee and "full access to all relevant documents."

But the letter made clear that Mr. Nixon was expecting the committee to inquire into only the two specific items he requested.

Undecided on Hearings

The committee has subpoena powers, but members said they hoped not to have to use them.

The committee has not yet decided whether it will hold hearings, but Mr. Mills said that hearings might be necessary because "there are facts in dispute."

So far as is now known, the factual disputes revolve mainly around the gift of the Presidential papers. The issues include such matters as whether the donated papers were designated and given before the July 25, 1969, deadline, or were merely being stored by the Archives as a courtesy.

Without judging the factual issues, Mr. Mills criticized the President for taking the deduction in the first place, even if it was legal.

"I think a public official who files a tax return has to be holier-than-thou," he said. "Frankly, had I been the President's attorney, I would have advised him not to take the deduction."

Mayor-elect Abraham D. The committee instructed its

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DURYEY AND G.O.P. LEADER OF ASSEMBLY ARE INDICTED ON VOTE-SIPHONING COUNT

Anglicans and Catholics Reach Accord on Ministry

By EDWARD B. FISKE

An international commission of Anglican and Roman Catholic scholars announced yesterday that it had reached "basic agreement" on the nature of the priesthood and the ministry of laymen.

The declaration, which in effect resolves a 400-year-old theological dispute between the two traditions, came in the form of a 3,200-word document that was released with the approval of Pope Paul VI and the Most Rev. Arthur Michael Ramsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Its publication is regarded as a major ecumenical advance since it provides a theological rationale for Catholics to recognize the validity of Anglican priests to administer the sacraments. It is thus seen as an important step toward the

legitimizing of intercommunion, or the sharing of the eucharist, among Catholics and Anglicans.

The Rt. Rev. John E. Pines, presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, and the Rt. Rev. John M. Allen, who will succeed him in June, issued a joint statement calling the accord a "major milestone in the long journey toward reconciliation of our two churches."

The Most Rev. William W. Baum, the spokesman for the American Catholic hierarchy on ecumenical affairs, said yesterday that the accord represents "an important contribution to the whole movement for Christian unity."

The statement was drawn up by the 21-member Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, a group of theologians, historians and biblical scholars that was established

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KINGSTON IS CITED

Rockefeller and Wilson Rally to the Support of the Speaker

By MARY BRISTED

Assembly Speaker Perry E. Duryea and the Assembly Republican Majority leader, John J. Kingston, were indicted yesterday by a Manhattan grand jury investigating an alleged Republican vote-siphoning scheme.

Governor Rockefeller and Lieut. Gov. Malcolm Wilson immediately rallied to Mr. Duryea's support.

Republican politicians, lawyers and sources close to the investigation said that six persons had been indicted on charges of having violated at least two sections of the elec-

tion law dealing with conspiracy and improper identification of campaign literature.

Other targets of the grand jury investigation, said to be focused on a group of Mr. Duryea's staff members, were Assemblyman Alfred A. Delll Bovio of Queens;

James Thrupp, the Speaker's director of communications; Henry A. Mund Jr., his executive assistant, and I. Lynn Maeller, special assistant to the Speaker.

How Scheme Worked

The investigation has centered on an alleged scheme for Republicans to support Liberal Party candidates secretly in order to drain off votes that might otherwise go to Democrats in marginal Assembly districts throughout the state.

A spokesman for Mr. Duryea acknowledged the indictment and said that the Speaker had "never individually or in concert with others participated in an effort to commit any violation of the election law."

It was learned that Harold L. Fisher, a Brooklyn Democrat and a member of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, would be one of Mr. Duryea's lawyers.

Mr. Fisher, who is also an election law expert, said that the Speaker would seek "immediate disposition" of the case and was "confident of full and total exoneration."

Edwin M. Schwenz, Suffolk County Republican leader, issued a statement in Mr. Duryea's name.

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Rockefeller to Keep 4 of His Top Aides

By FRANK LYNN

Four of Governor Rockefeller's top state aides will remain with him to work on the National Commission on Critical Choices for Americans and to form the nucleus of a Presidential campaign staff.

The Governor himself will also devote nearly full time to the commission work, according to his aides, but will keep his hand in Presidential campaign politics with frequent appearances out of state at political dinners and in next fall's Congressional and gubernatorial campaigns.

