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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

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warrant an even larger allocation at the end of the year to each participating electric cooperative.

So, I speak to you as one who has been through this and has found this a very effective way of obtaining money.

I want to thank you for this opportunity of presenting my views to you today. I again point out that in my opinion the big issue for your organization is not on whether or not you can continue to obtain government money at a 2-percent interest rate. I believe you can at about the present level. More important is whether you can obtain the necessary expansion capital which will be needed by your organizations in the next 15 years, if you are to grow apace with the private utilities here in America. As I have indicated, all of my projections fail to show adequate funding potential for you at the 2-percent rate. You alone must know whether or not a supplementary method of obtaining financing is needed beyond having each individual electric association apply for its own expansion funds at some local level. If the experience of other cooperatives is a criteria, then it would be well for you to join together in the formation of the Federal Bank for Rural Electric Systems.

*Bill file*

H.R. 13177—Freedom Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1966

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, profoundly dynamic ideas underlie our governmental and economic system. Our forefathers recognized what individuals could and would accomplish when they were afforded the opportunity in a society freed from governmental shackles. The essence of our federal system is the subordination of governmental power to that of the individual. Giving the individual the opportunity and the responsibility for his own development released the creative capacities of men to an extent hitherto undreamed of.

Realizing the potential of our economic system and democratic form of Government, we rightly wonder why so many of the newly independent nations of the world seem to look to communism and state socialism as the fastest routes to material abundance and fulfillment of their national aspirations. The answer is obviously threefold: First, the very aggressive methods used by Communists to further communism; second, the failure of the free world to present its beliefs in a manner readily understood and applied; third, the failure of everyone to recognize the danger posed by the Communist philosophy.

Despite the increasing loss of men and countries to Communist dictatorship, it appears that few Americans, even in high governmental positions, are sufficiently aware of the stated goal of communism—world domination—and the methods designed to achieve this goal. How many persons know what is meant by dialectical materialism? How many realize that words to Communists have meanings completely different from our meanings?

Too many people hate communism—almost a kneejerk reaction to the word—without knowing or understanding communism.

Communism is repugnant to everything I hold dear, my family, my church, my country, the individual human being, the free enterprise system of doing business, free representative government. But I cannot oppose it intelligently or fight it effectively if I do not fully understand it.

Just as we cannot fight a disease if we do not thoroughly understand it, we cannot defend ourselves or our institutions against communism if we do not understand its history, objectives, language, mechanics, techniques, and methods.

Nowhere at present is there a repository of research materials on communism and the insidious subversive tactics its proponents and followers have developed. Nowhere can a private citizen who is moving to an overseas post take a course to equip himself to perceive Communist activity or to tell the story of free enterprise and democracy. No present institution can educate government policymakers and employees in Communist theory and practices. Qualified teachers are in short supply. We actually do not have enough competent teachers of Communist techniques and tactics to teach the teachers.

This crying inadequacy has placed the United States far behind the Communists in the race between freedom and communism. The tale of the hare and the tortoise is somewhat analogous except that many persons in this country do not even realize that we are in such a race. Conversely, too many of our citizens believe that we can retreat into our shell and be protected from Communist aggression and subversion. This attitude should convince even the most dubious that the free world must shake itself free from a lethargy which could lull it into oblivion.

Mr. Speaker, an extensive Communist program for training agents is well documented. The State Department has supplied the Congress with information verifying the operation of seven schools of political warfare in the Soviet Union, nine in East Germany, nine in Cuba, four in Czechoslovakia, three in Hungary, and two in Bulgaria. Meanwhile, Red China has specialized in training Latin American and African Communists. I am not aware of any published statistics on the Chinese-sponsored schools. However, the present leadership in Ghana announced the closing of a Communist school for subversives which had the blessing of former Premier Nkrumah. Even when faced with the fact of these schools which turn out thousands of operatives trained in mob violence, subversion, destruction, and terrorism too many of us want to carry on "business as usual."

The need to understand this godless philosophy is so great and urgent that we should immediately embark on a crash program to systematize our knowledge of it and then convert this knowledge into the most effective media for instructing all Americans of all ages about this menace.

Secondly, we must develop counter-Communist methods. The most creative minds available should be set to work on this challenge. Our Foreign Service personnel, employees of American businesses abroad, and even tourists could profit from training in countercommunism.

Many believe that the Voice of America should be sufficient for telling the world about America and its beliefs. While no objective tests can measure the effectiveness of the Voice, the advance of communism since World War II suggests that we need many more and better weapons.

Mr. Speaker, we will lose the struggle with communism by default unless we awaken to the danger, arouse our citizenry, and arm ourselves. The major battlefields will be in the minds of men. The most effective weapons will be ideological, buttressed by better methods of presentation.

For many years, some dedicated Americans have been working for the establishment of a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy. Its purposes are the attainment of a thorough and complete understanding of communism; the development of methods to learn about and combat the effective tactics of the Communists; the dissemination of technical information on the true character of communism—both at home and abroad; and the education and training of governmental and private individuals in the new science of countercommunism.

I have introduced a bill, H.R. 13177, which contains some revisions agreed to by framers of earlier legislation and some revisions of my own. I trust my bill will serve as a springboard to a final version which will be enacted. The bill admittedly needs perfection.

My bill would establish a Freedom Commission to collect and assemble current information and knowledge on communism and its methods and to devise effective means for countering communism.

My bill also authorizes the Commission to establish a Freedom Academy, similar in some respects to our service academies, to educate and train persons in the newly developed science of countercommunism. I anticipate that the Academy would be a specialized graduate institution.

The Academy would be a technical research and training institution. It would not be a counterinsurgency agency or an arm of the military or State Department.

I have introduced this bill partly to give meaning and purpose to the outstanding and dedicated work of a group of Salinas, Calif., Jaycees who have become concerned about the inadequate research materials, knowledge, and understanding of communism and the methods and tactics of Communist promotion. The Salinas and California Jaycees have resolved to support the Freedom Academy concept. I applaud their interest and initiative.

I urge interested Members and persons to scrutinize my proposal and make helpful suggestions which will strengthen it.

**Employees Separated After June 30, 1965,  
To Receive Severance Pay**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which would provide a retroactive effective date of July 1, 1965, for the severance pay provisions of the Federal Employees Salary Act of 1965. Under the present law, only those Federal employees who are involuntarily separated from their employment on or after October 29, 1965, the effective date of the act, are entitled to the benefits of severance pay. Upon closer observation this humane law, noble in purpose, turns out to exclude from its protection many of those whom it was intended to benefit. I am sure that the Congress never intended it that way and it would seem that a change in the law is in order to give it the intended effect.

Several instances of injustice under the severance pay provisions of the Federal Employees Salary Act of 1965 recently came to my attention. I am told that there are many other Federal employees who are similarly affected adversely by the present law. In one case, a 23-year employee of the New York Naval Shipyard was separated from his employment on October 1, 1965, and in another case an 18-year employee of the shipyard was separated from his employment on October 10, 1965. Both were separated because of a reduction in force resulting from an order of base closure. Neither of these employees is eligible for severance pay benefits under the present law, while other separated employees with substantially less years of service to their credit are eligible for severance pay because they happen to have been separated subsequent to October 29, 1965, the effective date of the law. This is neither fair nor is it reasonable, and I am sure the Congress never intended the law to operate in that manner.

Under my bill, all Federal employees who are otherwise eligible for severance pay benefits would be entitled to them if they were separated from their employment on or after July 1, 1965. My bill would establish the same effective date for severance pay benefits as is provided in the same act for relocation expense benefits to postal employees.

Under present law, postal employees who are transferred or relocated from one official station to another are entitled to relocation expense benefits. These relocation benefits are available to all eligible postal employees who were relocated or transferred on or after July 1, 1965. There seems to be no valid reason why the same July 1, 1965, date should not also be the effective date for severance pay benefits. The same reasons that compel a July 1, 1965, effective date for relocation benefits to postal

employees operate with equal cogeny in the case of severance pay benefits for Federal employees.

Fair play demands that we amend present law to extend severance pay benefits to all eligible Federal employees who were separated from their employment on or after July 1, 1965. My bill does not enlarge the basis for determining whether or not an employee is eligible for these benefits. This determination remains the same.

**They Fight Battles, Too**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. JOHN M. MURPHY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1966

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of March 8, 1966.

The editorial staff of the Herald Tribune in this particular editorial points up one of the most significant aspects of the escalation in this combat area. The escalation which has been blamed on the United States should be blamed on the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong. The fact that battalion regimental size units have engaged American troops in the field certainly points out this is not just a guerrilla operation.

The editorial follows:

**THEY FIGHT BATTLES, TOO**

Much of the reporting of the Vietnamese war has tended to emphasize the little skirmish, the role of the individual soldier or the platoon. Many of the headlines have been preempted by air raids over North Vietnam. Opponents of the American role in southeast Asia talk as if that role consisted of killing women and children while showering napalm on peaceful villages. But they fight battles in Vietnam, too.

This was illustrated by the account of the success achieved by the Marines and the South Vietnamese troops against a North Vietnamese regiment near Quang Nai. Apparently, half the regiment were casualties and the rest, in the words of a Marine officer, "just survivors." And General Westmoreland confirmed the picture of real battles and real victories when, almost casually, he referred to four regular Vietcong battalions destroyed in the last few days.

This is an impressive toll. It has been customary to state Vietcong losses in terms of "body count"—a grisly method which was necessitated in part by the guerrilla nature of much of the fighting—enemy units dissolving into the jungle to reform—and in part by public skepticism over communiques might tell of routed enemies but were far from precise about what the rout actually meant.

But in plain fact, it is possible to win victories, even over guerrillas, and fairly crushing ones at that. No matter how loose a military organization may be, no matter to what extent it normally lives off the country, once it gets past the snipe-and-run stage, it must have bases, it must have assembly areas, it must have some kind of command and supply organization. The Vietcong are mustered into units, and those units can be

smashed, uprooted from their usual sources of supply, cut off from the higher command. When that happens, although there may be many survivors, they are not effective—until they can regroup, be brought up to strength and given new leadership. And if they are hustled enough, such a reorganization may not be possible.

It is this kind of defeat that the Vietcong seems to have been suffering, at an accelerating rate, in the past few months. And it is this kind of defeat that can enable the vital political and social role of pacification to be undertaken with a chance of success. Victories can be won in Vietnam—and they are being won now, Senator FULBRIGHT to the contrary notwithstanding.

**Timely Safety Proposal**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 10, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in a recent editorial, the Pittsburgh Press notes the need for a broad Federal program on highway safety. Commenting on the President's transportation message the editorial said "the President got down to brass tacks. He wants Federal standards in driver education and licensing. Better traffic control techniques. Cars designed and engineered to be safer. Better tires, safer highways."

All of us are concerned with a traffic death toll which averages a thousand lives a week.

Under leave to extend my remarks I ask that the Press editorial of March 5, 1966 be included at this point in the RECORD.

**TIMELY SAFETY PROPOSAL**

President Johnson's message to Congress on transportation was really two separate and extensive proposals which only happened to fall together.

One was a long-range plan for bringing together in one new cabinet department all Government agencies dealing with transportation—by highway, air, rail, and water. The President has some justification for his request; as he says, our transportation system is the web of our Union and it has grown without coordination.

Today the Federal Government spends about \$6 billion a year on transport matters and 100,000 Federal employees work at it, scattered in numerous agencies.

Probably greater efficiency would follow a consolidation of this effort into one department, but there will be good arguments on both sides of its creation and the question is not likely to be quickly resolved.

But as to the second part of Mr. Johnson's message, there should be little argument as to the need and urgency. That is for a broad Federal program on highway safety.

No other necessity of modern life, said the President, has brought more convenience to the American people—or more tragedy—than the auto. More Americans have died in auto accidents than have been killed in all our wars.

The President got down to brass tacks. He wants Federal standards in driver education and licensing. Better traffic control techniques. Cars designed and engineered to be safer. Better tires. Safer highways.

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illness or disease, in the maturity of years, or in the fell swoop of catastrophes, his heart has been rended by the parting. He has not been satisfied that they should entirely perish. He has sought to give concrete expression to the groping, yearning, respect, and love which he has felt.

There is much that is genuine and laudable in such tribute; for one is easily aware that there, but for provident circumstances, is he. And eventually, he knows not when or how, there he will be. We know that those persons were human beings such as we, that they too felt the urge of desires, the pull of ambitions, the lure of ideas, and the buoyancy of hope. They were cut off, some of them, at an unseemly time, and our way of life is indebted to them for their sacrifices. When we think of the extent to which our lives are dependent upon what they have contributed we fain would preserve their memory.

In a farewell sermon delivered by William Ralph Inge at Cambridge University before he went to become dean of St. Paul's in London, he declared, "Believe me the only promise of a better future for our country is to be looked for from those to whom her past is dear."

The person who does not have some respect for the day that has gone before is not likely to show much for the day which is to come. But we may say with equal truth that the past of our country is really dear only to those who strive to make for her a better future. Continually looking back to the dear, dead days beyond recall is not a fit remembrance. The really worthwhile remembrance of the dead is in the contribution to the bettering of the lot of the living. We are only worthy of the sacrifices which the dead have made for us as we give ourselves, not to smug and blind satisfaction with things as they are or have been, but rather to the improvement of what we have received from them. This is true of our national and international life and it is true of our common life in this and every other community and nation. Only as we are willing to give of our time and of our energy and of our possessions to the advancement of our country and the world at large are we being fair to those whom we claim to honor.

It is a laudable aspect of this service today that we represent more than one country recognizing that the bonds of humanity go beyond the limits of national boundaries. One of the lessons which we are learning in the 20th century, however falteringly and fragmentarily, is that we cannot rightfully or safely think of our own country alone. The narrow, jingoistic attitude which thinks of one's country to the exclusion of all others ought to have died a long time ago and it is hoped that it is dying now. For John Donne is right in asserting that "No man is an island entire of itself. Every man is a part of the continent, a piece of the main."

John Henry Newman once said that nothing is easier than to say the word "God" and not mean anything by it. We have to confess that that is a habit into which chronic religion easily slips and from which it needs to be delivered. Our utterance of words in remembrance of the dead finds its real meaning in the extent to which we honor them by doing our part to make the present better than the past.

If man is always in memory looking to his past, he is also ever casting hopeful eyes toward the future. He is like the man singing in the old slave song, "I keep my eye on the bright North Star and think of liberty." He has never been satisfied completely to rest in what has been. He is always seeking to do better in the day which approaches. This has been the way with man's restless spirit. He has worked and looked for the dawn of a new day. He has sought to realize his dreams in his utopias and his adventures.

One hundred years ago, Frederick Douglass escaped from slavery in Baltimore and fled to Massachusetts. He attended a meeting in Nantucket where William Lloyd Garrison was to give an address. Douglass was introduced and asked to speak. He said, "I am free, but I am branded with the marks of the lash \* \* \* I have not forgotten. Nor will I forget while, any place upon this earth, there are slaves."

Here is embodied the sort of spirit which will be required of us if we are to keep faith with those who have died and with the generations which will come after us. The past and the future place their obligations squarely upon us. To ignore their urgency is to betray our trust. Thomas Carlyle once referred to the mystic faculties of memory and hope through which we are able to summon both the past and the future and commune with them. We are obligated to see that both of them are allied in order that the legacy of the memory and the promise of the hope may find their fulfillment in a glorious future.

When Douglass finished speaking, Garrison inquired of the people, "Is this a thing—a chattel—or a man?" From the audience someone shouted, "He is a man. A man." Garrison continued, "And to this cause we solemnly dedicate our strength, our minds, our spirits, and our lives." It is in this heroic attitude of life that are met the honoring of the past and the hopes of the future.

SPEECH OF THE HONORABLE ALEX CAIRNS, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA, DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WAR VETERANS' ALLIANCE HELD AT BEMIDJI, MINN., JULY 31 AND AUGUST 1, 1965

It is good for all of us to have these ceremonies from time to time, for they remind us of the debt we owe to those who fought in defense of their country. They also give us an opportunity to reflect on the fact that we have now entered a strange new world. A world without national boundaries. It is now evident that every being has a stake in the conduct, not only of national affairs, but of world affairs. A spark ignited in some small almost unheard of land could again, if uncontrolled, set the whole world ablaze.

In honoring the men we think of today—I remember the Gettysburg Address of Abraham Lincoln and how well it applies to those we honor today—"The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

"It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated to the unfinished work for which they fought, have so far, so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave that last full measure of devotion; that we highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The men we honor today also fought for the same principles of liberty, freedom, and democracy as those referred to by that great American President.

We are destined to live in a time of feverish activity, of upheaval and challenge, of a world in revolt. The old dams have broken down, and the waters are flooding the land. The old continents are being submerged, and the world is being reshaped before our eyes. We might ask, What ancient fabric has fallen? What venerable tradition has been jettisoned? What new gospel has been proclaimed? It is as if we are in a world that has awakened from a sleep and has set out on a furious march under sealed orders. We are seething with a new and unintelligible life. Harmony has gone out of music, and beauty out of art. The Ten Commandments are

challenged, the exploitation of self is elevated into a religion. All of this at a time when there is more need for national and international harmony and unity than ever before in the history of mankind.

Somehow there must be another approach to the problem of human survival. The real problem is that such an approach will only be found in the willingness to common understanding—to give and take throughout the whole world—a frame of mind which, unfortunately, is entirely unacceptable to the majority of mankind today.

The sacrifice of the dead will have been in vain if civilization in fact destroys itself. The weaknesses of mankind are what lead to the physical act of war and the destruction that goes with it. That is what we must consider when we accept the torch from failing hands and promise to hold it high. The decision is that of words—thoughts—honor and morality against the reeking tube and iron shard.

These are troublesome times—with the world practically divided into two armed camps. More than any other group the ex-serviceman fully appreciates the probable consequences of war. It is among these veterans that most ardent advocates of peace are to be found. There never has been a time in the world's history when all that they stand for is more significant and more desirable than today.

In the heart of every war veteran a flame of memory burns brightly. By its light he can look back to a time when words like "freedom" and "democracy" and "loyalty" came to mean something very real. Words which in those days drew forth the best that was in them though it was, of necessity, in the worst of causes—that of war and destruction.

Personal and political liberty—freedom of speech and conscience and belief. Are such words, and what they mean, empty of all real content? Have they lost their power so that instead of being banners and trumpet calls of an ideal—they have become as ineffectual and as pathetic in their impotence as the cry of a child in the night?

No, I cannot believe it. In two world wars men fought and died for those things, and, they were never more vital to the happiness of men and women than today. The veterans organizations stand for the maintenance of the democratic way of life and the democratic principles of government that have been established at so great a cost. They are the constant reminder that blood and sacrifice have been the price paid by democracies for the priceless possession of freely elected government and political liberty. Sacred possessions of which many of us may be barely conscious—and fail to value at their true high worth simply because our good fortune has spared us any experience of life without them.

In the world of today, democracy and peace show themselves, more and more, as interchangeable terms—the one implicit in the other—mutually dependent—one on the other.

The bitter gales of hate—the winds of propaganda which drive threatening clouds of war across the universally longed-for sun of peace and prosperity—and so darken the whole modern world—do not have their origin in the democracies. They arise in no country whose people still possess these rights.

We are challenged, as with the trumpets of God, to carry into the highways and byways of life something of their own self-giving spirit. To close our divided ranks and be as united in living for the common weal as they were in dying for it. To take up a task that is even harder than the task of making war; namely, the task of keeping the peace. Many familiar things that have been landmarks of our lives for countless generations are being changed beyond re-

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call—but—the spirit endures and man can still be master of his fate.

And so today—as for a brief moment we stand in silent homage to the men who have crossed the great divide—to join the phantom army of the dead—that marches through whatever Elysian fields there may be—and where all men are comrades—let us reflect on those things—and today—in that brief space—let us climb to the high hills, bright in the sun, and with hands outstretched in greeting, let us rededicate ourselves to the great obligation which devolved upon us through their sacrifice. Let us gaze back through the wispy haze of memory to those never-to-be-forgotten days that terminated with our service. Let us renew our pledge to them to keep green in the minds of our generation at least the thought that in two world wars to end all war—men died to preserve the liberty and freedom we enjoy. They serve till death—why not we?

A quiet solemnity holds our hearts today. Memory turns back the pages and recalls the days of stress and anxiety through which all were called to pass. Wounds, which the kindly hand of time is beginning to heal, are just a little touched again—the past sorrow just a little revived. We would not have it otherwise. With proud acclaim we hear once again the rollcall of those whose names live forever more—a goodly array of martyrs, a noble army—men and boys. We bow our heads and hearts in humble thankfulness for great deliverances wrought on our behalf—for the preservation of the sanctities of life—and—for the memory of those who through suffering obtained the crown of everlasting life.

Of no previous national deliverance can it be said that, after such a lapse of years, we keep the memorial as fervently as we do this one. There is no abatement of sincerity. We gather round the lamp of remembrance today with as much desire, love and gratitude in our hearts as we did on that first anniversary of the day. A day to be proud of, a day to which we can look back, and from which we can look forward without any boastful thought or unworthy motive.

A great cloud of witnesses stands guard over us today and over the memory of the past. May we be accounted worthy of such immortal company.

They grow not old, as we who are left grow old. Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn. At the going down of the sun, and in the morning we will remember them.

## Need for Freedom Academy Increases

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it is to be hoped that early next January the House will enact the long-awaited Freedom Academy bill which once some years ago was approved by the Senate and which, this year, has been unanimously approved by the appropriate legislative committee of the House. Senate approval should follow the House action.

Indicative of the rapidly growing support for this important and needed legislation is a recent editorial in the San Francisco News Call-Bulletin. I ask unanimous consent that this straight-

forward editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

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

## FREEDOM ACADEMY

The cold war goes on, with varying degrees of temperature, but it does continue and is a major fact of our lifetime.

If the late President Kennedy was right, it also will be a major fact of our children's lifetimes.

This being so, it behooves the United States to conduct it with all the skills this country can muster.

A House committee has just voted out a bill to create a Freedom Academy which would train Government and private citizens in the science and art of nonmilitary conflict against communism.

It would cover such fields as psychology, politics, economics, and technology.

We have plenty of know-how in this country already in this field. They need to be brought into focus for the purposes of the cold war.

We hope this measure is pushed through this session of Congress and not lost as our Representatives show an increasing concern to adjourn.

## H.R. 4170

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I join the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS] in urging the House to adopt H.R. 4170, a bill to provide for adjustments in the annuities of certain retired Foreign Service officers. Like the gentleman from Ohio I too urge adoption with some reluctance. But given the attitude of the other body, it seems desirable that we salvage what we can of this bill.

One of the fundamental purposes of the bill as it passed the House last year and again this year was to provide a measure of equity for the older retired Foreign Service officers and their widows. Throughout the consideration of this measure the subcommittee was most anxious to relieve the Congress of private bills for the relief of distressed widows. Since I have served on the subcommittee during the past decade, we have had to consider many such bills. Our thought was to enact a comprehensive measure that would eliminate such bills. As a result of the Senate amendments, I anticipate that we may expect more private bills.

The Senate amendments affect those Foreign Service officers who retired before October 16, 1960, and who were married at the time but who, upon retirement, made no provision for a survivor annuity. The House bill would have permitted such individuals to elect a survivor annuity of \$2,400 for which they would pay \$300 a year from October 16, 1960 to the effective date of the measure and would also pay \$300 a year as the current cost of such an annuity.

The effect of the Senate amendment

is to require these retired officers who now make such an election to start their repayments from the date of their retirement which in some cases goes back 20 years and to repay at the old rate of \$1,200 a year. Thus some individuals would have to pay back about \$24,000 in order to provide a survivor annuity of \$2,400. This approach clearly defeats the purpose that our subcommittee, the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and this House has in mind.

I would expect that any retired Foreign Service officer who qualified for an election under the amended Senate language would proceed cautiously before making an election. He should be aware that his estate will be liable for any unpaid balances owed the Government. On the other hand, I would hope the Government would use restraint in seeking to impose a large liability on relatively small estates.

I am glad the gentleman from Ohio referred to the mechanics of repayment. The bill as it passed both Houses authorized the Secretary to make arrangements with annuitants who make an election to pay the cost of a survivor annuity in monthly installments. The House version made clear that this was to be in the form of a deduction from the annuitant's monthly check. The effect of the Senate amendment is to leave this matter unsettled. To require the Secretary to send out a monthly check and then have the annuitant send in a monthly check adds heavy administrative costs and burdens. I certainly should do nothing to increase paperwork in Government. I hope that nothing would be done to increase paperwork in Government.

There are many other commendable provisions in this bill that were not touched by the Senate amendments. On balance I think we have a measure that will help a number of the older retired Foreign Service officers and their widows. Therefore, I am urging my colleagues to support H.R. 4170 as amended by the Senate.

## Voting Record

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit my voting record on major substantive issues during the first session of the 89th Congress. The record-breaking volume of legislation is reflected by the greatest number of roll-calls in the history of Congress for a single session which has put considerable stress and strain on the time and patience of Members of the House of Representatives. Notwithstanding this pressure, I am pleased to report that I was in attendance on the floor of the House for 100 percent of the rollcall votes on legislation during this session.

My voting record follows:

cult for most white people to know the feeling of rejection, of being on the very periphery of life, that must be the pervasive force in the lives of the untrained and unskilled Negro. He has been uprooted from a simpler environment, and lives for the most part as a rootless and unproductive unit in a large city. It is not at all strange that strong emotions, including hatred and revenge, rise to the surface. It will not be an easy job, but these people must be trained so that they too can become part of the productive world.

#### WHY WE ARE IN VIETNAM TODAY

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, during the Korean war, Adlai Stevenson told the story of an American soldier—from Indianapolis, I believe—who explained our Nation's presence in Korea in this way: "Dear Mom, we are fighting today in Korea so that we won't have to fight tomorrow in Indianapolis."

This helps to explain, I believe, why we are in Vietnam today. I believe strongly that the greater number of Americans accept this and support our presence in Vietnam, despite the tragedy of wasted life which war inevitably brings.

I think it is important for the Nation to be reminded often of this fact. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record this editorial from the Baltimore News American of August 13.

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

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, Aug. 13, 1965]

#### KNOWING THE ENEMY

President Johnson is correct in stating that "there is no substantial division in this country \* \* \* and no substantial division in Congress" over his Vietnam policy.

The American people, in fact, would be aghast at anything even resembling a surrender, a pull-out, a sell-out.

There is a deep national consciousness of the meaning of the Vietnam struggle. There is a broad understanding that if aggressive communism is not halted in Vietnam it will have to be faced elsewhere—and possibly closer to home.

This does not imply that there is no dissent in the Nation over Vietnam. There is, and in this free society it would be surprising if there were not.

Such dissent was expressed the other day by protesting marchers who illegally invaded the Capitol grounds in Washington. They were, of course, arrested—with considerable mistreatment on the part of police, as eye-witnessed by a reporter—and their demonstration collapsed.

The marchers included persons of high intellectual attainment, as well as those of the Beatnik and unwashed variety. Can they not realize that the war in Vietnam is being fought precisely to preserve their right to march, to protest, to dissent?

#### A PROFLIGATE CONGRESS

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, the Omaha, Nebr., World-Herald on August 28 published an editorial in which the Congress is taken to task for appropriating more money than some of the executive agencies have required.

We have left ourselves open to this justifiable criticism by one of the Midwest's great newspapers, and I feel it is time that we do something about it.

With increasingly heavy defense requirements and a never-ending series of requests from the administration for funds to finance Great Society programs, it is imperative that we face up to the fact that someday the well will run dry. We must give more attention to fiscal responsibility and abandon the idea that deficit financing is not dangerous. It is dangerous if this country is to remain strong and free.

Much has been said in recent weeks, Mr. President, about having both guns and butter. I believe we have come to the fork in the road where we must make a decision. The national best interest must be given first consideration, and part of that consideration must be the determination to keep the United States solvent. If this country falls apart at the seams financially, the whole free world will suffer along with us.

