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50,000 deaths (President Nixon's Radio/TV address, November 3, 1969, official White House text). In 1971, he used the 500,000 figure cited above. But on July 27, 1972, the President reached a new level of rhetoric, declaring that more than one half million people were assassinated and another half a million died in "slave labor camps" in North Vietnam (*New York Times*, July 28, 1972). An inquiry to the National Security Council produced only a list of references of which Hoang Van Chi's "5 percent" figure was the only primary source. His own staff was thus unable to explain how he arrived at his new total of one million deaths from the North Vietnamese land reform.

¹⁰ See notes 19 and 20, Chapter III, p. 29.

¹¹ Tran Phuog (ed.), *Cach Mang Ruong Dat*, p. 131.

¹² *Violations of the Geneva Agreements by the Viet-Minh Communists*, Ministry of Information, Republic of Vietnam (Saigon, July 1959), pp. 94-95.

¹³ 1960 Population Figures by Province (from Central Census Steering Committee, 1961), *Nhan Dan*, November 2, 1960 (translated by JPRS, 6570, January 13, 1961).

BUDGETARY CUTS FOR INDIAN PROGRAMS

Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEE), who is absent on official business, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement he prepared about a letter circulated by him and signed by 14 other colleagues—including myself—protesting planned cuts by the administration in the budget for Indian programs in fiscal year 1974.

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

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MCGEE

Yesterday, 14 of my Colleagues and I sent a letter to the President protesting planned budget cuts in Fiscal Year 1974 in programs vital to the Indian community of this nation.

The letter was sent to the President after it came to our attention that the Administration's planned budget for the BIA for Fiscal 1974 would be cut by \$50 million from Fiscal 1973 levels and other \$50 million might be cut from non-Interior programs which benefit Indians.

Joining me in co-signing the letter were Senators McGovern, Nelson, Cranston, Kennedy, Stevenson, Burdick, Hart, Moss, Harris, Tunney, Hughes, Hatfield, Montoya, and Mondale.

According to the American Indian Press Association, the staff of Indian Commissioner Louis R. Bruce, which prepared an "impact statement" on the cuts which lie ahead, reported in a confidential memo that:

"(The new allowance) makes no provision for any improvements to Indian programs other than roads; does not provide for increased cost of operation due to inflation; does not provide for increased school enrollments; does not provide for increased welfare case load and cost increases; does not provide for protecting the natural resources remaining for the Indian; does not provide for any badly needed irrigation projects; and does not provide adequate funds for school construction."

The American Indian Press Association noted that:

"Of the existing 37 separate BIA programs, 25 will have less funds next year. The single largest cut will be made in education, for \$22.5 million. The second largest cut of \$6.8 million will be taken from welfare and guidance services. A third meaningful cut will be made in the construction of new buildings and utilities—schools, housing and other public facilities—to the tune of \$4.5 million."

The American Indian Press Association stated that "according to the BIA's 'impact statement,'" the following key areas would be affected:

Education: Eliminated will be the preschool child program serving 42,265 tribal summer employment programs for 22,000 Indian teenagers, and the Sioux Junior College program. Reduced will be all special programs benefiting Indian students in public schools through programs of special reading, home coordination, counseling and the like, and aid for Navajo Community College.

Terminated will be contracts with the University of New Mexico Indian Law Program, and Masters Degree Programs with Dartmouth University, together with the Universities of Georgia, Arizona and North Dakota.

Four large and yet unspecified boarding schools and several small institutions will be closed, and no Alaska Native children will be sent away to school in Wildwood, Alaska. Other areas affected by the cutback include:

Welfare and Guidance: All Tribal Work Experience Programs will be eliminated and payments of general assistance and child welfare will be discontinued on next March 30.

Housing: Construction of 32 new homes and repairs on 234 homes will be cancelled, and staff layoffs will number 10. Five BIA housing offices will be closed, and contracting, training and management funds will be reduced.

