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with pride, and the radical left points out that our existence as a nation is founded on revolutionary action. The military establishment has played a large part in the forming of our traditions and a civilian government, aware of the abuses by Britain, also established firm principles which we now revere as tradition. Perhaps no other tradition is so vital to the security of our form of government than the separation of civil-military responsibilities and the maintenance of civilian hegemony over the military. This tradition has been imperilled by the growth of the domestic intelligence operations of the U.S. Army, at times supported by similar activities of the Navy and the Air Force.

To further understand the problem we must recognize several key and immutable facets of military sociology and psychology. The professional soldier is trained for war, steeped in a tradition which emphasizes force as the final arbiter and instills a moral code which, however well suited to the exigencies of warfare and military service, has little relevance to the process of understanding and solving the complex urban and social problems of today. Isolated by assignment from the mainstream of American life and living an insular life in which conformity is prized and dissent is looked down upon or even forbidden, the professional soldier brings uniquely military paradigms to bear when confronted with civil problems. This is what has happened at the highest levels of military intelligence and the desperate search for information and the initiating of overbroad requirements are examples both of the deadly disease called bureaucratic accretion and the application of military and even combat standards to the American scene. The gulf between civil and military thinking is too great to be bridged and the framers of our Constitution realized this perhaps better than we do today. The reliance on force, the readiness to believe in conspiratorial theories, the lack of identification with social problems and the immense force of our military are sufficient pragmatic reasons for reinforcing the Constitutional mandate and long tradition of military non-involvement in civilian affairs.

A second major point to consider is the deleterious effect the involvement in CONUS intelligence has had on the ability of military intelligence to carry out its legitimate mission. Firstly, I cannot stress this strongly enough, the use of military intelligence agents in domestic situations causes a morale problem because it brings out very subjective attitudes and causes no small degree of polarization among the agents, particularly if black agents are involved. This polarization occurred in CIAB. The fact that the Army has no explicit statutory authority for such surveillance and data keeping only causes increased alienation and bitterness among the agents. Today the Army has tremendously reduced its activities in the area of domestic intelligence and the Intelligence Command is emphasizing compartmentalization and the exclusion of first termers from sensitive operations because of the fear of further unpleasant disclosures. This hardly addresses the real problem.

I have spoken of the attitude of the agents. What is the attitude of those surveilled? My experience has convinced me that while a few activists may dismiss the Army's activities as to be expected, the majority of people are genuinely chilled in the exercise of sacred Constitutionally protected liberties. I would like to tell you about one such encounter which thoroughly chilled me. I participated in a TV talk show in Detroit hosted by a black community organizer. The format of the show allowed for questions from the audience which was composed entirely of blacks. Some were obviously supporters of militant groups. Others wore conservative dress and a few were college students. I was prepared for the usual questions which

consist of "Who did what to whom?" The first person to get up asked me about the existence of a plan for the genocidal extinction of blacks through the use of military forces. I was about to dismiss my questioner's fears, perhaps casually, when I realized that his question had electrified the entire audience. After trying to convince him that I believed we had no Hitlers in our military and government, the rest of the audience began expressing their fears. These people believed that the Army must have a terribly malevolent intent in collecting this information and there was no dissuading them that something less dramatic, bureaucratic accretion and inappropriate paradigms, was responsible for the Army surveillance and data keeping. This same theme was repeated last week when I spoke on a talk show on a black radio station by listeners who phoned in to express their concern and fear. If any group of Americans feels this strongly, and is so fearful then the psychopathology is in the society at large and not in the members of the minority group who feel threatened.

We can reverse the steady draining of the right to privacy and restore a measure of confidence in our military without endangering or weakening our internal security. The military must be permanently removed from the domestic intelligence picture and while I am hopeful that the courts will take a firm stand on this issue, I feel that legislation is necessary to hold the military in check. The recent statement by Secretary Laird, in which he insisted on a higher level of accountability, and the Army directive of 15 December set the tone and indicated parameters for safeguarding Constitutional rights but past experience and study have convinced me that we cannot depend on the good intentions of individual bureaucrats nor can we rely on in-house directives to insure compliance when the present furor subsides.