Last January 19, I introduced again a Senate joint resolution which I have been sponsoring for several years, designed to force an end to deficit spending.

My proposal is Senate Joint Resolution 30. I have been joined as cosponsors by Senators BYRD of Virginia, HRUSKA of Nebraska, THURMOND of South Carolina, and LAUSCHÉ of Ohio.

Senate Joint Resolution 30 would require that Congress remain in session until provision has been made for a balanced budget during the next fiscal year, and at the same time make a minimum payment of \$500 million toward our national debt.

I know, Mr. President, that my colleagues are as concerned as I about maintaining the United States in its present position of strength and freedom. I firmly believe that keeping our country financially sound is a major factor in this. I hope that Senators serving on the Judiciary Committee will heed my plea to bring Senate Joint Resolution 30 to the Senate floor for consideration.

The rank and file of the country's citizens bear by far the greater share of the tax burden, Mr. President. It is in the interest of these millions of Americans that I feel so strongly we must put a brake on spending and start reducing our national debt.

One of our illustrious former colleagues said just a few days ago, in an entirely different connection, that the clock is ticking away. It is ticking away, too, Mr. President, toward the hour that we must make a determined effort to cut back Federal spending and start paying the bill we now are running up for future generations.

I ask unanimous consent that the Omaha World-Herald editorial published August 28, 1965, be inserted in the Record at this point.

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

#### A PROFLIGATE CONGRESS

This is an extraordinarily pliant Congress, as its record has made plain. What Mr. Johnson wants, Mr. Johnson gets.

As for appropriations, Mr. Johnson in fact has been getting more than he asked for in a number of instances.

When the President requested \$1,500 million for his antipoverty program, the House increased that figure by \$400 million.

When Mr. Johnson asked for a military pay increase averaging about 5 percent, the Congress doubled it.

The White House asked for a little less than \$6 billion for public housing; the House voted a little more than \$6 billion; the Senate raised the figure to \$7,500 million, and the figure finally agreed on was even more, \$7,800 million.

Spending for medicare and increased social security was originally set at \$6 billion. The House increased this by \$200 million. The Senate made the total \$7,600 million, and the conference committee cut it back to \$6,500 million.

With the Congress acting in such irresponsible fashion, Mr. Johnson was in a position to play the role of a fiscal conservative. And this he might have done quite convincingly if he had announced that the Senators and Representatives were overreaching themselves on spending and that he had no intention of using all the money voted.

But no such word has come from Mr. Johnson, nor is it expected. The associate architects of the Great Society are openly gleeful because Congress has been so generous, and there is no reason to suppose that the chief architect, Mr. Johnson, is desolated by such generosity.

The Tulsa Tribune recently referred to the lawmakers as "a runaway Congress" that doesn't have to balance a budget, and seems to act as if it had a mandate to outspend the biggest spender in White House history, namely Mr. Johnson.

All of which makes for a fine political position for the President, but stores up a lot of inflationary trouble for the rest of the country. It also raises some questions about future Congresses and whether there ever will be a serious effort by the legislative branch to hold down spending.

The American Congress is unusual among legislative bodies in the free world, in that it has the power to increase spending estimates submitted to it by the executive department.

In Britain and the Western European countries, the legislature can grant the amount asked, can cut it, or can refuse to appropriate any funds at all, but the legislature cannot appropriate more than the spenders ask for.

With the present Congress acting so irresponsibly on spending, and with the President permitting such profligacy, it may be time to give some serious thought to a constitutional change that would forbid Congress to vote more money than the President asks.

#### MRS. AMERICA—UTAH WINS AGAIN

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, all of us from Utah have known for years that our mothers are the best in the Nation and that consistently our Utah girls will always be at the top of most beauty and talent contests.

Earlier this year Mrs. Harvey Fletcher of Provo, Utah, was named the 1965 "Mother of the Year." Just 10 years ago another Utahan, also was named "Mother of the Year." I could go on and list Miss America, Miss Universe, and any other number of contest winners down through the years as well.

Now, Utah is honored to have in its ranks Mrs. America for 1965. She is Mrs. Don L.—Alice—Buehner, who won the contest over the last weekend in San Diego, Calif. She is the mother of six lovely children—all who were convinced

that their mother was the best long before the judges proved it to the Nation.

The announcement of her victory deserves widespread recognition and I ask unanimous consent that an article by the Salt Lake Tribune's Stephanie Smith interviewing her family after the award be inserted at this point in the Record.

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

[From the Salt Lake City Tribune, Aug. 30, 1965]

Mrs. AMERICA—Our "BEST" MOM,  
U.S. BEST, TOO

(By Stephanie Smith)

"We think she's the best mother in the whole world," Dale Buehner, 10, said Sunday after a phone call from dad telling him that his mother, Mrs. Don L. (Alice) Buehner, had been chosen Mrs. America, Saturday evening.

When Dad relayed the message, Dale said, "I think I'm going to faint."

Seven-year-old Gary, who catches squirrels and chipmunks near home in the Mount Olympus wooded area, said only, "Hey, dad, I've got a new trap."

#### ONLY GIRL

Lisa, 3 year old, the only girl among the family of six children, said, "Daddy called us because mom was too busy having her picture taken."

"He talked to all of us except Jeff because I hung up. I thought Jeff already had talked to him."

Mrs. Walter (Jeanne) Welti, Mrs. Buehner's mother, said, "I think she deserves the title, but we certainly didn't expect her to win."

#### WHOLE FAMILY

And the whole Buehner family is convinced their mother is the best, Jeff, 5, reported that the only time she ever became cross was when he hurt someone. "And that isn't very often."

Dale commented that "She isn't grouchy with us, keeps a house neat and is a pretty good cook. Her meatloaf is really good." He added, "She sings and paints a lot, too."

Gary said he watched the contest on television, "But mom was on for just a minute. Dad was on longer."

#### SWIM LESSONS

"Mom is special," Lisa said, "because she takes me swimming at my friend's all the time. I'm taking swimming lessons, too," she remarked.

The 2-year-old, Bobby, when asked where his mommy was, replied, "She's gone."

The baby of the family, 8-month-old Donnie, went on eating his canned vegetables as if nothing at all had happened.

#### FOREIGN AID

Mr. BREWSTER, Mr. President, many years ago it became a cliché to say that foreign aid has no constituents—to assert that because the benefits of foreign aid are dissipated beyond our national borders, support for foreign aid appropriations was difficult to justify.

I am one who believes deeply in the justice and the necessity of foreign aid.

I believe our national interest requires this aid—and I believe our national honor demands it. As President Johnson said not long ago, "We did not choose to be the guardian at the gate." No, we did not choose to be the guardian—but history has chosen us. And if we are to live up to the demands of history, we must be willing to appor-

tion a small part of our vast resources so that other nations may be assisted in achieving internal development, military security, and a better life for all.

I was impressed recently by an excellent editorial in the Des Moines Register. I commend to my colleagues, and I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record, this editorial, published Monday, August 23: "Foreign Aid Continued."

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

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Aug. 23, 1965]

#### FOREIGN AID CONTINUED

Differences in Congress over foreign aid usually center around the amount to vote for foreign military and economic assistance. This time President Johnson submitted the lowest request in the history of the foreign aid program—for \$3.38 billion—and both houses voted to authorize close to this amount. Nevertheless, the foreign aid bill remained tied up in a bitterly deadlocked House-Senate conference committee for 2 months before agreement was reached last week on a compromise, which was approved Thursday in the House.

The deadlock developed over the Senate's determination to bring about fundamental overhaul of the foreign aid program. The Senate sought to achieve this by authorizing foreign aid funds for a 2-year period but stipulating that aid under the program should terminate as of June 30, 1967. The President was directed by the Senate in the interim to bring in plans by July 1, 1966, for a new program in accordance with guidelines contained in the Senate authorization bill. Provision was also made for a 16-member "Foreign Aid Planning Committee," to be made up mostly of Congressmen, to advise and assist the President and to make its own report by January 3, 1967.

The House conferees objected to the 2-year authorization, terminating the existing program and requiring the proposed studies. Senate Members gave up the 2-month battle after extracting a face-saving compromise in which the President was merely urged "to inaugurate a review of the aid program as presently constituted."

The Senate-passed authorization measure would have required the President to submit proposals for separating economic and military aid programs and providing for administration of nonmilitary assistance under a single agency. This would have constituted a valuable reform.

But more harm than good could well have come from the Senate's insistence that the entire aid program be scrapped and started over afresh. One of the major weaknesses of the foreign aid program has been the instability and uncertainty caused by the succession of overhauls and reorganizations inflicted by Congress on the administering agency.

The authorization measure must still clear the Senate, and bills providing the actual appropriations have to be acted on by both Houses. But the major hurdles have been cleared, providing assurance that the United States again fully intends to honor the foreign economic and military assistance commitments it has been responsibly assuming since the end of World War II in the interest of world peace and economic progress.

**JAMES V. BENNETT, FORMER DIRECTOR OF BUREAU OF PRISONS, SUPPORTS BILL TO COMPENSATE VICTIMS OF CRIMES**

Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. President, one of the great public servants which

this country has had during this generation is James V. Bennett. For 27 years he served as Director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. In his years of service in this post, prisoners, lawyers, Representatives, Senators, judges, and just plain citizens grew to admire and respect this man for his compassion and firm will.

Last August, when he retired, speeches in his praise echoed both in this Chamber and the House. Many of us felt that his retirement would mean that the country would, henceforth, be deprived of his counsel, advice, and wisdom; but, fortunately, he is still concerning himself with problems and issues at the very forefront of criminal law.

The other day, I was greatly pleased to receive a letter from him, congratulating me on my introduction of a bill to compensate the victims of violent crimes. He has even gone so far as to offer to appear at hearings on the bill when they are held. I can think of few men either in the United States or in the world at large who would be more qualified to testify on such a plan. I hope that such hearings are held soon and I look forward to hearing Mr. Bennett's testimony.

I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Bennett's letter printed in the Record.

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

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
BUREAU OF PRISONS,  
Washington, July 14, 1965.

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I was delighted at the introduction of your bill to compensate the victims of certain crimes. It is a proposal that has been discussed frequently here, in the United Nations meetings on crime and delinquency, and at a number of judicial conferences during my tenure as Director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. It has also been discussed from time to time by the section on criminal law of the American Bar Association, on which I have served as an officer for a good many years. I am sure you are also aware that Justice Goldberg has propounded the idea.

I am confident that the introduction of your bill will crystallize the tremendous support that I know exists for it. In the event hearings are scheduled, I would like very much to appear. The bill is well drafted, but I may have some further suggestions as to details.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

JAMES V. BENNETT,  
Consultant.

*Bill*  
THE FREEDOM ACADEMY IS  
NEEDED

Mr. MUNDT, Mr. President, from far and near across the land, there is a rising crescendo of support for enactment of the so-called Freedom Academy bill, once passed by the Senate, and recently unanimously approved by the appropriate legislative committee of the House. All that now delays House action is the need to get a rule from the House Rules Committee which will clear the legislation for action on the House floor.

Recently, Henry Mayers, chairman of the Cold War Council, headquartered at

2301 West Third Street, Los Angeles, Calif., was interviewed on station KNBC-TV of Los Angeles on the needs and the proposed programs of a freedom academy. I ask unanimous consent that this interview appear at this point in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

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

THE FREEDOM ACADEMY

(TV interview with Henry Mayers (excerpts from transcript), station KNBC, Los Angeles)

BOB WRIGHT. With us here in the studio is the man who founded the Cold War Council and is now its chairman. Henry Mayers is a Los Angeles advertising executive. He was named advertising man of the year for 1957 by the Western States Advertising Agencies Association. During the next half hour, we will question him closely on the merits of this new organization. Joining me in the questioning will be KRCA reporters Bill Brandt and Bob Brackett. We'll begin the questioning with Mr. Brackett.

Question. Mr. Mayers, would you give us some background on the Cold War Council? What's its primary purpose?

Answer. The council is a group of citizens in communications industries. We are primarily concerned with the fact that the nonmilitary activities of Communists around the world represent as great a threat to our security and our survival as the military capacity of the Soviet Union. In the military area we have a \$55 billion defense budget that is insurance against military aggressions by the Communists in the free world. We need comparable insurance against nonmilitary aggressions in the form of political warfare of the type that enabled the Soviets to put Cuba into the Communist bloc. The free world lacks the capacity to prevent more Cubas. We have yet to develop techniques, strategies, and weapons that can counteract that kind of Communist activity. In political warfare their strategy and weapons are today overwhelmingly superior to ours.

Only when we develop what the Cold War Council calls a freedom offensive to counteract the Kremlin's drive for world domination, will free world nations be assured of security in the nonmilitary area. If we do not develop such capacity, Communist political power may continue to expand throughout the undeveloped world. We may ultimately be faced with no other alternatives than surrender or nuclear war.

Question. Your organization talks a great deal about a freedom academy. Exactly what is this, and what is the status of the project?

Answer. That happens to be the only example of what might be called cold war legislation that is before Congress today. Unfortunately, it has been before Congress for 3 years, and it has been largely neglected, pigeonholed in committees. It is opposed by the State Department, although a Gallup poll revealed that about 4 out of 5 people who have an opinion on it, favor the idea.

Question. I think we might like to examine that. Could you tell us in a very few words what is the freedom academy?

Answer. A freedom academy is to be set up by a Commission, under the freedom commission bill. It calls for a six-man Commission of three Democrats and three Republicans, structurally very much like the Atomic Energy Commission. While they develop atomic power, this commission would seek to develop our capacity for nonmilitary warfare in all phases. It would conduct research and it would establish an academy for training American citizens who work overseas, and also citizens of other free world nations. That, in its essence, is the purpose of the freedom commission bill.

Question. Well, can't all of this be done through existing agencies like the USIA and the Foreign Service School, and the State Department?

Answer. The freedom commission bill was introduced because, despite the need, nothing like that has been done. There has been no coordinated effort and integrated study of the kind that bill recommends. The existing agencies you mention do not believe that there is necessity for it.

Question. Who would formulate the program that would be taught in the school? What sort of people would you get on your faculty, as it were, of this freedom academy?

Answer. All over the free world there are people, mostly outside of government, who devote full time to the problems of the cold war. They are very dedicated and very clear in their basic concepts as to what must be done to counteract Communist political warfare. The problem, in our country, is not finding people or knowing what they would teach, but having the will to take the waging of propaganda and political warfare as seriously as the Communists do.

Question. Let me ask you specifically. Would somebody like Dr. Fred C. Schwarz—who is a self-styled expert in this area, at least—would he be a welcome addition to the faculty of the Freedom Academy if it existed today?

Answer. I doubt it very much. An expert on political warfare must be more than an expert on communism. The men whom I refer to are not identified with any crusading effort. Some are political scientists, some are ex-diplomats, some are ex-military men, some are foreign correspondents. There's one group in the University of Pennsylvania known as the Foreign Policy Research Institute. They write scholarly volumes on the subject, such as "Protracted Conflict," "A Forward Strategy for America," and "The New Frontier of War." These are \$5, \$6, and \$7 books. One of the purposes of the Cold War Council is to try to bring the thoughts of these people down to the grassroots—to put their views in briefer, more digestible form, for the average person to grasp. A Cold War Council booklet that costs us a few cents relays some of the ideas these \$6 books contain.

Question. Mr. Mayers, aren't their ideas being used within the present organizations, like the foreign policy school, the Foreign Service School?

Answer. Not their basic theory of the necessity for going on a freedom offensive. That is not being taught, because our present Government doesn't see the danger as we see it. Our policymakers go on the assumption that anything that would embarrass the Soviets or put them in a bad light would be regarded as provocative and increase tensions and make negotiations more difficult. This is what the Soviets love to have them think. We think just the opposite.

Question. Are you saying, then, that the Government has a "no win" policy?

Answer. That's a rather oversimplified statement. What the world needs is a "no win" policy on the part of the Soviet Union. Our policy should be to try to force such a development within the Soviet Union, by actively cultivating opinion behind the Iron Curtain. There are tensions there, too. There are the Soviet youth, the scientists and the manager group—they're not necessarily out for world domination, the way the present Kremlin leadership is.

Question. Isn't there built into this sort of a notion, a terrible chance that rather than embarrass the Soviets, we'd embarrass our own Government by having State go in one direction and this new superagency going in another direction in these countries?

Answer. The concept that political warfare is not necessarily the business of diplomats is basic to the position of the Cold

War Council. The State Department hasn't built-in authority, under our Constitution to make foreign policy. Only the President has that authority. He decides what he wants the State Department to do, to carry out that policy. If the President chooses to set up another organization like a Freedom Commission or a strategy board, there's nothing that necessarily involves any conflict. As a matter of fact, there are White House advisers right now who would in a sense be encroaching on the State Department's area, if that were their exclusive area. That's the big issue. We feel that diplomats are not necessarily conflict managers.

Question. In a sense, since the Soviets don't admit their underhanded propaganda, so to speak—if we would have a person on the President's staff, wouldn't this be in a sense admitting that we were doing propaganda?

Answer. By all means, we should admit it. One of our inhibitions is fear of the word "propaganda," because it can only mean lies or underhanded activity. This is a mistake. We're talking about political communication. You can use any words you want. But the truth has to be presented about the nature and the objectives of the United States, and about the fact that we are the only legitimate revolution in history. We must also tell the truth about the nature of the enemy. BOBBY KENNEDY came back convinced by that. He saw that we must do more than just talk about ourselves. We must talk about the threat those people are facing, when they believe Communist promises.

Question. Is it possible to sell freedom?

Answer. I don't think you should sell anything but the self-interest of the people whom we are addressing. That's where the Communists are very clever. They identify themselves with the self-interest of the people. Of course, they deceive them. They promise the laboring groups better conditions, and once they get in control, those people are slaves of the state. They promise the farmers more land, but once they get in control, the state takes over the land. So it's the deceptions that must be brought out, so that the Communists do not get away with the claim that they are the wave of the future, when they're really nothing but the wave of a return to feudalism under state capitalism.

Question. I'd like to follow the question Mr. Brandt raised a few minutes ago, about embarrassing our Government. If we might take a specific. Suppose we launched the program you're describing, to try to capitalize on the unrest in Communist China. Suppose that due to that program and the current food shortage, the revolution did start in China. Wouldn't the U.S. Government face quite a dilemma? If it went in to support the revolution, it might lead to a nuclear war. If it didn't do anything, as with Hungary, we'd get an even bigger black eye.

Answer. We could do nothing more foolish than to create another Hungary anywhere. But the idea that you arbitrarily barge in and try to create revolution is not the concept of nonmilitary warfare. There are antiregime groups in all of these countries to be guided in nonviolent channels. If we had been really alert to the proper cultivation of such anti-Communist forces behind the Iron Curtain, we might have prevented the unnecessary slaughter of a Hungary. But we were not in contact with that leadership. In every one of these satellite countries there are divisions, there are tensions, there is the capacity to force concessions from a government that is not serving the interests of the people.

Political warfare is a more sophisticated form of warfare than military action or civil revolt. It can slowly weaken a regime. There are tremendous conflicts between the people of Russia and the Kremlin, too. Our con-

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cern is to cultivate the potential opposition. We are fighting the Kremlin, not the Russian people. We think they're on our side, and that it's just an accident that communism and Leninism took hold of Russia.

Question. How do these trained agents of the Freedom Academy get that information into Russia? We can't even get our radio broadcasts into Russia.

Answer: That's a misunderstanding. The potential is increasing every day, and it is already very great, to get news and information into Russia. There are organizations such as the American Committee for Liberation, which is continually broadcasting into all of the U.S.S.R. countries from Munich. There is an organization called NTS which is a completely underground one, which has not only mobile radios, but all sorts of methods of bringing literature in by ships, and by other means. The Iron Curtain is not as airtight as you imply. We just haven't got the will to pursue our opportunities. Incidentally, Mr. Sarnoff, being highly skilled in the technical field of broadcasting, developed a number of recommendations such as dropping down very inexpensive receiving sets. There's no communication problem we can't solve, if we have the will to approach it the way we approach military problems.

Question. But do we have the people to do it? This presupposes a large, very skillful, well trained force. Where would these people come from?

Answer. There are quite a few in America, and all over the world there are anti-Communist organizations who are working on these things right now. But they're working under great handicaps, whereas the Communists get their guidance, support and all sorts of aid from Soviet Russia. Most of these anti-Communist groups are utterly without support, especially if they happen to represent what you might call the anti-Communist left, which doesn't happen to be in power in the country.

Now the Soviets don't care who is in power. They not only set up a Communist Party, they get front organizations to carry out their line, regardless. We should do the same. We have to get leaders of the countries telling their people the story. Not the story of the United States, necessarily. This is not a war between the United States and Soviet Russia, or conflict of two systems of society, a concept which the Soviets would love to have us believe. This is a conflict between a tremendous totalitarian, imperialistic power and all the people of the world whom they would like to put under state slavery.

Question. Mr. Mayers, if I understand you right, you're saying that we should use some of the methods the Communists are presently using—some of the heavy, underhanded methods.

Answer. There's nothing underhanded about telling the free world, anti-Communist story, or about the methods to be used. The anti-Communist story has to be told by natives of each country to the people of that country. That is one Communist strategy we can adopt. We, too, can subsidize the activities of the newspapers and the radio stations, the authors and the scholars in those countries. I say subsidize in a perfectly legitimate and open sense. There's nothing cloak and dagger about this at all. But we have to make the effort that they do. The best comparison I can make is that we spend about \$120 million a year on an information agency and they spend \$2 billion a year on all forms of propaganda and political activity. They have 500,000 paid agents around the world doing these things. They will go into a small country where we have an Embassy of maybe 10 or 20 people and they'll have 150 people in the Soviet Embassy. What are they doing? They're not taking care of diplomatic niceties.

Question. Mr. Mayers, most experts in the field express the thought that the Russians fear an atomic war as much as we do. They don't want it any more than we do. Do you think that if we were to launch a propaganda offensive of this kind that this might create an atmosphere where a hot war would be more desirable to them?

Answer. The Cold War Council believes there is greater danger of a hot war in our present policies of inaction in the face of Communist political aggressions. We think that unless we go on the offensive and convince the Kremlin that they cannot win control of Latin America, Africa and Asia and the Near East, they have no reason to abandon their designs for world conquest. The Russian people do fear war. As far as the Kremlin is concerned, our military are pretty well convinced that the Soviets won't make any hasty decision about going to war when we have the capacity of retaliation that we have. The Russian people think that the United States wants to bomb them largely because the Kremlin spends great sums of money propagandizing the Russian people. Propaganda is one of the biggest industries inside Russia, as well as its greatest export.

If they still have to do that, after 40 years, you can imagine how vulnerable they are to a countereffort which doesn't necessarily preach bloody revolution or anything as superficial as that, but that encourages the forces within Russia which are going to change the character of the leadership in the Kremlin, some day. The policies we recommend would accelerate that change.

Question. Isn't it true that the basic battleground you speak of is in the nonwhite areas of the world today? Don't you feel that we have some problems here at home that we ought to cope with?

Answer. I don't think there's any connection between the two. Except, of course, that the Communists will take advantage of any and every one of our injustices and our tensions. They make the most of them and they also invent them, whether there is a basis or not. But they have injustices and discontents and tensions, too, and we have to make the most of their vulnerabilities. If your question means, "Do you think we ought to do nothing until we have solved our race problem in the South," I'd say absolutely no, because that problem may be with us for many years. We are facing a challenge right now which is not a debating society challenge. We can't afford to lose a few more countries in Latin America as we've lost Cuba. We haven't a perfect society and we will not have it a hundred years from now—but that's no reason why we shouldn't defend the society we have, right now.

Question. Mr. Mayers, you've claimed, I believe, that your group is nonpartisan. And yet, isn't it true that you have said that one of the reasons your Freedom Academy bill has not passed Congress is that Senator FULBRIGHT, a liberal Democrat, is opposed to it?

Answer. I haven't said that, although I believe he is opposed to it. There are many reasons why it hasn't passed. I would say it's chiefly because of the lack of interest on the part of the public, or rather, a lack of awareness of its existence.

Question. Wasn't the bill introduced by Senator MUNDT, a conservative Republican?

Answer. It was jointly written by Senator MUNDT, a conservative Republican, and Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, a liberal Democrat. It's sponsored by 12 Senators of both parties, and in the House it was introduced by SYDNEY HERRLONG, a Democrat, and WALTER JUDG, a Republican. No, there's nothing partisan about the congressional sponsorship of the Freedom Commission bill. It requires that there be three Republicans and three Democrats on it; it requires that the Commission members be approved by both Houses.

Question. Then there isn't any political group that's holding up this bill in Congress?

Answer. I wouldn't say it's a political group. I would say it's the State Department chiefly. The history of it is that it actually passed the Senate at the end of the 1961 session by a voice vote. It had cleared the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee with a very strong endorsement in which they said it was one of the most important bills ever offered the Senate. It was too late in the session for it to go to the House. Next session it was reintroduced, but Mr. FULBRIGHT asked that it be referred to his committee. That was in February 1961, and it still isn't out of his committee. The reason he gives is that he asked the executive department for their views on it and he couldn't hold hearings until they gave their views. He waited 15 months for the State Department to answer his request. That was 4 months ago.

Question. Would the Cold War Council be concerned exclusively with the external manifestations of communism? You are not interested in the areas that the John Birch Society is, for instance.

Answer. We are concerned only with the external threat and what can be done about it in the field of political communications. The Cold War Council, you know, was founded by citizens engaged in advertising, public relations, and the communications fields.

BOB WRIGHT. "Sorry, time's up."

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, in addition to this fine interview, Henry Mayers and his widely recognized Cold War Council have been getting out pamphlets and brochures explaining the purposes of the Freedom Academy and the overall weakness in America's cold war activities because of our continuing failure to tool up our cold war arsenal and effectively to train the necessary personnel to meet the challenges of modern cold war techniques.

Among the rapidly growing list of important American newspapers and magazines which have endorsed the Freedom Academy legislation is the San Diego Union of San Diego, Calif. I ask consent that an editorial from this fine metropolitan paper entitled "Freedom Academy Is Needed" be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

#### WOULD TEACH REDS' TACTICS: FREEDOM ACADEMY IS NEEDED

For 5 years now, House and Senate proposals for the establishment of a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy have been thwarted in Congress even as the United States continues to suffer hot and cold war defeats at the hands of atheistic communism.

Quite simply stated, what is proposed is a West Point for psychological purposes, an academy to be staffed by experts on communism to teach both Americans and foreigners the techniques of the enemy.

In the forefront opposing the proposal has been our own State Department, with a 20-year history of hot and cold war defeats, telling proponents that Government has agencies equipped to carry out any psychological missions required against the enemy.

In response, we would ask when it is going to begin using them. Russia has 6,000 special schools on espionage, subversion, infiltration, agitation, and propaganda devoted to selling atheistic communism in any way it feels is necessary.

Perhaps the State Department's objections could be better understood if this were a



partisan bill, backed by Republicans or conservatives within the Congress. But it has the stamp of approval of both Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals.

Objections raised are all the more startling when weighed in light of the fact that no research or educational institution has been established either inside or out of Government devoted to study in depth of continuing problems raised by Communist techniques.

The Senate approved the proposal on August 31, 1960, the House failed to act, and it has been returned annually to committee ever since. A ray of hope shone through this last spring when new hearings were conducted by Representative EDWIN E. WILLIS, Democrat, of Louisiana, and his subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Part of the blame for delay has been distrust based upon fear that the academy would become either a fortress of militant anti-Communists or, on the other hand, become infiltrated with Communists.

With an elite commission of seven, appointed by the President, subject to ratification by the Senate, such assumptions on both sides of the argument are patently ridiculous. As a part of the executive branch of Government, it would be the commission's job to run the academy along guidelines set by Congress.

Senator KARL MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota, one of the prime movers, hopes the proposal, advanced in 8 House bills and backed by 11 of his Senate colleagues, will be put to a House vote soon. We couldn't agree more concerning the urgency for action.

#### FEDERAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, in view of the increasing concern with the impact of Federal research and development funds on higher education, I believe that many of my colleagues will be interested in the cogent analysis of the problem presented by Mr. Dael Wolfe in his article, "The Support of Science in the United States," which appeared in the July issue of Scientific American.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

#### THE SUPPORT OF SCIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

(NOTE.—The sharp and sustained increase in funds has improved research and has benefited the investigator. Nevertheless, serious questions are being raised about the financing of research in universities.)

(By Dael Wolfe)

This year in the United States nearly \$21 billion—3.2 percent of the gross national product—will be spent for research and development. Some two-thirds of the funds will be supplied by the Federal Government. "Research and development" includes basic research, applied research and engineering, design and even the development of prototypes; it is a broad category, but it does encompass all forms of scientific research. Not long ago the support of science was primarily the business of the colleges and universities and some voluntary agencies; before World War II the Federal Government's contribution was largely in agricultural research and the work of such agencies as the U.S. Geological Survey and the Naval Observatory. It was not until 1942 that the country's expenditures on science reached \$1 billion. A steady growth in the support of science continued through the war and after-

ward; beginning in 1953 there was a sharp and sustained rise of huge proportions. Since 1953 the country has increased its expenditures for science at an average rate of 13 percent a year. The most striking rise has been in the contribution of the Federal Government, which has grown at a rate of nearly 20 percent a year. Although spending for development is leveling off, appropriations for academic research will continue to increase at about the present rate for some years.

The funds spent for scientific work during the past two decades have provided research opportunities on a scale previously unimagined. All fields of science have benefited from the better equipment, special facilities, greater freedom from constraints and larger number of workers made possible by the increased budgets. The award of Nobel prizes is one measure of the growing strength of basic research in this country; in the 1930's Nobel prizes were awarded to 9 American scientists, in the 1940's to 13 of them and in the 1950's to 27. Meanwhile the economy of the country has gained enormously from the upsurge in technological research and development. In 1953 research and development accounted for 11 percent of all industrial investment; in 1962 research and development absorbed about 25 percent.

The subject is nonetheless surrounded by disquiet. In Congress and in the executive branch, in the universities and learned societies and foundations questions are being raised about the manner in which science is financed. Most of the questions deal not with the adequacy of the national effort but with the effects of the massive Federal contribution on the course of science and in particular on the conduct of basic research in the universities.

Evidence of this concern is found in a rapidly growing list of policy studies and program analyses. The National Academy of Sciences is midway in a series of reports dealing with various aspects of the scientific enterprise. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce has advocated the establishment of a national review body that would decide on major new programs. Two committees of Congress—the House Select Committee on Government Research and the House Subcommittee on Science, Research and Development—have reviewed many aspects of the Federal program, and their reports have become valuable sources of detailed information. Moreover, Congress has begun to insist that executive agencies prepare special reports on certain areas of investigation such as oceanography so that the Federal effort can be examined as a whole instead of in its budgetary and departmental fragments. The White House Office of Science and Technology has appointed a blue-ribbon committee of industrial, scientific, and educational leaders to review the policies and programs of the National Institutes of Health. The Bureau of the Budget has taken the lead in re-examining the administrative practices of the Federal agencies that support basic research. The National Science Foundation has reorganized and strengthened its staff sections responsible for studies of scientific policy, planning and resources. "Science policy" has become the topic of a number of university seminars and analyses.

All this ferment of analysis and reexamination makes it clear that major changes in policies governing the support of science are underway or in the offing. These analyses have also served to provide reassurance that many of the past policies and practices are sound and should be continued. The magnificent achievements of recent decades are evidence that the support system has been a fundamentally healthy one.

Support for research and development comes from many sources; some contribute only a few dollars, others billions. Some 300 firms provide 80 percent of the industrial money that goes into research and develop-

ment; another 13,000 firms provide the remainder. Some 200 private foundations grant significant amounts to science and medicine. Universities and many colleges provide research talent, laboratories and financial help. A number of private research institutions finance their own investigations. State and local governments conduct a variety of research programs. Four agencies are responsible for 95 percent of the Federal funds: the Department of Defense, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In addition to these giants there are another four agencies that account for 4 percent of the Federal total: the Department of Agriculture, the National Science Foundation, the Department of the Interior, and the Federal Aviation Agency. The remaining 1 percent of Federal research and development funds is spent by 21 agencies.

In the 12 years from 1953 to 1965 every major source of research and development funds increased its support substantially. Federal funds are five times what they were in 1953. Industrial support has tripled, and the universities have done almost as well. The other nonprofit institutions are contributing six times their 1953 amount.

Just as the amounts of money supplied by these four sectors vary greatly, so do the amounts they use. The Federal Government supplies two-thirds of the funds, but Federal laboratories carry out less than 15 percent of the work. Industry contributes a third of the funds but conducts three-fourths of all the work (mostly with Federal funds). The colleges and universities provide about a tenth of the funds, and the other nonprofit institutions about a fortieth. (The universities' contribution is underrepresented in the financial reports, perhaps by several hundred million dollars a year; they provide substantial additional support, in the form of laboratory facilities and faculty time, that is not budgeted explicitly for research.)

From 1953 until 1960 about 8 percent of the Nation's research and development budget was devoted to basic research. The percentage has been rising since 1960, reaching almost 12 percent in 1965. As for the Federal Government's funds, in 1953 less than 7 percent went for basic research. The figure has been rising since 1960, to about 11 percent in 1965. The universities are relatively much more prominent in basic research than in the total research and development effort, being responsible for almost half of all basic research. In contrast the industrial laboratories, which dominate in development activity, conduct only about a fourth of the basic research.

Development activity is directly associated with identifiable industrial, economic, military, or other practical objectives. Its cost and the cost of any associated research are therefore justified and budgeted in terms of its expected contribution to the attainment of specific objectives. In the case of basic research the situation is quite different. The ultimate beneficiaries of basic research are many, but they are hard to identify in advance. As a result the cost of basic research tend to be shared widely. Some basic research of notable quality is done in industrial laboratories, but most of it is conducted in universities with support from public funds. In some cases this public support involves Congress directly in decisions on priorities. Modern basic research sometimes calls for large-scale facilities such as particle accelerators, oceanographic research vessels and astronomical observatories. Such big science enterprises are so expensive that they must be considered individually at top Government levels, where the cost and promise of each can be compared with those of other claimants for available funds.

On the other hand, little science typically the work of a university faculty member and his assistants and advanced students, will continue to be budgeted on an a priori basis and to be supported by means of a large number of project grants. Little science, the principal subject of the remainder of this article, is an area of central concern to science as a whole, not least because it involves the education of future scientists. It is the kind of science that is most characteristic to academic research and hence is most often involved in Government-university relations. It is also the area in which those relations are most likely to change.

Sustained scientific work of high quality requires the effective union of three elements: a self-renewing population of able scientists; appropriate research facilities with the necessary supporting structure for institutional management; a source of money. In a few well-endowed research institutions all three elements are happily present in an almost totally self-contained and self-supporting organization. Such unity, however, is rare. More commonly under present conditions there is a scientific staff, a university with multiple obligations, and an external source of funds. All three sides of this triangle are interested in science, but their interests differ in detail; tensions arise and compromises become essential. The scientist must serve three masters: the internal logic and the opportunities of his own discipline, the policies and requirements of his institution, and the customs and wishes of his financial supporter. The university must meet the demands of science, of its many other endeavors and of the agencies that provide support. The Government agencies have an equally complex problem: in supporting a large number of individual scientific projects they must also consider the general welfare of the universities and be mindful of the wishes of Congress and the public it represents.

One useful change in the interrelations of scientists, universities and Federal agencies would be the simplification and standardization of what has grown to be a maze of rules and regulations governing fiscal and administrative details and reports. The complexity of grant administration was summarized last year by the House Select Committee on Government Research: "One of the ironies of the research grant is that while it is sometimes itself a simple one-page (if not a one-paragraph) document, it is accompanied by a bulky manual of instructions, explanations, and amendments. For example, although the NIH (National Institutes of Health) grant form is a one-page instrument, it incorporates by reference the NIH grant manual, which runs to more than 100 pages."

The National Institutes of Health manual of course explains only NIH procedures and requirements; other agencies have adopted different rules and procedures. Congress has sometimes added to the confusion by setting arbitrary limits on the amounts that some agencies can pay to reimburse an institution for the indirect costs of conducting research. This "overhead" rate varies, moreover, depending on the agency that grants the funds. Sometimes overhead can be paid on some budgetary items but not on others, or at one rate on some items and at another rate on other items. The multiplication of administrative redtape slows decisions, harasses both agency and university personnel and puts the emphasis on form rather than substance. Fortunately these difficulties are widely recognized, and simplification and standardization would bring such obvious advantages that they will surely come about.

Standardization of procedures will be welcome, but more fundamental changes are

required. Project grants are nominally made to a university or other institution, but in reality they are awarded to an individual. The scientist and Government official frequently deal directly with each other on both substantive and budgetary matters, largely excluding the university administration from any important role in reaching decisions about the research done in the university. Not all of the consequences have been happy ones.

When a faculty member looks outside his university for the major sources of support for his work, his interest and loyalty are likely to go where the dollars are. When the continuation of his work depends on his maintaining good relations and an effective record with private foundations and Washington agencies, and when his professional reputation depends primarily on his research productivity, he is likely to devote more and more of his time to writing project proposals and reports and to supervising the increased number of research assistants that liberal grants enable him to hire. Correspondingly less of his interest and loyalty go to the university that happens to be his home for the present, and less of his time is devoted to teaching and to doing actual laboratory work with his own hands.

There are many contentions that the increase in research has been bought at the expense of a depreciation of teaching. The research programs at most colleges and universities are not large enough to have an adverse effect on teaching. In the universities with large research budgets, however, complaints are heard that there is a schism between the teachers and the researchers; that the ablest graduate students are research assistants, whereas the less able ones become teaching assistants; that the big-time research operator has become the admired model in the eyes of graduate students; that in return for the explosive growth of research we are building up a deficit in the training of future scientists and in the general education of other students in science. There is a substantial body of opinion to the effect that whereas education at the graduate level has improved as a result of the availability of better equipment and larger and more competent staffs, undergraduate teaching has suffered.

The emphasis on research supported by outside funds on an individual-project basis has also tended to strengthen the divisive forces and weaken the integrative forces that are always at work on a university campus. By and large faculty scientists like the change to off-campus support; it means that each researcher is judged by colleagues in his own field of specialization. Physicists judge physicists, biochemists judge biochemists and geologists judge geologists. A man can take pride in the fact that specialists from other institutions have judged his work and found it worthy of support.

Bringing new funds to the campus enhances the scientists prestige and gives him some freedom from local control. He can buy equipment or hire a secretary, travel to a national meeting to discuss work with other people in his field and even invite a man from another institution to pay him a visit—with expenses paid—to consult on research plans. And he can do all this without having to ask his dean or president for permission, because the grant is his. (That is, he can pay for these extras if he has had the foresight to provide for them in his project proposal. If not, it may take weeks for a busy office in Washington to let him know whether or not he can transfer \$100 from one budget category to another.)

The result of all this is what the project-grant system undoubtedly weakens the scientist's ties with his own university. It

means that many decisions about the research conducted on a campus are made in Washington instead of at the campus level and are made piecemeal rather than with full account taken of all the other programs and responsibilities of the university. A university is not solely a group of individualistic faculty members. It is a community of scholars and of students who wish to learn from them. It includes a central administration responsible for the development of the entire university, not simply the uncoordinated expansion of individual units or empires. Professor X would rather entrust his research proposal to the judgment of his professional colleagues on a Washington reviewing panel than to what he may consider the uninformed or biased decisions of his own dean and president. President Y, however, would prefer to have a larger measure of control at the university level, because he remembers that the university is responsible for teaching as well as research, for history and philosophy as well as physics and biochemistry, for the library as well as the observatory, and he wants funds that can be used in the best interests of the university.

Not only may the institutions in which research is carried out be changed by the methods of support; science itself may also be affected. One cannot help worrying about what subtle distortions in the course of scientific progress may result from the fact that nearly all of the Federal support now comes from mission-oriented agencies. The National Institutes of Health are interested in certain diseases, the Atomic Energy Commission in nuclear energy, the Department of Defense in weapons systems and countermeasures. Each supports basic research, but each selects projects in terms of its own mission. Of all the Federal grantmaking agencies, only the National Science Foundation is free from this necessity. To be sure, many researchers have secured support from the mission-oriented agencies for exactly what they as scientists most wanted to do. The fact remains that, of all the money spent for basic research in the United States, only about \$1 in \$6 comes from a source that does not have specific missions in mind. It is still a matter of opinion whether or not this fact is threatening the future health of basic science, but there is a widespread feeling that the National Science Foundation should assume a greatly increased share of the responsibility for supporting basic research.

Certainly agencies with special missions will continue to support basic research; funding decisions will often be controlled by immediate objectives; projects will continue to be supported largely on the basis of their individual merits and those of the scientists involved. Yet basic improvements in the system are possible. Now that massive Federal support is accepted as an obligation, the most necessary change is to shift a substantial amount of the decisionmaking responsibility closer to the point of research. The fact is that decisions that should be made by the executive agencies are now being made by Congress. Decisions that should be made by the universities are being made by the agencies.

In Great Britain, Parliament avoids political and governmental control of science and education by making block grants to the University Grants Committee, which in turn allots funds to the British universities. For a number of reasons this mode of operation is not feasible in the United States. Don K. Price, of the Harvard School of Public Administration, has pointed out that Congress takes a very different attitude toward the relation between ends and means than Parliament does. Parliament is content to decide on the ends, authorize the necessary funds, and leave the details of the means to administrative

# Viet Nam? Dominican Republic?—see page 5

## A Digest of Pro & Con Testimony on Freedom Academy Legislation

### A BILL

To create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy, to conduct research to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational areas to increase the nonmilitary capabilities of the United States and other nations in the global struggle between freedom and communism, to educate and train Government personnel and private citizens to understand and implement this body of knowledge, and also to provide education and training for foreign students in these areas of knowledge under appropriate conditions.

FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS,  
NEWS MEDIA AND EDUCATORS



AUGUST, 1965

C.W.C. PUBLICATIONS, P.O. DRAWER 7417, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20044

## The Issue in Brief

### Three-point thesis of Freedom Academy ADVOCATES:

1. Communism's major non-military threat to non-communist nations lies in its political warfare against them through propaganda, infiltration and insurgency.
2. Unless the U.S. can help non-communist governments to counteract communist political warfare techniques more effectively in the future than in the past, there will be more Viet Nams. Also more expansion of communist political power without our military opposition.
3. An essential step toward such more effective help lies in a research and training

program to enable both the public and private sectors of our and other free world societies to meet the challenge of communist political warfare. The Freedom Commission Bill proposes such a step, through the establishment of a new government agency.

### OPPOSITION Position:

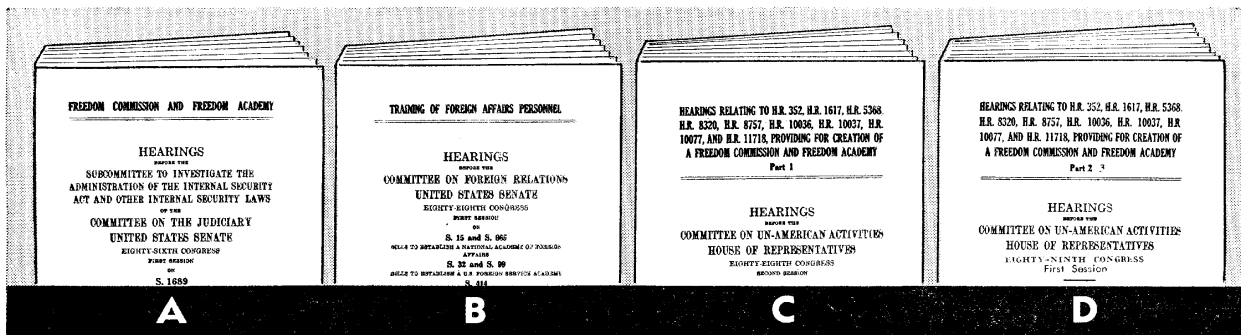
Department of State spokesmen believe U.S. response to communist political warfare must be primarily in the economic area. They consider that points 2 and 3 are State's sole responsibility and no other agency could qualify for training undertakings. They also see domestic dangers in the legislation.

*Pro and con testimony* on the legislation at Congressional hearings is in the ratio of

*fifty-nine* witnesses (members of Congress or private persons with foreign affairs backgrounds) *in favor* of the legislation, *two* witnesses (State Dept.) *opposed*.\*

SUMMARY: Proponents of the legislation seek more non-military deterrent of Communist expansion aims particularly in the area of political warfare. Its opponents believe U.S. diplomacy, foreign aid and other activities of existing government agencies provide all the needed deterrent, including the area of political warfare.

\*THE IMBALANCE of pro and con testimony is reflected in this Digest. It does not give both side "equal time". However, it gives adequate representation to opposition statements in the official record, including a summary statement by State Department counselor, W. W. Rostow on the legislation, especially prepared for this publication on July 15th, 1965. (See question 17).



## Sources:

Senate and House committee hearings on Freedom Commission legislation bill fill more than 1000 pages of testimony, statements and documents. This digest organizes the essence of that testimony in the form of answers to questions that have come up in the hearings or that come up in public discussions of the legislation. It also includes quotations from other pertinent printed material.

Quotations from the hearing testimony are identified by code letters A, B, C and D, which refer to the following hearing records:

- A. 86th Congress: Senate Judiciary Subcommittee of the Internal Security Committee, June 17, 18 and 19, 1959, 181 pages.
- B. 88th Congress: Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 4, 5, 29 and May 1, 1963, 274 pages (starting p. 169).

- C. 88th Congress: House Committee on Un-American Activities, February 18, 19, 20, April 7, 8, May 19, 20, 1964, 439 pages. (2 volumes).
- D. 89th Congress: House Committee on Un-American Activities, March 31, April 1, 28, May 7, 14, 1965, 258 pages.

Number following a code letter identifies the page in that hearing record.

The complete hearing records are available from the U.S. Government Printing Office.

# History of the Legislation

1950

The initial introduction of the bill in the 86th Session of Congress was preceded by nine years of research by a bipartisan group of Florida citizens calling themselves the *Orlando Committee*. According to its chairman, lawyer *Alan G. Grant, Jr.*, the committee, as a result of extensive independent studies in the area of non-military conflict, "became convinced that national capacity to engage in a global struggle with the Soviets short of hot war could only be fully developed in time through systematized, large-scale research and training program attuned to our special needs and requirements." For a full story of the committee, see Reader's Digest reprint *Let's Demand This New Weapon for Democracy*.

1959

The Orlando Committee's nine years of study led to the introduction of the first Freedom Commission Bill by Representative Herlong on February 2, 1959. That bill and all subsequent ones introduced in the House were referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities. That committee never held hearings on the bill as long as Representative Walters was its chairman.

1960

The Senate version of the bill was referred to the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the 86th Congress. After three days of hearings and a year's consideration, the committee reported the bill out in June, 1960, as follows: "The committee considers this bill to be one of the most important ever introduced in the Congress. This is the first measure to recognize that a concentrated development and training program must precede a significant improvement in the cold war capabilities. The various agencies and bureaus can be shuffled and reshuffled. Advisory committees interdepartmental committees and coordinating agencies can be created and recreated, but until they are staffed by highly motivated personnel who have been systematically and intensively trained in the vast and complex field of total political warfare, we can expect little improvement in our situation. The committee recommends the enactment of the Freedom Com-

PAGE TWO

mission bill at the earliest possible time."

*Passed by the Senate:* In the closing days of the 86th Congress, the bill was presented to the Senate by the Subcommittee's vice-chairman, *Thomas J. Dodd*. With the support of Majority Leader *Lyndon Johnson*, the bill passed by a voice vote, with no dissent. Having failed to reach the House, however, the bill was reintroduced in both Houses in the 87th Congress.

1961

*Stalled in Foreign Relations Committee:* Reintroduced as S.414, the Freedom Commission Bill was referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at the request of Chairman *J. William Fulbright*. Since the Department of State had not offered any testimony at the Judiciary Subcommittee hearings on the bill during the previous session, Senator Fulbright requested its views on the legislation in February, 1961.

1962

*State Department Delay:* Fifteen months elapsed before the Department of State responded to Senator Fulbright's request. On May 22, 1962, he received from Assistant Secretary Dutton a three-page letter embodying the State Department's objections to S.414. (See question 17).

*National Academy of Foreign Affairs Act:* That same month President Kennedy appointed an Advisory Panel of prominent educators to make independent recommendations concerning "the establishment of a new institution at the national level for advancing training, education and research with respect to U.S. foreign affairs in general and modernizing countries in particular." The Perkins Panel's report to the President in December, 1962, resulted in an administration bill, introduced in 1963 titled the "National Academy of Foreign Affairs Act."

1963

In April-May, 1963, eleven months after the State Department's letter to Senator Fulbright, he scheduled Foreign Relations Committee hearings on both the bill to establish a National Academy of Foreign Affairs and the bill to establish a Freedom Commission and a Freedom Academy. On the latter bill, a total of 28 witnesses testi-

fied in person. The committee took no further action on either bill in 1963, 1964, or the first half of 1965.

1964-65

Hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities were held during seven days of 1964 and five days of 1965, under Chairman *Edwin E. Willis*. The Committee reported the bill out on July 20, 1965 with a 20 page recommendation that includes these paragraphs:

*In all, the committee has held 12 days of hearings on the Freedom Academy bills, 7 in the 88th Congress, and 5 in the 89th. A total of 51 individuals and organizations have appeared as witnesses or submitted statements. An outstanding fact of the hearings was that everyone of these 51 individuals and organizations supported the Freedom Academy bills with the exception of Mr. Harriman, who testified for the State Department in the hearings held during the last Congress.*

*Moreover, the committee was impressed by the caliber of the witnesses who supported the Academy concept and the extent and depth of their knowledge of cold war problems. Among them were four former Ambassadors two of whom had also served as Assistant Secretaries of State, two who have served abroad as officials of the Department of State, USIA, and Agency for International Development and have participated in high-level policy meetings of the government; two witnesses who have served for many years as officials in the trade union movement; six university professors who have spent many years studying, teaching, and writing on the subject of communism (11 of the witnesses who testified in favor of the Academy have authored at least 40 books dealing with the subject of communism, diplomacy, and international relations); six journalists who have spent years abroad and distinguished themselves as commentators on foreign affairs reporters, and war correspondents; 13 Members of the House and one Senator; the President of the Free Europe Committee; the founder and President of Project Hope; and the former Chief of Naval Operations.*

*The members of this committee have favorably reported this bill by unanimous vote. After extensive study of the facts, the many pages of testimony, and the exploration of available alternatives, the committee feels that the institution to be established by this legislation is a vital and much needed agency to assist the free world in winning the cold war.*

## HEARING WITNESSES PRO & CON

Testimony or statements by 61 witnesses are printed in the four volume record of these hearings. The hearing records include extensive remarks or statements on Freedom Commission legislation by 21 members of Congress, 38 private citizens and two spokesmen for the Department of State. The latter, who *opposed the legislation*, were Dr. Walt W. Rostow, Chairman of the Policy Planning Council of the Department of State, and Hon. W. Averill Harriman, then Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

No members of Congress who testified opposed the bill.

None of the witnesses from the private sector opposed the bill. Those quoted in this Digest are listed below.

### JAMES D. ATKINSON

Research Associate, Georgetown University Center for Strategic Studies

### ANDREW J. BEIMILLER

Director, Department of Legislation, AFL-CIO

### ADOLPH A. BERLE

Former Assistant Secretary of State, Acting Under Secretary of State, and Ambassador to Brazil

### ARLEIGH BURKE

Former Chief of Naval Operations

### DICKEY CHAPELLE

Foreign Correspondent, Winner of highest Overseas Press Club Award for her Viet Nam reporting

### LEO CHERNE

Executive Director, Research Institute of America, Former Chairman of International Rescue Committee, Japan Economic Adviser to Gen. Douglas MacArthur

### MICHAEL J. CONLEY

Professor, University of Maryland, Lecturer on Soviet History and Foreign Policy, Organizer of Counter-Insurgency Instructions, U.S. Army School, Oberammergau

### ROBT. FINLEY DELANEY

Writer and Lecturer, 12 years with Dept. of State and U.S.I.A.

### LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

Economics Professor, Georgetown University; Chairman, National Captive Nations Committee; Lecturer, National War College

### CHRISTOPHER EMMET

Journalist; 25 years moderator of radio program Foreign Affairs Round Table

### ALAN G. GRANT, JR.

Lawyer, chairman Orlando Committee, Adviser to drafters of Freedom Commission legislation

### ROBERT C. HILL

Formerly Asst. Sec'y of State, U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, El Salvador and Mexico

# Questions Answered by Testimony

**SYDNEY HOOK**

Professor of Philosophy, New York University

**EDWARD HUNTER**

Foreign correspondent, author "Brainwashing in China" and "Brainwashing: Men Who Defy It"

**C. D. JACKSON**

Formerly Deputy Chief of Psychological Warfare, SHAEF; president, Radio Free Europe; White House Special Assistant on cold war planning; editor, Life Magazine

**PAUL JONES**

Foreign correspondent and columnist for Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, former O.W.I. officer and history professor

**WILLIAM R. KINTNER**

Deputy Director, Foreign Policy Research Institute, U. of Pennsylvania, former Colonel, U.S. Army; Planning Board Assistant to National Security Council; author, *The Front Is Everywhere*; co-author, *Protracted Conflict, Forward Strategy for America*, *New Frontiers of War*

**MORRIS I. LIEBMAN**

Lawyer, consultant to Pentagon on education guidance for military and naval personnel

**CHAS. WESLEY LOWRY**

Director, Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order (FRASCO)

**M. H. MANCHESTER**

Deputy Director, Reserve Officers Association

**HENRY MAYERS**

Public Relations Consultant; Chairman, Cold War Council

**ARTHUR G. McDOWELL**

Educational Director, Upholsterers International Union; Executive Secretary, Council Against Communist Aggression

**EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER**

Foreign Correspondent; Syndicated columnist on world affairs; author, *An End to Make Believe*

**GERHART NIEMEYER**

Political Science Professor, Notre Dame; former teacher at Princeton, Yale, Columbia and Oglethorpe universities; State Dept. adviser, Office of United Nations Affairs

**CLARENCE A. OLSON**

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**JOHN RICHARDSON, JR.**

President, Free Europe Committee, Inc. (Radio Free Europe)

**JAMES ROBINSON**

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**DAVID SARNOFF**

Board Chairman, Radio Corporation of America

**DR. WILLIAM B. WALSH**

Founder and President, Project HOPE

## Question 1

**Isn't this just another "anti-communist" bill? — a NEGATIVE approach to the communist challenge?**

The phrase "an anti-communist bill" suggests that Freedom Academy legislation might be classified with bills designed to control some of the domestic activities of the Communist Party, U.S.A. There is little connection. This cold war legislation, based on nine years of preliminary research, is concerned with the global aspects of the communist political threat, and with the inadequacy of free world response to that threat.

The legislation is "anti-communist" precisely to the extent that the aims of today's communist powers are "anti-free-dom."

**Former Ambassador Adolf A. Berle**, whose testimony occupies seventeen pages in one hearing record, states that "the primary task of the academy is to lay out a standard of possible organization and action and social approach to which the countries and the populations of the world can repair, rather than merely undertaking to say 'We are fighting the Communist bloc.'"—D-1469.

**Dr. Stefan Possany** says "the term 'negative' is not correct. The term 'defensive' is the correct term."—B-221.

**Senator Clifford Case**, an original co-sponsor of the legislation, explains, "The Freedom Academy is not designed to be a vehicle for negative, bellicose anti-communism."—B-278.

Another witness: "When you oppose anything dangerous you can be accused of being negative. A police force is negative toward crime. The practice of medicine is negative toward disease. In a free society, communism is a political disease—a cancer."—B-386.