This type of politicking—as

Continued on Page 38, Column 2

CON EDISON SEEKS 22% RATE INCREASE

By GENE SMITH

The Consolidated Edison Company asked the Public Service Commission yesterday for permission to raise electric rates by 22.6 per cent over the next two years.

It also asked for approval of a new "conservation adjustment," amounting to a 6.67 per cent increase over the two years, to make up for the expected reduction of electricity revenues from energy conservation programs.

The utility estimated that its average New York City residential customer, who uses 250 kilowatt hours a month, would have to pay \$19.20 a month instead of \$14.97 if both increases were granted. The company said the increases, including the conservation surcharge, would amount to 14 cents a day.

Lucas Details Proposal

Charles F. Lucas, chairman of Con Edison said the actual rate increase being sought would amount to \$314.8-million or an average of 22.6 per cent over the two years. He added that the company was asking that \$150.2-million of the total, or an average of 10.8 per cent, be granted no later than next April 1 as a temporary increase, subject to refund.

The company's requests cannot be acted upon until further hearings are held and no date for such hearings has been set by the regulatory agency.

After learning of the latest Con Edison rate filing, Mayor Lindsay called on the State Legislature and the City Council to start inquiries into the utility's operations.

"The rubber-stamp procedures of the Public Service Commission," he said, "are woefully inadequate to deal with the current energy crisis and the technological improvements needed to provide an adequate and reliable supply of electricity."

Mayor-elect Abraham D. The committee instructed its

Continued on Page 26, Column 6

Soviet Plan for 1974 Promises Faster Rise in Consumer Sector

By HEDRICK SMITH

MOSCOW, Dec. 12—The Soviet leadership, signaling continuing interest in reduction of East-West tensions, disclosed today a scaled-down economic plan for 1974 that promises increased growth in the consumer sector and a slight cutback in the formal military budget.

Over-all, the economic reports—publicly presented to the Supreme Soviet after secret approval yesterday by the Communist party's Central Committee—showed Soviet economic growth still lagging considerably short of the goals of the five-year plan despite a bumper harvest that was even larger than originally reported.

The first three years of the

five-year plan, taken together, showed only three-quarters of the growth that the Soviet leadership had planned. There were also indications that production of oil and natural gas were again running behind schedule this year, though no precise

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'Mad Bomber,' Now 70, Goes Free Today

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

George Metesky, the one-time "Mad Bomber," who for 16 years in the nineteen-forties and fifties terrorized the city with the explosives he set off in theaters, terminals, libraries and offices, is going home to Waterbury today.

After 17 years of incarceration as an insane criminal, the now 70-year-old polite and meticulous toolmaker, appeared in State Supreme Court yesterday to hear the scores of indictments against him dismissed. His custody was turned over to the State Department of Mental Hygiene, whose doctors have determined that he is harmless and can go home.

In an exclusive interview at Creedmoor State hospital on the eve of his freedom, Mr. Metesky insisted he had sworn violence but reaffirmed his old grudge against Consolidated Edison, a long-festering resentment that led him to his bombings, which in turned led to the longest and costliest manhunt in the history of the city's Police Department.

"I have no bitterness but I wanted to show up what was done to me," said Mr. Metesky, referring to the accident that occurred in May, 1931, while he was a \$37.50-a-week low-tension mechanic at the utility's Hellgate plant. He has al-

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George Metesky after charges against him were dismissed



Perry E. Duryea

Codd to Head Police Here; Cawley Planning to Resign

By MURRAY SCHUMACH

Michael J. Codd, a former Chief Inspector, was recalled from retirement yesterday by Mayor-elect Abraham D. Beame, who named him Police Commissioner to succeed Donald F. Cawley.

Mr. Beame's selection of the 57-year-old career officer for the \$42,355-a-year post came after discussions with law-enforcement officers and a meeting last weekend with Mr. Codd, the first time they had ever met.

Mr. Codd, while declining to give details about his plans for the Police Department last night, stressed the importance of the following points:

He said he would continue the policy of using more civilians to free policemen for patrol work. The policy was initiated by Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy, under whom Mr. Codd served as Chief Inspector. Commissioner Cawley also emphasized this policy.