Employment and vocational assistance: Closure of eight national field offices, seven area field assistance offices, the Solo Parent Training Center in San Diego, Calif., the Madera, Calif., and Roswell Employment Training Centers, and a reduction of the Bismark, N.D., Training Center by one-third.

Law and order: Closure of Roswell, N.M., Indian Policy Academy and staff reductions of 20 personnel.

Water Resource Protection: The current budget figure, \$1.7 million, will be retained for the Indian Water Rights Office rather than the publicly announced \$2 million figure. About \$200,000 will be trimmed from funds for operating and maintaining irrigation systems on reservations, and \$2 million will be eliminated from a budget for new waterways construction.

Cutbacks amounting to \$1.6 million are also slated for resource management programs in areas of agricultural extension, credit, reservation programs, industrial development, real property management and appraisal, general trustee services and environmental quality services.

What is particularly disturbing about the situation is contained in the following statement from the American Indian Press Association:

"The BIA was already at work on the \$50 million budget slash, it was learned from the confidential 'impact statement' memorandum, when Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton addressed the National Tribal Chairmen's Association in Eugene, Ore., on August 7, during their annual convention. There Morton stated: 'Funding is the strongest indicator of commitment in government.'"

In a letter from Franklin Ducheneaux, Legislative Consultant for the National Congress of American Indians, pointing out the release from the American Indian Association, Mr. Ducheneaux noted that:

"This kind of cut is all the more devastating when one takes into consideration that Indian communities, reservations, and people are years behind the rest of the nation in every area of human and resource development. They are all the more cruel and hypocritical when measured against the promises and rhetoric of the Federal government of the last decade."

The Administration, through its rhetoric on a number of occasions, has committed itself to the principle of self-determination for the Indian peoples of this country. I do not believe that Congress should allow the

Administration to carry out its planned budget cuts in Indian programs for Fiscal 1974. I urge my fellow Colleagues to hold the President to the commitment he has made to the Indian people and not allow this example of "bad faith" to be initiated.

I append the joint letter to the President and the letter from Frank Ducheneaux.

OCTOBER 16, 1972.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It has come to our attention that your planned budget for the Bureau of Indian Affairs for Fiscal Year 1974 will be cut by \$50 million from Fiscal 1973 levels. We also understand that another \$50 million may be cut from non-Interior programs which benefit Indians.

The purpose of our letter is to protest these planned cuts. In light of your past commitment to self-determination on the part of the Indian people, we urge that you recommend to Congress substantial increases in funding in Fiscal 1974 for Indian programs.

The Indian community in this nation continues to lag years behind the rest of the nation in every area of human, economic, and resource development. The planned cuts in Indian programs for Fiscal 1974 come at a critical moment in the development of new and innovative programs which hold the key to the future of the Indian community in this nation.

We urge that you reconsider your planned budget cuts for Indian programs in Fiscal 1974. We ask that prompt attention be given to this matter and we would appreciate a response to our letter at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely

GALE MCGEE,
GAYLORD NELSON,
GEORGE MCGOVERN,
ALAN CRANSTON,
EDWARD KENNEDY,
QUENTIN BURDICK,
FRANK MOSS,
JOHN TUNNEY,
MARK HATFIELD,
WALTER MONDALE,
ADLAI STEVENSON III,
PHELIP HART,
FRED HARRIS,
HAROLD HUGHES,
JOSEPH MONTOYA,

U.S. Senators.

OCTOBER 2, 1972.

Hon. GALE MCGEE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MCGEE: Enclosed is a copy of a press release by the American Indian Press Association detailing the Administration's planned budget cuts for the Bureau of Indian Affairs totaling nearly \$50 million for FY 1974. It quotes a BIA "impact statement", a confidential memorandum, which assesses the impact of such budget cuts on the various programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In addition, it estimates that another \$50 million may be cut from non-Interior programs which benefit Indians.