Says the **Orlando Committee** brief: "We must never forget that being against an evil has been as great a motivating force in history as being for something—and we can be both.

Recapturing a student organization or a labor union is a positive accomplishment, and developing the operational-organizational know-how to do this should be essential training at the Freedom Academy."

**LIFE Magazine** has editorialized on the "negativism" issue as follows:

"It will be objected that 'counteraction' is too negative and static a concept for the cause of freedom. But it is surely not a negative act to collect and disseminate what knowledge we have about political infighting. Moreover, while diversity of belief is a hallmark of free men, a closer knowledge of their common enemy is bound to result in wider areas of free agreement and more constructive policies to promote freedom.

The communist challenge does not confine itself to conventional areas. As one good textbook puts it (Philip Selznick's *Organizational Weapon*), it tries to make ALL our institutions political.

## COOL PERSPECTIVE NEEDED

The big problem in meeting this total challenge is to avoid innocence on the one hand and hysteria on the other. An official academy would be the best guardian of a cool perspective." — C-962

The entire U.S. military establishment, though a "negative" use of the nation's resources, is a positive defense against attack.

## Question 2

**The bill assumes that the communists have overwhelming superiority in political warfare training. Do any other sources document this U.S. weakness and its effect?**

Four separate government reports, each written independently in the past few years, document the inadequacy of U.S. training: (1) the 4,000 word report of the *Senate Judiciary Committee*, a few paragraphs of which are reproduced on foregoing page two; (2) the report of the *Sprague Committee*, appointed by President Eisenhower to review the U.S. Information program. That committee recommended the establishment of an educational institution "which would provide concentrated exposure to the study of communist ideology, techniques and operations worldwide"; (3) the *Herter Report* and (4) the *Perkins Panel Report*. Both these reports, ordered by President Kennedy, were sternly critical of existing U.S. training programs in the area of foreign operations, and emphasized the need for comprehensive training in all aspects of the conflict between free societies and the forces of communism.

The high price paid by the U.S. for this lack of training for political warfare was indicated in the following comments by **Senator Stuart Symington**:

"We have a situation in the Far East right now. We get in trouble with China, so we split China. That costs us billions of dollars. Then we get in trouble in Korea, so we split Korea and that costs us billions.

Then we get in trouble in Viet Nam, so we split Viet Nam; and that costs us billions.

We agree to split Berlin, and that costs us billions.

Now one of the solutions being proposed for Laos is to split Laos; and that will cost us billions more.

I went over the figures myself in recent days; and they are somewhat staggering. When we get into a situation where the requirement is cold war effort, we do not seem to be able to cope with these people who so skillfully understand this problem. I believe a great deal of the reason is that they have been trained for it." —B-230.

The staggering figure referred to by Senator Symington is primarily the cost of the U.S. military establishment. To this must be added the cost of the U.S. foreign aid program, the underlying purpose of which is "to contain communism." Concerning this purpose, **Col. William R. Kintner** of the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania testified "Despite notable efforts to contain communist expansion, we have made few moves to counter it in the field of non-violent conflict and psycho-political warfare. Instead, our efforts appear to be motivated by the pragmatic belief that ideologies are conditioned by material conditions."—B-238.

## MATERIAL CONDITIONS IRRELEVANT

That "material conditions" are almost irrelevant was emphasized by **Senator William Proxmire**, who told the same committee that the Communists win "in spite of a grossly inferior economic system. They have won in spite of inferior military power. They have won without winning an election. And what is equally appalling in country after country, they have held on to power where the misery, drabness, the hunger, the dismal economic failure of communism should have sparked successful revolution." — B-260

The capacity of communist powers to wage intensive political warfare despite

economic handicaps, was testified to as recently as May 1965 by **Representative Hale Boggs**. "Last week I had an interview with the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin-American affairs, also in charge of our relations at the Alliance For Progress, and he said that they estimated Cuba was spending almost a billion dollars a year on activities having to do with the teaching of terror, subversion, the overthrow of democratic governments and so on." — D-192

## WEAKNESS IN CUBA

The Cuban example of communist success in political warfare led **Senator Thomas Dodd** to raise these questions in a speech in behalf of Freedom Commission legislation: "How were the communists able to capture a popular revolution so quickly and so completely? Why were the Cuban people so naive about communist operational methods? Why were the anti-communists so disorganized and so inept when the showdown came? Why were they out-thought, out-planned, out-organized and out-manuevered by the communists from the very beginning? Why was the large middle class of Havana, which was solidly behind Castro, unable to cope with the communist cadres? Where were their leaders? Why were they not better trained? To what extent was our own negligence responsible for this catastrophe?"

Once again I ask the question: Why must the dedication and knowhow so often predominate on the communist side? Why does it always seem to be well trained professionals versus disorganized amateurs?"—D-1367

## RED'S MOST SUCCESSFUL WEAPON

A good part of the answer to Senator Dodd's rhetorical questions was given by **Montgomery Greene** in a magazine article published ten years ago: "Perhaps the most closely guarded secret of world communism, cut off from view by the Iron Curtain and shrouded in unbelievable security precautions is the system of colleges for professional revolutionaries that annually turn out thousands of skilled agitators to bedevil the free world. Although this educational program has been active for thirty years and has graduated political saboteurs estimated to number a minimum of 100,000, its very existence is unknown to most people in the West. The reason for the super-secrecy with which these schools have been surrounded is that they constitute the most successful cold war weapon yet developed by world communism."—A-15

Just how successful that cold war weapon proved to be was revealed in an extensive memorandum to President Eisenhower from **Gen. David Sarnoff**, Board Chairman of Radio Corporation of America. He wrote: "Virtually all heads of Red satellite states and insurrectionary movements in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America are products of such institutions. Tito, dictator of Yugoslavia; Ho Chi Minh of Indo-China; Rakosi in Red Hungary; Bierut, president of Red Poland; Liu Shao-Chi, vice-president of Communist China, and Gen. Liu Po Cheng, one of the foremost military leaders of Red China. The same is true of many leaders of Communist Parties in non-communist countries." — A-43

## LAST 40 YEARS — AND NEXT 40

A thumbnail summation of the enormous achievement of the communists in political warfare was given to the Senate Judiciary Committee by **Joseph Z. Korfeder** of Detroit, an ex-communist who had graduated from the Lenin School in Moscow: "Only about fifty years ago a group of ragged Russian intellectuals embarked upon certain methods of fighting existing society from within, now known as political warfare. It is a method of infighting and of conspiratorial organization so effective that within a period of forty years they were able to create an empire of 900,000,000 plus an organized subser-

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sive movement of millions inside the areas of the West.

If they could do what they did starting from scratch in the last forty years, they can with the present means at their disposal do much more in the next forty years.

We must, of course, have a military buildup as a safeguard, but even with it all we will finally lose everything if we do not meet the Kremlin on this long neglected front — political warfare." — A-113-114

### Question 3

If more training is needed, how big is the gap? How grave are the U.S. risks, due to lack of a Freedom Academy?

There is not merely a gap, there is almost a total vacuum in the area of political warfare training. Intensive study of all aspects of government training programs for U.S. Foreign Service personnel revealed to the Orlando Committee that: "There has been no over-all, intensive, systematic effort to develop counteraction to the Soviets into an operational science which will meet fully the Soviets' total political warfare and protracted conflict strategy and techniques. During the past few years a great deal has been written about Russia, China, and communism, but strangely almost nothing has been written which attempts to develop an operational science for the West which will fully meet the total communist challenge." — A-17

One of the first important segments of American society to recognize the challenge is the American labor movement. The AFL-CIO has urged the passage of the Freedom Commission act "at the earliest possible moment." Andrew J. Beimler, the director of the legislative department of the AFL-CIO, told the Senate, "the AFL-CIO has been among the first that have consistently pointed to the threat posed to the free world by the attempt of world communism to conquer and dominate the world. The communist conspiracy works on every level and works 24 hours a day. Its agents are hard-working fanatics who have been specially trained at their jobs of infiltration and subversion. The necessary effort of defense and counter attack on our part cannot be successfully achieved by hit or miss, uncoordinated efforts.

We favor the passage of this bill whose aim is exactly to provide the means." — A-56

### "IF WE HAVE THE WIT"

The AFL-CIO itself spends millions of dollars annually in support of a training project for Latin-American labor leaders. Stressing the importance of such activity, Senator J. William Fulbright has stated: "There is much that we can do to strengthen the cause of freedom in the Western Hemisphere, if we have the wit to do it, and if we get on with the job. We have neglected the job as long as we dare.

We can give technical assistance to the progressive democratic political groups of Latin America in the technique of political organization and action." — B-386

How grave are the U.S. risks? Cold War Council literature states: "Political warfare relentlessly pursued by international communism represents as much a threat to free world security as Soviet missiles. Freedom Commission advocates believe that U.S. unpreparedness for the non-military contest is just as serious and far more obvious than any missile gap.

"Too little — to late" accounted for many of our disastrous military experiences in the past. The phrase is equally

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applicable to the present worldwide non-military contest which President Kennedy has described as "in many ways more difficult than war." — B-386

The above phrase attributed to President Kennedy is from a speech he delivered to the American Newspaper Publishers Association on April 20, 1961. Stressing the gravity of the non-military threat, he said:

"We dare not fail to see the insidious nature of this new and deeper struggle. We dare not fail to grasp THE NEW CONCEPTS, THE NEW TOOLS, the new sense of urgency we will need to combat it, whether in Cuba or South Viet Nam. And we dare not fail to realize it is this struggle which is taking place every day without arms or fanfare in thousands of villages and markets and classrooms all over the globe . . . No greater task faces this nation or this Administration . . .

### MISSILES NO LONGER ENOUGH

Too long have we fixed our eyes on the traditional military needs; on the armies prepared to cross borders; on missiles poised for flight. Now it should be clear this is no longer enough; that our security may be lost piece by piece, country by country, without the firing of a single missile or the crossing of a single border. We intend to profit from this lesson. We intend to RE-EXAMINE AND REORIENT OUR FORCES OF ALL KINDS, OUR TACTICS AND OUR INSTITUTIONS here in this community. We intend to intensify our efforts for a struggle in many ways more difficult than war."

### PREOCCUPATION WITH ECONOMICS

Whatever the re-examination and re-orientation of tactics and institutions President Kennedy had in mind, no changes in U.S. cold war policies occurred after the above speech. Two years later, a cold war specialist told a House Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee: "Throughout 1962 I reviewed the speeches, writings and press comments of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Under Secretary George Ball and other State Department spokesmen relevant to the cold war. All of them discussed the cold war primarily in terms of an economic scoreboard. Pointing to the agricultural and industrial failures of the U.S.S.R. and Red China, they picture the communist political drive for world domination as stalled. They conclude that time is on our side, and that we are winning the cold war through diplomacy, backed by economic pressures on communist bloc countries and U.S. aid to non-bloc countries. In the framework of that rationale it is not difficult to understand why there is only a limited concern for political and propaganda warfare in the top echelons of our government.

One top echelon official who has expressed some concern is former Attorney General Robert Kennedy. He returned from a world tour in 1962 to write as follows: "In every country, well organized and highly disciplined communist cadres concentrate their activities in universities, student bodies, labor organizations and intellectual groups. Against these there is no one to question their positions, their facts; no organization, no cadre, no disciplined and calculated effort to present the other side. And so it is that a small, able and well trained unit can take over a meeting or an organization, or even a government. We are victims of a smart, articulate, well organized minority which has kept us continuously on the defensive. We have permitted it to happen; we have allowed it to continue. If we do not meet the problem head on, if we are not ourselves imaginative, tough, dedicated, willing and self-sacrificing the struggle with the enemy will not be won by them, but lost by us." — C-976

### EXPERIENCE OF PROJECT HOPE

The mountain of hearing testimony concerning the scope and intensity of the global political warfare of the communists \*Fascell Committee Hearings

includes this statement by Dr. William B. Walsh, founder and president of PROJECT HOPE: "In virtually every walk of life to which we (Project Hope) have been exposed on three continents, we have found that the Soviets are interested in everything we do. In Indonesia, for example, they didn't feel we had any opportunity of success initially. But they soon found that the response of people to a gesture such as the HOPE was something they had not bargained for, so shortly after we arrived the Soviets had a team of ten follow us through three different ports in Indonesia, sometimes preceding us, and attempting to frighten the people away from coming to the ship.

They distributed pamphlets, they described to the local people in Indonesia that the cameras which the physicians and nurses carried were for the purpose of pornographic photography, that we were there to rape their women, not to treat them, that we were not really there to teach these people to help themselves, but primarily there for some nefarious political purpose which was to lead to the overthrow of the Sukarno government.

I, of course, would not presume upon the wisdom of this committee to tell you what form the Freedom Academy should take, but rather to tell you that I agree 100 percent that something is very seriously needed." — D203

### ONLY WAY TO AVOID A HOT WAR

Here is a summation of the problem by the late C. D. Jackson, former White House special assistant in cold war planning: "The communists are the supreme masters and unrelenting practitioners of political warfare. Indeed, it is by the present and persuasive use of this weapon, with or without military threats, that the communists hope to accomplish their ultimate aim of destroying the United States. Unless we learn to resist and counter their use of this political weapon, we shall have no recourse, in the long run, except to military force.

"Winning the cold war is therefore the only way to avoid a hot war. But to win the cold war, to master communism in political combat, we must have more and better trained political warriors. Nowhere in the United States today can this art be learned in concentrated and systematic form." — A-60

### Question 4

Why can't the proposed training be acquired in one of our numerous universities or existing government schools?

One of the areas intensively and continuously investigated by the Orlando Committee is training programs offered at government schools and private universities. Chairman Alan G. Grant, testified: "We were unable to find a single government or university training program that deals with the difficult and sophisticated subject of communist political warfare, insurgency, and subversion in depth, much less the means of defeating it." — C-970

Professor Gerhart Niemeyer of Notre Dame, previously at Princeton, Yale, Columbia and Oglethorpe Universities, testified: "In my contacts with military people at the National War College, I have found no one who did not feel that special training for political warfare was needed.

I should like to mention what a diplomat, a high-ranking diplomat of a friendly embassy, said to me when I discussed this bill with him. He said, 'If this bill were passed, this would indeed be a major breakthrough. It would be an indication to the world that we mean business.' — A-70

### BEYOND THE UNIVERSITIES

Another cold war authority with wide experience in academic circles is Dr. Stefan Possony of Stanford University's Hoover Institution, who testified that: "Individual universities cannot handle the job. There is lack of funds and personnel. Special chairs would have to be set up for this. In addition, there is the problem of documentation.

Nor could any individual university, however large, handle the job on a sufficiently broad and sustained basis. There is also the objective problem. If you go to one university, you have two or three professors who may be suitable. Actually this is an optimistic assumption. These men have their own opinions, specialties and hobby horses, and cannot be expected to provide the wide, broad, all-directional approach that would be necessary in order to cover all pertinent problems. Subjects like communism, democracy and political warfare are a universal, encyclopedic subject." — A-90

### VAST RESEARCH NEEDED

At a later hearing, Dr. Possony emphasized "the number of research personnel you have to get in order to provide the proper documentation." The scope of the research problem was also stressed by Mr. Leo Cherne, executive director of one of the nation's largest research organizations. He told the committee: "The areas of research required are so large, so uncharted, so unbegin that I could not responsibly as an executive of a major research institute, even suggest the dimensions of that uncharted land.

The plain fact is that the United States has during most of its history found it altogether unnecessary and unpleasant and undesirable to be involved in conflict management. We have not researched in our organization any but a handful of the problems involved in countering communist conflict management.

The entire area of psychological warfare is one that is almost totally foreign to us except in the environment of war as we normally recognize war." — B-405

Mr. Cherne had previously expressed his reservations concerning how the needed research project might fare in a university setting: "I am concerned . . . that if some academic minds are applied to it (the Freedom Academy concept) we will find ourselves in still another examination into what it is that Marx really did say and how accurate was he and did it work out. Now these are all useful, but this is not the heart of a program of understanding the enemy with which we deal today." — A-153

### Question 5

Isn't political warfare training the business of the Pentagon or the State Department?

The U.S. Military is concerned with shooting wars, while the State Department is concerned with preventing such wars. The cold war falls between the two and neither department is trained for it, even though the communists have been training for it for almost 50 years.

When the Senate Foreign Relations Committee asked the Defense Department for its position on the Freedom Commission Bill, the Pentagon's response indicated that it considers political warfare outside the area of its responsibility. Yet "the process of studying cold war strategies is no less important than intensive studies of military strategies," according to the testimony of John Richardson, president of Radio Free Europe. His experience, he said, leads him to believe that: "The greatest impediment to effective prosecu-

# Cuba? Viet Nam? Dominican Republic?

## Five witnesses tell why today's U.S. military problems grow out of yesterday's neglect of the communist non-military challenge

"For many years we permitted communist cadres to move into the villages of Southeast Asia and gradually expand and consolidate their hold, while we did almost nothing. Only recently, after the situation developed to crisis proportions and we faced the loss of all Southeast Asia did we begin a crash program to develop counter-insurgency . . . Ten years ago I came to Washington to plead the case for the Freedom Academy before representatives of State, USA, FBI, AID, Defense, and CIA. I pointed out that conventional forms of village development work — simple engineering, sanitation, and agricultural assistance — were not enough. The villages must also be won over politically and organized to prevent communist penetration by having their own intelligence network and protective arrangements. I pointed out that there must also be a program to win, hold and activate on our side the student groups, intellectuals, religious groups, labor unions and others in the cities . . . Of course, this cut across the areas of responsibility of a number of agencies and it ran head-on into the inhibited, defensive attitude of the State. So nothing was done." — C-974, testimony of **Alan G. Grant**.

"I have had ten years of government service (and have) served as U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, El Salvador and Mexico, and as Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional relations. During that time I have noted the lack of understanding on how to deal with the communist problem once it has developed . . . The Embassy in Mexico tried vainly to warn the Government of the United States from 1957 to 1960 of the dangers of Castro and his association with communism.

In my opinion, if the Freedom Academy had been in existence, and the opinions of experts had been used to analyze the developments in Cuba, Castro would be elsewhere today, and Goulart would have been spotted long before he assumed power in Brazil . . . With the support of the Freedom Academy, in alerting the United States, the present hemispheric tragedy would have been averted." — D-1316, testimony of **Hon. Robert C. Hill**.

QUESTION: "Do you think that our position in South Viet Nam would be better today if we had had this academy ten years ago?"

ANSWER: "Yes, sir, I think so, because I think that we would have understood thoroughly the techniques of the communists in saying 'let us have a peaceful co-existence' — until they build their cadres in various villages and take over, as in Laos. Instead, we didn't understand. We didn't know we were being conned. We took them at their word, and now we are in very bad shape because they have built their strength up in Southeast Asia, and we have not." — D-1434, testimony of former **Admiral Arleigh Burke**.

"Previously, **Admiral Burke** had told the committee of his experiences as one of the U.S. negotiators of the Korean Armistice: "When we started negotiating with the communists, it became very apparent in the first few minutes that they were taking advantage of us. They were skillful propagandists. They were using the occasion to show the whole world that we had been defeated. "Our team, five of us, were met by South Korean Chinese troops and there was a thick cordon of troops around the landing field, white flags all over it. I was assigned to a captured American jeep, a bullet hole through the windshield, blood on the seat, a great big white flag, no other identification, in front of the

"The communist push was (then) centered on Venezuela. The man who really defended the country was President Romula Betancourt (who) earlier had been systematically hunted out of the hemisphere by the United States Government as a communist or an ex-communist, during the days of the Venezuelan dictatorship of Perez Jimenez. At one time there was no house in the United States to which he could come except mine.

"Knowing what (the communists) were up to, he was able to score the greatest single victory we have had in Latin America — unless the Brazilian victory may be equal — up to now. If we had been well enough instructed in these matters as we should be, we never would have made the mistake of systematically trying to hunt Betancourt out of the hemisphere.

"Jose Figueres fought the first war against the communists in Latin America. This was in 1947, in Costa Rica. He won, and in a later election became president of Costa Rica. But during that period every kind of propaganda was made against him up here, and it was a very difficult period for him. He also was attacked as a communist. Actually he was the best friend we had in Central America. It was he who kept Betancourt's head above water when he was exiled from Venezuela. I resented the fact, gentlemen, that . . . the best elements in the (Latin American) situation were accused of communism by people who didn't know the difference between a communist and an honest-to-God reformer. The United States can't afford that kind of foolishness, and there ought to be some place in the country where they really know the difference. I feel that a Freedom Academy has a place, both for training Americans and for training foreigners." — D-1472, testimony of former Acting Undersecretary of State and Ambassador to Brazil **Adolph A. Berle**.

"We cannot afford to continue the policy of waiting until communist cadres become so active in a country that a counter insurgency program is clearly called for. Dr. Walt W. Rostow, in his testimony this morning, talked considerably about U.S. counter insurgency programs. These are in the area of paramilitary activity, an area which is completely removed from the purpose of the Freedom Academy. This legislation advocates instruction in non-military warfare long before the situation ever gets to the point where counter insurgency is called for. When you get to that point, you have already lost the political battle. That is why we face some of the guerrilla problems we have, because we did not anticipate the need for political training at a time when it would have prevented the growth of communist political power to the point where they can engage their opposition in the paramilitary and full-scale warfare." — B-388

"If we had had a Freedom Academy ten or more years ago, there would have been not only an anti-Batista movement in Cuba before the revolution, but inside that movement there would have been an alert anti-communist group. The Cuban communist underground would have had less opportunity to infiltrate and steal the legitimate anti-Batista revolution from the Cuban patriots and from the middle class that innocently financed Castro." — C-1048. This and the prior statement (B-388) are from the testimony of **Henry Mayers**, chairman, Cold War Council.

"We went up with a military escort of communists through a cordon of troops clear to the negotiating building, with submachine guns following each man as we came up. Movie cameras were grinding all the time, (to show) Americans coming up to surrender at this negotiation. "We soon found that the communists could lie, did lie, and it did not bother them a bit. They didn't feel guilty about anything. It is something that an American just can't realize, that there is no moral base to negotiate on with people like that. Well, the results of those negotiations are well known." — D-1421

tion by the United States of the struggle for freedom against tyranny is the lack of a body of knowledge with respect to non-military conflict, together with a corresponding deficiency in trained personnel.

### NO CONCERNED EFFORT

In recent years, various aspects of guerrilla warfare have begun to be studied and taught by the Armed Services. However, I am not aware that so far any concerted effort has been made to do serious research and provide facilities for instruction of large numbers of key personnel in the broad area of non-military conflict." — B-185

**Representative A. Sydney Herlong**, the Florida Congressman who introduced the first Academy legislation in the House, states there is great support for it "right in the (Defense) Department itself, because some of those people see a real need in exploring the many new things we can do to win the non-military part of this struggle." — C-946

Concerning the State Department's training school, the **Foreign Service Institute**, **Leo Cherne** has testified that this institute "does not regard conflict management and counter action as a useful, normal instrument of the Foreign Service. It therefore gives no training in that area." — A-149.

### ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION PATTERN

Should it? **Stefan Possony** states: "It would be a mistake if the Academy were placed directly or indirectly under the supervision of the Secretary of State. I think the pattern established by the Atomic Energy Commission is the suitable pattern to follow, simply for the reason that this type of an operation transgresses

the specific responsibilities of any particular agency." — B-209

**Senator Paul Douglas**, one of the authors of the Freedom Commission Bill, told the same committee why he believes the State Department cannot and should not handle the proposed training: "I don't think it should be a part of the State Department apparatus. The State Department is primarily an agency through which diplomatic representations are made from our government to other governments, and from which we get information concerning the diplomatic moves of foreign countries. Now, to combine with this activity propaganda amongst the people for democracy and against communism is somewhat alien to the traditional principles of diplomacy, and without making any reflection on the personnel of the Foreign Service, somewhat contrary to the training and disposition of the personnel. It is very hard for them to get down into the dust and heat of the conflict." — B-234

Another point of view on why the Academy should not be under the State Department was presented at the same hearing by **Senator Wm. Proxmire**: "I feel that the Academy should be separated, but I do feel that the Department of State should be in a very distinct advisory position.

### PEACE CORPS EXAMPLE

I think the Peace Corps method has worked extremely well, and it is no accident that it has worked well, partly because they have had fine leadership and fine concepts, but also because it has been organized administratively properly, and it has not been directly and completely

under the wing of the State Department or any other agency.

It is apparent that the State Department simply does not accept the kind of concept that you and I are talking about here, an all out, full time, big research job and a big training job for hundreds and hundreds of government officials and thousands of private leaders, and this is what it is going to take to do the job." — B-262, -266.

### OUTSIDE FORMAL DIPLOMACY

Few can talk with greater authority on this matter than former **Ambassador Adolph A. Berle**, who has represented the United States on diplomatic missions since 1919. His extensive testimony includes these words:

"When it comes to meeting issues, the State Department primarily is the avenue of contact with other governments. They have a terrible time when the government to which their ambassador is accredited and which they recognize is intriguing with, let us say, a communist power, and they can't, within diplomatic proprieties, state a point of view to the people of the country, because that would be improper diplomatic intervention. This has to be done outside formal diplomacy." — D-1475.

The comments of the above witnesses anticipated the conclusions of both the **Perkins** and **Herter** committees, in their recommendations that an academy should be an autonomous institution, not coming under the domination or control of any one department or agency. Reviewing the past record of State Department training, **Alan Grant** testified:

"State has had seventeen years to adjust

Foreign Service Institute training to the new forms of struggle, and failed. State has shown a gross lack of imagination in seeking solutions to our global problems, especially as they relate to non-military conflict, and the whole system at State discourages initiative in seeking new approaches. Furthermore, State has been openly hostile to the idea of providing academy type training to private citizens and foreign nationals, or of researching the possibilities here." — C-973.

Following Mr. Grant at the above hearing, **Dr. Possony** stated: "Twelve years ago I listened to a State Department representative telling me that we had won the cold war already."

### Question 6

**Doesn't the proposed training involve U.S. adoption of communist political warfare techniques?**

**Senator Paul Douglas**, one of the bill's co-authors, told the Foreign Relations Committee:

"I want to emphasize that the people trained by the Freedom Academy will not be revolutionaries, they will not be saboteurs. They will be propagandists and advocates of the democratic principle." — B-232

"Prior to the last war there were a great many people who said 'Well, if you re-

sist Hitler you will have to become like Hitler. It was alleged that if we resisted him, the spirit of Hitler would win. We made the choice of resisting Hitler. I think we came out of it with our liberties substantially unimpaired.

I believe we can come out of a cold war propaganda struggle with the communists with our liberties unimpaired.

We want to help set up a society equipped for economic progress, and with free political institutions and the opportunity for its people to decide for themselves.

I think the right kind of effort in behalf of these principles would transform them from being the somewhat pale abstractions which they frequently are in the minds of many people into being passionately held realities.

One of our great difficulties is the fact that all too often, at least in times of peace, the believers in democracy tend to be somewhat bloodless and anemic.—B-236-237.

"IN ACCORD WITH OUR ETHIC"

The legislation calls for the establishment of a Freedom Commission to develop methods and means "enabling the United States to approach its national objectives along every path IN ACCORD WITH OUR ETHIC." (Page 5, line 1.)

The groundless fear of a revival of McCarthyism was touched on in Prof. Niemeyer's testimony: "It does not take a Totalitarian Party to fight the Communist Party, and it does not take communist methods to frustrate the communists in their designs. It does take, however, people and organizations and methods other than we are employing now. The cold war is so unprecedented that we still have to learn how to fight it. The Freedom Academy would be an institution where this learning could be done."—D-1277.

At the same hearing Dr. Lev. Dobriarsky told the committee:

"The issue has to do really with an instrument that we want, a tool that we want. And to use the argument that because the communists have political warfare schools, therefore we should not have them, is plainly specious. One could turn that about and say the communists have missiles, ergo, we should not have missiles."—D-1291.

