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The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, just at the time when it seems that the hard evidence is that Hanoi is hurting and really wants relief—I do not know how close, how near; I have no inside information, but the evidence is unmistakable that things are moving and the prospects are at least somewhat better—we are going to move in here with this amendment, if it is left as it is, without the slightest chance of this affecting or influencing Hanoi one iota.

Who really believes that this amendment, which is a restriction or an impediment on the President of the United States, is going to be persuasive with Hanoi to release these prisoners or to come to any other kind of terms? There has been talk about jubilation in the streets. The jubilation is going to be in the minds of those who are carrying the responsibility for the other side.

As I said earlier this afternoon, this puts the penalty, the handicap, on the wrong man, on the wrong group, on the wrong country. I say, with all deference to everyone, that to think that it is really going to do any good is just downright folly. To the contrary, if all this negotiating falls through and nothing can be done, the present President of the United States will have a chance to say, "If you had just kept quiet a little while"—I do not say he will say this—but just have a little more patience and a little more effort, all pulling together, and we will turn that tide. I know it is not the purpose of anyone to put our country at a disadvantage.

I hope that this amendment to strike will be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on this amendment has now expired.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. STENNIS).

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAMBRELL), the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. JORDAN), and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAMBRELL), and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN) would each vote "nay."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT) is absent because of illness.

The result was announced—yeas 46, nays 49, as follows:

[No. 302 Leg.]
YEAS—46

Alken	Byrd,	Fong
Allen	Harry F., Jr.	Goldwater
Allott	Byrd, Robert C.	Griffin
Anderson	Cooper	Gurney
Baker	Cotton	Hansen
Beall	Curtis	Hruska
Bellmon	Dole	Jackson
Bennett	Deminnick	Jordan, Idaho
Boggs	Eastland	Long
Brock	Ervin	McClellan
Buckley	Fannin	McGee

McIntyre
Miller
Packwood
Roth
Saxbe

Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Stennis
Taft

Thurmond
Tower
Weicker
Young

Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Proxmire
Randolph

Ribicoff
Schweiker
Spong
Stafford
Stevens
Stevenson

Symington
Talmadge
Tunney
Williams

NAYS—49

Bayh
Bentsen
Bible
Brooke
Burdick
Cannon
Case
Chiles
Church
Cook
Cranston
Eagleton
Fulbright
Gravel
Harris
Hart
Hartke

Hatfield
Hollings
Hughes
Humphrey
Inouye
Javits
Kennedy
Magnuson
Mansfield
Mathias
Metcalf
Mondale
Montoya
Moss
Muskie
Neilon
Pastore

Pearson
Pell
Percy
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Schweiker
Spong
Stafford
Stevens
Stevenson
Symington
Talmadge
Tunney
Williams

Aiken
Allen
Allott
Baker
Beall
Bellmon
Bennett
Boggs
Brock
Buckley
Byrd,
Harry F., Jr.
Byrd, Robert C.
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis

NAYS—46
Dole
Dominick
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Goldwater
Griffin
Gurney
Hansen
Hruska
Jackson
Jordan, Idaho
Long
McClellan
McGee

McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Packwood
Roth
Saxbe
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Stennis
Taft
Thurmond
Tower
Weicker
Young

NOT VOTING—5

Ellender
Gambrell

Jordan, N.C.
McGovern

Mundt

So Mr. STENNIS' amendment was rejected.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I move to lay that on the table.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. INOUE). The Senator will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, on a motion to table the motion to reconsider, those who favored the amendment would vote "no." Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This is a motion to table the motion to reconsider.

Mr. STENNIS. Will the Chair state the parliamentary situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This is a motion to table the motion to reconsider. Those desiring to lay that motion on the table will vote "yea."

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAMBRELL), the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. JORDAN), and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAMBRELL) would have voted "yea."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT) is absent because of illness.

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 46, as follows:

[No. 303 Leg.]
YEAS—49

Anderson	Cranston	Inouye
Bayh	Eagleton	Javits
Bentsen	Fulbright	Kennedy
Bible	Gravel	Magnuson
Brooke	Harris	Mansfield
Burdick	Hart	Mathias
Cannon	Hartke	Mondale
Case	Hatfield	Montoya
Chiles	Hollings	Moss
Church	Hughes	Muskie
Cook	Humphrey	Nelson

Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Proxmire
Randolph

NAYS—46
Dole
Dominick
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Goldwater
Griffin
Gurney
Hansen
Hruska
Jackson
Jordan, Idaho
Long
McClellan
McGee

McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Packwood
Roth
Saxbe
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Stennis
Taft
Thurmond
Tower
Weicker
Young

