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In summing up the Soviet Russian rule in Ukraine, the following results exemplify the enslavement of Ukraine:

During the 50-year rule of Moscow over Ukrainian literally millions of Ukrainians have been annihilated by the man-made famines, deportations and outright executions;

Both the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church were ruthlessly destroyed and their faithful members were incorporated into the Kremlin-controlled Russian Orthodox Church;

All aspects of Ukrainian life are rigidly controlled and directed by Moscow; the Academy of Sciences, all scientific and research institutions, universities, technicums, publications, the press, party and government apparatuses, youth, women's organizations, trade unions, and so forth;

Arrests, trials and convictions of hundreds of young Ukrainian intellectuals—poets, writers, literary critics, playwrights, professors and students are charged with "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" though, in fact, these people profess loyalty to the Soviet state, but fight against its abuses, violations and police rule. Among them are noted writers and thinkers such as V. Chornovil, I. Dzyuba, I. Svitlychy, E. Sverstiuk, V. Moroz, L. Plushch, and many others. Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of General Roman Shukhevych, commander-in-chief of the UPA, has been in and out of Soviet concentration camps since the age of 15; in September 1972, he was again sentenced to ten years at hard labor for refusing to denounce his assassinated father and the ideal for which he was killed: a free Ukraine.

Today, Ukraine more than ever is a colony of Communist Russia, a land of inhuman persecution and economic exploitation.

Therefore, we kindly request that you make appropriate statement on January 22nd on the floor of the United States Senate in support of the Ukrainian people in their undaunted struggle for human rights and freedom, which are the basic presents of our modern and civilized society.

Respectfully yours,

Dr. ANTHONY ZUKOWSKY,  
President, UCCA, State Branch of North  
Dakota, National Vice-President of  
UCCA.

#### THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the bombing of North Vietnam last December was costly to our Nation in many ways. Morally, psychologically, and spiritually this bombing cost each and every one of us a great deal. But we should also not forget the cost in dollars which this bombing meant. An editorial which appeared in the Duluth News-Tribune on December 28 brings home these costs very concretely. This editorial forcefully relates the cost of each B-52 bomber lost during these attacks to projects such as schools, hospitals, and cultural centers which enrich—rather than destroy—life. It is a lesson which each of us should remember.

I request unanimous consent that a copy of this editorial be printed at the closing of my remarks.

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

##### AN EXPENSIVE 10 DAYS

Sen. George McGovern gets better looking every day, doesn't he?

He simply wanted to pull the United States out of Vietnam, almost regardless of the consequences. We remain there, now as

involved as ever, and as each new B-52 bomber goes down over North Vietnam, McGovern's stock seems to rise.

A concern for the political and military risks of this new bombing offensive was expressed in this space on Sunday. Let us consider now simply the economics of this offensive.

North Vietnam claims it has shot down 61 American planes since the new air attacks began on Dec. 18. North Vietnam reports that 21 of these planes are B-52 bombers.

United States military authorities report, however, the loss of only 12 such bombers. So it's a difference of give or take 9, a difference which is substantial.

But it is a difference that diminishes when you consider what one B-52 bomber is worth: \$8 million. The dollar loss thus far, then, is between \$96 million and \$168 million in just 10 days of bombing. At best, American dollars are being shot from the sky at a rate of \$9.6 million a day. At worst, it's \$16.8 million a day.

Think of it. Little wonder that people like McGovern said we have to reorder national priorities. No, we don't want to beat every sword into a plowshare. Maybe McGovern was wrong in seeking too much of a cutback in military spending. But when you consider the way we are currently spending money over North Vietnam, you must concede that McGovern and his followers had a point, however much they exaggerated it, or overpressed it.

Take the \$8 million of one downed bomber. The Duluth Arena-Auditorium was built for \$6.5 million. Duluth Central High School cost \$6 million. The recent addition and modernization of Miller-Dwan Hospital cost about \$6.7 million. The planned Area Cultural Center in the old Union Depot is estimated to cost about \$2.3 million. The total cost of new construction at UMD during the current fiscal year—including a food service center, a performing arts building, a classroom and laboratory building for the dental hygiene program, a residence hall, a new heating plant boiler, and a remodeling of the science building—is estimated at \$7.7 million.