NOT TO DESTROY BUT TO ASSIST

Dr. Stefan Possony has said: "Only fools refuse to learn from their enemies. There is no reason why we should not pick up some of the communists' tricks and use them, if and when they fit into the framework of our own requirements and morality."—A-17

A member of the Senate committee asked Col. Wm. Kintner whether the proposed academy would be similar to the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow. He replied:

"The Lenin academy has a far different purpose from the Freedom Academy. In the first place, the loyalty of our Armed Forces does not have to be assured by political commissars.

In the second place, the communists' Lenin School is designed to destroy opposing orders in order to substitute the communist order for them, whereas the purpose of this academy would be to assist other people in promoting and defending a viable society which would be one which they themselves would choose, and not one imposed by other force or by subversion."—B-245.

A school of the nature of a Freedom Academy, run by left-of-center groups in Latin America was described to the same committee by Henry Mayers:

"This act undertakes, on a significant scale, the type of program initiated in 1958 by the Institute of Political Educa-

tion in San Jose, Costa Rica. According to the Institute's literature, it offered "instruction in strategy and tactics to attract and maintain power for the purpose of defending and developing democracy." That project attracted students from all parts of the southern hemisphere.

The training of Latin-American citizens for legitimate, peaceful political action is a worthy objective, but it is little more than an idealist's dream unless undertaken on a scale commensurate with the challenge. Our hemisphere cannot be saved by one struggling private institution in Costa Rica that graduates about fifty political trainees a year, and that, incidentally, has recently had to close for lack of funds."—B-387.

TRUTH PLUS RESOURCEFULNESS NEEDED

The same witness was asked by a Senate committee member "whether you, in your capacity as a member of the Executive Reserve of the U.S. Information Agency, have ever had the feeling that the United States Information program is at somewhat of a disadvantage because we do not emulate the communist propaganda methods?" He replied:

"I believe that the Information Agency operates under many disadvantages, but not in the context of your question. There is serious misunderstanding on this point, due to the notion that there is some relationship between the effectiveness in propaganda and the spreading of lies. I was disappointed to hear our Ambassador to the United Nations state recently, on a T.V. program, that 'we cannot be as effective in propaganda as the Soviets are, because they can lie and we can not.' This is a complete reversal of the actual fact. The power of the truth when used against a lie, is all in favor of the truth, provided it is used with the same vigor, the same imagination and resourcefulness which the Soviets use. We should emulate the communist determination in the use of propaganda, but not in the use of falsehoods."—B-394.

Question 7

Wouldn't this legislation "heat up" the cold war and possibly escalate it to hot war? Can there be such a thing as "cold war victory"?

"Winning the Cold War" has been the subject of hearings conducted by a subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee since 1962. In 1963 committee Chairman Fassel asked an advocate of a Freedom Academy whether aggressive U.S. efforts in the cold war might risk a hot war. He replied: "The idea that the Soviets would be driven to a hot war, just because of irritations, is not taken seriously by any expert in Soviet affairs. If anything ever could have provoked Soviet wrath to the danger point, it would have been the Cuban blockade. The men in the Kremlin are very cool in their appraisal of what action to take. They talk about being provoked—provocation being one of their favorite propaganda words with which to scare the West—but they will never go into a hot war unless they think they have a good chance of winning it, and if they see that risk as worth taking, they won't need any other provocation."—Testimony of Henry Mayers at Fassel Committee Hearings—Page 105.

Because of the military stalemate, the communists lean heavily on the "organizational weapon." In his book by that title, Philip Selznick explains that the communists "fight everywhere in the social structure, wherever an increment of power can be squeezed from control of an institution or a portion of it." The fight continues despite the Soviet attempts to convey the image that they are engaged in what is known as peaceful co-existence. Says Dr. Possony, "This is a term which is very easily misunderstood by Americans.

Such Americans, rather than the personnel of our embassies, are in the best position to give advice and assistance to trade unionists who are striving to prevent communists from taking over their union, to teachers and students who are desperately seeking to break the control that communist elements have established in their universities, to present leaders who do not know how to cope with the powerful propaganda of the Castroite movement in Latin America." (B-410).

BASIS FOR DETENTE

During the same hearing, Admiral Arleigh Burke was asked how he reconciles a Freedom Academy with the policy of easing cold war tensions. He replied:

"The first thing that should be taught in this institution is the truth. If the communists object to the truth, let them. If they say "this is not true," let them try to disprove it.

They teach the destruction of our social order and how to do us in. If it is important that we have a detente with the Soviets or with the communists, then it is also important that they stop teaching what is not true, before we stop teaching what is true."—D-1431.

The Orlando Committee warns against being manipulated into an inhibited, defensive attitude by charges that an academy would exacerbate the cold war. Its comprehensive memorandum on the legislation states: "Just because our inadequate programs of the past have permitted an atmosphere to develop which makes it difficult for the truth to be believed, is no excuse for throwing in the oars and drifting with the tide."

On the question of a definition of cold war victory, the previously quoted witness before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on "Winning the Cold War" testified as follows:

A DEFINITION OF VICTORY

"The center of the target is the decision-making leadership in Moscow and in Peking. The present world crisis is the direct result of the ambitions of these power hungry men to rule the world. It will continue as long as their dedication to the guidance and financing of world revolution seems profitable to them.

The world crisis, in its non-military and non-economic aspects, will have been brought to an end when Soviet and Red China leaders no longer consider such dedication profitable—when they find it to their self interest to reverse their present hostile attitude toward the United States and the rest of the non-communist world.

It therefore appears that Chairman Fassel's general question "How do we win the non-military contest with communism?" might be narrowed to the more specific question, "How do we create political setbacks, both internal and external, for expansionist communist leadership in Moscow, in Peking, and around the world?"—Fassel Committee hearings Pages 98-99.

Question 8

Why should private U.S. citizens be given training in a Freedom Academy?

Reasons for giving training to a broad cross-section of Americans outside of government were presented to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by three of the bill's co-sponsors.

Senator Karl Mundt: "We can no longer ignore the capacity of the private sector to contribute to the total cold war effort. This group should be highly represented, including businessmen, labor officials, professional people, educators, agricultural experts, performing artists, and scientists." (B-173)

Senator Thomas Dodd: "There are many thousands of Americans who spend time in foreign countries each year as exchange teachers, as students, as trade union representatives, as businessmen.

Such Americans, rather than the personnel of our embassies, are in the best position to give advice and assistance to trade unionists who are striving to prevent communists from taking over their union, to teachers and students who are desperately seeking to break the control that communist elements have established in their universities, to present leaders who do not know how to cope with the powerful propaganda of the Castroite movement in Latin America." (B-410).

"WHERE ARE THE REST OF THE TROOPS?"

Senator Paul Douglas: "I have watched with admiration and gratitude the remarkably effective efforts of the AFL-CIO in thwarting communist penetration of labor unions in Latin America, while at the same time promoting the much needed social reforms. They have demonstrated that the private sector is in a distinctly superior position to help solve some of our most perplexing and dangerous cold war problems. Yet the leaders in this work are entitled to ask, as one did recently, 'Where are the rest of the troops? Why aren't our great civic institutions and organizations pitching in?'"

The opportunities are unlimited, but labor can't do it all. The Freedom Commission Bill emphasizes that a major effort is to be made first to research the possibilities of private participation, and second to provide training so that private citizens can systematically and effectively participate." (B-224-25).

Leo Cherne, founder of the International Rescue Committee, who has been deeply involved with private organizations abroad, testified that he is "particularly concerned with the vast multitude of private American citizens abroad, who are contesting, in their own way, the unequal effort upon which the Soviet is engaged.

There is a great interest in, and preoccupation with, communism in the United States. It is my belief, nevertheless, that hardly more than a handful really understand the precise nature of the communist, his commitment, his instructions, his method of operation and the mechanism to which he is linked by absolute loyalty.

This failure to understand the dimensions of the war we must fight has already cost us a great deal. Yet we have hardly begun the task of harnessing and organizing the vast reservoir of talent and brains for the political warfare we cannot avoid. This is why I consider the Freedom Commission Act to be of such central importance for the development and training which will assist our whole cold war program immeasurably." (A-145)

COLD WAR VIRGINS

"Whether we like it or not, daily (cold war) engagements are being won, lost, or stalemated. Every day victories, defeats or just plain 'no shows,' and most of the time it is 'no shows,' are being registered by businessmen, labor leaders, social workers, educators, cultural exchange luminaries and a host of other people who play a critical and, sometimes, wholly unconscious role in the conduct of the cold war. "Some of these apply sophisticated experience to their tasks. Others, equally well meaning, are cold war virgins."—B-401

Mr. Cherne, who heads the largest business research organization in America, added: "It is my judgment, on the basis of concrete information, that business institutions, among others, will be eager to avail themselves of the opportunity to have members of their staffs secure this education (at a Freedom Academy)." —A-151

The testimony of Dr. Stefan Possony emphasized the youth problem in relation to the cold war. "One of the greatest weaknesses we are suffering from today is that the academic youth which is being brought up is kept in complete ignorance of the foremost security problems besetting our country and the free world."—C-1022

SCHOOL TEACHER NEEDS

Arthur G. McDowell, labor leader and



## "What Shall We Do About It?"

FROM A SATURDAY EVENING POST EDITORIAL

Nowadays many people say, "The problem of how to resist world communism is so complicated, I just don't know what we should do about it." Yet there is one simple thing that we collectively, can do about it right now. We can provide training for public officials and others in the nature and purposes of the communist conspiracy.

A bill to this end has been introduced by three senators — two of them Democrats, Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, and Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut, and the other a conservative Republican, Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota.

Its object is to lessen one of our chief weaknesses — our amateurism in the struggle against the enemy's professionals. The statements of many national leaders indicate woeful ignorance in high places.

We don't have amateur military officers. Nor do amateurs manage our huge industries. Yet we have thousands of amateurs who are trying their untrained best to resist the attacks of the highly trained professional communists.

Some of the ablest American experts on Red strategy testified before the Senate Committee for the Freedom Academy bill.

educator, testified on the need for cold war training for teachers, even in those states where programs for education on the communist danger have long been in operation. He stated: "I live in Pennsylvania, whose State Department of Public Instruction has adopted communist education as a policy. Superintendent of Public Instruction Boehm is a personal friend of mine. I see him about once a year, and each year since 1956 I say to him 'What progress have you made?', and he says 'We haven't made any progress, because we haven't trained any teachers in this subject.' This in spite of the fact that there are now twenty-two institutions of higher learning involved in one phase or another of this subject." — C-1071

### FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT NEED

**Paul Jones**, foreign correspondent, columnist and editorial writer for the Philadelphia Bulletin, was asked whether it would be valuable to newspapers to send their war correspondents to a Freedom Academy for training. He replied: "I think so. Of course, it would be on a voluntary basis, but I would think that the publishers would be only too glad to send their men, rather than just plunge them, without any background whatever, into very complex situations in remote areas of the world — which, of course, is precisely where the communists are making their best time." — D-1455

### DEFEAT ILL-INFORMED EXTREMISTS

According to **Senator Proxmire's** testimony, the broadening of private sector training, particularly among school teachers, would have "a useful side effect. Nothing will do more to end the 'communist racket' of ill-informed extremists and demagogues, than to turn this vital problem over to qualified, informed, Academy graduates." — B-361

**Senator Jack Miller** testified to the need of better education for "the intellectuals — the philosophers, the thinkers, professors, scientists and scholars who themselves must see that communism is the deadliest enemy that intellectuals and liberalism ever had." — B-399.

Referring to the many victims of "the communist racket" mentioned by Senator Proxmire, radio commentator **Christopher Emmet** made the point that "the distinguished commission appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate would undoubtedly serve to unify and reduce the areas of the confusion about this issue and to satisfy a great deal of ignorant, frustrated and well-meaning anti-communism expressed by people who can't be

expected to know. They see things going wrong, and therefore sometimes they express their anti-communism in unwise, glib, naive, extreme forms." — D-1354

Confirming Mr. Emmet's view, **Prof. Sidney Hook** testified that the communist movement depends to a large extent "upon the ignorance and naivety of those who oppose it as much as of those who are taken in by it."

### Question 9

**Why provide for the training of citizens of other countries? Is it practical?**

**Senator Clifford Case**, a co-sponsor of the Freedom Academy legislation, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "There is a limit to what Americans can do to help other countries struggling to maintain their independence from communist domination. A greater burden must be borne by the people of the countries concerned. Where they desire the training which a Freedom Academy can provide, we should be in a position to bring their leaders and their potential leaders here, both to teach them and to learn from them." — B-278

### FOREIGN AID LIMITATIONS

**Col. William Kintner** related the above remarks to the U.S. foreign aid program, pointing out: "Little is to be gained from furthering the economic development of pre-industrial countries, if we leave the manipulation of the 'revolution of rising expectations' in the hands of the communists. It is important for us to overcome our present inability to channel the forces rampant in underdeveloped countries in directions compatible with our interests. We cannot continue indefinitely to deal with governments mostly by traditional diplomatic intercourse and let the communists destroy the base on which these governments rest." — B-240

The stitch-in-time aspect of the training was emphasized by lawyer **Alan Grant**, who had taught the first school of guerrilla warfare in the United States: "We have to create operational knowledge for indigenous nationals (so that they) can go out into the villages and get the villagers on their side before the communist cadres begin to operate and take over and establish their intelligence and terror apparatus. Once they have done that, then what we can do is very limited." — B-333

**Gov. Luis Munos Marin** of Puerto Rico has repeatedly stated that to achieve political stability in Latin America, and incidentally to save the Alliance For Progress from failure, the U.S. must provide political aid as well as technical and financial aid. He also insists that sophisticated political leadership in Latin America can only come from the anti-communist "democratic left" — the groups which "seek social advances and higher living standards for all the people in a framework of freedom and consent."

**Prof. Sidney Hook** warns, however, that there are "those liberals or democrats who are opposed to the communists but have no corresponding know-how in combatting their techniques. They lack experience, and by the time they acquire it, it is too late." — C-957

### TRAINING FOR FOREIGN ELITE

The potential political leader must therefore be trained while he is still young. "If there is one facet of the cold war struggle in which communists have been spectacularly successful," says **Senator Mundt**, "it has been in the recruitment of the young elite in the developing nations. These young people are extraordinarily ambitious. They have a great sense of urgency about the need for modernization and reform. They desire to lead." But today, it is only the communists who are eager to teach them, and what they are taught, the senator explains, are "deceitful techniques of leadership and power acquisition. . . . We must offset this capture of young elite in other countries. We must provide them with training directly related to the problems which confront them. We must train them in the dynamics of democratic leadership and prepare them with the skills and understanding needed to counter the communist political and psychological subversion of their governments and their private institutions." — B-174

That such guidance can not come from conventional U.S. Information Agency efforts was emphasized by Henry Mayers, former member of the USIA Executive Reserve. He testified: "From long study of propaganda, I am convinced that we will never achieve great success in it as long as we do everything in the name of the U.S. Information Agency or the Voice of America."

### PROPAGANDA BY INDIGENOUS LEADERS

"Communicating information about the U.S. viewpoint is important, of course. But the most effective propaganda for our type of society is that done by indigenous freedom loving people. I mean people who could probably be trained in a freedom academy, and who would propagandize in their own self interest, on behalf of their own people, not acting as agents for the United States, but acting as exponents of the principles of the free society." — B-394-395

Concerning the limitations of propaganda in the name of the U.S., Prof. Sidney Hook stated: "When an American official, even when he is thoroughly conversant with the cold war and the issues, says 'two plus two equals four,' the fact that he is an American official already makes that statement suspect." — B-195

### WHERE STUDENTS WILL COME FROM

Where would the foreign students come from? Obviously, the various government agencies in other countries would send their people to the Academy on a regular quota basis, just as they presently send them to the U.S. Foreign Service Institute, the War Colleges and the university centers.

In this connection **Col. William Kintner** testified that: "We are training foreign personnel. We train them at our military schools. . . . We are also training them under the AID Program (5,766 participants were trained by AID in the United States at the end of the last fiscal year 1963) and 2,127 were trained in the other nations." — W-1309

### SECURITY PROVISIONS

Lawyer **Alan Grant**, the prime mover in

the drafting of the Freedom Academy legislation, explained the section that provides for the bringing in of foreign students: "It was adopted, almost verbatim, from that part of the U.S. Information Service Act which sets up the student exchange program, and provides the same safeguard — namely, that students shall be admitted as non-immigrants under such circumstances and conditions as may be prescribed by the regulations of the Commission, the Secretary of State, and the Attorney General. They can be deported at any time if they engage in adverse political activity." — A-53

On the possibility of such adverse political activity, Dr. Stefan Possony commented: "Should a few hardboiled communists appear among the student group, and should they, in addition to making trouble, be utterly resistant to absorbing new knowledge, the Academy in cooperation with our security agencies would be free to repatriate such disturbing individuals." — C-1031

### "POLICE STATE" EMPHASIS WRONG

The training today given to the personnel of foreign governments by the United States is too limited, according to the testimony of Henry Mayers, "Our government," he says, "thinks largely in terms of preventing communist takeovers through police and military controls. Partly for that reason, we provide arms and military training to those countries. The result is an over-emphasis on the police state, and the showing into the background of their long-range need to develop more democracy through normal political progress. The contribution the Freedom Commission Act could make toward such democratic development has been misunderstood and misrepresented. The act is completely compatible with the American political tradition." — B-381

### FOREIGN EAGERNESS FOR TRAINING

**Alan Grant** learned of the eagerness for Freedom Academy training amongst foreign nations, after the Reader's Digest told of his efforts in behalf of an academy. That brought him inquiries from the Philippines, India, Ceylon, Pakistan, and countries in Africa. He tells this story: "A year ago a young lady visited me who was an exchange student from Argentina, a graduate of the University of Cordoba, one of the oldest institutions of higher learning in the western hemisphere. 'On our campus,' she said, 'the only important student organizations have been captured by the communists. We non-communists and anti-communists have no one in our group who is equally trained, in many cases equally dedicated, and we are not being heavily subsidized by the Cuban Embassy or the Czechoslovakian Embassy or the Russian Embassy, as these communist students are. There is no place in Argentina where I can get training in this area for our side. I came to the United States because I hope that in this country, the great leader of the free world, training would be available to me.'

"What happened? They sent her to a small school in southern Georgia. The faculty was very friendly, but there wasn't a single member prepared to give the type of training we propose to give at the Freedom Academy."

"You could see this was a crushing blow. This young lady was highly intelligent, very politically sophisticated for her years. She had all the inherent characteristics we so desperately need on our side in this massive struggle for Latin America. She was begging for training." — B-331

### EXAMPLE OF POSSIBILITIES

What might be achieved with training was suggested by former **Ambassador Adolf A. Berle**. He had a part in establishing a Free Europe College in Strasbourg, France, for young people who fled from Iron Curtain countries after the communists seized them at the close of World War II. After the Hungarian

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revolution in 1956, a couple hundred of refugees from that country came to the school. He told the Committee: "These were boys who had never known anything except communist training, but they had revolted against the communist regime. Through our school one of them got his training in economics. Thereafter he got a job teaching in the French Congo. Came the Congolese revolution and he stayed there. Exactly six years after we had picked him up without a shirt on his back and given him a start at the College de l'Europa Libre, he turned up as the economics adviser to the Congolese delegation in the United Nations and was, perhaps, as sound and as effective a cooperating influence as one can have in a difficult situation.

I could duplicate that story twenty times, but this perhaps gives you the possibilities of the situation . . . We didn't try to do the whole job, and maybe the Freedom Academy, when constituted, can use this technique." — D-149

#### WHEN THEY GO BACK

"What do foreign nationals who have been trained in the Freedom Academy do after they have received their training?" Senator Mundt answered that question: "They would go back to the country of which they are nationals and serve either their government, or their private employers, or their professions. But they would be trained to meet the threat of communism to their particular environment.

It would not be our thought that they would be utilized by the American Government, but they would go back home as trained voluntary workers and trained operatives for the government to which they belong." — B-256

#### Question 10

**With obvious shortcomings in our own democracy, how can we teach foreign students to follow our example?**

It would be unnecessary, as well as inadvisable, to teach foreign students that the inherent forces of freedom are to be judged only by the achievements of the American government.

#### CRITICISM OF U.S. POSSIBLE

Prof. Sidney Hook stated that "the foreign alumni of the Freedom Academy will be encouraged to feel free to criticize the United States if, in the interests of our common ideal of freedom, they conscientiously believe it is necessary. It will be proof that the alumni are not wearing the collar of any government, and when they speak up for the common ideal, their voice will have greater weight and authority." — C-960

Prof. Hook further suggests that in its research and its teaching of foreign nationals, the U.S. Freedom Commission could be as un-nationalistic as a "National Institute of Health . . . Its function, too, is to grapple with the problems of pathology and prevention — but in the sphere of public life.

The Freedom Academy is not designed to recruit foreign nationals to serve the United States, or to serve any particular American purpose. What we are trying to do is to make it possible for those indigenous democratic elements in other countries to preserve their independence, to fight for freedom in their own way, even if their economy is different from our own.

I think we would try to help a socialist country keep its independence vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, just as we would try to help non-socialist countries . . . The issue is not the issue of economics, or of capitalism versus socialism. The issue is one of freedom, the right to be a person, the right to choose the economic system under which one should live. That is not spe-

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#### NOT U.S. VS U.S.S.R.

"The cold war," says Henry Mayers, "is not merely a confrontation between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., as the Soviet propagandists would like the world to believe. It is a war between communism and every nation outside the Red bloc. It is a war that must be fought by citizens of all nations of the free world who want to stay free." — C-1037

There is nevertheless a great thirst in the developing nations for an understanding of our political structure, and of our success in having developed the kind of government we have. Edward R. Murrow once said that in a single USIS Library in Africa there was more demand for the Federalist Papers in four weeks than there is at the New York Public Library in an entire year.

#### "WE, NOT THEY"

However short we fall of the ideal of democratic government, the Freedom Academy can nevertheless communicate to foreign students a concept of the United States expressed by Bertrand Wolfe in an address to the National War College in July 1959: "We, not they, are the champions of the right and the freedom of workmen, the freedom of movement, the freedom to change jobs, the freedom to build organizations of their choosing under their own control, the right to elect their own officials, to formulate and negotiate their own demands, the right to strike, the right to vote for a party, a program and a candidate of their own choice.

We, not they, are the champions of freedom of the human spirit, of the freedom of the arts and sciences, freedom of conscience, freedom of belief and worship, freedom from scarcity and want, and from the tyranny of irresponsible and omnipotent officials.

Though in all these things the free world presents its own imperfections and lapses, these are the things that the free world stands for and in good measure realizes, and these are the things which totalitarianism completely destroys and makes high treason even to think upon.

In the battle for the future shape of the world, all the creative and explosive weapons are in our hands, if we have the wit and understanding to take them up . . . They are vulnerable on every front at every moment and in every layer of their society."

#### Question 11

**Wouldn't foreign students be called "U.S. agents" when they return home?**

Yes. They will be labeled "imperialist spies" and other communist epithets.

Prof. Sidney Hook, who has spent more than twenty years as a known anti-communist in almost every major country outside of the Red orbit, testified that: "All foreign students who have studied in America, at New York University, at Columbia, under private agencies, when they return to their countries always face this charge. Sometimes it is effective.

When is it effective? When these students have not themselves been trained effectively so as to know what kind of response to make to that charge.

What would a physician say, in the Philippines or in Thailand or in Japan, if he were charged with having studied in the United States? He would say 'Yes, and I have studied something about the nature of human health, and I am using what I have studied to help my own people.'

#### THE EFFECTIVE REPLY

Well, now — let's suppose a trade union organizer comes from Japan or a church-

one from a peace movement comes from Thailand and he is charged with having studied in the United States in the Freedom Academy. What would his reply be? 'Yes, I have studied in the Freedom Academy, and what we studied is how to preserve the principles of freedom, not only in the United States but in our country as well. I have been studying in your behalf as well as mine, and the proof is here in the program which I present to you.' — B-191-192

#### THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

Alan Grant emphasized that through the Freedom Academy, the student would not only "know how to handle any accusation that he is an American spy . . . he will keep the other side on the defensive." — A-32

He will know how to demonstrate that the native communist is loyal to Moscow or Peking rather than his own country, how to explain the differences between the United States and the kind of country the communist leaders are trained in.

In this the Freedom Academy student will not be alone. Sidney Hook states that as a rule he has been sent to the academy by some "student or farm group, or some cultural, philanthropic, labor or business organization with which he is affiliated. On his return that organization has a vested interest in his activity. The communist charge 'American agent' would have to be implausibly directed against the organization to which he belongs." — C-959

#### STUDENTS WELCOME AT HOME

Along similar lines, Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer has testified that "We are quite mistaken to assume that we do not have people in other countries who welcome our alliance, our help, in this cold war, and who cry out for it. To these people, who are to be found in all free countries of the world, someone trained in the United States in what really is a common cause would be very welcome." — A-72

#### Question 12

**Would other free world nations cooperate with the Freedom Commission?**

While it can never be predicted how any government may react at a given time to a U.S. proposal, there is ample evidence that most free world governments, particularly on the less developed continents, would welcome constructive political education for their people as readily as they welcome economic and technical aid.

#### PRECEDENT ESTABLISHED

The concept of a free world political academy has already been tested. In 1958 the former president of Costa Rica, Jose Figueres, established there an Institute of Political Education. Mr. Mayers reports that it attracted students from all other Latin America nations and trained them, according to its literature, "for political action through instruction in strategy and tactics, to attain and maintain power for the purpose of defending and developing democracy." — C-1037-8

At another hearing, the same witness described "an organization called the Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League, — a federation of citizens' political organizations in Thailand, Malaya, Burma, and all other Free Asian countries. They have repeatedly passed resolutions at their conventions urging the American Government to pass the Freedom Commission bill." — B-393

The 1964 conference of the APACL in Formosa unanimously urged the establishment of an Asian cold war educational institution in Seoul, South Korea, patterned after the U.S. Freedom Academy concept.

Introducing the APACL resolutions into the hearing record, Chairman Willis

commented that delegates at that conference included "the former president of Lebanon, three former or incumbent speakers of parliaments, two former premiers, seven former ministers, two former ambassadors, twenty-three incumbent members of parliaments, seven political party leaders and three mayors or governors. In addition, there were college presidents, professors, industrial leaders and political commentators. More than sixty messages from anti-communist leaders in various nations were received, including messages from the president of the Philippines, the Republic of Viet Nam, and the Republic of Korea." — D-248

Perhaps the most sophisticated international group urging the establishment of a U.S. Freedom Academy is the International Conference on Political Warfare which is headquartered in Paris. Under the leadership of the French political writer Suzanne Labin, its three-day conferences in Paris and Rome have brought hundreds of delegates from all parts of the free world.

Describing its first conference in December 1960, Eugene Lyons wrote that this "global gathering of activists in the struggle against communism came from sixteen countries and included ten Asians, six Africans and a small American contingent."

The slogan that has animated the International Conferences on Political Warfare is significant: "Communism must kill freedom abroad, otherwise freedom will kill communism at home."

#### Question 13

**Can the tide of global political warfare be turned, at this late date, in favor of the free world?**

John Richardson, whose Radio Free Europe broadcasters are continuously analyzing the political strengths of the communist bloc, testified: "In my opinion, in the present conflict imposed on us by the Soviet and Chinese communist movements we have most of the advantages on our side. That we have not succeeded to a great extent is due, I believe, not so much to any inadequacies of the democratic system or the free world alliances, but rather to a failure to appreciate the importance of learning how to utilize our advantages effectively in the political, economic and psychological struggle.