He said he would use police teams in neighborhoods to counteract any unfounded or exaggerated beliefs that there might be more crime than actually occurs. He conceded that there was too much crime in the city.

In announcing his plan to resign soon, Commissioner Cawley

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Borrowing Planned to Save 35c Fare Pending U.S. Aid

By MAURICE CARROLL

City and state officials discussed a plan yesterday to save the city's 35-cent transit fare by borrowing enough money to tide over the Transit Authority until Federal legislation to aid mass transit is passed.

Estimates of the amount involved ranged from \$300-million, which would stabilize the fare through the end of 1974, down to \$100-million, which would provide a stop-gap sum for the first three months of next year.

The three-month plan both would get the Transit Authority past its labor negotiations and give the Legislature time to approve something more permanent. Under either approach, the city and state would each put up half the money.

Details of the package are expected to be made public after a meeting today of Governor Rockefeller, Lieut. Gov. Malcolm Wilson and Mayor-elect Abraham D. Beame. The session is scheduled for 3 P.M. in Governor Rockefeller's office here at 22 West 55th Street.

The need for the new money arose when voters rejected the \$3.5-billion transportation-bond issue last month.

Fares on commuter railroads run by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority also would

have been stabilized if the bond issue had passed. Politicians said yesterday it was likely that they would be included in the new plan, too, but no one would say exactly how.

Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Beame are said to have agreed on the principle that whatever money is fed into the transit system would be on a 50-50 basis.

The wisps of rumor emanating yesterday from both sides indicated that the state would borrow against the hoped-for passage of Federal aid legislation while the city might have some more elaborate fiscal devices in mind. The discovery of hidden money in budgets has been Mr. Beame's forte in his years as City Controller.

For the public record, Mr. Beame denied that he had discussed with the Governor any specific measures to save the fare. "He has no plan," insisted

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Alex Webster Resigns

Alex Webster, head coach of the New York Giants since 1969, announced his resignation yesterday, effective after Sunday's final game against the Minnesota Vikings. Details, Page 67.

Text of Address by Kissinger in London on Energy and European Problems

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12—Following is the text of an address by Secretary of State Kissinger to the Pilgrims, a British-American organization, in London today, as made public by the State Department.

I am grateful for the opportunity to speak to you this evening because, like most Americans, I am seized by a mixture of pride and terror when invited to appear before a British audience. In my particular case and without any reflection on this distinguished assemblage, it is probably more terror than pride for there is no blinking the fact—it is there for all to hear—that my forebears missed the Mayflower by some 300 years.

Our two peoples have been more closely associated than any other two nations in modern history—in culture and economics, in peace and in war. We have sometimes disagreed. But the dominant theme of our relationship in this century has been intimate alliance and mighty creations.

In 1950, while the Atlantic alliance was consolidating a continuing political body, my great predecessor Dean Acheson spoke to this society. Describing the travails of creation, Acheson noted that a "strange and confusing dissonance has crowded the trans-Atlantic frequencies." But he added that this "dissonance flows from the very awareness that difficult decisions must be made and is a part of the process of making them."

Again today America and Western Europe find themselves at a moment of great promise and evident difficulty—of renewed efforts to unite and old problems which divide. It is a time of both hope and concern for all of us who value the partnership we have built together. Today, as in 1950, we and Europe face the necessity, the urgency, the reality of fundamental choice.

Because we have an historical and intimate relationship, I want to speak tonight, frankly, of what has been called the "Year of Europe"—of the difficulties of 1973 and the possibilities of 1974 and beyond.

Last April, the President asked me to propose that Europe and the United States strive together to reinvigorate our partnership. He did so because it was obvious that the assumptions on which the alliance was founded have been outstripped by events.

Europe's economic strength, political cohesion, and new confidence—the monumental achievements of Western unity—have radically altered a relationship that was originally shaped in an era of European weakness and American predominance.

of their prosperity and their partnership. These historic changes were occurring in a profoundly changed psychological climate in the West. The next generation of leaders in Europe, Canada and America will have neither the personal memory nor the emotional commitment to the Atlantic alliance of its founders.