NOT VOTING—5

Ellender
Gambrell

Jordan, N.C.
McGovern

Mundt

So the motion to lay on the table the motion to reconsider the vote by which the Stennis amendment was rejected was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 13089) to provide for acceleration of programs for the planting of trees on national forest lands in need of reforestation, and for other purposes; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. FOLEY, Mr. BURLISON of Missouri, Mr. VIGORITO, Mr. TEAGUE of California, and Mr. KYL were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1972

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill (S. 3390) to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the end of the bill, add the following new section:

"ILLEGAL INTERNATIONAL NARCOTIC TRAFFIC STUDY

"Sec. 17. (a) It is the sense of the Congress that the control of illegal international narcotic traffic is essential to the well-being of the United States; that illegal international narcotic traffic is now a major enterprise involving complex operations in numerous countries in all parts of the world; and that such traffic continues to take place in countries which receive economic and military assistance from the United States, including assistance to carry out anti-narcotic drug programs.

"(b) On or before the expiration of the one hundred and eighty day period following the date of the enactment of this Act, the Bu-

reau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs shall prepare and submit to the Congress a report, in two parts, concerning the illegal international narcotic traffic.

"(c) The first part of such report shall include a survey of (1) the cultivation and processing of narcotic drugs (which are illegal in the United States) in each country where these operations are known to, or believed by, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs to occur; (2) the routes of transport of such drugs to the United States; (3) the means by which such drugs are brought into the United States; (4) the financial and banking arrangements which support such illegal international narcotics traffic; (5) changes in the international patterns of cultivation, processing, and shipping of such drugs for the United States markets which, in the opinion of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, have occurred since calendar year 1969, and an evaluation of those changes.

"(d) The second part of such report shall include—

"(1) a list of the countries which, in the opinion of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, are currently major centers in illegal international narcotic traffic;

"(2) a summary of the programs and other actions undertaken by such countries for the suppression of such traffic; and

"(3) an evaluation by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs of the effectiveness of such programs and actions, including reasons for their effectiveness or ineffectiveness.

"(e) Each Federal department or agency having the responsibility for the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States, or for programs and other actions related to the suppression of the illegal international narcotic traffic, shall, upon the request of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, make available to the Bureau such information and other assistance as may be requested."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a 10-minute time limitation on the pending amendment, the time to be equally divided between the manager of the bill, or whomever he may designate, and the author of the amendment. I understand it has to do with a report on international drug traffic through the Narcotics Bureau.

Mr. GOLDWATER. I did not hear the Senator.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I understand it has to do with a report on international drug traffic through the Narcotics Bureau.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, this amendment is, I think important, and yet uncomplicated. It would require the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs to submit to Congress within 6 months a comprehensive survey and analysis of the illegal international narcotics traffic.

I shall not go into details of all the reasons why this amendment is needed. I think the Senate is quite aware of the growing seriousness of the illegal international narcotics traffic. This amendment would require the Bureau of Nar-

cotics and Dangerous Drugs to submit a report to Congress which would contain information, which would then be available to the Congress and to the public in two general categories: The first, it would report a survey of the cultivation and processing of narcotic drugs in each country where these operations are known to, or believed by, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs to occur; the routes of transport of such drugs to the United States; the financial and banking arrangements which support such illegal international narcotics traffic; changes in the international patterns of cultivation, processing, and shipping of such drugs for the United States markets which, in the opinion of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, have occurred since 1969, and other information in this general area.

The second part of the report would include a list of the countries which, in the opinion of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, are currently major centers in illegal international narcotic traffic; a summary of the programs and other actions undertaken by such countries for the suppression of such traffic; and an evaluation by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs of the effectiveness of such programs and actions, including reasons for their effectiveness or ineffectiveness.

Last year we adopted an amendment which I offered, which, among other things, authorized this Government to terminate foreign aid to any country which was known to be willfully involved in the production or sale of illegal drugs and which ultimately ended up in the United States.

It is estimated that the amount of illegal heroin entering this country will be nearly 40 percent greater than that brought into this country a year ago.

A front-page story in the New York Times describes a secret Cabinet level report that concludes "There is no prospect" of eliminating the smuggling of narcotics in Southeast Asia "under any conditions that can realistically be projected."

I ask unanimous consent that the article appearing in the New York Times appear at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MONDALE. This amendment will help the public and the Congress better understand the essential elements of this vicious problem so that we know better what to do.

I am hopeful that the distinguished floor manager will accept this amendment.