If we are to make effective use of our resources, we must urgently seek to achieve the objectives which are quite precisely stated in the preamble to the Freedom Commission Act. — B-185

Dr. Charles Wesley Lowry, Executive Director of FRASCO: "There is an ideology of freedom with an unlimited potency of moral force and psychological appeal, provided the inheritors of freedom in this country awake to the realization of what they have in their hands. Provided, also, that free men face realistically, before it is too late, the gigantic scope and organized character of the counter-offensive launched by the massed forces of total tyranny." — A-34

In his memorandum to President Eisenhower, Gen. David Sarnoff analyzed the war that world communism "has been making on our civilization for more than three decades . . . It has been a war with campaigns and battles, strategy and tactics, conquests and retreats. Even the post-war years it should be noted, have seen Red retreats — in Greece, Iran, Berlin, for instance — as well as victories. But such retreats have occurred only when the West acted awfully and boldly."

U.S. awareness and boldness in establishing a Freedom Commission is a necessary step, according to Gen. Sarnoff, "to shatter the 'wave of the future' aura around communism, displacing the assumption that communism is inevitable with a

deepening certainty that 'the end of communism is inevitable.' But first, says Gen. Sarnoff, we must realize that world communism is not a tool in the hands of Russia — Russia is a tool in the hands of world communism. Repeatedly Moscow has sacrificed national interests in deference to world revolutionary needs. This provides opportunities for appeals to Russian patriotism." — A-41 and 48

These opportunities have been enlarged on by Henry Mayers in an Advertising Age article on Soviet propaganda: "Russia's Biggest Industry." It is a gigantic activity internally because, to keep the Russian people quiescent, they must continually be reassured of the Soviets' international righteousness, of the communist destiny to rule the world, of the inevitable decline of the West, and of its desperate determination to wipe out the Russian people with atomic bombs. By thus playing alternately on Russian pride and national fears, the Kremlin has thus far been able to partially conceal its basic conflict with the well-being of the Russian people.

But the Soviets' forty-year-old effort to convert Russian humans into biochemical state tools that can be mass manipulated and controlled, hasn't succeeded. They are still human souls with material and spiritual needs. In conflict with their human desire for higher living standards is the Kremlin's policy of diverting a large part of the national industrial potential to armaments. In conflict with their human desire for communication with the west is the Kremlin's rigid control on travel, on reading matter, and on broadcasts from beyond the Iron Curtain. In conflict with their spiritual yearnings is communist atheism. In conflict with their desire for peace and friendly relations and their natural instinct to like America, is the Kremlin-induced state of mental war, fear and hatred."

Still, there is no comfort in all these Kremlin vulnerabilities unless the West has the wit to take advantage of them. Alan Grant writes: "We permit the communists to monopolize many an ideological battleground simply because we see no way in which our present forces could effectively join battle. Our non-military conflict forces are still unmobilized and untrained. What will history say of us if we continue to lose area by area, without having made a crash effort to find out our capacity to mobilize and train the many forces available to us?"

Representative Robert R. Barry summed up the matter: "There is no reason for us to sit back and bewail the fact that the communists always seem to have the initiative on the world scene. We need to go out and take the initiative. One instrument for that purpose is surely the Freedom Academy." — D-1302

#### Question 14

**How would the curriculum for a Freedom Academy be developed? Where would the faculty come from?**

In explaining his bill to the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Karl Mundt said: "We are not going to be able, at one fell swoop, to sit down and establish the curriculum and all the responsibilities of the Freedom Academy. This is going to take a full time Commission, a sort of continuing 'think factory' to develop the tactics and methods required to meet the constantly changing pattern of performance that America confronts overseas. By the time we learn to master one technique to reject a particular thrust of the communists, the fertile minds of the communists are going to come up with something else." — B-220

Even a man as intimately aware of communist maneuvers as Herbert Philbrick testified: "I believe that we must enter into this field admitting that there is a

lot we don't know and confessing that in the beginning it may not be quite what we would want in the end. But at least some place we have to make a start." — D-1374

Commenting on the absence of specifics concerning curriculum in the legislation, Henry Mayers testified: "I believe the most important aspect of the legislation is the fact that it provides for research to determine what to teach. It would be a little presumptuous for the writers of the bill at this point to be very specific about the length of the course, the nature of the curriculum, or anything that could be criticized as a detailed program, when all they are fighting for is the principle that 'cold war training' is essential." — B-1099

The subject matter to be taught is extremely complicated and voluminous, according to Dr. Stefan Possony. "It cannot be in toto imparted to any one student and should not be. Hence, we have to split up this complex and tailor the study courses to the specific needs of specific types of students. The feasibility of such an undertaking, in my judgment, is beyond any doubt." — C-1011-2

It is not the intent of the legislation's sponsors to build the curriculum around "the American way." According to Henry Mayers, "We should leave ourselves out of it as much as possible, in the Freedom Academy approach. The fact that the communists are focusing hatred against us, or misinterpreting us, is not relevant to the job of the Freedom Commission in training people of other countries in how to fight politically for their own country, for their own salvation.

The cold war is a battle between communists and all the non-communist countries in the world, but we must be the leaders in that battle. When we bring people here to teach them how to fight communism, we are not teaching them how to defend America or American foreign policy." — B-398

Prof. Sidney Hook has written: "The Freedom Academy must explore the entire gamut of positive democratic proposals to meet the problems the communists exploit. We live in an age in which global political revolution, the universal technological paradoxes, have all converged. Even if there were no communist movement, the free world would have many grave problems to settle. But it is the presence of the communist movement which seeks to convert these problems into mortal dangers and threats to democratic survival." — C-961

To the question of who will teach the students, Prof. Hook replies: "Fortunately, there exists in the United States men and women who have had intensive experience in combatting communists in schools and universities, trade unions and cooperatives, peace organizations and social clubs. Many have studied communist techniques of subversion and have developed effective measures of defense and offense against them.

Members of the Freedom Academy staff can also be drawn from various countries in which communist strategies have been repelled by resolute and intelligent leadership." — C-959

Enlarging on the possibilities of drawing on the experience of non-Americans, Henry Mayers testified: "In addition, a U.S.-sponsored Freedom Academy would attract the support and cooperation of outstanding anti-communist political leaders in other nations. It would be hailed by men who have proved, in their own practical political experience, that they know how to meet and defeat communist machinations in their own countries. Dr. Jose Figueres, who founded the political academy in Costa Rica, is but one of them. Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela and Luis Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico are other Latin-American examples. In Asia there is Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew who fought the communists politically for ten years and successfully prevented a takeover in Singapore and the Malaya Peninsula.

A great potential cooperator in a Freedom

Academy would be George Papandreou, former prime minister of Greece. Through his sheer political skill, he saved his country from an attempted takeover by Greek communist partisans after World War II.

In the Near East there is Charles Malik of Lebanon, one of the free world's most articulate and inspirational spokesmen in behalf of Western political ideals. Those ideas are also forcefully expounded by Spain's great political writer and former diplomat, Salvador de Madariaga. He could have tremendous influence on Latin-American political trainees.

These men, I believe, would be great consultants on curriculum. They could help determine what should be taught and how it should be taught. In addition, some would be glad to come as visiting lecturers." — C-1038

Enlarging on the possibilities of non-American participation in a Freedom Academy, Dr. Stefan Possony testified: "I go so far as to say it has to be an Alliance-wide effort. Perhaps we have placed too much emphasis on an American institution, and we should remember that NATO is still around and, perhaps, one of the greatest advantages we can have is to use this type of facility to cement it a little more strongly." — B-218

#### Question 15

**What assurances are there that a Freedom Commission would not be infiltrated, or find its aims emasculated by a faculty that believes in compromise with anti-freeedom political forces?**

"Some have feared that the academy could fall into the wrong hands. The Presidency could also fall into the wrong hands, and so could every Cabinet post and every elected and appointed position. But we do not abolish our public offices. We are confident we are able to handle and control the misuse and abuse of power. A French poet has said that the desire to possess perfection is the most dangerous kind of madness."

The Academy Bill has many provisions to handle this particular problem. I think there should be a bipartisan selection of the lecturers. I think you should have provision so that the research staffs are rotated. So testified Dr. Stefan Possony, (C-1019). In direct answer to the above question by a member of the hearing committee, Henry Mayers stated:

"There are four safeguards. First, the fact that the Commission would not be under State Department domination; second, the fact that the appointments have to be bipartisan and approved by the Senate; third, that the Senators who sponsor the bill — and there are thirteen of them — would vigorously challenge any questionable appointment to the Commission; fourth, citizen groups like the Cold War Council, which have spent much time working for the Freedom Academy Bill, will remain organized to see that the Commission carries out the real intent and purpose of the writers of the bill, and that it is not subverted by weak appointments or weak administration, once the bill is on the books." — C-1046

To the above, the chairman of the committee added: "Then, too, you might add two more safeguards. One is that it will have to meet the Appropriations Committee every year. And two, under the bill, annual reports will have to be made to the President and to the Congress." — C-1046

The latest version of the House bill also provides for an Advisory Committee composed of representatives from the Departments of State, Defense, Commerce, Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, CIA, AID, USIA, and FBI. Also six

members of Congress representing both Houses and both parties, and five representatives of the private sector.

#### Question 16

**Why cannot the Freedom Academy concept be privately financed?**

Some of the earliest advocates of an Academy were leading Americans who investigated the possibilities of private financing. After his original rebuffs in Washington, Alan Grant came to New York and enlisted the support of Christopher Emmet who testified that he and a number of other prominent anti-communists "met at that time in New York in an effort to see if we could not carry out this plan on a private basis with the support of foundation money. We had the support of some very distinguished citizens, including Gen. Clay, former Governor Dewey, and Henry Luce of TIME-LIFE, but we failed. The difficulties of financing an operation of this sort privately are insuperable, because of the vast area of responsibilities which private financing must take care of." — D-1354

Alan Grant came to this conclusion: "I feel sure that in the present day and age we might be able to go out and raise a 5-, 10- or 15-million dollar endowment, and set up some kind of a private training institution in the academy, but this would be small potatoes in terms of what we need. And it could not begin to carry on the extensive research or training program which we would have to have.

May I further add, though, that this is a critical area of national defense, and the most basic purpose of all government is defense.

Certainly we would not turn over our entire defense establishment, and preparation for it, to the private sector. This is such a critical area of national defense, which is the number one responsibility of the United States government — this is something we cannot shuck off and tell the private sector to play this major role of research and training, (including) training for government foreign affairs personnel, as well as private citizens and foreign nationals." — C-1108

Florida high school teacher William J. Cunningham suggested that even if financing by the private sector were possible, government apathy would defeat the project. He testified: "Without the national endorsement and encouragement of the federal government, those who speak up become mere voices in the wilderness. People feel if Congress, the State Department and other federal branches and agencies are not concerned enough to do something, why should they have to worry about it? It becomes extremely difficult to refute this kind of logic." — C-1091

Summarizing the private agency issue, Senator Mundt told the Foreign Relations Committee: "Ideally, such training and research should be located outside the organized structure of government. For two major reasons this is not feasible. First, some of the materials and data required for both research and training are available only within the structure of government. Second, and perhaps most important, we are talking about a sizeable program, which should, when operating at full capacity, be training several thousand public and private students each year. This will require substantial resources not very readily available to private institutions. If the magnitude of this training program strikes you as extravagant, let me just point out that our adversaries have been at this business of non-military conflict training for nearly fifty years. We are already too late. We cannot afford also to provide too little." — B-174

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## Question 17

**What are the main State Department arguments in opposition to Freedom Commission legislation, and how are they rebutted?**

The opposition is documented in four statements by Department spokesmen:

1. Letter from Assistant Secretary of State Frederick W. Dutton to Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Fulbright, sent May, 1962, in response to the senator's request for the Department's views.
2. Testimony of Dr. Walt W. Rostow, chairman of the Policy Planning Council of the Department of State, at Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on May 1, 1963.
3. Testimony of Hon. W. Averill Harriman, then Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, at House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings, February 20, 1964.
4. Letter from Dr. W. W. Rostow to editor of this Digest, July 15, 1965. Dr. Rostow's summary of the State Department's position is printed in toto below (bottom of Col. 4).

The Dutton letter, in three pages and 1200 words, makes five points:

- a. The area of training to develop "all of the political, psychological, economic and other non-military means at our disposal," is the primary responsibility of the Department of State.
- b. The State Department's Foreign Service Institute's "existing programs and facilities for training and research are impressive and are continually expanding," and do all that is needed in this training area.
- c. Such training cannot be handled by "a new separate agency 'without operational responsibilities' in day-to-day diplomacy and policy formulation.
- d. It is "deluding ourselves" to believe "that the strategy for waging our struggle against communism could be formulated into an 'operational science'."
- e. Citizens in other free nations would not cooperate with a Freedom Academy, and Soviet propaganda would label it a "cold war institute for espionage training."

## DUTTON LETTER REBUTTAL

After study of the Dutton letter, Washington columnist Roscoe Drummond commented, concerning the first of the above points, "Assistant Secretary Dutton's letter shows that the State Department is extremely sensitive over its jurisdictional authority . . . I think it is overly sensitive and that Mr. Dutton's rebuff to the sponsors of the Freedom Academy Bill rests on a misreading and a misunderstanding of the project."

The State Department's assumption that its primary responsibility in foreign affairs gives it exclusivity of decision and control, must be evaluated in the light of congressional and presidential action to establish the Peace Corps as a separate agency. Also an earlier executive order removing the U.S. Information Agency from the jurisdiction of the Department of State.

Concerning point B above, Roscoe Drummond wrote: "The State Department announces that it is preparing to add a five-week course in cold war techniques to the regular curriculum of the Foreign Service Institute. A five week course thrown together by an improvised faculty for a few government officials is like sending the of the Foreign Service Institute courses Marines to Guadalcanal after preparing them for a game of pingpong." In a more serious vein, the inadequacy

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of which Assistant Secretary Dutton referred, was brought out in both the Herter and Perkins reports, which severely criticized the F.S.I. programs.

Point C above confuses operations with training. The Dutton letter suggests that even though the basic premises and techniques of communist political warfare haven't changed in fifty years, the counter-principles to be taught in a Freedom Academy (see Question 14 re curriculum) are changing from day to day with the foreign relations situation. Therefore, according to the State Department position, no foreign affairs specialists in the U.S. private sector, and none of the successful practitioners of the politics of freedom in other nations who advocate the establishment of a U.S. Freedom Academy, can understand the communist challenge as well as the day-to-day crisis handlers in the Department of State. All pro-Freedom Academy witnesses at congressional hearings, including those with years of experience within the State Department are, according to the Dutton letter, deluding themselves. (Point D.)

Rebuttal of State Department opinion concerning the reactions of foreign nationals to a Freedom Academy (point E), is found under Question 12, also in parts of Questions 9, 10 and 11.

There can be no rebuttal of Mr. Dutton's point that "the Freedom Academy would immediately be characterized by Soviet propaganda as a 'cold war institute' and a training course for espionage." It certainly would be so attacked. The communists have said the same about the Peace Corps. Red propaganda has attacked the Marshall Plan, the Baruch Plan, the Alliance for Progress, and every other U.S. initiative in the cold war.

Justification for a less defeatist attitude toward the communist propaganda charges that would follow the establishment of a Freedom Academy is found under Question 11.

A few secondary points in the Dutton letter are quoted and rebutted below:

(f) Because "Soviet training of foreign communists in techniques of organization, subversion, etc., is conducted in the highest secrecy," any training to counter such communist techniques, "by its very nature should not be a publicized operation." See rebuttal under Question 14 discussion of curriculum.

(g) Various universities offer "programs and courses of study on communism," presumably along the same lines the Freedom Academy would provide. For rebuttal see Question 4.

(h) The present scattered research and educational methods by which Americans in and out of government may achieve "training for meeting our international responsibilities" is the best way, "the tested approach." For rebuttal see Question 4.

(i) The best means of fighting communism "lies in foreign aid, the Peace Corps" and in "building a stronger United States, a stronger economy and a modernized, and reinvigorated educational system."

The importance of these worthy objectives cannot be questioned. What is questionable is their relevance to the Freedom Academy issue.

## ROSTOW-HARRIMAN TESTIMONY

Secretary Dutton's letter became the framework around which both Policy Planning Chairman Rostow and Under Secretary Harriman built their testimony at committee hearings on Freedom Commission legislation. However, there was one exception. Something had happened at the White House between the writing of the Dutton letter lauding the Foreign Service Institute training programs and the testimony of the State Department spokesmen. When the Herter and Perkins Panel reports were studied by President Kennedy, he ordered the Department of State to develop a "National Academy of Foreign Affairs" recommendation and legislation.

This legislation, as written by the Department, merely enlarged and renamed the Foreign Service Institute, adding a

attack from officials within the State Department itself. After the assassination of President Kennedy there was no administration pressure whatever for its enactment, or even for hearings in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which it had been referred.

However, both Mr. Rostow and Mr. Harriman leaned heavily on the N.A.F.A. Act in their anti-Freedom Academy testimony. In the view of at least one senator, they used it "simply as a backfire, to confuse the issue and create uncertainties."

## "OUT OF DATE"

In addition to covering most of the points in the Dutton letter, Mr. Rostow's testimony challenged the need for cold war training for the private sector, indicating that it is already participating on an impressive scale:

"We should not underestimate our unions, business firms, foundations, universities, students, women's organizations, church organizations, and what others have done and are doing abroad. They lack neither initiative nor sophistication, and we in the government welcome and encourage contacts with them.

When the Freedom Commission idea was launched about a dozen years ago, there is no doubt that such private activities were not as extensive or as competent as they are now.

But as I read the literature and the testimony of the Freedom Commission advocates, I sometimes feel they are somewhat out of date. Our private institutions are now committed to work abroad on a very large scale, in every quarter of the globe."—B-284.

For rebuttal see Question 8.

## SINGLE TRACK CONCEPT

Concerning the training of foreign citizens, Mr. Rostow somehow concluded that the Freedom Academy curriculum would provide an identical course of instruction for U.S. foreign service personnel and for all foreign students. He warned: "The training of foreign civilians on a large scale raises profound difficulties. The curriculum would be concerned with political matters of a high sensitivity. The mere presence of foreign students would seriously inhibit such studies, to a point that would defeat the real mission of the institution. One of the features of the courses to be presented would be lectures by and discussions with high government officials. The privacy of their remarks could not be ensured with foreign students in the audience."—B-284-5.

Refutation of this single-track concept of how research, curriculum and class instructions would be handled under a Freedom Commission is covered specifically by the testimony of Dr. Passony under Question 14, to which may be added his comment that "the Academy should be divided into many schools which, of course, is a standard university practice. You do not put the dentists together with the veterinarians."—B-218.

In the State Department view, foreign students studying anything from engineering to medicine in private U.S. universities are automatically getting constructive political education as well. Mr. Rostow testified: "We now have 50,000 foreign students in the United States. I am sure that the testimony of foreign students, when they return, is better for their having shared our life, visited our homes, seen us as we are rather than having been instructed or indoctrinated in a government institution."—B-285.

## WHAT STATE MEANS BY "INDOCTRINATION"

The word "indoctrination" crops up repeatedly in the testimony of both Mr. Rostow and Mr. Harriman. Under Secretary Harriman injected that negative word so repeatedly in his testimony that its use was vigorously challenged by several members of the hearing committee. He subsequently had inserted in the hearing record a letter explaining that he wished "to clarify my use of the word 'indoctrinate'." The letter explained that

he used the word in accordance with the Webster definition of it as "instruction—in a derogatory sense—to imbue with an opinion or a partisan or a sectarian point of view."—D-1259.

Under Secretary Harriman thus reemphasized the unique State Department position that a partisan or a sectarian opinion is involved in instructing free world citizens in the nature of democracy and in how to prevent communist infiltration into their labor, professional, cultural, religious or social organizations, as well as their political and civil institutions.

## "FEDERAL CONTROL OF EDUCATION"

Another direction in which both the Rostow and the Harriman testimony amplified the Dutton letter concerned the relationship which the proposed Freedom Academy might have with the existing educational system. Both State Department spokesmen referred to the bill's authorization to the Commission to publish and distribute material within the area of its responsibilities as "federal control of education" . . . "a drastic departure from our traditions of the federal government's role in the field of education" . . . "federal government in direct charge of education of our people," and similar phrases.

In citing the above dangers, Mr. Rostow apparently saw no inconsistency with his own testimony that "there is a great flow of excellent material on problems of communism and our foreign policy coming out of Washington (from the State Department). These materials, along with others generated in our free society, are available for education and information purposes. But we are sure that it would run counter to the deeply held traditions and convictions in our society if an agency of the federal government were to try to impose on our educational institutions textbooks and other formal aids."—B-286.

In rebuttal, Senator Mundt stated: "It is certainly the concept of the authors of this bill that the material would be made available upon request. As you use the words, 'it would be imposed,' there is no such desire. I share with you completely the fact that the federal government should not impose on citizens educational materials. It is just that the State Department provides material, and the Department of Agriculture provides material. It isn't imposed on people, but sent out with a circular, saying 'if you are interested in this material, it is available.' Some take it and some do not. I think they should have access to the same kind of service on the nature of the communism conspiracy, especially as it is encroaching upon us from abroad. If you felt (this material) was going to be imposed on people, that is not correct."—B-300.

## SIMILARITY TO ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

As for the Freedom Commission Bill representing "a drastic departure from our traditions of the federal government's role in the field of education" (Harriman—D-1252), the structure of the Freedom Commission, under the proposed legislation closely parallels that of the Atomic Energy Commission. This Commission issues approximately twenty comprehensive booklets of 48 or more pages for school use and more than 150 other printed items, also available to teachers. The Commission also produces or distributes 267 different films to schools and colleges.

Both the Rostow and Harriman testimony insist that the Freedom Academy concept is essentially "negative." For rebuttal, see Question 1. Much of the pro-Freedom Academy editorial material that has appeared in the nation's press (See Question 21) suggests that it is the State Department's position that is negative.

## UP-DATED SUMMARY

To update this Digest's discussion of the State Department position, its editors requested and received from Policy Planning Council Chairman W. W. Rostow the following summary of reasons why the Department is opposed to Freedom Academy legislation:

- I. The President has already given the

Secretary of State primary responsibility for marshalling the nation's political, psychological, economic and other non-military resources to counter communist political warfare against non-communist foreign states. The value of a new, separate agency, without operational responsibility and lacking experience in foreign affairs and security work, is questionable.

II. The proposals emphasize the mobilization of private citizens—at home and abroad—to fight the cold war. First priority, in the Department's view, should attach to improved and expanded training of government personnel—both military and civilian—engaged in the conduct of all phases of foreign affairs, both at home and abroad.

III. Finally, there is the problem of Federal control. The present proposals look to Freedom Commission "Information Centers" which would distribute books and other instructional materials to schools and communities "on such terms and conditions as it shall determine."

The Department doubts the value of any such effort to standardize and centralize the dissemination of information in our country. It has also noted that the proposal envisions a marked departure from the traditional role of the Federal Government in the field of political education.

Item 1 in Dr. Rostow's letter confirms a major part of the Dutton letter.

Item 2 suggests that priority must be given to the National Academy of Foreign Affairs, an enlarged Foreign Service Institute, although there is no evidence that the Department of State is urging such priority in any way, or ever mentioning it in communications to the Congress, except as a block to the Freedom Commission Bill.

Item 3 reiterates the so-called problem of "federal control." It is to be noted, however, that in the last paragraph of item 3, the State Department for the first time inserts the word "political" in expressing its concern over the Freedom Academy's presumed "departure from the traditional role of the federal government in the field of (political) education."

A new touch of confusion in this area is seen in Dr. Rostow's introduction of the words "standardize" and "centralize."

#### Question 18

**What about opposition from other executive branches of the government?**

When Senator Fulbright wrote to the Department of State in February 1962, requesting its views on Freedom Commission legislation, he sent similar letters to each of the other executive departments. Each postponed its reply for the same fifteen month period that the Department of State took to formulate its views.

Shortly after Senator Fulbright received the Dutton letter, he received letters from most of the others. With unique unanimity, all raised the question of "overlapping functions," and all deferred to the Department of State.

The U.S. Information Agency letter (July 9, 1962) not only raised the issue of duplication, but echoed whole sentences of the State Department letter concerning the adequacy of the Foreign Service Institute training programs. The USIA letter also included, verbatim, but without quotes, the Dutton letter's paragraph on how the rest of the world would view a cold war institute\*

\*The same tendency toward uncredited verbatim extracts from the Dutton letter is evident in one of the few, if not only Senate speech ever made opposing the Freedom Commission Bill. It was made by Senator Young of Ohio three months before the Perkins Panel's report to President Kennedy, severely critical of the training programs Mr. Dutton and Mr. Young praised. Characteristic of Senator Young's understanding of the Freedom Commission Bill, which he called "an outrageous proposal," was this paragraph in his speech: "Do we really desire to ape Communist Russia and to have political commissars, attached to units of our Armed Forces? Americans are intelligent; they are not unintelligent cattle to be herded and regimented." — *Congressional Record*, Sept. 15, 1962.

## What Churchill said—

The indifference of some of today's government servants to a global situation that others view as critical, is reminiscent of the European situation in the 1930's, "while England slept." Noting the ever growing Nazi power, Winston Churchill warned his countrymen: "If you will not fight for the right when you can easily win without bloodshed, if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly, you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival. There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than live as slaves."

## Why so few listened

A recent editorial in the LONDON OBSERVER commented, "What Churchill said then, had it been heeded, could have saved fifty million lives and untold suffering. What he asked was simple and his voice was audible. Why could so very few understand and agree? One explanation offered by some political students is that Churchill had been wrong on a number of other major political issues and therefore was discredited." The same cannot be said today of the senators who sponsor Freedom Commission legislation or of the many foreign affairs specialists whose testimony is quoted in this Digest. On the contrary, it is those who oppose the legislation who have been proven wrong again and again.

The Department of Justice did not join the other executive branches in responding to Chairman Fulbright's letter at that time. It was about the time Attorney General Robert Kennedy may have been writing an article that appeared in the August 1962 issue of the Saturday Evening Post, stating that communist political warfare in Southeast Asia had made us "victims of a smart, articulate, well-organized minority which has kept us continually on the defensive," and which will win the political struggle there "if we do not meet the problem head on."

#### Question 19

**What are the major differences between the Freedom Commission Bill and the National Academy of Foreign Affairs Bill?**

According to the brochure "WHAT KIND OF AN ACADEMY" issued by the Cold War Council, the two bills "represent different concepts of how to meet the world communist challenge in non-military warfare."

... The Freedom Commission Act is specifically a cold war measure." — B390. It is designed to blaze new trails toward free world security. The National Academy Act is a "business as usual" project of the existing bureaucracy.

The Freedom Commission would be a completely independent agency, whereas the National Academy of Foreign Affairs would be merely a renamed and expanded Foreign Service Institute dominated by the Department of State. It would take over the F.S.I. language training courses. It would be administered by a Chancellor working with a part-time Board of Regents according to a strictly academic pattern, under a budget little larger than the present Foreign Service Institute budget. The bill details only provisions for the training of government employees.

According to Deputy Under Secretary William A. Orrick, Jr., a West Coast corporation lawyer who had been with the Department of State less than four months when assigned to draft the National Academy of Foreign Affairs Act,

it would take five years after the enactment of the legislation for the proposed National Academy to reach a point where it could accommodate approximately 700 professional-level foreign service officers, and approximately 150 other students taking courses ranging from a couple of weeks to one year.

The advocates of a full-time Freedom Commission estimate that from the start, its budget should be more than five times the proposed \$6,700,000 operating budget for the National Academy of Foreign Affairs. The Freedom Commission legislation makes no estimate of numbers of students or length of courses, partly because of its emphasis on the need for preliminary research. The bill does, however, contain specific details concerning five different classes of students that would be admitted to various courses. It establishes detailed provisions for the admission of foreign students, correlated with existing immigration and security laws.

Because of the above contrast between the two bills, the brochure *What Kind of An Academy*, states that "advocates of the Freedom Commission Act see no bold new step in the National Academy of Foreign Affairs proposals. They do not see how a project with so limited a horizon can provide a significant counterforce to the vast international communist apparatus for non-military warfare."