Legislation is needed that will define the Army's legitimate concerns with regard to its security and its posture to effectively carry out its civil disturbance mission. I suggest the following guidelines:

(1) Domestic intelligence should be defined as the acquisition of knowledge by any means, covert or overt, about the political, social, economic, educational, and personal affairs of non-military Americans and the groups to which they belong.

(2) The military should have the right, and indeed it has the responsibility, to maintain accurate information on the access routes to American cities and the physical geography of such cities. As Senator Ervin has stated, the military's business 's to know about bivouac areas, airports, parks, bridges, tunnels, and similar structures and features.

(3) The military should have the right to receive information from other agencies when the information directly concerns members or employees of the Army or where a direct threat against the Army is evident.

(4) The military should be prohibited from gathering and maintaining information on the political and social, educational and economic affairs of civilians and the organizations to which they belong and the military should be prohibited from obtaining such information from any source.

(5) Because so many military intelligence activities in the past were initiated by junior officers and civilians misinterpreting, reinterpreting or exceeding the scope of directives, legislation should provide for strict accountability from those few who may violate its provisions.

(6) Training is a vital part of indoctrinating a new agent and I believe that legislation should direct that an expanded course in civil liberties and the Army's position in American life be presented at all service intelligence schools and that such courses be monitored by civilian attorneys from the Army and/or the Department of Justice. Such a course can hardly be classified and the

presence of civilian attorneys will at once emphasize the seriousness and resolve of the government to maintain the traditional civil-military relationship.

(7) Present files must be purged, through legislative requirement, with the right of inspection granted to cleared members of Congress. I have encountered too many incidents of deliberate evasion, continuing right to the present day, to believe that by administrative decree all subordinate commands will comply. As of last November the Army still could not locate all the copies of the Compendium which it desired destroyed.

The need for Congressional supervision cannot be too strongly stressed if we are to safeguard our Constitutional rights. Even when motivated by the best of intentions, the military will always view an issue more narrowly than the general populace of civilians and perceive threats where none exist. The military must protect itself from genuine threats to its security but too often it interprets every sign of dissent as a bugle call summoning enemies to destroy its structure and efficiency.

Although this committee is not meeting to discuss the plans for an all volunteer, professional Army, I am impelled to bring one point out which relates to this issue. Most of the individuals who have come forward to disclose military intelligence activities have been citizen-soldiers. The Army Intelligence Command is not happy about the revelations but I think most concerned Americans are glad the story has been told. In various units, first termers are being excluded from sensitive assignments. This trend probably cannot be continued indefinitely because of manpower shortages. In all volunteer, professional Army, I fear that we will not have men of the caliber of Christopher Pyle and the many other agents, some of whom you will hear during the course of this hearing, all loyal Americans who profess and live by a higher creed and sense of duty than blind obedience with limited insight.

I am grateful to Senator Ervin for having shown such deep interest in this vital matter and for having pursued the issue to the point we have reached today. We now know what is wrong. We cannot stop until we have erected safeguards and effected remedies which will insure privacy for the individual and respect for his First Amendment rights, a renewed commitment to the concept of separation of civil-military relationships with the civil authorities firmly in control, and a paramount concern for the zealous preservation of First Amendment rights. Thank you.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the Minneapolis Tribune printed an editorial recently concerning the critical needs of children during the first few years of life. This editorial, entitled "To Help Children Get a Better Start," is a sensitive report on the need for better and more extensive child development services and day care centers throughout the Nation for both poor and non-poor children.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed at this point of my remarks.