Even today, a majority on both sides of the Atlantic did not experience the threat that produced the alliance's creation or the sense of achievement associated with its growth. Even today, in the United States, over 40 Senators consistently vote to make massive unilateral reductions of American forces in Europe. Even today, some Europeans have come to believe that their identity should be measured by its distance from the United States.

On both sides of the Atlantic we are faced with the anomalous—and dangerous—situation which in the public mind identifies foreign policy success increasingly with relations with adversaries while relations with allies seem to be characterized by bickering and drift.

U.S. Intentions Explained There exists, then, a real danger of a gradual erosion of the Atlantic community, which for 23 years has insured peace to its nations and brought prosperity to its peoples. A major effort to renew Atlantic relations and to anchor our friendship in a fresh act of creation seems essential. We hoped that the drama of the great democracies engaging themselves again in defining a common future would infuse our Atlantic partnership with new emotional and intellectual excitement. This was the origin of the initiative which came to be called the "Year of Europe."

Let me lay to rest certain misconceptions about American intentions.

The President's initiative was launched after careful preparation. In all of our conversations with many European leaders during the winter and spring of 1972-73 there was agreement that Atlantic relations required urgent attention to arrest the potential for growing suspicion and alienation between Europe and America.

We do not accept the proposition that the strengthening of Atlantic unity and the defining of a European personality are incompatible. The two processes have reinforced each other from the outset and can continue to do so now. The United States has repeatedly and explicitly welcomed the European decision to create an independent identity in all dimensions—political and economic.

I would be less than frank were I to conceal our uneasiness about some of the recent practices of the European community in the political field. To present the decisions of a unifying Europe to us as faits accomplis not subject to effective discussion is alien to the tradition of U.S.-European relations.

This may seem a strange complaint from a country repeatedly accused of acting itself without adequately consulting with its allies. There is no doubt that the United States has sometimes not consulted enough or adequately—especially in rapid-

examination of all aspects of our relationship—economic, political, and military—is imperative. It is a fact that our troops are in Europe as a vital component of mutual defense. It is also a fact—indeed, a truism—that political, military and economic factors are each part of our relationship. In our view, the affirmation of the pervasive nature of our interdependence is not a device for blackmail. On the contrary, it is the justification for conciliatory solutions, for the specialized concerns of experts and technicians have a life of their own and a narrow national or sectarian bias. The purpose of our initiative—as to override these divisive attitudes by committing the highest authority in each country to the principle that our common and paramount interest is in broadly conceived cooperation.

Since last April Europe has made great strides toward unity—particularly in political coordination. The United States strongly supports that process. But as an old friend we are also sensitive to what this process does to traditional ties that in our view remain essential to the common interest.

Europe's unity must not be at the expense of Atlantic community, or both sides of the Atlantic will suffer. It is not that we are impatient with the cumbersome machinery of the emerging Europe. It is rather the tendency to highlight division rather than unity with us which concerns us.

Unusually Acknowledged I would be less than frank were I to conceal our uneasiness about some of the recent practices of the European community in the political field. To present the decisions of a unifying Europe to us as faits accomplis not subject to effective discussion is alien to the tradition of U.S.-European relations.



Secretary of State Kissinger speaking at dinner last night in London. He asked action on energy problems.

by moving situations, but this is not a preference; it is a deviation from official policy and established practice—usually under pressure of necessity. The attitude of the unifying Europe, by contrast, seems to attempt to elevate refusal to consult into a principle defining European identity. To judge from recent experience, consultation with us before a decision is precluded, and consultation after the fact has been drained of content. For then Europe appoints a spokesman who is empowered to inform us of the decisions taken but who has no authority to negotiate.

We do not object to a single spokesman but we do believe that as an old ally the United States should be given an opportunity to express its concerns before final decisions affecting its interests are taken, and bilateral channels of discussion and negotiation should not be permitted to atrophy—at least until European political unity is fully realized. To replace the natural dialogue with extremely formalistic procedures would be to shatter abruptly close and intangible ties of trust and communication that took decades to develop and that have served our common purposes well.

Problems of Transition The United States recognizes the problems of a transitional period as Europe moves toward unity. We understand the difficulty of the first hesitant steps of political coordination. But we cannot be indifferent to the tendency to justify European identity as facilitating separatism from the United States; European unity, in our view, is not contradictory to Atlantic unity.