Dr. Stefan Possony: "Now what they are proposing is essentially an enlargement of the upper level Foreign Service Institute. This is their substitute for the Freedom Academy. But these are two entirely different animals. The curriculum of the Foreign Service Institute is quite weak in the areas which I think must be studied most if we are not to lose the cold war." — C-1014

Sidelights on attitudes within the State Department toward the National Academy legislation are revealed in this testimony by Henry Mayers:

Two months before the Perkins Report came out, highly critical of what the State Department was doing in the area of training with the Foreign Service Institute, I had a meeting with Dr. Walt Rostow, in which he assured me there was absolutely no need for any academy.

The bill the State Department was later ordered to write was what you would expect from a reluctant department that had been opposing the Freedom Academy

years. It is nothing but a straw man compared to the Freedom Academy Bill. Many State Department officials do not want even that bill passed.

On January 21, 1964, a story appeared in the New York Times reporting on a letter from Dean Acheson to the President, denouncing the National Academy of Foreign Affairs Bill.

Senator Jackson's Committee on National Security has recently been interviewing many people in the diplomatic service. Every one of them is opposed to the NAFA Bill. The State Department refers to it in these hearings presumably to divert attention from the real issue we are discussing, which is the Freedom Commission concept." — C-1052.

After two days of House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings on the Freedom Commission legislation, into which discussion of the National Academy of Freedom Affairs Bill had been injected by State Department testimony, Chairman Willis commented on "one of the distinctive advantages which I find in the Freedom Academy and Freedom Commission proposal, as contrasted with the proposal to create a National Academy of Foreign Affairs. The latter would be much more closely associated with the administration in power and, I fear, would suffer from an ingrown viewpoint serving primarily the interests of one department." — D-1246

#### Question 20

**Why does the State Department oppose Freedom Commission legislation?**

Partial answers are given in the rebuttals under Question 17. Alan Grant has written that because the Department of State is "staffed by people concerned about their careers, they are most hesitant about associating themselves with bold or imaginative proposals that depart from the conventional way of doing things."

Once a State Department official leaves the bureaucracy, however, he is less inhibited. Robert Finley Delaney, who spent twelve years in the U.S. Foreign Service, but is now engaged in writing and lecturing on international affairs, testified: "I feel a particular moral commitment to testify before this committee, since I was one of the officials in the Operating Coordinating Board who confronted Mr. Alan Grant in July 1954 and found no particular merit in his original plan.

I am here today to tell you that ten years later, I urgently agree with the necessity for the establishment of an academy dedicated to the needs of a national program in teaching, training and research in order to better comprehend the spectrum of communist weaponry which opposes and, seemingly, so befuddles us." — D-1319

The confrontation to which Mr. Delaney referred is described in a Reader's Digest article of May 1963, *Let's Demand This New Weapon For Democracy*. It describes four hours of high level questioning of Mr. Grant by the Operations Coordinating Board, after which one intelligence officer, an internationally known authority on psychological warfare, introduced himself, "Mr. Grant, the Government will turn down your proposal, brilliant as it is. Have you ever heard of that bureaucratic disease, NMH?"

Grant admitted he had not.

It's shorthand for "NOT MADE HERE." To ask an agency to adopt a new idea it didn't think up is to ask it to confess its own shortcomings. — B-319

"NMH" may still be the motivation underlying State Department behavior to which Dr. Lev Dobriansky testified in these terms:

"Opponents to the (Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy) measure, when they tell you that there is sufficient instruction across the Potomac or down at Fort McNair or at any of our Russian centers at Harvard, Fordham, Columbia or the institution I am with, Georgetown, are attempting to hoodwink you. Either they do not understand what composite cold war thinking is — or they are rationalizing in behalf of their respective present precincts of activity, narrow and scattered as they are in this vital field." Coupled with the rationalizing is an almost inescapable lack of interest, as revealed in the experience of Henry Mayers, who testified:

"The Roscoe Drummond comment that Assistant Secretary Frederick Dutton's letter to Senator Fulbright is based on 'a misreading and a misunderstanding' of the Freedom Academy Bill, suggests that the Dutton letter may have been hastily written.

The fact is, however, that it took the Department of State fifteen months to formulate an answer to Senator Fulbright's request. When the Cold War Council asked Mr. Dutton why it took so long, he explained that considerable research and study had to go into the preparation for it. Several months later, I had occasion to discuss the State Department's position with Dr. Walt Rostow, Chairman of the State Department's Policy Planning Council. I was amazed to discover that Dr. Rostow, whose office is about a hundred yards down the hall from Mr. Dutton's, did not know about the letter the Department had taken fifteen months to prepare.

Yesterday, Mr. Chairman, you raised the question "why does the State Department oppose the Freedom Commission Bill?" We in the Cold War Council have given considerable thought to why this is so. Our conclusion is that our foreign policymakers are experienced in conventional diplomacy, but they have little skill in the arts of communicating with the political leadership of other countries on the people-to-people level. They are not only inexperienced in propaganda and political warfare, they are hostile to it.

The resistant attitudes of the diplomats toward political warfare somewhat parallels the attitudes of the generals and admirals of World War I who resisted the development of air warfare. The Army and Navy brass of that day had built their own careers on land and water strategy. They instinctively opposed air power, a new concept of military operations that threatened the supremacy of the only type of warfare with which they were familiar.

Political and propaganda warfare today represents a new power concept in international relations. It is not surprising that some of the State Department's careerists instinctively oppose the idea that the U.S. should develop this new power in a field for which they are not equipped by either training or temperament.

The authors of Freedom Academy legislation recognize that political warfare guidance is not a logical field of activity for the U.S. diplomatic corps. They wisely propose an independent Freedom Commission which would cooperate with the State Department, but build a corps of experts in an area in which the diplomats have few qualifications and many limitations." — C-1052-3

The foregoing analysis of State Department attitudes does not apply to the Secretary of State himself. After an interview with Mr. Dean Rusk, Mayers reported in a July 1963 memo to country-wide supporters of the legislation: "I got the impression that he had little previous knowledge of S.414. He seemed genuinely interested in reading the copy of the bill I offered him, and asked for my additional Freedom Academy literature.

Mr. Rusk appeared as openminded as a very busy Secretary of State can be openminded about an issue on which his department has long ago taken a hard stand."

#### Question 21

**What has been press reaction, pro and con, to the legislation?**

On the favorable side, Roscoe Drummond has been one of several syndicated columnists who have written one or more pieces favorable to the legislation and critical of the opposition.

Locally written newspaper editorials in the same vein have appeared in almost every state in the Union, more predominantly in the smaller communities than in the major metropolitan centers.

In the national magazine field, LIFE magazine and the SATURDAY EVENING POST have published strong editorials supporting the legislation and attempting to overcome misinterpretations of it.

The misinterpretations, however, have persisted, even in the national magazine field. So much so that one citizen group supporting the legislation published a "Freedom Academy Anti-Defamation Bulletin," citing a few flagrant examples.

One was the case of the REPORTER Magazine, which the bulletin described as "a careful, objective publication." Stating that the Reporter had once assigned two writers to look into Freedom Academy legislation, and that they had been amply briefed by its sponsors on several trips to Washington, the bulletin commented:

"What became of their notes is not known. Presumably, they were never consulted by

one of the Reporter's editors, when he decided to do an article entitled 'Revivalism on the Far Right.' In this article, the bipartisan senatorial sponsors of the Freedom Academy Bill found themselves inferentially coupled with Robert J. Welch, Billy James Hargis and similar apostles of political extremism.

The Reporter editor challenged a quotation that is not to be found in the Freedom Academy bill itself, but in a 10,000-word speech by Senator Dodd in behalf of the bill. More than 99 percent of the speech dwelt on the need to counteract communist political and propaganda warfare throughout the world. In the course of his discourse, Senator Dodd incidentally remarked that he "would like to see our colleges and universities send one or more of their faculty to the Freedom Academy for at least a year, so that on their return they could organize similar courses at the undergraduate and graduate levels."

Concentrating exclusively on this single remark that represented less than one percent of Senator Dodd's speech, the Reporter commented that "this emphasis may seem somewhat out of balance!"

Continuing with its own choice of "emphasis," the Reporter asked "does Senator Dodd mean that in our schools and in our communities the job of guarding against the dangers of communist-and-fascist-infiltration should be taken over and monopolized by the graduates of the Freedom Academy? Are we being asked to assume that men and women who do not care to join the Freedom Academy's 'political warfare cadres' care less about our freedoms than those who have shown enthusiasm for such a project?"

The uninformed reader of the Reporter might well assume that the entire purpose of the Freedom Academy Bill is to achieve

the twisted objectives suggested by the above rhetorical questions. That assumption is, indeed, still prevalent among many intelligent people.

The Reporter received protest letters from informed readers, of course. A subsequent issue published a brief extract from one such letter. However, the magazine also proceeded to publish reprints of "Revivalism on the Far Right." This 6-page document has been circulating ever since the original article appeared.

Another instance of "defamation" was cited in the case of the NEW REPUBLIC magazine. In a brief editorial, it summarized the research and training objectives of the proposed Freedom Academy in a single phrase: "To propound dogma."

The more defamatory aspect of the New Republic editorial was its inventiveness on the subject of how the legislation came about. The magazine had available to it the printed record of the Senate Judiciary Hearings, explaining the birth of the concept of the bill and the extensive research by a group of native-born Florida citizens.

The New Republic, however, chose to tell its readers that the concept "originated with various exiles from Communist tyrannies, impatient with America's undogmatic approach to political matters and hopeful of creating opportunities for themselves in the policy apparatus."

Another instance of defamation as described in the bulletin was an editorial in the Minneapolis Star Tribune. At the bottom of one of Roscoe Drummond's pro-Freedom Academy columns, it printed a warning to its readers to "see today's editorial." According to that editorial, the Freedom Academy Bill proposes "to train nationals of other nations in murder, sabotage and general subversion."

When contacted, the writer of that editorial justified his speculative additions to the curriculum of the proposed Freedom Academy on two counts. First, he said, certain advocates of the legislation "talk like that." In any event, he felt that "murder, sabotage and subversion" were fair interpretations of what Roscoe Drummond was talking about in his pro-Freedom Academy column.

The John Birch Society's magazine has attacked the Freedom Academy on the basis of the fear expressed under Question 15, and this fear has been echoed editorially in at least one newspaper with a similar political outlook.

In the broadcasting field the legislation has received, to the knowledge of the editors of this Digest, only favorable treatment. Concurrent with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on the bill, NBC's Chet Huntley devoted several minutes to the bill, stating "the overwhelming majority of Americans is aware that we have sorely neglected the training of people who can wage and win the non-military phases of the global struggle between freedom and communism. Our propaganda, economic warfare and anti-communist subversion efforts have been pitifully chaotic, hit-and-miss, unplanned, uncorrelated, and improvised. We don't have a single institution for the training of specialists for the waging of the cold war.

Now a bill to create such an academy is before Congress, but there is some confusion. After deploring the idea of a national academy for the waging of the cold war, the State Department has now proposed one, but would place the whole undertaking in the Department of State, and that, most likely, would be the last anyone would ever hear about it."—NBC "Emphasis" program, May 1, 1963.

Scores of radio and television programs of the interview and panel type have given supporters of the Freedom Academy concept an opportunity to present their views. The opposition has sought no opportunities for rebuttal. To develop debate on the issue, the moderator of a college-sponsored panel program in California invited a retired State Department official to his program. After looking into the subject, the ex-official endorsed the legislation too.

## Gallup Poll reveals grass-root support for Freedom Academy

A May 1962 report by the American Institute of Public Opinion (the Gallup Poll) revealed overwhelming support for the Freedom Academy concept, although it is doubtful that any substantial percentage of those questioned had previously heard of the legislation, or were aware of its specifics.

The question put to the people across the nation by the Gallup pollsters was: "A proposal now before Congress would establish a special academy to train men in a cold war strategy and to give them a better understanding of communist propaganda and political warfare methods. Would you favor or oppose establishment of such an academy?"

Seventeen percent of those polled had no opinion. Of the balance, five out of six favored the idea.

#### OTHER EVIDENCE OF PUBLIC SUPPORT

Shortly before publication of the results of the Gallup Poll, a number of business institutions and service clubs in California launched educational programs on legislation to the President and the Congress to help get the bills out of committee. In answer to a Senate committee's inquiry on this activity, Henry Mayers testified:

"In one county of California the advertising club organized the Kiwanis and other service clubs, the Farmers Union and other community groups into a joint educational campaign on the Freedom Commission Act. They ran full page newspaper ads explaining it, and were on the radio for weeks. (The space and time were donated free by the press and the broadcast media.) They got people to sign petitions to bring the bill out of committee.

A similar effort was made by a statewide organization known as the California Savings & Loan League. They produced and distributed by tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands their own booklet to their customers. The booklet included a petition calling on Congress and the President to give consideration to the Freedom Commission Bill.

That type campaign was discouraged by its organizers, however, as soon as the Gallup Poll came out, because petition drives represent a lot of manpower and

effort, and when we learned that 5 out of 6 people around the country who responded to a Gallup Poll favored a cold war academy, we did not think there was any reason why we should inundate Congress with petitions." — B-395

The experience of public speakers who present the Freedom Commission Bill's story to citizen audiences is uniformly favorable, although such talks stimulate many questions, some of which are included in this Digest.

Labor leader and educator Arthur G. McDowell says "I have often addressed both adult groups and high school students on the need for a Freedom Academy. I have never found such an audience that did not, after as little as ten minutes' explanation, fully grasp the validity of this approach to the global communist challenge, despite State Department opposition."

#### WORDS OF ADLAI STEVENSON

One reason for the seeming disparity between grass roots instinct and top level governmental evaluations may be found in what Adlai Stevenson once told a hometown audience:

"I have Bloomington to thank for the most important lesson I have ever learned: that in quiet places, reason abounds; that in quiet people is vision and purpose; that many things are revealed to the humble; that are hidden from the great."

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the organization should not claim that the constitutional guarantees it invokes are being destroyed.

#### JAMES CASH PENNEY—A MICRO-COSM OF AMERICAN INITIATIVE

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, few American businessmen better exemplify the limitless potential that is inherent in our competitive system of private enterprise than the man who opened a small dry goods store in Kemmerer, Wyo., just 2 years after the turn of the century and who today is the driving force behind the multibillion-dollar chainstore empire which bears the name "J. C. Penney Co."

The meteoric career of the Wyoming dry goods dealer is the subject of a news item in the February 15 Cheyenne, Wyo., State Tribune which I ask to have printed at the conclusion of my remarks, for I think a tribute to my valued friend, J. C. Penney, is most timely in the context of society's changing attitude toward private enterprise and individual incentive.

James Cash Penney is indeed an extraordinary man. He is an author, humanitarian, and one of the great entrepreneurs of our century. Born on a marginal farm in what was then the Missouri frontier, James Cash Penney has achieved a success so fantastic as to make him a legend in his own time.

In 1902, at the age of 26 and with a history of fending for himself since the age of 8, J. C. Penney opened his first "Golden Rule" store. It is particularly gratifying to me, Mr. President, that this remarkable man should have chosen the Equality State as the launching site for his endeavor. Mr. Penney selected the mining community of Kemmerer, Wyo., as the location for his first venture into the merchandising of dry goods. Today, the J. C. Penney name appears on some 1,700 stores in 48 of our 50 States.

In the 64 years that have elapsed since he opened the doors of his little store in Kemmerer, Mr. Penney has managed to parlay his initial investment of \$500 into a massive store complex with gross sales now exceeding \$2 billion annually. Yet, despite this enormous growth, the company continues to bear the stamp of its energetic founder who declared at the outset of his career:

We push all the time. Rust never gathers on a sword that is in use. We are after more business. We are making prices that will get it.

Volume buying, mass merchandising, and aggressive sales policies have combined to bring success to James Cash Penney and the corporation which bears his name. A faith in the future of our capitalistic free enterprise system, and an unceasing desire to improve service and facilities, are indications of an even more expansive future.

Mr. President, the merchant prince from Kemmerer is the holder of a myriad of honors and accolades, including honorary doctoral degrees from my beloved University of Wyoming and no fewer than 14 other universities. The accolades, honors, and successes of Jim

Penney serve as graphic proof of the potential inherent in an economic system which awards creativity and summons self-reliance. Mr. Penney's career was launched in an era in which it was fashionable to rely on one's God-given talents and to work at the business of making a living without reliance upon a public handout or Government incentives.

J. C. Penney waged his own war on poverty, a war which has benefited the lives of the thousands of associates who have shared in the company's profits and the millions of Americans who have benefited from the concepts of mass merchandising techniques he has helped perfect.

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

[From the Cheyenne (Wyo.) State Tribune, Feb. 15, 1965]

#### JAMES CASH PENNEY AT 89 TAKES LOOK INTO FUTURE

"We are just beginning to scratch the surface of our growth potential."

That was the observation of 89-year-old James Cash Penney, founder of the world's largest department store chain, as he contemplated the future from his office in the new J. C. Penney Building in New York City.

"There is no limit to what the Penney Co. can do," he said, "and this new building and its ultra-modern merchandising facilities will make possible even higher standards of service to the country."

While he is a director, Penney no longer is active in management of the company. He said, "It is my most compelling interest in my life, aside from my family." He is in his 45th-floor office from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. every working day he is in New York.

Looking through his office window at the panorama of Manhattan, he reflected on the past, emphasized the necessity for hard work and spoke optimistically of the future.

"When I opened my first small drygoods store in Kemmerer, Wyo., in 1902, in a space only double the size of this office, I never dreamed that one day we would have our headquarters in a 45-story building in New York.

"At one time I thought we might have 25 stores. Then later I thought that 50 stores would be all we would be able to handle. Now there are nearly 1,700 Penney stores in 48 States, and we are completing the best year in our history, with total sales exceeding \$2 billion."

Surrounded by awards he has received in a long and distinguished career in retailing, Mr. Penney stressed that "I am not living in the past." The tradition that in 1902—"always first quality" merchandise at the lowest possible price—is a vital force with the company today as it was then.

"I have no intention of retiring," he said. "Doctors tell me I'm good for 100 years. When I get up in the morning, it's not just another day to me. I always think in terms of new opportunities and hope to be equal to whatever comes up."

The man from Kemmerer has come a long way.

#### OUR SOCIETY AND THE HONOR CODE

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, a distinguished attorney from Rawlins, Wyo., Mr. Harold M. Johnson, has called to my attention an article from the February 14 Denver, Colo., Post. The article by Dr. Paul H. A. Noren, pastor

of Augustana Lutheran Church of Denver, is an excellent treatise on a subject driven home with painful force by the recent scandals at the Air Force Academy. Dr. Noren writes eloquently and forcefully of cheating, and he asks the timely question: "Do we place such emphasis upon success that we imply that it must be won at any cost?"

I request, Mr. President, that the full text of the article by Dr. Noren be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### OUR SOCIETY AND THE HONOR CODE

(By Paul H. A. Noren, D.D., pastor, Augustana Lutheran Church, Denver)

These thoughts are not meant to be a broadside against the Air Force Academy or its administration. Rather, they are the expression of some basic problems that seem to be endemic in our society. This article seeks to be the distillation of many questions which have been asked by many people in recent days in the scandal of a stolen key, the sale of examination papers, the cheating, the breach of an honor code which states, "We will not lie, steal or cheat, nor tolerate among us anyone who does."

Some among us seek to escape the full implication of the scandal by diversionary thinking which questions the ethical implications of the code itself. The point is that wrong is involved whether such a code exists or not. This is the concern of the thoughtful who wonder where we are headed.

The matter came to our attention dramatically because the Air Force Academy happened to be involved. The institution and its personnel have such an image of excellence that our national honor seems to be tarnished more than if the incident had taken place at Podunk Tech. Further, the issue assumes a larger meaning because these are young men who are being trained for positions of strategic leadership in the Nation.

We lose the point, however, if we fasten all of our attention on one institution where such flagrant evidence of cheating has been turned up. Evidence in a survey of nearly 100 colleges points the finger at almost half the students who by their own admission were involved in cheating.

Some of the questions that force themselves upon us are these: "Is cheating on the increase?" "Has society placed impossible demands upon our youth?" "Do we place such emphasis upon success that we imply that it must be won at any cost?" "Has a permissive psychology (indulged in by adults) become the pattern for youthful behavior?"

The oldest sin in the world is the shortcut. The first honor code may have been involved in the word of God to Adam when He said, "You may freely eat of every tree of the garden; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day you eat of it you shall die." The restraints were no different in Adam's case than for any of the cadets. Each was given a free will. Each might determine whether he chose to live within this area of honor or not.

Now when the serpent entered into the garden, he asked Eve the question, "Did God say, 'You shall not eat of any tree of the garden?'" And when the woman gave a straight answer, the serpent's rejoinder was, "You will not die. For God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil."

Adam and Eve had been promised God-likeness. The Creator would teach His children, and in daily fellowship with Him they

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should learn to think His thoughts after Him. And now, the serpent offers a short-cut to knowledge, "you will be like God, knowing."

If banishment seems too costly a penalty for guilty Air Academy cadets, we cannot forget the Genesis account, "therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden."

Pressures of all kinds impinge upon our youth, perhaps even in a larger measure upon Air Academy cadets with the fusion of public as well as parental gaze upon them. There is a danger in a status institution such as this to have the desire for success outrun moral balance. The fact remains, however, that the honor code was a condition of entrance at the Academy. It wasn't foisted upon the cadets after they had entered.

One can understand the anguish of the parent who cried: "For 19 years you try to bring up a boy to help others and not to be a bearer of tales, and it just doesn't work out." The concept of the Good Samaritan is part and parcel of our moral heritage, just as the informer, the "squealer," is abhorrent to us. Recall, if you will, the loathing reserved for prisoners of war who informed on their fellow Americans.

Yet, there is a clear-cut difference. In the present instance the code requires that dishonesty not be tolerated. With this there can be no compromise.

Rather than pointing a finger at these young men (which well could be a scapegoat gesture), we might do better to look within. The timbers of our civilization are weakening before the dry rot of sin—adult sin, not just the foibles of youth. When Governor Love's Committee on Respect for the Law interviewed a group of high school youths, they complained that their parents were "too busy," "too lenient," "too preoccupied to give guidance at home."

What may be expected of our young when their parents boast of "getting by" with income tax evasions; when a father stations his child in the back seat of an automobile with field glasses to keep watch for the possible approach of a patrol car as the vehicle races over highways at speeds in excess of 90 miles an hour?

May it not well be that we have done an excellent job of divorcing our children, not only from a good parental example, but also from a sense of the reality of God. Being spiritual orphans in an awesomely competitive universe, they have lost any sense of "belonging." The Dutch theologian Albert van den Heuvel, who heads the World Council of Churches' Youth Department, says that secularization is "the process of ever-growing independence from any transcendent control."

In its December 25, 1964, edition, Time magazine states, "In a sense, God—the personal, omniscient deity of Christendom—has been dying for centuries. His lordship over the world has been threatened by every scientist who discovered a new natural law of organic growth, by every invention of man that safeguarded him against 'an act of God' disaster, by every new medicine that tamed a disease and solved another mystery of life. But it is the 20th century, the age of technological miracle, that has seen the triumph of the enlightenment and the apparent banishment of God from the universe—even, thanks to Freud, from the human soul."

So, we have come so far as to outlive the necessity of God, and with Him, the moral code. Still, those sticky old Ten Commandments pop up to prick the conscience and to unsettle our equanimity. I remember the quatrain that runs:

"You, too, may call old notions, fudge  
And bend your conscience to the dealing.  
The Ten Commandments will not budge  
And stealing will continue stealing."

And cheating, cheating.

One of the suggestions being made is that we do away with silly old standards. We do have such difficulty accommodating them to the tentative nature of life today. Honor codes are a thing of the past, if you want to listen not just to locker room conversations but polite dinner talk as well.

Look magazine is an article entitled "Morality USA" (Sept. 14, 1963) closed an otherwise informative piece with the following conclusion: "We are groping, painfully and often blindly, for new standards that will enable us to live morally and decently. The experts feel strongly that we cannot turn back to earlier, more rigid behavior patterns. Almost all the thoughtful, worried people I talked with believe that, unlike people in so many past ages, we have achieved some freedom of choice. We have choices to make about power, money, sex, prejudice and our role in the world. We must find a new moral code that will fit the needs of the society we live in."

Just like that. If the code is too tough for a soft generation, adopt a new and easier one.

What's become of the brave generation, the toughminded, the disciplined who brought America to its pinnacle of excellence? If we continue to love softness, to indulge our ease, to settle for answers that take no struggle of mind and soul, we may as well reconcile ourselves to the sound of the death rattle of our civilization.

One other option remains to us. We may call forth the hero in our soul to stay this moral debacle.

*Bill Stiles*  
THE FREEDOM ACADEMY GAP

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, in speaking on the Freedom Academy bill, 2 weeks ago, I emphasized, on page 4059 of the RECORD, the need for greater sophistication among our own Government people who face Communist non-military aggression in the field. These are the persons upon whom our defense is structured.

Then, last week, I discussed, on pages 4751-4753 of the RECORD, the need that this country provide training for foreign nationals who want to preserve their own national sovereignty against non-military aggression by Communist or other expansive totalitarian powers. A whole new discipline of subversive techniques by the Communists is utilized, particularly against newly independent countries; and formal educational institutions to disseminate to potential practitioners knowledge and familiarity about this discipline are now operating in several Communist countries, training people from nearly every country of the world in the techniques of subversion.

The United States does very little to confront this challenge. Foreign nationals, upon whom rests the obligation to maintain their own national independence from Communist expansionism, have no place to go to acquire knowledge about nonmilitary, subversive techniques to help them know how best to resist this most effective method of aggression.

Today, I shall speak briefly about a third major feature of the proposed Freedom Academy. This is the training of nongovernment persons, persons from the private sector, who could constitute a very potent force in defense against nonmilitary aggression.

Sponsors of the Freedom Academy bill consider the non-Government sector of

our heterogeneous democratic society a potentially valuable asset in contesting the Communist antagonist who must by definition be restricted to such homogeneity in emotional and intellectual resources as to constitute his potentially fatal weakness.

The Senators sponsoring this bill reflect this breadth of American diversity which should be our great national strength. Senators CASE, DOBB, DOUGLAS, FONG, HICKENLOOPER, LAUSCHE, MILLER, PROUTY, PROXMIER, SCOTT, SMATHERS, and MURPHY, besides myself, represent all facets of political attitude in this Nation, ranging from conservative to liberal, which are within the main current of American political thought. In supporting this bill, we express our common view that this strength of American heterogeneity is not adequately utilized in order to protect our national interests abroad.

From section 2(a) (8) (IV) of the Freedom Academy bill, I read:

The private sector must understand how it can participate in the global struggle in a sustained and systematic manner. There exists in the private sector a huge reservoir of talent, ingenuity, and strength which can be developed and brought to bear in helping to solve many of our global problems. We have hardly begun to explore the range of possibilities.

The bill makes broad provision for better utilizing this talent.

A remarkable article in a recent issue of Orbis, the world-affairs journal published by the University of Pennsylvania, now adds greater substance to our proposal. The article is authored by Alexander T. Jordan, an authority on political communication and psychological warfare, who also is a commentator for Radio Free Europe. He entitled the article "Political Communication: The Third Dimension of Strategy." It appears in the fall, 1964, edition.

The article concerns the science of political communication, a science in which our country has fallen critically behind; we hardly even recognize its existence. Powers antagonistic to our national interests are far more knowledgeable than we. According to George Gallup:

Russia is a good generation ahead of us in her understanding of propaganda and in her skill in using it.

Another recognized authority, Murray Dyer, observes:

In Russian hands the psychological instrument has been used with consummate skill and no little success. It seems to be generally admitted that in our own hands both the skill and the success have been more limited.

But the purpose of Mr. Jordan's essay is not simply to criticize United States efforts in psychological warfare. Rather, he plumbs the "one major aspect of the psychological arm of strategy, namely, long-range ideological conversion."