These cuts do not represent a major cut in a major program affecting Indian communities nor a substantial cut in a variety of programs affecting one Indian community, but a major cut in all the programs serving the totality of Indian communities and people across the nation, communities and people which are almost solely dependent upon Federal funds for programs and services which are supplied to non-Indian communities by a combination of Federal, State, and local governments. This kind of cut is all the more devastating when one takes into consideration that Indian communities, reservations, and people are years behind the rest of the nation in every area of human and resource development. They are all the

more cruel and hypocritical when measured against the promises and rhetoric of the Federal government of the last decade.

These cuts must not be sustained by the Congress in the FY 1974 appropriations if justice, good faith, and common decency are to be the hallmarks of Federal administration of Indian affairs. We urge you, with all respect, to oppose these cuts, to advise the administration of your opposition, and to support restoration of the FY 1974 Indian Affairs budget to at least the FY 1973 level.

Sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN DUCHENEUX,
Legislative Consultant.

PERSUASION AND POWER, MERIT AND CLOUT

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, today's Washington Post carries a commentary by the columnist Nicholas von Hoffman about Congress and the prospects for citizen influence on it. I think its relevance to the movement for a moratorium on the operation and construction of nuclear powerplants is obvious.

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

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

NADER'S DEBITS

(By Nicholas von Hoffman)

Ralph Nader comes as close as we have to a universally trusted public figure. In Washington during a time of graft, Nader personifies the honest man. Members of both parties, and none, have confidence in him.

It is a remarkable position of respect and, yet, all of this support, concurrence and approbation converts into a diminishing power to get much done. Nader, whose character is more honored than the President's, has less effective clout than the meanest White House aide with a gun in his attache case and a wallet full of hot Mexican money.

Partly this is because Nader is the supreme non-politician. He relies on facts, reason and the pursuit of truth, but there is no schmooze in the man. He lacks oil and the democratic affability we call the art of compromise.

The anomaly of Nader's position is underscored by the publication of his group's latest effort ("Who Runs Congress?" by Mark J. Green, James M. Fallows, David R. Zwick, Bantam Books, \$1.95). It's a solid, competent work, a good one-volume compendium of what goes on under the great dome. On the debit side, they haven't put any new shockers in it—and we do like to be entertained with fresh dirt.

Congress is a very old scandal and this isn't a season of much interest even in new ones. It could be that Nader is going out of fashion. Muckraking has had its ups and downs before. It was a hot, highly salable commodity at the turn of the century; you couldn't give it away in the '20s; it came back in the '30s and died again in the Eisenhower period.

Whether or not Nader is about to go out of style, he does have other problems—the biggest being that his opponents are learning how to deal with him. The young Nader who took on and beat General Motors may have seemed to prove the proposition that the truth will make us free; but, in fact, the monster manufacturer creamed itself.

It counterpunched, and, by hitting back in a variety of idiot ways, not only made Nader a public figure but also made him a plausible one. The running controversy fired up enough heat, drama and pressure to get some automobile safety legislation on the statute books.

Subsequent Nader targets, many of whom were fully as injurious to the commonweal, weren't so eager to do themselves in. It oc-

curred to them that Nader had very little second strike capability, as they like to say around Washington. He could do the press conference, issue the damning report, but then, if the people who were the objects of his exposes laid low, hid out and said nothing, the matter would sink from public attention. Nader has had no way of hitting a second time on the same people—no way of making his opponents stand up and fight.

Outfits like DuPont and First National City Bank of New York have been able to ride out the scrutiny of Nader's people without trouble. Congress will be able to do likewise with even less exertion.

Not that the suggestions of congressional improvement in the Nader document aren't worthwhile. They are. But Congress is as it is not through ignorance, but by intent. The seniority system and all the rest that Nader and so many others complain of could be abolished by a simple majority vote on the first day of the 93d session of Congress next January.

That majority doesn't exist and the publication of "Who Runs Congress?" won't create it. The Nader people recognize this sad little fact by inserting a weak and suffering little chapter called, "Taking on Congress; A primer for Citizen Action." This chapter, which few citizens are going to find very useful in taking on their congressmen, illustrates the difficulties that Nader and his people face.