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

[From the Minneapolis Tribune, Apr. 26, 1971]

TO HELP CHILDREN GET A BETTER START

Two years ago, Sen. Walter Mondale introduced a "Headstart Child Development Bill." He said then: "We know beyond doubt that

unless infants and young children receive adequate nutrition, health care and intellectual stimulation, their potential is severely compromised and the cycle of poverty is perpetuated." That bill did not pass, but Mondale, still convinced of the need to do more for children, recently proposed a similar but broader program.

Much has been learned in recent years about the importance of assuring health services, proper food, education and a good environment for young children. About 80 percent of their intellectual development occurs by the age of 8, according to experts, and their physical condition in early years can affect health and mental capacity through much of their life. Experience with Headstart has shown the handicaps with which many children start life, the potentials for helping them to develop and the limitations of too-brief and fragmented compensatory programs. White House conferences last year on food and nutrition and on children and youth emphasized that America does have hungry children, neglected children, sick children and ill-educated children. The need for many more day-care centers—for educational and health advantages as well as custodial care—has become increasingly apparent as more women have entered employment.

The "Child Development Act of 1971," sponsored also by Sens. Humphrey and McGovern, puts this all together in a program of services for both poor and non-poor children up to the age of 14. The program would be administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The very existence of a new Senate subcommittee on children and youth, headed by Mondale, seems to offer encouragement for such a plan.

Many of the nation's children would be helped also by the administration's welfare reform bill, whose fate still has not been decided by Congress, and by the Nixon health plan. However, a comprehensive child-development program that could fill in gaps, coordinate existing programs and work toward broader goals in services to children is also needed.

CATASTROPHE IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the evidence of catastrophe in East Pakistan continues to gather.

First, there was the warning by a U.N. adviser in the New York Times of May 2—pointing to the disruption of transport and the historical precedent of mass starvation in similar conditions in 1943.

Now there is an eyewitness report by Mort Rosenblum of the Associated Press, telling us once more that "millions face starvation from famine and from halted relief distribution."

And there are other, equally alarming reports—of the silence of the United States in the face of this tragedy, and the refusal of the West Pakistan authorities to accept badly needed emergency relief from the United Nations.

How much longer will our Government remain paralyzed?

Will the United States—with our economic aid supporting West Pakistan's occupation of the East—be a silent partner in the destruction of a people?

If the administration does not answer that question clearly and soon, the Congress must.

I ask unanimous consent that certain newspaper articles be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles

were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, May 2, 1971]

BENGAL: A THREAT OF FAMINE

To the Editor:

The exclusion of the foreign press and observers from East Pakistan has meant the loss of vital information on the course of events there and will deprive us of the dramatic facts that rouse individuals and governments to action. But there is enough conclusive evidence from the past and recent history to predict the result of the present conflict on the food position of the province.

The food grains that sustain a large part of the Bengali population come from abroad. Their distribution depends on the effective functioning of the port of Chittagong and on internal transportation and administrative services.

East Pakistan, with a population of more than seventy million, expected 2.5 million tons of imported food grains this year. That is about one-sixth of the total food requirements for the province, enough to feed twelve million people. However, a far greater number is actually affected by an interruption in the steady flow of food. For the 50 per cent of the population, living barely at subsistence level, these supplies maintain the balance between life and death.

Bengal has always been extremely susceptible to famine. The last such disaster occurred in 1943 when food expected from Burma did not arrive because of the Japanese occupation of that country. At that time military demands on the Indian transportation system prevented the timely distribution of the food that was available. The food deficit that year was 6 per cent; this year it is 16 per cent. Deaths in 1943 numbered 1.5 million, and the famine left social problems from which Bengal has yet to recover fully.

A crisis was imminent in 1965 when the Indo-Pakistani war stopped imports. It was avoided when the great powers used their influence to bring that conflict to a speedy close. Recovery was aided by normal internal supply activities, which had been unaffected by the war.

Today, in contrast, not only has the import of food been cut off, but the internal administrative and transport services have ceased to function normally. In addition, military action at planting time will reduce the coming harvest.