For our part we will spare no effort to strengthen cooperative relationships with a unifying Europe, to affirm the community of our ideals and to revitalize the Atlantic relationship. That was the purpose of our initiative last April. It remains the central goal of our foreign policy.

The leaders of the European community meet this week. They will consider the nature of European identity;

no doubt they will adopt common policies and positions. In the light of this important meeting, let me outline the position of the United States.

Détente is an imperative. In a world shadowed by the danger of nuclear holocaust there is no rational alternative to the pursuit of relaxation of tensions. But we must take care that the pursuit of détente not undermine the friendships which made détente possible.

Common defense is a necessity. We must be prepared to adjust to changing conditions and share burdens equally. We need a definition of security that our peoples can support and that our adversaries will respect in a period of lessened tensions.

European unity is a reality. The United States welcomes and supports it in all its dimensions, political as well as economic. We believe it must be made irreversible and that it must strengthen trans-Atlantic ties.

Economic interdependence is a fact. We must resolve the paradox of growing mutual dependence and burgeoning national and regional identities.

Will Press Dialogue We are determined to continue constructive dialogue with Western Europe. We have offered no final answers; we welcome Europe's wisdom. We believe that this opportunity will not come soon again.

Let us rededicate ourselves to finishing the task of renewing the Atlantic community. First, let us complete the work before us; let us agree on a set of declarations equal to the occasion so that they may serve as an agenda for our governments and as an example and inspiration for our peoples.

Second, let us then transform these declarations into practical and perceptible progress. We will restore mutual confidence if our policies begin to reinforce rather than work against our common objectives. And let us move quickly to improve the process of consultation in both directions. The United States Government made concrete suggestions in this regard at the recent meeting of the foreign ministers in the North Atlantic Council.

A Unique Alliance But let us also remember that even the best consultative machinery cannot substitute for common vision and shared goals; it cannot replace the whole network of intangible connections that have been the real sinews of the trans-Atlantic and especially the Anglo-American relationship.

We must take care lest in defining European unity in too legalistic a manner we lose what has made our alliance unique: that in the deepest sense Europe and America do not think of each other as foreign entities conducting traditional diplomacy, but as members of a larger community engaged, sometimes painfully but ultimately always cooperatively, in a common enterprise.

The meeting to which the foreign ministers of the community were courteous enough to invite me marks a significant step forward in restoring the intangibles of the trans-Atlantic dialogue.

Let us put false suspicions behind us. The President did not fight so hard in Congress for our troops in Europe, for strong defenses, for a conciliatory trade bill, for sup-

port for allies around the world; he did not strive so continually to consult on SALT and develop common positions on M.B.F.R.; he did not stand up so firmly to challenges in crises around the world—suddenly to sacrifice Western Europe's security on the altar of condominium. Our destiny, as well as the full strength of our military power, is inextricably linked with yours.

New Challenges Ahead As we look into the future we can perceive challenges compared to which our recent disputes are trivial. A new international system is replacing the structure of the immediate postwar years. The external policies of China and the Soviet Union are in periods of transition. Western Europe is unifying. New nations seek identity and an appropriate role. Even now, economic relationships are changing more rapidly than the structures which nurtured them. We, Europe, Canada and America, have only two choices: creativity together or irrelevance apart.

The Middle East crisis illustrates the importance of distinguishing the long-range from the ephemeral. The differences of recent months resulted not so much from lack of consultation as from a different perception of three key issues: Was the war primarily a local conflict or did it have wider significance? Has the energy crisis been caused primarily by the war or does it have deeper causes? Can our common energy crisis be solved by anything but collective action?

As for the nature of the Middle East conflict, it is fair to state, as many Europeans including your Foreign Secretary have said, that the United States did not do all that it might have done before the war to promote a permanent settlement in the Middle East.

Once the war began, the United States demonstrated great restraint until the Soviet effort reached the point of massive intervention. Once that happened, it became a question of whether the West would retain any influence to help shape the political future of an area upon which Europe is even more vitally dependent than the United States. We involved ourselves in a resupply effort, not to take sides in the conflict but to protect the possibility of pursuing after the war the objective of a just, permanent settlement which some of our allies have urged on us ever since 1967.