All these major additions to the various health, educational, and cultural services of this city, in other words, could be more than paid for by the cost of only four of those large bombers. Think of the housing, food, and clothing that this money could buy.

Certainly there are extenuating circumstances. The war is complex beyond any one man's description or point of view. But for perspective, and perhaps for some reconsideration of national priorities in the future, it would seem constructive to look frankly at the dollars that have been blown up and shot down in the past 10 days over Vietnam.

#### VA ADMINISTRATOR REPLIES TO VIETNAM VET

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, knowing that Senators want to have all the facts so that they can make informed judgments on the issues confronting us, I would like to give them the benefit of the letter which Administrator of Veterans' Affairs Donald E. Johnson wrote to the producer of the "Today Show" following the December 14 program on which Vietnam veteran, Robert Muller, was interviewed by Joe Garagiola and Frank McGee.

The Administrator's letter was written and sent to the "Today Show" producer the day before that interview was carried in the December 21 Washington Post as an article entitled "Disabled GI: 'Civil Rights for Us All'."

Since the Washington Post article was reprinted in the January 11 RECORD, I ask unanimous consent that Administrator Johnson's letter responding to the Muller interview be printed in the RECORD.

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

##### VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,

Washington, D.C., December 21, 1972.

Mr. STUART SCHULBERG,  
Producer, the Today Show, National Broad-  
casting Co. (TV), New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. SCHULBERG: On December 14, 1972, Robert Muller, a paraplegic veteran of service in Vietnam, was interviewed on the Today show.

Although we salute the determination and fortitude of this young veteran who is making commendable progress in overcoming his war-incurred disability, we must protest the grossly distorted picture of service provided by the Veterans Administration conveyed to your millions of viewers.

I would add that even a cursory check for accuracy by your program officials would have established the absurdity of some of the statements made on the program.

Mr. Muller, for instance, said that VA hospital staffs are at the lowest level ever. The truth: VA hospital staffs are now at the highest levels in history. The ratio of hospital employees to patients has increased more than 40-percent from 104 for each 100 patients as recently as 1965 to the 149 for each 100 patients provided in the President's budget for the current fiscal year.

Mr. Muller deplored the dearth of doctors and nurses in the VA system. The truth: The nearly 17,000 medical employees added in the past six years include 1,788 more doctors, and 3,163 more nurses.

Throughout the veteran's commentary the implication rang loud and clear that the Government is refusing to provide money to give adequate care to veterans in VA hospitals. The truth: VA's current budget includes \$2.6-billion for hospital and medical care, the highest appropriation in VA annals. VA's medical budget this year is more than twice what it was in 1965.

Mr. Muller accused President Nixon of recently vetoing legislation that appropriated funds for VA hospitals. He apparently was referring to H.R. 10880, which the President declined to approve on October 27, 1972.

No appropriated funds were involved in this measure. It was an authorization bill. Many of the provisions of H.R. 10880 were recommended initially to Congress by the Administration, but the legislation was amended by Congress, including the addition of a provision opening the VA hospital system for the care of non-veterans for the first time. The bill also set a mandatory base on the number of patients treated in VA hospitals, which VA opposed as a totally unnecessary provision that would lead to inefficient medical treatment and wasteful administrative practices.

"The tragic result," the President said in a statement, "would be a lower quality of medical care to all patients. While I strongly support the VA health care system and will continue to encourage its improvement in the future, I cannot approve a bad bill."

The veteran claims that VA hospitals in the early 1950's were the best in the country, but have deteriorated sadly since then. Although the VA agrees that its hospital system was excellent at that stage in time, the system is even better today with the great advances that have been made in sophistication of treatment and equipment, and the added budget and staffing support VA hospitals now receive.

VA today is providing better care for far more veterans than it did in the 1950's.