EXHIBIT 1

REPORT TO UNITED STATES SEES NO HOPE OF HALTING ASIAN DRUG TRAFFIC

(By Seymour M. Hersh)

WASHINGTON, July 23.—A Cabinet-level report has concluded that, contrary to the Nixon Administration's public optimism, "there is no prospect" of stemming the smuggling of narcotics by air and sea in Southeast Asia "under any conditions that can realistically be projected."

"This is so," the report, dated Feb. 21, 1972, said, "because the governments in the region are unable and, in some cases, un-

willing to do those things that would have to be done by them if a truly effective effort were to be made."

The report, prepared by officials of the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department and the Defense Department, noted that "the most basic problem, and the one that unfortunately appears least likely of any early solution, is the corruption, collusion and indifference at some places in some governments, particularly Thailand and South Vietnam, that precludes more effective suppression of traffic by the governments on whose territory it takes place."

The report sharply contradicted the official Administration position and Government intelligence sources say its conclusions are still valid today. In May, Secretary of State William P. Rogers told a Senate subcommittee that "we think all the countries are cooperating with us and we are quite satisfied with that cooperation."

Similarly, Nelson G. Gross, Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State and Coordinator for International Narcotics Matters, testified before Congress in June on the subject of narcotics smuggling that "the governments of Thailand, Laos and Vietnam have already joined us in the fight and, while we have a long way to go, we feel that during the past year some real progress has been achieved."

All officials concerned with the drug problem acknowledge that the United States agencies, under personal prodding from President Nixon, have begun an intensive effort to stem the international narcotics traffic. But critics contend that the effort is far less effective today than Administration officials say it is.

CRITICS' CHARGES BACKED

Two leading critics of what they allege to be the Government's laxness in stopping the flow of narcotics are Representative Robert H. Steele, Republican of Connecticut, and Alfred W. McCoy, a 26-year-old Yale graduate student who has written a book on narcotics in Southeast Asia. The New York Times reported Saturday that Mr. McCoy's allegations concerning the C.I.A. and the drug traffic had been the subject of an intense and unusually public rebuttal by the agency.

The Cabinet-level report, made available to The Times, buttressed many of the charges made by the two critics, particularly about the pivotal importance of Thailand to the international drug smugglers. Thailand is also a major Air Force staging area for the United States.

In a report on the world heroin problem last year, Mr. Steele wrote that "from the American viewpoint, Thailand is as important to the control of the illegal international traffic in narcotics as Turkey. While all of the opium produced in Southeast Asia is not grown in Thailand, most of it is smuggled through the country."

Mr. Steele's report, filed with the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, noted that many American citizens had established residence in Bangkok, and had moved into the narcotics trade. The report added that the inability of the United States to have a few notorious smugglers deported had led some intelligence officials to conclude that the men were paying Thai officials for protection.

Mr. McCoy said in testimony before Congressional committees last month that hundreds of tons of Burmese opium passed through Thailand every year to international markets in Europe and the United States and that 80 to 90 per cent of the opium was carried by Chinese Nationalist paramilitary teams that were at one time paid by the C.I.A.

There are a number of opium refineries along the northern Thai border, he said, and much of the processed high-quality heroin is shipped by trawler to Hong Kong.

"Even though they are heavily involved in the narcotics traffic," Mr. McCoy testified, "these Nationalist Chinese irregular units are closely allied with the Thai Government." He said that Thai Government police units patrol the northern border area and collect an "import duty" of about \$2.50 a pound of raw opium entering Thailand. All this activity, he said, is monitored by United States intelligence agencies.

THAI-U.S. AGREEMENTS CITED

Mr. Gross, the State Department's adviser on international narcotics, said in his Congressional testimony that "during the past year the Thais have increased their efforts in the drug field with United States and United Nations assistance." He cited two agreements, signed in late 1971, calling for more cooperation and more long-range planning between Thai and United States officials to stamp out the trade.

"Based on all intelligence information available," Mr. Gross testified, "the leaders of the Thai Government are not engaged in the opium or heroin traffic, nor are they extending protection to traffickers." He added that the top police official in Thailand had publicly stated that he would punish any corrupt official.

The cabinet-level report, submitted to the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, asked "highest priority" for suppression of the traffic by Thai trawlers, noting that each trawler "would represent something like 6 per cent of annual United States consumption of heroin."

The report said that the trawler traffic should have priority because "it is possible to attack the Thai trawler traffic without seeking the cooperation of Thai authorities and running the attendant risks of leaks, tip-offs, and betrayals."

After such a seizure, the report said, the United States Embassy in Bangkok could "repeat with still greater force and insistence the representations it has already often made to the Government of Thailand" for more effective efforts "to interdict traffic from the north of Thailand to Bangkok and also the loading of narcotics on ships in Thai harbors."