Oil Crisis Is Chronic At the same time, we must bear in mind the deeper causes of the energy crisis: it is not simply a product of the Arab-Israeli war; it is the inevitable consequence of the explosive growth of worldwide demand outrunning the incentives for supply. The Middle East war made a crisis was coming in any event. Even when prewar production levels are resumed, the problem of matching the level of oil that the world produces to the level which it consumes will remain.

The only long-term solution is a massive effort to provide producers an incentive to increase their supply, to encourage consumers to use existing supplies more rationally and to develop alternate energy sources.

This is a challenge which the United States could solve alone with great difficulty and that Europe cannot solve in isolation at all. We strongly prefer and Europe requires a common enterprise.

To this end, the United States proposes that the nations of Europe, North America and Japan establish an energy action group of senior and prestigious individuals, with a mandate to develop within three months an initial action program for collaboration in all areas of the energy problem. We would leave it to the members of the group whether they prefer to participate as the European community.

Action Areas Outlined The group would have as its goal the assurance of required energy supplies at reasonable cost. It would define broad principles of cooperation, and it would initiate action in specific areas:

- To conserve energy through more rational utilization of existing supplies;
- To encourage the discovery and development of new sources of energy;
- To give producers an incentive to increase supply;
- To coordinate an international program of research to develop new technologies that use energy more efficiently and provide alternatives to petroleum.

The United Kingdom, we believe, is in a unique position. We welcome your membership in the European community—though the loosening of some of our old ties has been painful at times. But you can make another historic contribution in helping develop between the United States and a unifying Europe the same special evidence of intimacy that benefited our two nations for decades. We are prepared to offer a "special relationship," for we believe that the unity of the Western world is essential for the well-being of all its parts.

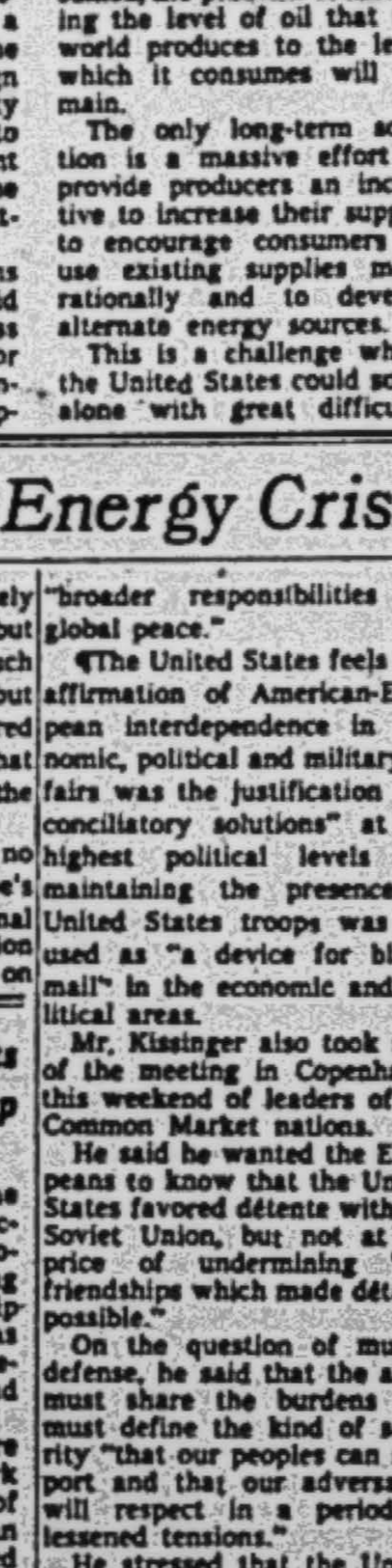
In his memoirs Secretary Acheson described the events of his visit to London in the spring of 1953. He described the need of his time for an "act of will, a decision to do something" at a crucial juncture.

We require another act of will—a determination to surmount tactical squabbles and legalistic preoccupations and to become the master of our destinies. We in this room are heirs to a rich heritage of trust and friendship. If we are true to ourselves, we have it in our power to extend it to a united Europe and to pass it on, further enriched and emboldened, to succeeding generations.