The regular import of food has been interrupted since February. Even if the conflict were to end today, the months required to return the system to normal would probably exceed the time during which the food reserves could sustain the population. The factors that determine mass famine are irreversible after a certain point.

When the first stories and photographs of starving families are published, it will be too late to protect thousands of others. International action, immediate and strong, is perhaps the only defense the people of East Bengal now have.

DANIEL C. DUNHAM.

NEW YORK, April 20, 1971.

[From the Washington Post, May 13, 1971]

(The following dispatch was filed from Bangkok, to avoid Pakistan censorship by Mort Rosenblum, an Associated Press reporter who was one of six correspondents admitted to East Pakistan after a five-week period during which foreign newsmen were barred from visiting the region.)

DACCA, EAST PAKISTAN.—A civil war of staggering butchery and hatred has left the 23-year-old nation of Pakistan on the brink of economic and political ruin.

Though broke, Pakistan, is spending more than \$2 million daily to support the army that shelled and machine-gunned this province of 75 million into submissive inactivity.

Some estimates of the number of deaths since the war started on March 25 go above the 400,000 killed in the cyclone that hit East Pakistan last November. This time, each death means a family's lasting bitterness.

Killing was indiscriminate. Bengalis bent on a separate East Pakistan nation slaughtered many of the region's 6 million non-Bengalis. When the army moved in, it settled the score, aided by non-Bengalis seeking revenge.

Markets were razed and flattened, towns were devastated, road and rail links were cut at a dozen major points.

LOSSES ENORMOUS

Losses to industry and to commerce between the two wings of Pakistan are enormous, as are the effects of stalled development. The 55 mills that turn out jute, East Pakistan's chief money-maker, are working at 15 to 20 per cent of capacity.

Reporters touring East Pakistan found that millions face starvation from famine and from halted relief distribution.

In many areas, food supply is a critical problem. The key port, Chittagong, is choked with 400,000 tons of goods, 100,000 tons more than it handles in a normal month.

Before, river craft carried only a fourth of Chittagong cargo into the interior. Now they must carry it all, perhaps for months. Even when roads and rail were open, shippers say, 10 river craft carried food stocks. Now, they say, the army allots to the food supply operation only four boats.

Politically, the problems are as great. In December, Bengalis voted 167 of the East Pakistan's 169 National Assembly seats to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League. Now Mujibur is in jail and the party is banned.

President Yahya Kahn maintains that he wants politicians to take back the government.

But the betting is that Yahya won't last the year as President, and that the army won't find anyone who thinks their way and who can still walk unescorted through the streets of East Pakistan.

CONFIDENCE SHATTERED

Confidence is shattered among Bengalis, West Pakistanis and Indian migrants who settled here at partition in 1947.

At a Chittagong jute mill, where Bengalis evidently killed 180 women and children, only 20 of 7,500 workers have dared to return.

Non-Bengali officers and officials refuse to even admit that there are Bengali widows and orphans in need.

Hindu Bengalis make up 12 per cent of the population. They chose to remain here although West Bengal, in India, is largely Hindu and East Bengal in East Pakistan is mostly Moslem.

Radical Moslem students rejected the religion that bound them to West Pakistan, espousing instead Hinduism and "Calcutta culture." Hindus were widely blamed for fomenting the conditions leading to war.

As a result, the army singled out Hindus. Their shops and homes were smashed and burned. Undamaged shops in otherwise devastated Hindu areas sometimes bear signs in English and Urdu, the Western tongue, proclaiming the owner is a Moslem.

Often being a Moslem—or showing a Pakistani flag—didn't help.

EFFECTS FELT IN WEST

The effects are felt hard 1,000 miles across India in West Pakistan.

"After all," said one businessman, "we've lost a colony."

Sixty per cent of the goods made in West Pakistan were sold in East Pakistan. Not a single bale of West Pakistan cotton has come to the East since the crisis, stalling a normal year West Pakistan's total annual exports to the East have been about \$300 million.

The job of rebuilding what the army and rebels burned and battered down will take massive human and financial resources.