At another point in the report, a general complaint was voiced. "It should surely be possible to convey to the right Thai or Vietnamese officials the mood of the Congress and the Administration on the subject of drugs," the report said. "No real progress can be made on the problem of illicit traffic until and unless the local governments concerned make it a matter of highest priority."

Representatives Steele, Lester L. Wolff, Democrat of Nassau County, and Morgan F. Murphy, Democrat of Illinois, have sponsored legislation that would cut off more than \$100 million in foreign aid to Thailand unless she took more action to halt the production and traffic of heroin. Their measure cleared the House Foreign Affairs Committee on June 21 and is included in the Foreign Assistance Act, now pending.

During a Congressional hearing into drug traffic last month, Representative Wolff disputed the Administration's contention that it was making "real progress" in stemming the narcotics flow and said, "we think the trade has got so much protection in high places in Thailand that the Administration is afraid they'll tell us to take our air bases out if we put too much pressure on them."

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

I have discussed this amendment with the Senator from Minnesota and other members of the committee, including the ranking minority member of the committee, the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Aiken). I have discussed it with the

chairman of the committee and other members. I think it is a good amendment, and I am willing to accept it.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my request for the yeas and nays be withdrawn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I object. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Do Senators yield back their time?

Mr. MONDALE. I yield back my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Minnesota. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. ANDERSON), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAMBRELL), the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. JORDAN), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN), and the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAMBRELL) and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MCGOVERN) would each vote "yea."

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. MUNDT) is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) is necessarily absent and, if present and voting, would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 91, nays 0, as follows:

[No. 304 Leg.]

YEAS—91

Alken	Fannin	Montoya
Allen	Fong	Moss
Allott	Fulbright	Nelson
Baker	Goldwater	Packwood
Bayh	Gravel	Pastore
Beall	Griffin	Pearson
Bellmon	Gurney	Pell
Bennett	Hansen	Proxmire
Bentsen	Harris	Randolph
Bible	Hart	Ribicoff
Boggs	Hartke	Roth
Brook	Hatfield	Saxbe
Brooke	Hollings	Schweiker
Buckley	Hruska	Scott
Burdick	Hughes	Smith
Byrd,	Humphrey	Sparkman
Harry F., Jr.	Inouye	Spong
Byrd, Robert C.	Jackson	Stafford
Cannon	Javits	Stennis
Case	Jordan, Idaho	Stevens
Chiles	Kennedy	Stevenson
Church	Long	Symington
Cook	Magnuson	Taft
Cooper	Mansfield	Talmadge
Cotton	Mathias	Thurmond
Cranston	McClellan	Tower
Curtis	McGee	Tunney
Dole	McIntyre	Welcker
Dominick	Metcalf	Williams
Eastland	Miller	Young
Ervin	Mondale	

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—9

Anderson	Gambrell	Mundt
Eagleton	Jordan, N.C.	Muskie
Ellender	McGovern	Percy

So Mr. MONDALE'S amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, I call up my amendment at the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The amendment was read, as follows:

At the end of the bill add a new section as follows:

Sec. 15. Section 104(c) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, is amended by striking out the semicolon at the end of such section and inserting in lieu thereof a comma and the following: "except that no agreement may be entered into under this subsection (c) unless such agreement has been specifically authorized by legislation enacted after the date of enactment of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1972."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HUGHES. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation of 20 minutes on the pending amendment, the time to be divided 15 minutes to the author of the amendment, the distinguished Senator from Iowa, and the other 5 minutes to the manager of the bill, the distinguished Senator from Alabama.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on the Scott-McGee amendment, which will come up, I believe, following this amendment, there be a time limitation of 10 minutes, to be equally divided between the distinguished Republican leader (Mr. SCOTT) and the manager of the bill, the distinguished Senator from Alabama.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation of not to exceed 20 minutes on the two Hartke amendments, the time to be equally divided between the sponsor of the amendments and the manager of the bill. I understand that that will take care of all amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the majority leader ask for 20 minutes on each amendment or 20 minutes on both amendments?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Twenty minutes on each amendment.

Mr. President, I withhold the unanimous-consent request with respect to the Hartke amendments.

I think the Senate should be on notice that the rollcall votes from now on will be for a 10-minute duration rather than the usual 15 minutes. I hope the staffs and the cloakrooms will notify all Senators accordingly.

Mr. HUGHES. I yield myself such time as I may need.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the distinguished Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY) be added as a cosponsor of this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. HUGHES. Is the section 15 mentioned in this amendment now in order