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Kissinger Urges Joint Action Toward Long-Term Solution of Energy Crisis

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1 historic contribution in helping develop between the United States and a unifying Europe the same special evidence of intimacy that benefited our two nations for decades.

"We are prepared to offer a unifying Europe a 'special relationship' for we believe that the unity of the Western world is essential for the well-being of all its parts," he said, alluding to the fact that for years Britain and the United States had what was often called a "special relationship."

The Secretary saved his proposal for the energy group for the end of his speech. He said that the energy action group "would have as its goal the assurance of required energy supplies at reasonable cost."

"It would define broad principles of cooperation, and it would initiate action in specific areas," he said. He then listed the following goals:

There is no technological problem that the great democracies do not have the capacity to solve together," he said, "if they can muster the will and the imagination."

Referring to America's response to the Soviet launching of the first space satellite—a response that produced the historic first step on the moon in 1969—Mr. Kissinger said: "The energy crisis of 1973 should become the economic equivalent of the Sputnik challenge of 1957. The outcome can be the same. Only this time, the giant step for mankind will be one that America and its closest partners take together for the benefit of all mankind."

Mr. Kissinger was the guest at a dinner of the Pilgrims, a prestigious all-male British-American society.

Lord Harlech, former Ambassador to the United States, praised Mr. Kissinger's energy initiative as "a very important statement for the Western world."

The Secretary was introduced to the black-tie audience of 500 by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the British Foreign Secretary, who assured him that "the common interests and feelings of Europe and the United States are vastly more important and enduring than the occasional friction within the alliance."

Leave Today for Mideast Mr. Kissinger, who arrived in London last night after smoothing some of the strains with allied officials in Brussels, leaves tomorrow on the Middle East phase of his current trip.

Algeria was added to his itinerary today and he will meet for a few hours tomorrow morning with her President, Houari Boumediene, on the way to Cairo.

The proposal for the energy action group, while unexecuted, parallels similar, but largely fruitless, American efforts in recent years to galvanize action within the framework of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, an international or-

ganization formed in 1961 to achieve high economic growth for its 23 member countries.

Mr. Kissinger's plan, however, comes at a time of heightened world interest in energy problems caused by the Middle East war, and will probably arouse much more interest than past American suggestions.

The Secretary devoted much of the speech to a detailed discussion of the problems and prospects for American-European relations.

At times, his remarks seemed aimed at refuting European arguments about American intentions, and at other times, at reassuring the Europeans about Washington's policies.

Kissinger Is Frank Throughout, his approach was frank, similar to his speech in New York last April when he created a stir in Europe by calling for "a new Atlantic charter" to redefine the goals of the alliance in light of the changes in Europe and America since the early postwar years when a weak Europe was dependent on the United States for protection and assistance.

Among the points made were the following:

The United States welcomes the trend toward European unity as long as it strengthened the alliance, but Mr. Kissinger criticized the Common Market political machinery for failing to take account of American concerns and not permitting enough consultation with the United States before decisions were made.

The United States has at times not consulted adequately with its European allies, but what is crucial is not so much the consultative machinery, but a "common vision and shared goals," the intangibles that form "the real sinews" of the alliance.

Pilgrims Society Seeks U.S.-British Friendship

broader responsibilities for global peace.

The United States feels that affirmation of American-European interdependence in economic, political and military affairs was the justification "for conciliatory solutions" at the highest political levels and maintaining the presence of United States troops was not used as "a device for blackmail" in the economic and political areas.

Mr. Kissinger also took note of the meeting in Copenhagen this weekend of leaders of the Common Market nations.

He said he wanted the Europeans to know that the United States favored détente with the Soviet Union, but not at the price of undermining "the friendships which made détente possible."

On the question of mutual defense, he said that the allies must share the burdens and must define the kind of security "that our peoples can support and that our adversaries will respect in a period of lessened tensions."

He stressed that the United States wanted to continue a "constructive dialogue" with Western Europe, including the completion of the declarations of principles that have been worked on for several months both within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and between the Common Market and the United States.

Sir Alec, in his remarks, told Mr. Kissinger that "if you ever had any fear that Europe seeks a position halfway between the Communist powers and the United States—dismiss it."

"We are not a third force," he said. "We are a second force on your side."

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