It begins by giving a few examples of minor league Naders who by persistence and a great deal of luck have been able to get a few good laws through. More instructive would be a few case histories of would-be Naders who got nowhere, with an explanation of why. With this comes much material about the mechanics of influencing legislation, all useful to know if you have something besides your own naked body to do your influencing with.

Since Nader has arrayed himself against money power, the only other tool of influence is large numbers of people who, of course, must be organized. There are a few perfectly worthless pages devoted to telling the reader how to do that. Here you can find out how to organize your group, but that your group should have a "coordinator" and a project leader."

It's too much to expect Nader to know how to organize gobs of people. He and his associates have done far more than their fair share; but unless someone figures out how, Nader is going to lack that second punch. Without the power to compel the government to act, most of his work will be food for fishes and historians.

THE NATION'S GREATEST ASSET

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, George E. Stringfellow, Past Imperial Potentate of the National Shriners organization recently brought to my attention an address given on the occasion of the celebration in New York of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Shrine. The speech, by George M. Saunders, Imperial Recorder of the Shrine and Grand Secretary, concerned the future of Masonry and its youth organization DeMolay.

Mr. Saunders, former resident of Kansas City, Mo. and now of Chicago has been actively engaged in Masonry and Shrinedom throughout his life. He has been active in the International Supreme Council of the Order of DeMolay, having been associated with it since its founding days. He is a Past Grand Master of the Order and presently is the Grand Secretary.

He is a veteran of the Allied Expeditionary Forces in France in World War I, and has been a member of the Sanford Brown, Jr., American Legion Post since it was organized.

His Masonic background is long and distinguished. He is a life member of Sheffield Masonic Lodge at Kansas City, Mo.; he is a 33° Mason. His Shrine Temple is Ararat of Kansas City, Mo.

I should also point out that Mr. Saunders is listed in "Who's Who" in America.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Noble Saunder's recent address on the subject "Our Nation's Greatest Asset" be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

OUR NATION'S GREATEST ASSET

What is our nation's greatest asset?—the answers to this question will be many. They will be considered from many points of view, such as, material wealth, industry, agriculture and commerce.

All of these are of course important, but upon what does their future depend? Their future depends upon the young men and women, who are students in our high schools and colleges at the present time, or who will follow them as the years go by.

Our nation's greatest asset is, in my judgment, our young men and young women who are now preparing for their life's work. Let each of us who are now performing the duties and the responsibilities of citizenship do all in our power to remove all obstacles of life that will cause them to fail.

May we all who are still active, firmly resolve that each one of us will do all we can in assisting our young people in the preparation of their life's work. Let each one of us seek their friendship, secure their confidence, and help them to realize that "life is real, life is earnest and the grave is not its goal."

Encourage our young people to make a study of their own qualities of life, both positive and negative, those that will build character or destroy it. Every minute of the day they are forming habits, good or bad. How are habits formed? By the way of thinking. James S. Knox tells us "thoughts become actions, actions become habits, habits grow into character, and character is immortal. Think right and you will act right, act right and you will build a magnificent character."

Impress upon our young people that the future will soon be in their hands. Encourage them to accept the challenge, and give full measure of service to God, country and home.

Let me state that, if through our individual efforts, we have helped just one person to travel the right road from youth to maturity, our efforts have not been in vain. But will bring us much joy as we watch them, as they take a stand for what is right and just and by so doing makes our nation under God, one that will bring "liberty and justice to all."

The past is secure. Masonry has had a mighty part in the making of America and in fashioning its fundamental law and our very way of life. From its very beginning freemasonry has presented to the world men of courage, of valor, of virtue and of service. Down through the years, history tells a story of freemasons in every struggle for a righteous cause.

But what of the future of masonry in America and in the world? In this fast-moving atomic age, what was good enough yesterday may be obsolete today. What is good enough today may be out-of-date tomorrow.