This concerns us. We are obviously under attack throughout the world. The expansionism of Communist China is particularly aggressive, and the Chinese Communists utilize these techniques:

Yet little is done to forge new weapons and develop new techniques which will give us a chance to win the psychological war. \* \* \*



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Senator BARTLETT is right in urgently calling attention to this situation and in asking, "What does the Government intend to do about the mounting hazards in the Arctic?"

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the new pollution research laboratory and the Arctic Health Research Center, both on the campus of the University of Alaska, will be ready in a few months. They are both Federal projects. Let us hope that they will be provided with the necessary funds to assist actively in meeting this serious aspect of pollution, as well as all the other incidences of pollution in the 49th State.

EXHIBIT 1

[From Indian Truth for the winter of 1964-65]

RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT THREAT TO ESKIMOS

Recent newspaper reports and statements by Senator BARTLETT, of Alaska, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD again call attention to the serious situation developing from radioactive fallout in certain Arctic regions.

"Cesium 137, a relatively long-lived radioactive material produced in an atomic explosion is one of the major constituents of fallout from atmospheric weapons testing. Since the material tends to concentrate in the body muscles, where it can irradiate the reproductive organs with its gamma radiation, it poses a genetic hazard."

Measurements taken in July of 27 Eskimos show that the average level of cesium 137 in the population of Anaktuvuk Pass has reached 1,170 micromicrocuries, a level which is substantially above a safe limit.

This situation in Anaktuvuk Pass is due to unusual geographic and ecological factors. Its extreme northern latitude causes a high rate of fallout from Russian testing. The cesium is absorbed by the lichens. During the winter the caribou eat the lichens. The Eskimos in turn eat the caribou meat. At each step there is a concentration of the cesium.

Since 1962 the Commission's Hanford, Wash., laboratory has continued to observe the cesium levels in four Alaska villages. By 1963 the levels reached a point at Anaktuvuk Pass where A. M. Parker, manager of the Hanford laboratory, warned Congress that the Government ought to consider countermeasures to protect the population. The levels measured July 1964 were almost exactly double those observed in July 1963.

Senator BARTLETT is right in urgently calling attention to this situation and in asking, "What does the Government intend to do about the mounting hazards in the Arctic?"

DISCRIMINATORY FREIGHT RATES

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the establishment of discriminatory freight rates, disrupting the historical balance between wheat and flour shipping costs, is threatening the flour-milling industry in the Middle West by forcing millers to relocate plants near large centers of population and consumption.

The tremendous disruption this can cause to our South Dakota economy is shown by the fact that we have 1,800 elevators and mills in the State.

The concern of South Dakota over the situation is reflected in Senate Concurrent Resolution 8, which has been adopted by the South Dakota Senate

and House of Representatives and transmitted to me today.

I ask unanimous consent that it be included in the RECORD.

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

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 8

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States in regard to legislation pertaining to national transportation problems

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein):

Whereas a strong, efficient transportation system is essential to the well-being and defense of our Nation; and the economic stability and growth of the Nation is threatened unless satisfactory, long-range solutions to problems of competition and rates can be found; and

Whereas regulation of freight rates by all carriers engaged in commercial transportation is necessary to protect the public interest; and it is a matter of national transportation policy that all shippers should be protected from unfair rate discrimination, place discrimination, and size discrimination; and Whereas it is desirable and practical to limit the application of the agricultural commodity exemptions and provide the producer the unrestricted right to haul his own produce to market; and

Whereas to meet nonregulated competition, regulated carriers have disrupted and deviated from the historical wheat-flour rate parity and it is further proposed to cease regulation of rail rates on agricultural commodities—all of which is unjustifiable and discriminatory in its effects on industry in South Dakota and the entire Great Plains area; and

Whereas it is recognized and attention is directed to the extreme importance of the wheat flour-milling industry to the South Dakota economy and as a preferred market for South Dakota wheat producers, providing a ready market for wheat grown in South Dakota each year; and

Whereas South Dakota produces the finest hard milling wheat and wheat flour in this area and more than 1,800 country elevators and flour-milling companies in South Dakota and adjacent thereto contribute materially to the economy of the State of South Dakota; and

Whereas it is evident that a discriminatory differential in wheat and flour rates threatens the Great Plains area with the loss and relocation of the flour-milling industry and associated industries as well; and such changes would be disruptive of a simplified rate structure adapted to the best interests of producers, consumers, railroads, and millers; and

Whereas the Governor of South Dakota has recognized the threat to industry in South Dakota and the Great Plains area, and has appointed Mr. Lem Overpeck, Lieutenant Governor of South Dakota, as a member of a 10-State committee to promote rate parity on grain and grain products, prevent the effects of deregulation which would be detrimental to industry in the wheat growing area of our Nation, and preserve the flour-milling industry in South Dakota and the surrounding States; and

Whereas in connection with the flour milling industry as a byproduct and by reason thereof there is available and there is produced large amounts of livestock feed out of the byproducts of said flour-milling industry, the loss of which would increase the costs to livestock growers in the State of South Dakota: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of South Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That we respectfully submit that the effects of deregulation of

commodity traffic and the chaos which would result from this action would cause a serious dislocation of industry from the Great Plains area and irreparable harm to the economy of our Nation; and that we respectfully urge and request the Congress of the United States to enact legislation providing for fair and equitable regulation of all modes of commercial transportation and provide the Interstate Commerce Commission with the greater authority needed for full enforcement; and that such legislation should provide for the protection of the interests of the primary producer; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state be directed to transmit an enrolled copy of this resolution to the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, the Secretary of Commerce of the United States, the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the House of Representatives of the United States, the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, and the chairman of the Committee on Commerce in the Senate of the United States, the Governors of Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, Colorado, Missouri, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Texas, and to each member of the South Dakota delegation in the Congress of the United States.

Adopted by the senate February 16, 1965.

Concurred in by the house of representatives February 27, 1965.

LEM OVERPECK,  
President of the Senate.

Attest:

NIELS P. JENSEN,  
Secretary of the Senate.  
CHARLES DROZ,  
Speaker of the House.

Attest:

WALTER J. MATSON,  
Chief Clerk.

NEEDLE AN AMERICAN FREEDOM ACADEMY

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, last week I spoke of the need to enact something like the Freedom Academy bill so that our people working in foreign relations might be better prepared to understand techniques of nonmilitary aggression in its incipient stages when appropriate counteraction would more effectively enervate the aggressors, more effectively isolate them from potential success.

Today I would like to consider briefly another function proposed for the Freedom Academy, intensive training of foreign nationals. We would bring servants of friendly governments to this country, persons asking for the training, and teach them how Communists and other practitioners of nonmilitary aggression undercut independent governments which they have targeted for destruction.

The sponsors of the Freedom Academy bill, Messrs. CASE, DODD, DOUGLAS, FONG, HICKENLOOPER, LAUSCHE, MILLER, PRUTY, PROXMIRE, SCOTT, SMATHERS, and newly joining us, MURPHY, besides myself, a group broadly representative of the whole Senate, do not intend that such training for foreign nationals be limited to government employees only. We would include others—journalists, perhaps, or educators, civic leaders, people upon whom a friendly, nontotalitarian nation must depend for the insightful and wise leadership which is requisite for a nation to retain its independence in this

new day of calculated disrespect for national sovereignty clothed in terms of sanctimonious honor for self-determination.

The Freedom Academy bill proposes intensive research into the methods of nonmilitary aggression, into methods of psychological warfare and all which goes with that, and concurrent training to disseminate findings, knowledge, and awareness — sophistication — accumulating from this research.

The free world needs such an institution. Let me read a letter symptomatic of the need. Addressed to a respected Washington journalist, whom I will not identify, the letter is signed by a foreign citizen who is studying in this country. I will not identify the nationality of the writer, respecting his request.

The letter is dated February 15, 1965. It goes:

DEAR MR. ———: I was very much impressed by your (recently published article) . . . .

Even though I could not wholly agree with what you say, I do realize that the most effective way to fight communism is using their own methods.

Here I interject to say that the Freedom Academy bill does not propose to mimic Communist violence. We propose to study Communist methods to understand them and to arm the people upon whom we depend for defense with understanding to better prepare them to cope with the challenge we face.

Returning to the letter:

It is the future of my country . . . that compels me to write this letter. What is going to happen if . . . [the political leader] is dead? I assume then the Communists will make a break to get in power. Who is going to stop them? Or will it be another Korea or Vietnam? I believe we, who still believe in freedom, have to prevent . . . [his country] from falling into Communist hands.

Unfortunately, we do not know and do not have the means how to fight the Communists.

I have written to the American Institute for Free Labor Development, but that organization is for Latin America only.

Could you please tell me how I can join the Freedom Academy?

I am a medical fellow in this country and I want to return to my country not only with the medical knowledge, but also how to fight communism.

This opinion of mine is shared by many of us who study in your country.

I thank you beforehand and God bless you.

The journalist attached this note:

Senator MURKIN, now what can we do with a letter like this?

Right now my journalist friend can do nothing with the letter except write more articles. And about all I can do is talk to the Senate. Our Government affords remarkably little in the way of political training for this man. Probably at least part of the cost for his medical training is borne by our Government, but we refuse to recognize his coexistent need for realistic political education.

This week's press supplies further current evidence that the need I am discussing is real. It exists. It is not a bogey in the mind of professional anti-Communists. It is as real as anything in the political sphere.

The Lloyd Garrison story in the New York Times of March 9, datelined Brazzaville, the Congo Republic—across the river from Leopoldville in the Republic of the Congo—is fully pertinent.

Garrison writes:

The youths came in about 20 minutes after midnight. They wore khaki shorts and Chinese peaked caps with a red star on a black shield. [They were] . . . recognized . . . as members of the Jeunesse, the militant arm of the National Revolutionary Movement, the sole legal party in this country, the former French Congo.

One group broke down the door of the home of Joseph Pouabou, President of the Supreme Court. The youths pummeled (him) into submission. Then they beat Mrs. Pouabou and her children and dragged Mr. Pouabou unconscious to one of three waiting cars.

[The] . . . scene [was] . . . repeated at the homes of (the) Attorney General . . . and . . . [the] director of the Government's information agency. Both were found dead 2 days later . . . . Mr. Pouabou is . . . presumed dead.

The killings took place the night of February 15 (the date of the letter I read earlier).

They marked the climax of a campaign to seize total control over the Government of moderate Socialists. One French observer here described the seizure of power as "a classic Communist-style takeover."

With guidance from Peiping's Embassy here, the radicals at first appeared content to play a minority role in a Government that the moderates hoped would reflect "all shades of national opinion."

But when delegates assembled to form a broadly based one-party system, they found themselves outmaneuvered and outvoted.

Communists came to dominate the party's policymaking body, formerly known as the Political Bureau and as the Politburo. In quick succession, the Politburo decreed the establishment of one trade union, one youth group, one women's organization . . . .

Where fear has not enforced conformity, money has been dispersed freely as an added incentive. . . .

Nowhere in West Africa today is the Chinese presence so dominant. According to one reliable French source, Peiping's counselor of the Embassy . . . now sits in on all of the Politburo's closed-door deliberations.

A classic Communist-style takeover. How much better if we could provide our willing and independent friends with understanding of what constitutes a classic takeover, what must precede it, what the tactics and techniques of takeover are.

Garrison's dispatch was continued in the New York Times of March 10:

The Chinese Communists are the dominant diplomatic force beyond this country's "scientific Socialist" regime. Many widely held assumptions about how they operate have proved false.

For one thing, they are not linguists . . . . There is no attempt to live simply or play on the image of the austere revolutionary. The Chinese . . . occupy big villas and drive chauffeured limousines . . . .

They are never seen in the open-air dance halls with other diplomats, who drink the local beer, dance the cha cha, and mix with the Africans. . . .

Africans find it impossible to strike up friendships with the Chinese.

Garrison notes, too, that China is quick to provide well-directed aid. For example, they have provided \$20 million to set up "Chinese-run small industries."

Excellent vehicles for further infiltration. He concludes:

The most informed concern Chinese will go only as far as is necessary to insure that the regime continues to be virulently anti-Western and affords them a secure base for subversion in the biggest prize of all—the former Belgian Congo, which lies just across the Congo River.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these two articles by Lloyd Garrison, "Brazzaville: Story of a Red Takeover," from the New York Times of March 9, 1965, and "Chinese Aloof in Brazzaville," from the New York Times of March 10, 1965, be printed in full at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 9, 1965]

BRAZZAVILLE: STORY OF RED TAKEOVER

(By Lloyd Garrison)

BRAZZAVILLE, THE CONGO REPUBLIC, March 5.—The youths came about 20 minutes after midnight. They wore khaki shorts and Chinese peaked caps with a red star on a black shield. Most were armed with wooden staves and empty quart-size beer bottles.

Awakened neighbors easily recognized them as members of the Jeunesse, the militant arm of the national revolutionary movement, the sole legal party in this country, the former French Congo.

One group broke down the door of the home of Joseph Pouabou, president of the supreme court. The youths pummeled Mr. Pouabou into submission. Then they beat Mrs. Pouabou and her children and dragged Mr. Pouabou unconscious to one of three waiting cars.

The scene was repeated at the homes of Attorney General Lazar Matsocota and Anselme Massouemi, director of the Government's information agency. Both were found dead 2 days later beside the Congo River. Mr. Pouabou is still missing and presumed dead.

The killings took place the night of February 15. To experienced diplomats here they marked the climax of a campaign by the pro-Peiping African Communists to seize total control over the Government of moderate Socialists who ousted Abbé Fulbert Youlou's corrupt and discredited regime 2 years ago.

One French observer described the seizure of power as "a classic Communist-style takeover."

With guidance from Peiping Embassy here, the radicals at first appeared content to play a minority role in a government that the moderates hoped would reflect all shades of national opinion.

But when delegates assembled to form a broadly based one-party system, they found themselves outmaneuvered and outvoted.

Communists came to dominate the party's policymaking body, formerly known as the Political Bureau and as the Politburo. In quick succession, the Politburo decreed the establishment of one trade union, one youth group, one women's organization.

Only the Boy Scouts have yet to be absorbed into the party fabric.

Some prominent moderates, such as Paul Kaya, former Minister of the Economy, have slipped across the border into exile. Others have been retained in the civil service, where they do the government's bidding in political silence.

Under threat of reprisal if they don't comply, several Congolese in private occupations have been "persuaded" to fill key second-echelon posts.

Where fear has not enforced conformity, money has been dispersed freely as an added incentive.

The government still maintains a facade of moderation. President Alphonse Debat, a

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Job title	Effective hourly rate
Stock clerk	\$1.36
Grill girl	1.31
Salad girl	1.25
Pantry girl	1.23
Storeroom assistant	1.23
Assistant butcher	1.22
Senior counter girl	1.19
Cooks helper	1.19
Telautograph reader	1.14
Counter girl (full time)	1.13
Bus girl (full time)	1.13
Counter girl (part time)	1.13
Bus girl (part time)	1.13
Waitress	1.13
Pantry boy	1.07
General utility	1.02
Dish washer	1.02
Pot washer	1.02
Butcher helper	1.02
Waiter (full time)	1.00
Waiter (part time)	1.00

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to discuss some of the information set forth in the tabulation concerning the hourly rates of pay of Senate employees. An explanatory introduction to the tabulation reads as follows:

A decision of the Comptroller General of the United States held that employees of the restaurants were employees of the United States in the legislative branch, and not employees of the Architect. Therefore, Senate restaurant employees are compensated at annual rates under the provisions of 5 United States Code 84. The hourly rates as shown in this tabulation are computed on the actual number of hours worked in a normal pay period when no reduction for absence without pay occurs.

All employees receive meals in addition to monetary compensation. Full-time employees receive two meals, and per diem employees one meal a day. Many employees also receive gratuities or tips which contribute substantially to their earnings.

I say good naturedly that conversations with Senate restaurant employees seem to indicate that Senators are not the best tippers in the world. They may be the best tipsters, but not the best tippers, because if the restaurant employees were dependent upon any substantial enlargement of their weekly take-home pay from the tips they receive, they would not fare as well as waiters working in downtown restaurants. The truth of the matter is that very few restaurant employees receive any tips at all.

For some time now Congress has underwritten a national minimum wage policy providing for a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour. I do not think we can, with good grace, pay Senate employees less than \$1.25 an hour. Yet that is what we are doing. I do not know whether or not it is being done elsewhere in the Senate.

I am pursuing this subject and shall continue to pursue it, because obviously it is not the last comment I shall make on it, for this condition will call for some action on the part of the Committee on Rules and Administration as well as the Appropriations Committee. Once we can have answered, the questions I wish to submit to the Committee on Rules and Administration, if they will favor me with their answers based upon the research that I hope they will assign to appropriate staff members, we shall then be in a better position to discuss this

problem, because we shall then have more of the facts.

The tabulation shows that the minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour is paid to the salad girl. The job classification before that, starting with cook, is \$2.27 an hour, which I am advised is below the pay received by a cook employed in any so-called medium-class restaurant in the District of Columbia, and is considerably below the pay of cooks in what are considered first-class or top-quality restaurants.

The night baker receives \$2.19 an hour. I shall ask my able counsel, Mr. Judd to prepare an exhibit, for future reference, comparing the \$2.19 an hour with the pay that is received by night bakers in comparable eating establishments in the District of Columbia.

It may be asked why I should make any comment today, since we do not have all this material available and cannot get all of it for some time. I am always a hopeful person. I am always hopeful that a public disclosure of such information as I shall disclose this afternoon might possibly result in some wage negotiations between the U.S. Senate, through its representatives who have charge of the restaurants of the Senate, and the employees. If ever there was place where some needed labor negotiations should take place, I respectfully submit that this is a good place to start. It is probably a good illustration of how desirable it is that the Senate move into the modern era in labor relations vis-a-vis the Government and underpaid Government workers.

As one who represented the U.S. Government in the first arbitration case between the Government and a labor union, back in 1942, I believed long before that that the government ought to be willing to negotiate at least the bread and butter costs of dedicated public servants, who work for the Government in what many may think to be rather menial job classifications. But they are job classifications of great dignity and ability, for the most part, with culturally dignified American citizens.

I respectfully say that they are entitled to a better "break in their bread," so to speak. They are entitled to better pay. In my judgment, we cannot justify seeking to capitalize on the prestige of Government employees by paying them wages that are not fair and adequate. We do capitalize on that prestige. It is easy for us to forget that. We would be surprised to learn how many people puff up their chests and expand them a little when someone asks, "Whom do you work for?" and the reply is, "I work for the U.S. Senate." But that does not buy bread for them. We ought to be proud to have them working for the U.S. Senate without having them in any way subsidize the Senate.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I am delighted to yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. As the Senator from Oregon well knows, under the Taft-Hartley Act it is illegal for Government employees to strike.

Mr. MORSE. I did not vote for the Taft-Hartley law.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I know the Senator from Oregon did not vote for it. I was not a Member of the Senate then, so I could not vote on the bill one way or the other. In most instances, Government employees are well paid. And they have some choice about the matter. But when it comes to the point at which the Government is competing with the ordinary sweatshop, it seems to me that we ought to amend that law so that the restaurant employees could go on strike. My guess is that that would help to correct a somewhat unfortunate situation.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I assure my friend that they should not have to go on strike. I do not think they will ever have to go on strike once such information as I propose to make available here this afternoon, and in the future, to my colleagues in the Senate is considered by the Senate. I have a hunch that my raising this problem this afternoon and presenting the information I shall present may very well cause my colleagues in the Senate to say to the members of the Committee on Rules and Administration, "Please do something about this one, for that fellow WAYNE MORSE will never keep still if you don't." I assure Senators that that will be true, speaking jocularly.

Returning to the matter of the Taft-Hartley law, it is true that it provides that Government employees cannot strike. Government employees, in my opinion, should be given a much stronger guarantee for real effective collective bargaining, including grievance procedure whereby they can bring grievances against the Government when they find that working conditions and wages are unfair. Also, I would go this far now. Included in the grievance procedure there ought to be an agreement on the part of both the Government and the Government employees to include voluntary arbitration of their differences.

When the Government, acting in a proprietary interest, operates a restaurant or participates in many other proprietary interests, we get it on a much larger scale. This is true in connection with some of these very important public utility operations, such as the Bonneville Administration in my State. It has been a long hard pull in these Government agencies to get them to recognize that the Government has no moral right, and it should not be given the legal right to refuse to bargain simply by saying, "These are the orders. We are not going to bargain with you. We are not going to set up any grievance procedure. We are not going to arbitrate with you." Yet, we use other enforcement instrumentalities by way of law upon private utilities and the private segment of the economy, in connection with their legal operation, to bargain and agree to fair grievance machinery.

I am not talking about policemen. I am not talking about the class of cases that all of us who have worked in the field of labor law know is surrounded with certain exceptional circumstances that make it, from the standpoint of security, desirable to provide for more restrictions. Even there I am a strong advocate for the maximum of economic

mildly leftist former schoolteacher who holds the French Legion of Honor, occasionally balances the Communists' anti-Western tirades with warm references to President de Gaulle and French aid.

But he and Premier Pascal Lissouba are powerless to initiate even the smallest decision without the rubber-stamp approval of the 10-man Politburo.

Nowhere in West Africa today is the Chinese presence so dominant. According to one reliable French source, Peiping's counselor of the embassy, Col. Kan Mal, now sits in on all of the Politburo's closed-door deliberations.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 10, 1965]

**CHINESE ALOOF IN BRAZZAVILLE—SCORE BIG SUCCESS DESPITE LIMITED AFRICAN CONTACTS**

(By Lloyd Garrison)

BRAZZAVILLE, CONGO REPUBLIC, March 5.—Peiping's diplomatic style has many Western observers wondering why the Chinese have been so startlingly successful in this former French colony.

The Chinese Communists are the dominant diplomatic force behind this country's scientific Socialist regime. Many widely held assumptions about how they operate have proved false.

For one thing, they are not linguists, at least in French, for there are many interpreters attached to their Embassy. Neither the Ambassador, Chou Chiuyen, nor his principal aide, Col. Kan Mal, speaks French.

In their propaganda the Chinese have striven to project themselves as the purest and most down-to-earth Marxists whose skin color should make them the Africans' natural allies.

But there is no attempt to live simply or play on the image of the austere revolutionary. The Chinese dress in Western style, occupy big villas, and drive chauffeured limousines.

They are hardly outgoing. None indulge in comradely back slapping and joke swapping with the Africans the way the Russians do. They are never seen in the open-air dance halls with other diplomats, who drink the local beer, dance the cha cha, and mix with the Africans.

**BRING THEIR OWN SERVANTS**

Unlike almost all the other diplomats, the Chinese employ no African servants and have brought their own cooks, laundresses and even gardeners.

Africans find it impossible to strike up friendships with the Chinese. All members of the staff are required to travel in pairs even when going for a haircut.

Why the success of the Chinese?

Western officials agree on two points.

First, they stress the fact that the radicals in power here had long been warmly disposed toward the Chinese.

"Of course, the Chinese have been clever," one Western observer said. "But the table was already set for them when they arrived, and all they had to do was sit down and eat and mind their manners."

The second point is that the Chinese work incredibly hard.

From a handful, the embassy staff has grown nearly to 50 officials, each a specialist assigned to work closely with a ministry or organization, ranging from agriculture to children's groups.

**SWIFT OFFER TO HELP**

Compared with other Communist states, China moved swiftly in offering aid.

First came a \$5 million loan to help balance last year's budget. Recently the government has accepted a \$20 million loan for setting up Chinese-run small industries. Each loan is interest free, with 10 years' grace on repayment.

The Soviet Union has offered an \$8 million agreement for financing, at 2.5 percent interest, such long-term, prestige projects as a luxury hotel and a hydroelectric dam that the Americans turned down as economically unfeasible.

What are Peiping's objectives?

Most Western experts doubt that the Chinese want to replace the French here completely. The Congo is a poor small country, and to assume the major responsibility for aid and budget subsidies would prove extremely expensive.

The most informed consensus is that the Chinese will go only as far as is necessary to insure that the regime continues to be virulently anti-Western and affords them a secure base for subversion in the biggest prize of all—the former Belgian Congo, which lies just across the Congo River.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, techniques of takeover appear quite diverse. For example, I read from a recent United Press International dispatch:

PUNO, PERU, February 26.—A report published here today indicated Latin American "volunteers" trained in Cuba are fighting on the Communist side in South Vietnam.

The family of Julian Jimenez Ochoa, a young Peruvian who went to Cuba for guerrilla training, has been notified unofficially of his death in battle in Vietnam.

The report of Jimenez's death was contained in a letter purported to come from other young Peruvians who were serving with the Reds in South Vietnam.

One must wonder what the future holds for these young Latin American fighters for communism. They will likely utilize these skills in their homelands. Hopefully, non-Communists in Latin America will have timely opportunity to prepare themselves for confrontation with experienced guerrillas.

But although techniques of takeover are diverse, as with all else in human relations, there must be identifiable patterns in them.

We should identify these patterns and lay them open to full comprehension.

More important, we should make this knowledge available to persons who can use it to defend their own countries' sovereignty and, in so doing, to contribute to our own defense.

We have here a mutual interest.

**PAY SCALE OF EMPLOYEES OF SENATE RESTAURANT**

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, for some time employees of the Senate working in Senate restaurants have conferred with me about their pay scale. I have sought information from the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration with regard to some of the problems that they raised. I sought first, as I always do, in connection with any complaint, to ascertain the facts. The first thing I needed to know was the facts about the pay scale in the Senate restaurants. So I made a request of my very able counsel, Mr. Richard Judd of the District of Columbia Committee, of which I have the privilege of being a member. I speak of him as my counsel; he is counsel for the entire committee, but the chairman of the committee has made him available to me for the work of my subcommittees, particularly the work of my subcommit-

tee which deals with law enforcement, public welfare, and educational problems in the District of Columbia. I asked that able counsel, Mr. Richard E. Judd, if he would proceed to obtain for me information from the Committee on Rules and Administration and also from the Accounting Officer for the Architect of the Capitol dealing with the pay scales of certain employees in Senate restaurants.

Under date of March 3, 1965, Mr. Daniel J. Geary, accounting officer to the Architect of the Capitol, wrote in reply to Mr. Hugh Q. Alexander, chief counsel of the Committee on Rules and Administration, the following letter:

MARCH 3, 1965.

HON. HUGH Q. ALEXANDER,  
 Chief Counsel, Committee on Rules and Administration, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ALEXANDER: I am enclosing herewith a tabulation of hourly rates of Senate restaurant employees. This includes all employees who are employed on a timeclock basis, but excludes administrative and managerial personnel. As a result of my conversation with Mr. Richard Judd, I believe this tabulation will supply the information which Senator MORSE requested the committee to furnish him.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL J. GEARY,

Accounting Officer for the Architect of the Capitol.

I am deeply appreciative of the wonderful cooperation I have received from Mr. Alexander, chief counsel of the Committee on Rules and Administration, and also from Mr. Geary, accounting officer for the Architect of the Capitol.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire tabulation be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

**TABULATION OF HOURLY RATES OF PAY OF SENATE RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES**

A decision of the Comptroller General of the United States held that employees of the restaurants were employees of the United States in the legislative branch and not employees of the Architect therefore, Senate Restaurant employees are compensated at annual rates under the provisions of 5 U.S.C. 84.

Hourly rates as shown in this tabulation are computed on the actual number of hours worked in a normal pay period when no reduction for absence without pay occurs.

All employees receive meals in addition to monetary compensation. Full-time employees receiving two meals and part-time employees one meal a day. Many employees also receive gratuities or tips which contribute substantially to their earnings.

Job title:	Effective hourly rate
Cook.....	\$2.27
Night baker.....	2.19
Boiler cook.....	2.02
Short order cook.....	2.00
Baker.....	1.96
Second cook.....	1.93
Steward.....	1.67
Head waiter.....	1.63
Cashier (full time).....	1.56
Assistant cook.....	1.54
Assistant baker.....	1.43
Senior salad girl.....	1.43
Fry cook.....	1.41
Cashier (full time).....	1.41
Relief cashier.....	1.37